W. F. R. WELDON,
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Weldon W. F. R.

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Weldon to 7

THE WORKS OF D. JONATHAN SWIFT,

VOL. IV.

CONTAINING

A Collection of TRACTS,

RELATING TO

IRELAND;

Among which are,

The DRAPIER's LETTERS

TO THE

People of IRELAND,

Against

Receiving WOOD's Half-pence;

ALSO,

Two Original DRAPIER's LETTERS.

Dublin printed; and *Edinburgh* reprinted,

For G. HAMILTON & J. BALFOUR, and L. HUNTER, at *Edinburgh*; and A. STALKER, at *Glasgow*; and sold by them and other Booksellers.

M, DCC, LII.

Advertisement.

THE ensuing Volume containeth all such Writings imputed to the Author, as relate to *Ireland*; whereof the Principal are called *The Drapier's Letters*; and to these we have added two which were never printed before. They were procured from a Friend of the Author's in the original Manuscript, as we are assured, and have good Reason to believe; those who are better Judges will soon determine, whether they are genuine or no. It is the Opinion of several wise Men, that the following Letters, and the other Writings relating to our poor Country, may be very useful to Posterity, by warning them for the future to oppose the same, or the like evil Designs, however plausible they may at first appear to unthinking People; or however artfully they may be represented (like this destructive Project of *William Wood*) by those who were to divide the Spoil with that Impostor; or lastly, by prostitute Flatterers, who are sure to find their private Account in the Ruin of the Kingdom; which Ruin would have certainly followed, if the Author, whoever he were, had not published his Letters in the most proper Juncture, and fitted to all Sorts of Readers; whereby in two or three Months he turned the whole Nation, almost to a Man, against that iniquitous Scheme.

Perhaps the Reward which the Author met with, may appear extraordinary to those who may come after us; and we hope it will never be forgot. Upon the Publication of his fourth Letter, a Proclamation was issued out by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, promising 300 l. as a Reward to any Person who should discover the Author of that Letter: But he was then become too popular to be betrayed; and besides, we are informed, it never lay in the Power of the Printer to dis-

cover

cover him; for the Copies were always sent to the Press by some obscure Messenger, who never knew the Deliverer, but gave them in at a Window, as the Author himself observeth, in a Letter to *Harding* the Printer. His Amanuensis was the only Person trusted; to whom, about two Years after, he bestowed an Employment of 40 l. a Year, as a Reward for his Fidelity.

But lest the Particulars of this pernicious Project may be forgot, we think it proper to give a short Account how it took its Rise.

About the Year 1722, under the Government of *Charles* Duke of *Grafton*, one *William Wood*, a Hardware-man from *London*, and a Bankrupt, by applying himself to some in Power, and alledging the great Want of Copper-Money in *Ireland*, procured, by very indirect Means, a Patent for coining 108,000 l. to pass as current Money in this Kingdom. It was soon discovered by the Author to be a vile Jobb from the Beginning to the End: and that the chief Procurers of his Patent were to be Sharers in the Profits. Those Politicians here, who outwardly favoured the Project against their Consciences (if they had any) called every Opposition to this Patent, by the Name of *flying in the King's Face*.

This is enough for the Information of future Readers, because the Author, in the Course of his Letters, giveth full Satisfaction upon all Particulars necessary to be known.

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A

LETTER

FROM A

MEMBER of the House of Commons in *Ireland*,

TO A

MEMBER of the House of Commons in *England*.

CONCERNING THE

Sacramental Test.

Written in the Year 1708.

THE

Publisher's Advertisement

TO THE

READER.

IN the Second Volume of Doctor *Swift*'s and Mr. *Pope*'s Miscellanies, I found the following Treatise, which had been printed in *London*, with some other of the *Dean's* Works many Years before, but at first came out by itself in the Year 1708, as the Date shews: And it was at a Juncture, when the *Dissenters* were endeavouring to repeal the *Sacramental Test*, as by common Fame, and some Pamphlets published to the same Purpose, they seem to be now again attempting, with great Hope of Success. I have, therefore, taken the Liberty to make an Extract out of that Discourse, omitting only some Passages, which relate to certain Per-

ſons, and are of no Conſequence to the Argument. But the Author's Way of Reaſoning ſeems at preſent to have more Weight, than it had in thoſe Times, when the Diſcourſe firſt appeared.

THE Author, in this Letter, perſonates a Member of Parliament here, to a Member of Parliament in *England*.

THE Speaker mentioned in this Letter was *Allen Broderick*, afterwards Chancellor and Lord *Middleton*; and the Prelate was Dr. *Lindſay*, afterwards Lord Primate.

Dublin, 1735.

A LETTER FROM A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF *IRELAND*, &c.

SIR,

I Received your Letter, wherein you tell me of the strange Representations made of us on your Side of the Water. The Instance you are pleased to mention, is that of the Presbyterian *Missionary*, who, according to your Phrase, hath been lately *persecuted* in *Drogheda* for his Religion; but it is easy to observe, how mighty industrious some People have been for three or four Years past, to hand about Stories of the Hardships, the Merits, the Number, and the Power of the *Presbyterians* in *Ireland* to raise formidable Ideas of the Dangers of *Popery* there, and to transmit all for *England*, improved by great Additions, and with special Care to have them inserted, with Comments, in those infamous weekly Papers that infest

your Coffee-houses. So, when the Clause enacting a *Sacramental Test* was put in Execution, it was given out in *England*, that half the Justices of Peace thro' this Kingdom had laid down their Commissions; whereas, upon Examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a Dozen or Thirteen, and those generally of the lowest Rate in Fortune and Understanding, and some of them superannuated. So, when the Earl of *Pembroke* was in *Ireland*, and the Parliament sitting, a formal Story was very gravely carried to his Excellency by some zealous Members, of a Priest newly arrived, from abroad, to the *North-West* Parts of *Ireland*, who had publickly preached to his People, to fall a murdering the Protestants; which Abuse, although invented to serve an End they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd Remarks by your worthy Scribblers. In like Manner, the Account of that Person, who was lately expelled our University for reflecting on the Memory of King *William*, what a Dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in Memory. Neither would People be convinced, until the University was at the pains of publishing a *Latin* Paper to justify themselves. And, to mention no more, this Story of the *Persecution* at *Drogheda*, how it hath been spread and aggravated, what Consequences drawn from it, and what Reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now, if the End of all this Proceeding were a Secret and Mystery, I should not pretend to give it an Interpretation. But sufficient Care hath been taken to explain it. First, by Addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured, to shew the miserable State of the Dissenters in *Ireland*, by reason of the *Sacramental Test*, and to desire the Queen's Intercession that it might be repealed. Then it is manifest, that our * Speaker, when he was last Year in *England*, solicited, in Person, several Members of both Houses, to have it repealed by an act there,

* Mr. *Broderick*, afterwards Chancellor.

there, although it be a Matter purely National, that cannot possibly interfere with the Trade and Interest of *England*, and although he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all Men against the Injustice of binding a Nation by Laws, to which they do not consent. And lastly, those weekly Libellers, whenever they get a Tale by the End relating to *Ireland*, without once troubling their Thoughts about the Truth, always end it with an Application against the *Sacramental Test*, and the absolute Necessity there is of repealing it in both Kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a Weakness to say any thing of such Trifles as are below a serious Man's Notice: Much less would I disparage the Understanding of any Party, to think they would chuse the vilest and most ignorant among Mankind, to employ them for Assertors of a Cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous Liberty those Wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with Opinions that *some Men* would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those Papers are, they seem to be levelled to the Understandings of a great Number. They are grown a necessary Part in Coffee-house Furniture, and some Time or other happen to be read by Customers of all Ranks, for Curiosity or Amusement; because they ly always in the Way. One of these Authors (the Fellow that was * *pilloried*, I have forgot his Name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a Rogue, that there is no enduring him; the *Observator* is much the brisker of the two; and, I think, farther gone of late in Lies and Impudence than His *Presbyterian* Brother.

I now come to answer the other Part of your Letters, and shall give you my Opinion freely about repealing the *Sacramental Test*: only, whereas you desire my Thoughts as a Friend, and not as I am a Member of Parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both Capacities.

* *Daniel Defoe.*

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surprised at your wonderful Kindness to us on this Occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our Interests, in a Point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This hath given us some Suspicion; and although, in my own Particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our Affairs, it is certainly *for our Good*; yet I have the Misfortune to be something singular in this Belief, and therefore I never attempted to justify it, but content myself to possess my own Opinion in private, for fear of encountering Men of more Wit, or Words than I have to spare.

We at this Distance, who see nothing of the Spring of Actions, are forced, by mere Conjecture, to assign two Reasons for your desiring us to repeal the *Sacramental Test*. One is, because you are said to imagine, it will be a Step towards the *like good Work* in *England:* The other more immediate, that it will open a Way for rewarding *several Persons* who have well deserved upon a *great Occasion*, but who are now unqualified through that Impediment.

I do not frequently quote Poets, especially *English*, but I remember there is in some of Mr. *Cowley*'s Love-Verses, a Strain that I thought extraordinary at Fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by *Ireland*.

Forbid it, Heaven! my Life should be
Weigh'd with her least Conveniency.

In short whatever Advantage you purpose to yourselves by repealing the *Sacramental Test*, speak it out plainly, it is the best Argument you can use, for we value your Interest much more than our own. If your little Finger be sore, and you think a Poultice made of our *Vitals* will give it any Ease, speak the Word, and it shall be done; the Interest of our whole Kingdom is, at any time, ready to strike to that of your poorest *Fishing-Towns*; it is hard you will not accept our Services, unless we believe, at the same time, that you are only consulting our Profit, and giving us Marks of your Love.

Love. If there be a Fire at some Distance, and I immediately blow up my House before there be Occasion, because you are a Man of Quality, and apprehend some Danger to a *Corner of your Stable*; yet why should you require me to attend next Morning at your Levee, with my humble Thanks for the Favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourselves, we had Abundance of Benefit by the *Sacramental Test*, and foresee a Number of Mischiefs would be the Consequence of repealing it; and we conceive the Objections made against it by the *Dissenters*, are of no Manner of Force: They tell us of their Merits in the late War in *Ireland*, and how chearfully they engaged for the Safety of the Nation; that if they had thought they were fighting only other Peoples Quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their Zeal; and that, for the future, they shall sit down quietly, and let us do our Work ourselves: Nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up Arms under the Penalty of High Treason.

Now, supposing them to have done their Duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the *Fly on the Wheel*; I thought *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion* had been the three Subjects of the Quarrel: And have not all those been amply secured to them? Had they, at that Time, a *Mental Reservation* for *Power* and *Employments*? And must these two Articles be added henceforward in our national Quarrels? It is grown a mighty Conceit among some Men to melt down the Phrase of a *Church established by Law*, into that of *the Religion of the Magistrate*; of which Appellation it is easier to find the Reason than the Sense: If, by the *Magistrate*, they mean the *Prince*, the Established Church was the same it is now: If, by the same Word, they mean the Legislature, we desire no more. Be that as it will, we of this Kingdom believe the Church of *Ireland* to be the National Church, and the only one established by Law; and are willing, by the same Law, to give a *Toleration* to Dissenters. But if once we repeal our *Sacramental Test*, and grant a *Toleration*,

leration, or suspend the Execution of the Penal Laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established Church remaining; or rather why there will not be as many established Churches as there are Sects of Dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the National Church, because your Bishops and Clergy are maintained by the Publick; but *That*, I suppose, will be of no long Duration, and it would be very unjust it should; because, to speak in *Tindal*'s Phrase, it is not reasonable that Revenues should be annexed to one Opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the same Author's Maxim, That no free-born Subject ought to pay for maintaining Speculations he doth not believe. *But why should any Man, upon account of Opinions he cannot help, be deprived of the Opportunity of serving his Queen and Country!* Their Zeal is commendable, and when Employments go a-begging for want of Hands, they shall be sure to have the Refusal; only upon Condition, that they will not pretend to them upon Maxims, which equally include *Atheists*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Infidels* and *Heraticks*; or which is still more dangerous, even *Papists* themselves; the former you allow, the other you deny, because these last own a foreign Power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great Weight in this, for their Religion can suit with free States, with limited or absolute Monarchies, as well as a better: and the *Pope*'s Power in *France* is but a Shadow; so that, upon this Foot, there need be no great Danger to the Constitution, by admitting *Papists* to Employments. I will help you to enough of them, who shall be as ready to allow the *Pope* as little Power here as you please; and the bare Opinion of his being Vicar of Christ, is but a *speculative Point*, for which no Man, it seems, ought to be deprived of the Capacity of serving his Country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great Objection we have against repealing this same *Sacramental Test*. It is, that we are verily persuaded the Consequence will be an entire Alteration of Religion among us, in a no great Compass of Years. And, pray observe,

ſerve, how we reaſon here in *Ireland* upon this Matter.

We obſerve the *Scots*, in our *Northern* Parts, to be an induſtrious People, extremely devoted to their Religion, and full of an *undiſturbed* Affection towards each other. Numbers of that *noble Nation*, invited by the Fertilities of the Soil, are glad to exchange their barren Hills of *Lochaber* by a Voyage of three Hours, for our fruitful Vales of *Down* and *Antrim*, ſo productive of that *Grain*, which a little Trouble and leſs Expence, finds Diet and Lodging for themſelves and their Cattle. Theſe People by their extreme Parſimony, wonderful *Dexterity in Dealing*, and firm Adherence to one another, ſoon grow into Wealth from the *ſmalleſt Beginnings*, never are to be rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new Supplies. Beſides, when they are the ſuperior Number in any Tract of Ground, they are not *over patient of Mixture*; but ſuch, whom they cannot *aſſimilate*, ſoon find it their Intereſt to remove. I have done all in my Power, on ſome Land of my own, to preſerve two or three *Engliſh* Fellows in their Neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, although one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his Court by turning *Preſbyterian*. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from *Scotland*, a moſt formidable Notion of our Church, which they look upon, at leaſt, three Degrees worſe than *Popery*; and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that Spirit which taught them to aboliſh Epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the Gentlemen of Employments here make a very conſiderable Number in the Houſe of Commons, and have no *other Merit* but that of doing their Duty in their ſeveral Stations; therefore, when the *Teſt* is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe who have much *greater Services* to plead. The Commiſſions of the Revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of, and the Collectors and other Officers throughout the Kingdom, are generally appointed by the Commiſſioners, which

which gave them a mighty Influence in every County. As much may be ſaid of the great Officers in the Law; and when this Door is open to let *Diſſenters* into the Commiſſions of the Peace, to make them High-Sheriffs, Mayors of Corporations and Officers of the Army and Militia; I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their Induſtry and our Stupidneſs, but that they may, in a very few Years, grow to a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, and conſequently make themſelves the National Religion, and have a fair Pretence to demand the Revenues of the Church for their Teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the *Preſbyterian* Religion could never be made the National by Act of Parliament, becauſe our Biſhops are ſo great a Number in the Houſe of Lords; and without a Majority there, the Church could not be aboliſhed. But I have *two very good Expedients* for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and, I dare ſwear, our Speaker here hath often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at *one of them* ſo lately. That this Deſign is not ſo foreign from *ſome Peoples* Thoughts, I muſt let you know what an honeſt * *Bell Weather* of our Houſe (you have him now in *England*, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the Impudence ſome Years ago, in Parliament-time, to ſhake my Lord Biſhop of *Killaloo* by his Lawn Sleeve, and tell him in a threatening Manner, *That he hoped to live to ſee the Day, when there ſhould not be one of his Order in the Kingdom.*

THESE laſt Lines, perhaps, you think a Digreſſion; therefore to return, I have told you the Conſequences we fully reckon upon, from repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, which although the greateſt Number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no Manner of Pain about, and many of them care not Threepence whether there be any *Church* or no; yet, becauſe they pretend to argue from Conſcience as well as Policy and Intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

Now,

* *Suppoſed to be Mr.* Broderick.

Now, Sir, in Answer to your Question, whether if any Attempt should be made here for repealing the *Sacramental Test*, it would be likely to succeed? The Number of profess'd *Dissenters* in this Parliament, was, as I remember, something under a Dozen, and I cannot call to mind above Thirty others who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the *Presbyterian* Party having with great Industry mustered up their Forces, did endeavour one Day, upon Occasion of a Hint in my Lord *Pembroke*'s Speech, to introduce a Debate about repealing the *Test Clause*, when there appeared, at least, four to one Odds against them; and the ablest of those, who were reckoned the most stanch and thorough-paced *Whigs* upon all other Occasions, fell off with an Abhorrence at the Mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the Terms of *Whig* and *Tory*, do not properly express the different Interests in our Parliament.

Whoever bears a true Veneration for the glorious Memory of King *William*, as our great Deliverer from *Popery* and *Slavery*: whoever is firmly loyal to our present Queen, with an utter Abhorrence and Detestation of the *Pretender*; whoever approves the Succession to the Crown in the House of *Hanover*, and is for preserving the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, with an *Indulgence* for scrupulous Consciences; such a Man, we think, acts upon right Principles, and may be justly allowed a *Whig*; and, I believe, there are not six Members in our House of Commons, who may not fairly come under this Description. So that the Parties among us are made up, on one Side, of *moderate Whigs*, and, on the other, of *Presbyterians* and their *Abettors*; by which last I mean, such who can equally go to a *Church*, or a *Conventicle*; or such who are indifferent to all Religion in general; or, lastly, such who affect to bear a personal Rancor towards the Clergy. These last, are a Set of Men not of our own Growth; their Principles, at least, have been *imported* of late Years; yet this

whole Party, put together, will not, I am confident, amount to above fifty Men in Parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a Majority of three hundred.

As to the House of Lords, the Difficulty there is conceived, at least, as great as in ours. So many of our Temporal Peers live in *England*, that the Bishops are generally pretty near a *Par* of the House, and we reckon * they will be all to a Man against repealing the *Test*; and yet their Lordships are generally thought as good *Whigs* upon our Principles as any in the Kingdom. There are, indeed, a few Lay Lords, who appear to have no great Devotion for *Episcopacy*; and perhaps one or two more, with whom *certain powerful Motives* might be used for removing any Difficulty whatsoever; but these are in no sort of a Number to carry any Point against a Conjunction of the rest, with the whole Bench of Bishops.

Besides, the entire Body of our Clergy is utterly against repealing the *Test*, although they are entirely devoted to her Majesty, and hardly one in a Hundred who are not very good *Whigs*, in our Acceptation of the Word. And I must let you know, that we of *Ireland*, are not yet come up to *other Folks Refinement*: For we generally love and esteem our Clergy, and think they deserve it; nay, we are apt to lay some Weight upon their Opinions, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least, unless it were upon some greater Point of Interest than this. And their Judgment, in the present Affair, is the more to be regarded, because they are the last Persons who will be affected by it: This maketh us think them impartial, and that their Concern is only for Religion and the Interest of the Kingdom. Because, the Act which repeals the *Test*, will only qualify a *Layman* for an Employment, but not a *Presbyterian* or *Anabaptist* Preacher for a Church-Living. Now I must take leave to inform you,

* *N. B. Things are quite altered in that Bench, since this Discourse was written.*

you, that several Members of our House, and myself among the rest, knowing some time ago, what was upon the Anvil, went to all the Clergy we knew of any Distinction, and desired their Judgment in the Matter, wherein we found a most wonderful Agreement; there being but *one Divine*, that we could hear of, in the whole Kingdom, who appeared of a contrary Sentiment; wherein he afterwards stood alone in the *Convocation*, very little to his *Credit*, although, as he hoped, very much to his *Interest*.

I will now consider, a little, the Arguments offered to shew the Advantages, or rather Necessity of repealing the *Test* in *Ireland*. We are told, the *Popish* Interest is here so formidable, that all Hands should be joined to keep it under: that the only Names of Distinctions among us, ought to be those of *Protestant* and *Papist*; and that this Expedient is the only Means to *unite* all Protestants upon one common Bottom. All which is nothing but Misrepresentation and Mistake.

If we were under any real Fear of the *Papists* in this Kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid, as not to be equally apprehensive with *others*, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate Sufferers; but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the Women and Children. Their Lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered uncapable of purchasing any more; and for the little that remains, Provision is made by the late Act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away: To prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned Protestants, and so, in all Probability, will many more. Then, the Popish Priests are all registred, and without Permission (which, I hope, will not be granted) they can have no Successors; so that the Protestant Clergy will find it, perhaps, no difficult Matter to bring great Numbers over to the Church; and, in the mean time, the common People, without Leaders, without Discipline, or natural Courage, being little better than *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water*, are out of all Capacity

of doing any Mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they, at all, likely to join in any considerable Numbers with an *Invader*, having found so ill Success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a Prince of their own Religion to head them, had been trained for some Years under a *Popish Deputy*, and received such mighty Aids from the *French* King.

As to that Argument used for repealing the *Test*; that it will unite all Protestants against the *common Enemy*; I wonder by what Figure those Gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it: Suppose, in order to increase the Friendship between you and me, a Law should pass that I must have half your Estate; do you think that would much advance the Union between us? Or, suppose I share my Fortune equally between my own *Children* and a *Stranger*, whom I take into my Protection; will that be a Method to unite them? It is an odd Way of uniting Parties, to deprive a *Majority* of Part of their antient Right, by conferring it on a *Faction* who had never any Right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any Loss or Injury, if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some People may stretch the Term of *common Enemy*: How many are there of those that call themselves Protestants, who look upon our Worship to be idolatrous as well as that of the *Papists*, and with great Charity put *Prelacy* and *Popery* together, as Terms convertible?

And, therefore, there is one small Doubt I would be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the *Test*; that is, whether these same Protestants, when they have, by their Dexterity, made themselves the National Religion, and disposed the Church Revenues among their *Pastors* or *Themselves*, will be so kind to allow *us Dissenters*, I do not say, a Share in Employments, but a bare Toleration by Law. The Reason of my Doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to read above fifty Pamphlets, written by as many *Presbyterian* Divines, loudly disclaiming this Idol *Toleration*; some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a

Rag

Rag of Popery, and all agreeing, it was to *establish Iniquity by a Law*. Now, I would be glad to know when and where *their Successors* have renounced this Doctrine, and before what Witnesses. Because, methinks, I should be loth to see my poor titular Bishop *in partibus*, seized on by Mistake in the Dark for a Jesuit, or be forced myself to keep a Chaplain disguised like my Butler, and steal to Prayers in a back Room, as my Grandfather used in those Times when the Church of *England* was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old Quarrels long forgot; *Popery* is now the *common Enemy*, against which we must all unite: I have been tired in History with the perpetual Folly of those States, who called in Foreigners to assist them against a *common Enemy*: But the Mischief was, these *Allies* would never be brought to allow that the *common Enemy* was quite subdued: And they had Reason; for it proved at last, that one Part of the *common Enemy* was those who called them in; and so the *Allies* became at length the *Masters*.

It is agreed, among Naturalists, that a *Lion* is a larger, a stronger and a more dangerous Enemy than a *Cat*; yet if a Man were to have his Choice, either a *Lion* at his Foot, bound fast with three or four Chains, his Teeth drawn out, and his Claws pared to the Quick, or an angry *Cat* in full Liberty at his Throat; he would take no long Time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful Significancy of that Word *Persecution*, and what various Interpretations it hath acquired even within my Memory. When I was a Boy, I often heard the *Presbyterians* complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own Way; they said, they did not repine at our Employments, but thought that all Men, who live peaceably, ought to have Liberty of Conscience, and Leave to assemble. That Impediment being removed at the Revolution, they soon learned to swallow the *Sacramental Test*, and began to take very large Steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called Men of a *persecuting Spirit*. During the Time

the Bill against occasional Conformity was on Foot, *Persecution* was every Day rung in our Ears, and now at last the *Sacramental Test* itself has the same Name. Where then is this Matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one Request is only used as a Step to demand another? A Lover is ever complaining of *Cruelty*, while any thing is denied him; and when the Lady ceaseth to be *cruel*, she is from the next Moment at his Mercy: So *Persecution*, it seemeth, is every Thing that will not leave it in Mens Power to *persecute others*.

THERE is one Argument offered against the *Sacramental Test*, by a Sort of Men who are content to be styled of the Church of *England*, who, perhaps, attend its Service in the Morning, and go with their Wives to a *Conventicle* in the Afternoon, confessing they hear very good Doctrine in both. These Men are much offended, that so holy an Institution as that of the Lord's Supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary Purposes, as the getting of an Employment. Now, it seems, the Law concluding all Men to be Members of that Church where they receive the Sacrament; and supposing all Men to live like Christians (especially those who are to have Employments) did imagine they received the Sacrament, in Course about four times a Year, and therefore only desired it might appear by Certificate to the Publick, that such who took an Office were Members of the Church established, by doing their ordinary Duty. However, *lest we should offend them*, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us; for if the Matter stuck only there, we would propose it in Parliament, that every Man who taketh an Employment, should, instead of receiving the Sacrament, be obliged to swear, that he is a Member of the Church of *Ireland* by Law established, with *Episcopacy, and so forth*; and as they do now in *Scotland, to be true to the Kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main Body of the Argument, urge the Hardship that Men should be deprived the Liberty of serving their Queen and Country, on Account of their Conscience: And, in short, have Recourse

course to the common Style of their half Brethren. Now, whether this be a sincere Way of arguing, I will appeal to any other Judgment but theirs.

THERE is another Topick of Clamour somewhat parallel to the foregoing; it seemeth, by the Test Clause, the *Military* Officers are obliged to receive the Sacrament as well as the *Civil*. And it is a Matter of some Patience, to hear the *Dissenters* declaiming upon this Occasion: They cry they are *disarmed*, they are used like *Papists*; when an Enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they must sit still, and see their Throats cut, or be hanged for High Treason if they offered to defend themselves. Miserable Condition! Woeful Dilemma! It is happy for us all, that the Pretender was not apprised of this *passive Presbyterian* Principle, else he would have infallibly landed in our *Northern* Parts, and found them all sat down in their Formalities, as the *Gauls* did the *Roman* Senators, ready to die with Honour in their Callings. Sometimes, to appease their Indignation, we venture to give them Hopes, that, in such a Case, the Government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to hang them for defending it against the Letter of the Law; to which they readily answer, that they will not ly at our Mercy, but let us fight our Battles ourselves. Sometimes we offer to get an Act, by which, upon all *Popish* Insurrections at home, or *Popish* Invasions from abroad, the Government shall be impowered to grant Commissions to all Protestants whatever, without that *persecuting* Circumstance of obliging them to *say their Prayers* when they receive the Sacrament; but they abhor all Thoughts of *occasional* Commissions, they will not do our Drudgery, and we reap the Benefit; it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris & focis*; and they had rather lose their Estates, Liberties, Religion, and Lives, than the Pleasure of *governing*.

BUT to bring this Discourse towards a Conclusion: If the Dissenters will be satisfied with such a *Toleration* by Law, as hath been granted them in *England*, I believe the Majority of both Houses will fall readily in with

with it; farther it will be hard to persuade this House of Commons, and, perhaps, much harder the next. For, to say the Truth, we make a mighty Difference here between suffering *Thistles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *Posies*. We are fully convinced in our Consciences, that *We* shall always *tolerate them*, but not quite so fully, that *They* will always *tolerate us*, when it cometh to their Turn; and *We* are the Majority, and *We* are in Possession.

He who argueth in Defence of a Law in Force, not antiquated or obsolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the Dangers he conceiveth to foresee in the Abrogation of it.

For, if the Consequences of repealing this Clause, should, at some time or other, enable the *Presbyterians* to work themselves up into the National Church instead of *uniting* Protestants, it would sow eternal Divisions among them. First, their own Sects, which now lay dormant, would be soon at Cuffs again with each other, about Power and Preferment; and the *Dissenting Episcopals*, perhaps, discontented to such a Degree, as, upon some *sour unhappy* Occasion, would be able to shake the firmest Loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late Proceedings, at what Rate this *Faction* is like to drive whenever it gets the *Whip* and the *Seat*. They have already set up Courts of Spiritual Judicature, in open Contempt of the Law: They send *Missionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to *convert* the Church of *England* Folks to *Christianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend Persons on their Death-beds, and for Purposes much alike. And what Practices such Principles as these (with many others that might be invidious to mention) may spawn, when they are *laid out to the Sun*, you may determine at Leisure.

Lastly, whether we are so entirely sure of their Loyalty upon the present Foot of Government as you may imagine, their Detractors make a Question, which however,

however, doth, I think, by no Means affect the Body of *Dissenters*; but the Instance produced, is of some among their leading Teachers in the *North*, who refused the *Abjuration Oath*, yet continue their Preaching, and have Abundance of Followers. The Particulars are out of my Head, but the Fact is notorious enough, and, I believe, hath been published; I think it a Pity it hath not been *remedied*.

THUS I have fairly given you, Sir, my own Opinion, as well as that of a great Majority in both Houses here, relating to this weighty Affair, upon which, I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what Use of it you please.

A

PROPOSAL

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL USE

OF

IRISH MANUFACTURE,

IN

Cloaths and *Furniture* of *Houses*, &c.

Utterly REJECTING and RENOUNCING every Thing *Wearable* that comes from *ENGLAND*.

Written in the Year 1720.

A

PROPOSAL

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL USE

OF

Irish *Manufacture*, &c.

IT is the peculiar Felicity and Prudence of the People in this Kingdom, that whatever Commodities, or Productions, ly under the greatest Discouragements from *England*, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been the principal Care of all wise Nations, and for the Encouragement whereof there are so many Statute-laws in *England*, we countenance so well, that the Landlords are every where, by *penal Clauses*, absolutely prohibiting their Tenants from plowing; not satisfied to confine them within certain Limitations, as it is the Practice of the *English*; one Effect of which is already seen in the prodigious Dearness of Corn, and the Importation of it from *London*, as the cheaper Market: And, because People are the *Riches of a Country*, and that our *Neighbours* have done, and are doing all that in them ly, to make our Wool a Drug to us, and a Monopoly to them; there-

fore, the politick Gentlemen of *Ireland* have depopulated vast Tracts of the best Land for the feeding of Sheep.

I could fill a Volume as large as the *History of the wise Men of Goatham*, with a Catalogue only of some *wonderful* Laws and Customs we have observed within thirty Years past. It is true, indeed, our beneficial Traffick of Wool with *France*, hath been our only Support for several Years past; furnishing us all the little Money we have to pay our Rents and go to Market. But our Merchants assure me, *This Trade hath received a great Damp by the present fluctuating Condition of the Coin in* France; *and that most of their Wine is paid for in Specie, without carrying thither any Commodity from hence.*

HOWEVER, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *Flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our Wool, in case *Barnstaple* should be overstocked, and our *French* Commerce should fail?

I should wish the Parliament had thought fit to have suspended their Regulation of *Church* Matters, and Enlargements of the *Prerogative*, until a more convenient Time, because they did not appear very pressing, (at least to the Persons *principally concerned*) and, instead of those great Refinements in *Politicks* and *Divinity*, had *amused* themselves and their Committees, a little, with the *State of the Nation.* For Example: What if the House of Commons had thought fit to make a Resolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, against wearing any Cloth or Stuff in their Families, which were not of the Growth and Manufacture of this Kingdom? What if they had extended it so far, as utterly to exclude all Silks, Velvets, Calicoes, and the whole *Lexicon* of Female Fopperies; and declared, that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an Enemy to the Nation?* What if they had sent up such a Resolution to be agreed to by the House of Lords; and by their own Practice and Encouragement, spread the Execution of it in their several Countries?

tries? What if we ſhould agree to make *burying in Woollen a Faſhion*, as our Neighbours have made it a *Law?* What if the Ladies would be content with *Iriſh* Stuffs for the Furniture of their Houſes, for Gowns and Petticoats to themſelves and their Daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the reſt, let a firm Reſolution be taken, by *Male* and *Female*, never to appear with one ſingle *Shred* that comes from *England*; *and let all the People ſay*, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could pleaſe his Majeſty better than to hear that his loyal Subjects, of both Sexes in this Kingdom, celebrated his *Birth-day* (now approaching) *univerſally* clad in their own Manufacture. Is there Virtue enough left in this deluded People to ſave them from the Brink of Ruin? If the Mens Opinions may be taken, the Ladies will look as handſome in Stuffs as Brocades, and ſince all will be equal, there may be Room enough to employ their Wit and Fancy in chuſing and matching Patterns and Colours. I heard the late Archbiſhop of *Tuam* mention a pleaſant Obſervation of ſome body's; that Ireland *would never be happy till a Law were made for* burning *every Thing that came from* England, *except their* People *and their* Coals; I muſt confeſs, that as to the former, I ſhould not be ſorry if they would ſtay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little Time we ſhall have no Occaſion for them.

Non tanti mitra eſt, non tanti Judicis oſtrum.

BUT I ſhould rejoice to ſee a *Stay-lace* from *England* be thought ſcandalous, and become a Topick for *Cenſure* at *Viſits* and *Tea-tables*.

If the unthinking Shop-keepers in this Town, had not been *utterly* deſtitute of common Senſe, they would have made ſome *Propoſal to the Parliament*, with a *Petition* to the Purpoſe I have mentioned; promiſing to improve the *Cloths and Stuffs of the Nation into all poſſible Degrees of Fineneſs and Colours, and engaging not to play the Knave, according to their Cuſtom*,

by exacting and imposing upon the Nobility and Gentry, either as to the Prices or the Goodness. For I remember, in *London*, upon a general Mourning, the *rascally Mercers* and *Woollen Drapers*, would in four and twenty Hours, raise their *Cloths* and *Silks* to above a double Price; and if the Mourning continued long, then come whinging with *Petitions* to the *Court, that they were ready to starve, and their Fineries lay upon their Hands.*

I could wish our Shop-keepers would immediately think on this *Proposal*, addressing it to all Persons of Quality, and others; but first be sure to get some body, who can write Sense, to put it into Form.

I think it needless to exhort the *Clergy* to follow this good Example, because, *in a little Time, those among them who are so unfortunate to have had their Birth and Education in this Country, will think themselves abundantly happy, when they can afford* Irish *Crape, and an* Athlone *Hat*; and as to the others, I *shall not presume* to direct them. I have, indeed, seen the present * Archbishop of *Dublin* clad from Head to Foot in our own Manufacture; and yet, under the Rose be it spoken, *his Grace deserveth as good a Gown, as if he had not been born among us.*

I have not Courage enough to offer *one Syllable* on this Subject to *their Honours* of the Army: Neither have I sufficiently considered the great Importance of *Scarlet* and *Gold Lace.*

THE Fable, in *Ovid*, of *Arachne* and *Pallas*, is to this Purpose. The Goddess had heard of one *Arachne* a young Virgin, very famous for *Spinning* and *Weaving*: They both met upon a Trial of Skill; and *Pallas* finding herself almost equalled in her own Art, stung with Rage and Envy, knock'd her *Rival* down, turned her into a *Spider*, enjoining her to *spin* and *weave* for ever, *out of her own Bowels*, and *in a very narrow Compass.* I confess, that from a Boy, I always pitied poor *Arachne*, and could never heartily love the Goddess, on account of so *cruel and unjust a Sentence*;

* *Dr.* KING.

tence; which, however, is *fully executed* upon *US* by *England*, with further Additions of *Rigour* and *Severity*. For the greatest Part of *our Bowels and Vitals* is extracted, without allowing us the Liberty of *spinning* and *weaving* them.

THE Scripture tells us, that *Oppression maketh a wise Man mad*; therefore, consequently speaking, the Reason why some Men are not *mad*, is because they are not *wise*: However, it were to be wished, that *Oppression* would, in time, teach a little *Wisdom* to *Fools*.

I was much delighted with a Person, who hath a great Estate in this Kingdom, upon his Complaints to me, *how grievously POOR* England *suffers by Impositions from* Ireland. *That we convey our own Wool to* France, *in spite of all the* Harpies *at the Custom-house. That, Mr.* Shuttleworth, *and others on the* Cheshire *Coasts, are such Fools to sell as their* Bark *at a good Price, for tanning* our own Hides *into Leather*; *with other Enormities of the like Weight and Kind.* To which I will venture to add more: *That the* Mayoralty *of this City is always executed by an* Inhabitant, *and often by a* Native, *which might as well be done by a* Deputy, *with a moderate Salary, whereby POOR* England *loseth, at least, one thousand Pounds a-Year upon the Balance. That, the governing of this Kingdom costs the Lord-Lieutenant three thousand six hundred Pounds a-Year, so much* neat *Loss to POOR* England. *That, the People of* Ireland *presume to dig for Coals* in their own Grounds; *and the Farmers in the County of* Wicklow *send their Turf to the very Market of* Dublin, *to the great Discouragement of the Coal-trade at* Mostyn *and* Whitehaven. *That, the Revenues of the* Post-office *here, so righteously belonging to the* English *Treasury, as arising chiefly from our own Commerce with each other, should be remitted to* London, *clogged with that grievous Burden of Exchange, and the Pensions paid out of the* Irish *Revenues to* English Favourites, *should lie under the same Disadvantage, to the great Loss of the Grantees. When a* Divine *is sent over to a* Bishoprick *here, with the Hopes of five and twenty hundred Pounds a-Year*; *upon his Arrival, he finds, alas!*

a dreadful Discompt of ten or twelve per Cent, *A* Judge, *or a* Commissioner *of the Revenue, has the same Cause of Complaint.* Lastly, *The Ballad upon* Cotter *is vehemently suspected to be* Irish *Manufacture; and yet is allowed to be sung in our open Streets, under the very* Nose *of the* Government.

THESE are a *few* among the many Hardships we put upon that *POOR* Kingdom of *England*; for which, I am confident, every *honest* Man wisheth a *Remedy*: And, I hear, there is a Project *on Foot* for transporting our best Wheaten *Straw*, by Sea and Land Carriage, to *Dunstable*; and *obliging us by a Law*, to take off yearly so many *Tun of Straw Hats* for the Use of our Women; which will be a *great Encouragement* to the Manufacture of that industrious Town.

I would be glad to learn among the Divines, whether a Law *to bind Men without their own Consent*, be obligatory *in foro Conscientiæ*; because, I find *Scripture*, *Sanderson* and *Suarez*, are wholly silent in the Matter. The Oracle of *Reason*, the great *Law of Nature*, and general Opinion of *Civilians*, where-ever they treat of *limited Governments*, are, indeed, decisive enough.

IT is wonderful to observe the Bias among our People in favour of *Things*, *Persons* and *Wares* of all Kinds that come from *England*. The *Printer* tells his *Hawkers*, that *he hath got an excellent new Song just brought from* London. I have somewhat of a Tendency that Way myself; and upon hearing a *Coxcomb* from thence displaying himself, with great Volubility, upon the *Park*, the *Play-house*, the *Opera*, the *Gaming-ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a Kind of Veneration for his Parts and Accomplishments. It is not many Years, since I remember a *Person* who, by his Style and Literature, seems to have been *Corrector* of a Hedge-press, in some *Blind-alley* about *Little-Britain*, proceed *gradually* to be an *Author*, at least a * *Translator* of a lower Rate, although somewhat of

* Supposed to be *Cæsar*'s Commentaries, dedicated to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

of a larger Bulk, than any that now *flourishes* in *Grub-street*; and, upon the Strength of this Foundation, come over *here*; *erect* himself up into an *Orator* and *Politician*, and lead a *Kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very Motive* that prevailed on the * *Author* of a Play called, *Love in a hollow Tree*, to do us the *Honour* of a Visit; presuming with very good Reason, *that he was a Writer of a superior Class.* I know *another*, who for thirty Years past, hath been the *common Standard of Stupidity in* England, where he was never head a Minute in any *Assembly*, or by any *Party*, with *common Christian Treatment*; yet, upon his Arrival hither, could put on a *Face of Importance and Authority*, talked more than six without either *Gracefulness*, *Propriety*, or *Meaning*; and at the same time, be admired and followed as the Pattern of *Eloquence* and *Wisdom*.

NOTHING hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater Disposition to a *contemptuous* Treatment of *Ireland* in some chief *Governors*, than that high Style of several Speeches from the *Throne*, delivered as usual after the *Royal Assent*, in *some Periods* of the two last *Reigns*. Such Exaggerations of the prodigious *Condescensions* in the Prince, to pass *those good Laws*, would have but an odd Sound at *Westminster*: Neither do I apprehend, how any *good Law* can pass wherein the *King*'s Interest is not as much concerned as that of the *People*. I remember, after a Speech on the like Occasion, delivered by my Lord *Wharton*, (I think it was his last) he desired Mr. *Addison* to *ask my Opinion of it*: My Answer was, *That his Excellency had very honestly forfeited his Head on account of one Paragraph; wherein he asserted, by plain Consequence, a* dispensing Power *in the Queen*. His Lordship owned it *was true*, but *swore* the Words were *put into his Mouth* by direct Orders from Court. From whence it is clear, that some *Ministers* in those Times, were apt, from their *high* Elevation, to look *down* upon this Kingdom, as if it had been one of their *Colonies* of *Outcasts*,

* Lord G—*nsf*—*n*.

casts in *America*. And I observed a little of the same Turn of Spirit in some *great Men*, from whom I expected better; although to do them Justice, it proved no Point of Difficulty to make them *correct their Idea*, whereof the *whole Nation* quickly found the Benefit.——But that is *forgotten* How the Style hath since run, I am wholly a Stranger; having never seen a Speech since the last of the Queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our Country Landlords; who, by unmeasurable *screwing* and *racking* their Tenants all over the Kingdom, have already reduced the miserable *People* to a worse *Condition* than the *Peasants* in *France*, or the *Vassals* in *Germany* and *Poland*; so that the whole *Species* of what we call *Substantial Farmers*, will, in a very few Years, be utterly at an End. It was pleasant to observe these Gentlemen, *labouring* with all their *Might*, for preventing the *Bishops* from letting their *Revenues* at a moderate half Value, (whereby the whole *Order* would, in an Age, have been reduced to manifest Beggary) at the very Instant, when they were everywhere *canting* their own Lands upon short Leases, and sacrificing their *oldest Tenants for a Penny an Acre advance*. I know not how it cometh to pass, (and yet, perhaps, I know well enough) that *Slaves* have a natural Disposition to be *Tyrants*; and that when my *Betters* give me a Kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *Footman*; although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent Fellow. I have heard *great* Divines affirm, that *nothing is so likely to call down an universal Judgment from Heaven upon a Nation, as universal Oppression*; and whether this be not already verified in Part, *their Worships* the Landlords are *now* at full Leisure to consider. Whoever travels this Country, and observes the *Face* of Nature, or the *Facts*, and Habits, and Dwellings of the *Natives*, will hardly think himself in a Land where either, *Law*, *Religion*, or *common Humanity* is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one Word upon a *Thing* they call a *Bank*, which, I hear, is projecting in this Town. I never saw the *Proposals*, nor understand any one Particular of their Scheme: What I wish for, at present, is only a sufficient Provision of *Hemp* and *Caps* and *Bells*, to distribute according to the several Degrees of *Honesty* and *Prudence* in *some Persons*. I *hear* only of a monstrous Sum already named; and if OTHERS do not soon hear of it too, and *hear* it with a *Vengeance*, then am I a Gentleman of less Sagacity than myself, and very few besides take me to be. And the Jest will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious Persons have assured me, that one Half of this Money will be *real*, and the other Half altogether imaginary. The Matter will be likewise much mended, if the Merchants continue to carry off our Gold, and our Goldsmiths to melt down our heavy Silver.

SOME

SOME ARGUMENTS

Against Enlarging the

Power of BISHOPS,

In Letting of

LEASES.

WITH

Remarks on some *Queries* lately published.

Mihi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique vestrûm in iisdem bonis à jure & à legibus, quam de iis à quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt.

Cicero *pro* A. Cæcina.

Written in the Year 1723.

SOME

ARGUMENTS

Against Enlarging the

Power of BISHOPS, &c.

IN handling this Subject, I shall proceed wholly upon the Supposition, that those of *our Party*, who profess themselves Members of the Church Established, and under the Apostolical Government of Bishops, do desire the Continuance and Transmission of it to Posterity, at least, in as good a Condition as it is at present. Because, as this Discourse is not calculated for Dissenters of any Kind; so neither will it suit the Talk or Sentiments of those Persons, who, with the Denomination of Church-men, are Oppressors of the inferior Clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great Incomes of the Bishops; which is a traditional Cant delivered down from former Times, and continued with great Reason, although it be now near 200 Years since almost three Parts in four of the Church Revenues have been taken from the Clergy: Besides the Spoils that have been gradually made ever since of Glebes and other Lands, by the Confusion of Times, the Fraud of encroaching Neighbours, or the Power of Oppressors, too great to be encountered.

ABOUT

About the Time of the Reformation, many *Popish* Bishops of this Kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected, if they would not change their Religion, made long Leases and Fee-farms of great Part of their Lands, reserving very inconsiderable Rents, sometimes only a Chiefry, by a Power they assumed, directly contrary to many antient Canons, yet consistent enough with the Common Law. This Trade held on for many Years after the Bishops became Protestants; and some of their Names are still remembered with Infamy, on account of enriching their Families by such sacrilegious Alienations. By these Means, Episcopal Revenues were so low reduced, that three or four Sees were often united to make a tolerable Competency. For some Remedy to this Evil, King *James* I. by a Bounty that became a good Christian Prince, bestowed several forfeited Lands on the *Northern* Bishopricks: But, in all other Parts of the Kingdom, the Church continued still in the same Distress and Poverty; some of the Sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a Country Vicar. About the Middle of King *Charles* I.'s Reign, the Legislature here thought fit to put a Stop, at least, to any further Alienations; and so a Law was enacted, prohibiting all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Corporations, from setting their Lands for above the Term of Twenty one Years; the Rent reserved to be one Half of the real Value of such Lands at the Time they were set; without which Condition the Lease to be void.

Soon after the Restoration of King *Charles* II. the Parliament taking into Consideration the miserable Estate of the Church; certain Lands, by way of Augmentation, were granted to eight Bishops in the Act of Settlement, and confirmed in the Act of Explanation; of which Bounty, as I remember, three Sees were, in a great measure, defeated; but, by what Accidents, it is not here of any Importance to relate.

This, at present, is the Condition of the Church in *Ireland*, with regard to Episcopal Revenues: Which

I have thus briefly (and, perhaps, imperfectly) deduced for some Information to those, whose Thoughts do not lead them to such Considerations.

By virtue of the Statute already mentioned under King *Charles* I. limiting Ecclesiastical Bodies to the Term of Twenty one Years, under the reserved Rent of half real Value; the Bishops have had some Share in the gradual Rise of Lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common Decency that might become their Station. It is above eighty Years since the passing of that Act: The See of *Meath*, one of the best in the Kingdom, was then worth about 400 l. *per annum*; the poorer ones in the same Proportion. If this were their present Condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their Patents, or buy their Robes: But this will certainly be the Condition of their Successors, if such a Bill should pass, as, they say, is now intended; which I will suppose, and believe, many Persons, who may give a Vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the Act which is now attempted to be repealed, or, at least, eluded: Some are for giving Bishops Leave to let Fee-farms; others would allow them to let Leases for Lives; and the most moderate would repeal that Clause, by which the Bishops are bound to let their Lands at half Value.

The Reasons for the Rise of Value in Lands are of two Kinds. Of the first Kind, are long Peace and Settlement after the Devastations of War; Plantations, Improvements of bad Soil, Recovery of Bogs and Marshes, Advancement of Trade and Manufactures, Increase of Inhabitants, Encouragement of Agriculture, and the like.

But there is another Reason for the Rise of Land more gradual, constant and certain; which will have its Effects in Countries that are very far from flourishing in any of the Advantages I have just mentioned: I mean *the perpetual Decrease in the Value of Gold and Silver.*

Silver. I shall discourse upon these two different Kinds, with a View towards the Bill now attempted.

As to the first: I cannot see how this Kingdom is at any Height of Improvement, while four Parts in five of the Plantations for thirty Years past, have been real Disimprovements; nine in ten of the Quickset-hedges being ruined for want of Care or Skill. And as to Forest-trees, they being often taken out of Woods, and planted in single Rows on the Tops of Ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, Beauty or Shelter. Neither can it be said, that the Soil of *Ireland* is improved to its full Height, while so much lies all Winter under Water, and the Bogs made almost desperate by the ill-cutting of the Turf. There hath, indeed, been some little Improvement in the Manufactures in Linen and Woollen, although very short of Perfection: But our Trade was never in so low a Condition. And as to Agriculture, of which all wise Nations have been so tender, the Desolation made in the Country by engrossing Graziers, and the great yearly Importation of Corn from *England*, are lamentable Instances under what Discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these Mortifications, I suppose there is no Well-wisher to his Country, without a little Hope, that in Time the Kingdom may be on a better Foot in some of the Articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if Ecclesiastical Bodies should be the only Persons excluded from any Share in publick Advantages; which yet can never happen without a greater Share of Profit to their Tenants: If God *sends Rain equally upon the Just and the Unjust*; why should those who wait at his Altars, and are Instructors of the People be cut off from partaking in the general Benefits of Law, or of Naure?

But, as this Way of Reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable Eye to the Clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present Disposition, or Fashion of the Age; I shall, therefore, dwell more largely upon the

ſecond Reaſon for the Riſe of Land, which is *the perpetual Decreaſe of the Value of Gold and Silver.*

THIS may be obſerved from the Courſe of the *Roman* Hiſtory, above two thouſand Years before thoſe inexhauſtible Silver-mines of *Potoſi* were known. The Value of an *Obolus*, and of every other Coin between the Time of *Romulus* and that of *Auguſtus*, gradually ſunk above five Parts in ſix, as appears by ſeveral Paſſages out of the beſt Authors. And yet the prodigious Wealth of that State did not ariſe from the Increaſe of Bullion in the World, by the Diſcovery of new Mines, but from a much more accidental Cauſe, which was, the ſpreading of their Conqueſts, and thereby importing, into *Rome* and *Italy*, the Riches of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*.

WHEN the Seat of Empire was removed to *Conſtantinople*, the Tide of Money flowed that Way, without ever returning; and was ſcattered in *Aſia*. But when that mighty Empire was overthrown by the *Northern* People, ſuch a Stop was put to all Trade and Commerce, that vaſt Sums of Money were buried, to eſcape the Plundering of the Conquerors; and what remained was carried off by thoſe Ravagers.

IT were no difficult Matter to compute the Value of Money in *England*, during the *Saxon* Reigns; but the Monkiſh and other Writers ſince the Conqueſt, have put that Matter in a clearer Light, by the ſeveral Accounts they have given us of the Value of Corn and Cattle, in Years of Dearth and Plenty. Every one knows, that King *John*'s whole Portion, before he came to the Crown, was but five thouſand Pounds, without a Foot of Land.

I have likewiſe ſeen the Stewards Accompts, of an antient noble Family in *England*, written in *Latin*, between three and four hundred Years ago, with the ſeveral Prices of Wine and Victuals, to confirm my Obſervations.

I have been at the Trouble of computing (as others have done) the different Values of Money for about four hundred Years paſt. *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who lived

lived about that Period, founded an Hospital in *Leicester* for a certain Number of old Men; charging his Lands with a Groat a-Week to each for their Maintenance, which is to this Day duly paid them. In those Times, a Penny was equal to Tenpence Half-penny, and somewhat more than half a Farthing in ours; which maketh about eight Ninths Difference.

THIS is plain also, from the old Custom upon many Estates in *England*, to let for Leases of Lives, (renewable at Pleasure) where the reserved Rent is usually about 12 Pence a Pound, which then was near the half real Value: And although the Fines be not fixed, yet the Landlord gets altogether not above three Shillings in the Pound of the Worth of his Land: And the Tenants are so wedded to this Custom, that if the Owners suffer three Lives to expire, none of them will take a Lease on other Conditions; or, if he brings in a Foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable Rent, the other Tenants, by all Manner of Injuries, will make that Foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the Farm; as the late Earl of *Bath* felt, by the Experience of above ten thousand Pounds Loss.

THE gradual Decrease for about two hundred Years after, was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the Account given by some Historians, that *Harry* the VII. left behind him eighteen hundred thousand Pounds; for although the *West-Indies* were discovered before his Death, and although he had the best Talents and Instruments for exacting of Money, ever possessed by any Prince since the Time of *Vespasian*, (whom he resembled in many Particulars); yet I conceive, that in his Days the whole Coin of *England* could hardly amount to such a Sum. For, in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, Sir—— *Cockain* of *Derbyshire*, the best House-keeper of his Quality in the County, allowed his Lady 50 Pounds a-Year for maintaining the Family, one Pound a-Year Wages to each Servant, and two Pounds to the Steward; as I was told by a Person of Quality who had seen the original Account of his Oeconomy. Now this Sum of 50

Pounds, added to the Advantages of a large Domain, might be equal to about five hundred Pounds a-Year at present, or somewhat more than four *Fifths*.

THE great Plenty of Silver in *England* began in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *Drake*, and others, took vast Quantities of Coin and Bullion from the *Spaniards*, either upon their own *American* Coasts, or in their Return to *Spain*. However, so much hath been imported annually from that Time to this, that the Value of Money in *England*, and most Parts of *Europe*, is sunk above one half within the Space of an hundred Years, notwithstanding the great Export of Silver for about eight Years past, to the *East-Indies*, from whence it never returns. But Gold being not liable to the same Accident, and by new Discoveries growing every Day more plentiful, seemeth in Danger of becoming a Drug.

THIS hath been the Progress of the Value of Money in former Ages, and must of Necessity continue so for the future, without some new Invasion of *Goths* and *Vandals* to destroy Law, Property and Religion, alter the very Face of Nature; and turn the World upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon this Subject, is intended only for the Conviction of those among our *own Party*, who are true Lovers of the Church, and I would be glad it should continue in a tolerable Degree of Prosperity to the End of the World.

THE Church is supposed to last for ever, both in its Discipline and Doctrine; which is a Privilege common to every petty Corporation, who must likewise observe the Laws of their Foundation. If a Gentleman's Estate which now yields him a thousand Pounds a-Year, had been set for ever at the highest Value, even in the flourishing Days of King *Charles* II. would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred Years ago; would the reserved Rent at this Day be any more than a small Chiefry? Suppose the Revenues of a Bishop to have been under the same

ſame Circumſtances; could he now be able to perform Works of Hoſpitality and Charity? Thus, if the Revenues of a Biſhop be limited to a thouſand Pounds a-Year; how will his Succeſſor be in a Condition to ſupport his Station with Decency, when the ſame Denomination of Money ſhall not anſwer an Half, a Quarter, or an eight Part of that Sum? Which muſt unavoidably be the Conſequence of any Bill to elude the limiting Act, whereby the Church was preſerved from utter Ruin.

The ſame Reaſon holds good in all Corporations whatſoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious Practice than that of granting Perpetuities, for which many of them ſmart to this Day; although the Leaders among them are often ſo ſtupid as not to perceive it, or ſometimes ſo knaviſh as to find their private Account in cheating the Community.

Several Colleges in *Oxford* were aware of this growing Evil about an hundred Years ago; and, inſtead of limiting their Rents to a certain Sum of Money, prevailed with their Tenants to pay the Price of ſo many Barrels of Corn, to be valued as the Market went, at two Seaſons (as I remember) in the Year. For a Barrel of Corn is of a real intrinſic Value, which Gold and Silver are not: And, by this Invention, theſe Colleges have preſerved a tolerable Subſiſtence, for their Fellows and Students, to this Day.

The preſent Biſhops will, indeed, be no Sufferers by ſuch a Bill, becauſe, their Ages conſidered, they cannot expect to ſee any great Decreaſe in the Value of Money; or, at worſt, they can make it up in the Fines, which will probably be greater than uſual, upon the Change of Leaſes into Fee-farms, or Lives, or without the Power of obliging their Tenants to a real half Value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking ſuch Advantages, (conſidering the Nature of Human Kind) when the Queſtion is only, whether the Money ſhall be put into their own or another Man's Pocket: So they will be never excuſable before God or Man, if they do not to the Death oppoſe,

pose, declare and protest against any such Bill, as must in its Consequences complete the Ruin of the Church and of their own Order in this Kingdom.

If the Fortune of a private Person be diminished by the Weakness or Inadvertency of his Ancestors, in letting Leases for ever at low Rents, the World lieth open to his Industry for purchasing of more; but the Church is barred by a *dead Hand*; or if it were otherwise, yet the Custom of making Bequests to it, hath been out of Practice for almost two hundred Years, and *a great deal directly contrary* hath been its Fortune.

I have been assured by a Person of some Consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the Account of some other Facts already related, that the late * Bishop of *Salisbury*, (the greatest *Whig* of that Bench in his Days) confessed to him, that the Liberty which Bishops in *England* have of letting Leases for Lives, would, in his Opinion, be one Day the Ruin of Episcopacy there; and thought the Church in this Kingdom happy by the Limitation Act.

And have we not already found the Effect of this different Proceeding in both Kingdoms? Have not two *English* Prelates quitted their Peerage and Seats in Parliament, in *a Nation of Freedom*, for the Sake of a more ample Revenue, even in this unhappy Kingdom, rather than ly under the Mortification of living below their Dignity at home? For which, however, they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed, some Persons who offer, as an Argument for repealing the limiting Bill, that it may in future Ages prevent the Practice of providing this Kingdom with Bishops from *England*, when the only Temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as Things have gone for some Years past, Gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their Sons to the University, and from suffering them to enter into Holy Orders, when

* *Dr.* Burnet.

when they are likely to languish under a Curacy, or small Vicarage, to the end of their Lives: But this is all a vain Imagination; for the Decrease in the Value of Money will equally affect both Kingdoms: And besides, when Bishopricks here grow too small to invite over Men of Credit and Consequence, they will be left more fully to the Disposal of a chief Governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate Chaplain, fond of a Title and Precedence. Thus will that whole Bench in an Age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning Gown-men, humble Suppliants and Dependants upon the *Court* for a Morsel of Bread, and ready to serve every Turn that shall be demanded from them, in Hopes of getting some *Commendam* tacked to their Sees; which must then be the Trade, as it is now too much in *England*, to the great Discouragement of the inferior Clergy. Neither is that Practice without Example among us.

It is now about eighty five Years since the passing of that limiting Act, and there is but one Instance in the Memory of Man, of a Bishop's Lease broken upon the Plea of not being statutable; which in every body's Opinion, could have been lost by no other Person than he who was then Tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his County. In the present * Bishop of *Meath*'s Case, that Plea did not avail, although the Lease were notoriously unstatutable; the Rent reserved, being, as I have been told, not a seventh Part of the real Value; yet the Jury, upon their Oaths, *very gravely* found it to be according to the Statute; and one of them was heard to say, That he would *eat his Shoes* before he would give a Verdict for the Bishop. A very few more have made the same Attempt with as little Success. Every Bishop, and other Ecclesiastical Body, reckon forty Pounds in an hundred to be a reasonable half Value; or if it be only a third Part, it seldom, or never, breedeth any Difference

* *Dr.* Evans, *a Welshman.*

ference between Landlord and Tenant. But when the Rent is from five to nine or ten Parts less than the Worth; the Bishop, if he consults the Good of his See, will be apt to expostulate; and the Tenant, if he be an honest Man, will have some Regard to the Reasonableness and Justice of the Demand, so as to yield to a moderate Advancement, rather than engage in a Suit, where Law and Equity are directly against him. By these Means, the Bishops have been so true to their Trusts, as to procure some small Share in the Advancement of Rents; although it be notorious that they do not receive the third Penny (Fines included) of the real Value of their Lands throughout the Kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what Inconvenience could acrue to the Publick, by one or two thousand Pounds a-Year, in the Hands of a Protestant Bishop, any more than of a Lay Person. * The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and as hospitably as the other; payeth his Debts as honestly, and spendeth as much of his Revenue among his Tenants: Besides, if they be his immediate Tenants, you may distinguish them at first Sight, by their Habits and Horses; or if you go to their Houses, by their comfortable Way of living. But the Misfortune is, that such immediate Tenants, generally speaking, have others under them, and so a third and fourth in Subordination, till it comes to the *Welder* (as they call him) who sits at a Rack-rent, and liveth as miserably as an *Irish* Farmer upon a new Lease from a Lay Landlord. But suppose a Bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same Stuff with other Men) the Consequence to the Publick is no worse than if he were a 'Squire; for he leaveth his Fortune to

* Note, *This Part of the Paragraph is to be applied to the Period, when the Whole was written, which was ten Years ago, and several of the late Queen's Bishops were then living.*

to his Son, or near Relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the Church.

And, as there can be no Disadvantage to the Publick, in a Protestant Country, that a Man should hold Lands as a *Bishop*, any more than if he were a *Temporal* Person; so, it is of great Advantage to the Community, where a Bishop liveth as he ought to do. He is bound, in Conscience, to reside in his Diocese, and by a solemn Promise to keep Hospitality; his Estate is spent in the Kingdom, not remitted to *England*; he keeps the Clergy to their Duty, and is an Example of Virtue both to them and the People: Suppose him an ill Man; yet his very Character will with-hold him from any great or open Exorbitancies. But, in fact, it must be allowed, that some Bishops of this Kingdom, within twenty Years past, have done very signal and lasting Acts of publick Charity; great Instances whereof are the * late and † present Primate, the Lord ‡ Archbishop of *Dublin* that now is, who hath left Memorials of his Bounty in many Parts of his Province. I might add, the Bishop of ‖ *Raphoe*, and several others: Not forgetting the late Dean of *Down*, Dr. *Pratt*, who bestowed one thousand Pounds upon the University: Which Foundation (that I may observe by the Way) if the Bill proposed should pass, would be in the same Circumstances with the Bishops, nor ever able again to advance the Stipends of the Fellows and Students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate Sum appointed by the Statutes for Commons, being not half sufficient, by the Fall of Money, to afford necessary Sustenance. But the passing of such a Bill must put an end to all Ecclesiastical Beneficence for the Time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the Benefit, better than it hath been done by the Grantees of impropriate Tythes, who received them upon the old Church Conditions of keeping Hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To

* *Dr.* Marsh. † *Dr.* Lindsay. ‡ *Dr.* King. ‖ *Dr.* Foster.

To alledge, that passing such a Bill would be a good Encouragement to improve Bishops Lands, is a great Error. Is it not the general Method of Landlords, to wait the Expiration of a Lease, and then cant their Lands to the highest Bidder? And what should hinder the same Course to be taken in Church-leases, when the Limitation is removed of paying Half the real Value to the Bishop? In riding through the Country, how few Improvements do we see upon the Estates of Laymen, farther than about their own Domains? To say the Truth, it is a great Misfortune as well to the Publick as to the Bishops themselves, that their Lands are generally let to Lords and great 'Squires, who, in Reason, were never designed to be Tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the Payment of Rent, as a Subserviency they were not born to. If the Tenants to the Church were honest Farmers, they would pay their Fines and Rents with Chearfulness, improve their Lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half Value for what they held. I have heard a Man of a thousand Pounds a-Year, talk with great Contempt of Bishops Leases, as being on a worse Foot than the rest of his Estate; and he had certainly Reason: My Answer was, that such Leases were originally intended only for the Benefit of industrious Husbandmen, who would think it a great Blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his Farm screwed up to the Height, not eating one comfortable Meal in a Year, nor able to find Shoes for his Children.

I know not any Advantage that can accrue by such a Bill, except the preventing of Perjury in Jurymen, and false Dealing in Tenants; which is a Remedy like that of giving my Money to an Highwayman, before he attempts to take it by Force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the Sin of Robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have put an End; when a Bookseller sent me a small Pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of the Laity, with some Queries*; full of the strongest Malice against the Clergy, that I have any

any where met with since the Reign of *Toland*, and others of that Tribe. These Kinds of Advocates do infinite Mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving Grounds to the unjust Reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being Enemies to the Church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned Loyalty to his Majesty King *GEORGE*, and the House of *Hanover*, not shaken in the least by the Hardships we ly under, which never can be imputed to so gracious a Prince: If I sincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS: If I bear a due Veneration to the glorious Memory of the late King *WILLIAM*, who preserved these Kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY, with the Expence of his Blood, and Hazard of his Life: And lastly, if I am for a proper Indulgence to all *Dissenters*; I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of *Me* as a WHIG, and that my political Catechism is full and compleat. But whoever, under the Shelter of that Party-denomination, and of many great Professions of Loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure the CHURCH established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to chuse another Name of Distinction for himself, and his Adherents. I came into the Cause upon other Principles, which, by the Grace of GOD, I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the Accusations of our Adversaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*——— The TORIES and JACOBITES will behold us with a malicious Pleasure, determined upon the Ruin of our *Friends*: For, is not the present Set of Bishops almost entirely of that Number, as well as a great Majority of the principal Clergy? And a short Time will reduce the whole, by Vacancies upon Death.

AN impartial Reader, if he pleaseth to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold *Queries* in the Pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced that *the Reason still strongly exists, for which* that limiting Law was enacted. A reasonable Man will wonder, where can be the *insufferable Grievance*, that an *Ecclesiastical* Landlord should expect a mode-

rate, or third Part Value in Rent for his Lands, when his Title is, *at least*, as antient and as legal as that of a Lay-man; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial Bargains. Has *the Nation been thrown into Confusion?* And have *many poor Families been ruined* by Rack-rents paid for the Lands of the Church? Does *the Nation cry out* to have a Law that must, in Time, send their Bishops a begging? But, God be thanked, the *Clamour* of Enemies to the Church is not yet the *Cry*, and, I hope, will never prove the *Voice* of the Nation. The Clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the People maintain them*, any more than in the Sense, that all Landlords whatever are maintained by the People. Such Assertions as these, and the Insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from Principles which cannot be avoided by those who are for preserving the happy *Constitution* in *Church* and *State*. Whoever were the Proposers of such *Queries*, it might have provoked a bold Writer to retaliate, perhaps with more Justice than Prudence, by shewing at whose Door the Grievance lies, and that the Bishops, *at least*, are not to answer for the Poverty of Tenants.

To gratify this great Reformer, who enlarges the *Episcopal* Rent-roll almost one half; let me suppose that all the Church-lands in the Kingdom were thrown up to the Laity; would the Tenants, in such a Case, sit easier in their Rents than they do now? Or, would the Money be equally spent in the Kingdom? No: The Farmer would be screwed up to the utmost Penny, by the Agents and Stewards of *Absentees*, and the Revenues employed in making a Figure in *London*; to which City a full third Part of the whole *Income* of *Ireland* is annually returned, to answer that single *Article* of *Maintenance* for *Irish* Landlords.

Another of his Quarrels is against *Pluralities* and *Non-Residence*: As to the former, it is a Word of ill Name, but not well understood. The Clergy having been stripp'd of the greatest Part of their Revenues, the *Glebes* being generally lost, the *Tythes* in the Hands of Laymen, the Churches demolish'd, and the Country depo-

depopulated; in order to preserve a Face of *Christianity*, it was necessary to unite small *Vicarages*, sufficient to make a tolerable Maintenance for a *Minister*. The Profit of Ten or a Dozen of these *Unions*, do seldom amount to above Eighty or an Hundred Pounds a Year: If there be a very few *Dignitaries*, whose Preferments are, perhaps, more liable to this Accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be *Favourites of the Time*, or Persons of *superior* Merit, for whom there hath ever been some Indulgence in all Governments.

As to *Non-Residence*, I believe there is no Christian Country upon Earth, where the Clergy have less to answer for upon that *Article*. I am confident there are not ten Clergymen in the Kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed *Non-Residents*: For surely, we are not to reckon in that Number, those who, for want of *Glebes*, are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring Village for a *Cabin* to put their Heads in; the leading Man of the Parish, when he makes the greatest Clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *Minister* with an Acre of Ground. And, indeed, considering the *Difficulties* the Clergy ly under upon this Head, it hath been frequent Matter of Wonder to *Me*, how they are able to perform that Part of their Duty so well as they do.

THERE is a noble Author *, who hath lately addressed to the House of COMMONS an excellent Discourse for *the Encouragement of Agriculture*; full of most useful *Hints*, which, I hope, that honourable ASSEMBLY will consider as they deserve. I am not a Stranger to his Lordship; and, excepting in what relateth to the Church, there are few Persons with whose Opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am, therefore, grieved when I find him charging the Inconveniencies in the Payment of *Tythes* upon the *Clergy* and their *Proctors*. His Lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar Truth, that the meanest Farmer

* *The late Lord* Molesworth.

er hath all Manner of Advantages against the most *powerful* Clergymen, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *Minister* were ever so evil disposed; the whole System of *teazing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *Proctor*, or his *Master*, being as well known to every *Ploughman*, as the reaping or sowing of his Corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading Man in the Parish must have his *Tythes* at his own Rate, which is hardly ever above one Quarter of the Value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful Observers, whose Interest was not concerned, that the Clergy did not receive, throughout the Kingdom, one half of what the Laws have made their Due.

As to his Lordship's Discontent against the *Bishops Courts*; I shall not interpose further than in venturing my private Opinion, that the Clergy would be very glad to recover their just *Dues* by a more *short*, *decisive*, and *compulsive* Method, than such a cramped and limited Jurisdiction will allow.

His Lordship is not the only Person disposed to give the Clergy the Honour of being the *sole* Encouragers of all new Improvements. If *Hops*, *Hemp*, *Flax* and Twenty *Things* more are to be planted, the Clergy *alone* must reward the industrious Farmer, by Abatement of the *Tythe*. What if the Owner of Nine Parts in Ten would please to abate proportionably in his Rent, for every Acre thus improved? Would not a Man just dropt from the Clouds, upon a full Hearing, judge the Demand to be, at least, as reasonable?

I believe no Man will dispute his Lordship's Title to his Estate; nor will I the *Jus Divinum* of *Tythes*, which he mentions with some Emotion. I suppose the Affirmative would be of little Advantage to the Clergy, for the same Reason that a *Maxim in Law*, hath more Weight in the World, than an *Article of Faith*. And yet, I think there may be such a Thing as *Sacrilege*, because it is frequently mentioned by *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, as well as described in *Holy Writ*. This I am sure of; that his Lordship would, at any Time,

Time, excuse a *Parliament* for not concerning itself in his Properties, without his own Consent.

THE Observations I have made upon his Lordship's Discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my Subject: However, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some Proposals to the House of Commons, with relation to the Clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own Principle, the Desire of defending *Liberty* and *Property*, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

BUT the other Writer openly declares for a Law, impowering the Bishops to set *Fee-farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates that they will deny their Consent to such a reasonable Law, which the whole Nation cries for, are Enemies to them and the Church.* Whether this be his real Opinion, or only a Strain of Mirth and Irony, the Matter is not much. However, my Sentiments are so directly contrary to his; that I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this Argument, hath either no Regard for the Church established under the Hierarchy of Bishops, or will never consent to any Law that shall repeal, or elude the limiting Clause, relating to the real half Value, contained in the Act of Parliament *Decimo Caroli, For the Preservation of the Inheritance, Rights and Profits of Lands belonging to the Church, and Persons Ecclesiastical*; which was grounded upon Reasons that do still, and must for ever subsist.

Dublin, October 21.
1723.

A

LETTER

TO THE

Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers,

And common People of

IRELAND,

CONCERNING THE

Brass-Half-Pence

Coined by one WILLIAM WOOD Hard-ware-man, with a *Design* to have them pass in this *Kingdom.*

Wherein is shewn,

The Power of his PATENT, the Value of his HALF-PENCE, and how far every Person may be obliged to take the same in Payments, and how to behave himself, in case such an Attempt should be made by WOOD, or any other Person.

(*Very proper to be kept in every* Family).

Written in the YEAR 1724.

By *M. B.* DRAPIER.

To the *Tradesmen*, *Shop-keepers*, *Farmers*, and *Country People* in general, of the Kingdom of *IRELAND*.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and *Fellow-subjects.*

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your Duty to God, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greatest Concern to yourselves, and your Children: your *Bread* and *Cloathing*, and every common Necessary of Life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less Expence, I have ordered the Printer to sell it at the lowest Rate.

It is a great Fault among you, that when a Person writes with no other Intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the Pains to read his Advices*: One Copy of this Paper may serve a Dozen of you, which will be less than a Farthing a-piece. It is your Folly, that you have no common or general Interest in your View, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know or inquire, or care who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

About four Years ago, a little Book was written to advise all People to wear the * *Manufactures of this our own dear Country*: It had no other Design, said nothing against the *King* or *Parliament*, or any Person

* Vide *one of the preceeding Pamphlets, intitled, A Proposal for the Use of* Irish *Manufactures.*

Cheat from the *Bottom to the Top*; and several *smart Votes* were printed, which that same *Wood* had the Assurance to answer likewise in *Print*, and in so confident a Way, as if he were a *better Man than our whole Parliament* put together.

THIS *Wood*, as soon as his *Patent* was passed, or soon after, sendeth over a great many *Barrels of those Half-pence*, to *Cork* and other *Sea-port Towns*, and, to get them off, offered an *Hundred Pounds* in his *Coin* for *Seventy* or *Eighty* in *Silver*: But the *Collectors* of the *King*'s Customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the Parliament hath condemned them, and desired the *King* that they might be stopped, all the Kingdom do abominate them.

BUT, *Wood* is still working *underhand* to force his *Half-pence* upon us; and if he can by help of his *Friends* in *England* prevail so far as to get an Order that the *Commissioners* and *Collectors* of the *King*'s Money shall receive them, and that the *Army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his Work shall be done*. And this is the Difficulty you will be under in such a *Case*: For the common Soldier when he goeth to the *Market* or *Ale-House*, will offer this Money, and if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *hector*, and *threaten* to *beat* the *Butcher* or *Ale-Wife*, or take the Goods by force, and throw them the bad *Half-pence*. In this and the like Cases, the *Shop-keeper*, or *Victualler*, or *any other Tradesman* hath no more to do, than to demand ten times the Price of his Goods, if it is to be paid in *Wood*'s Money; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for a *Quart of Ale*, and so in all Things else, and not part with his Goods until he gets the *Money*.

FOR suppose you go to an *Ale-House* with that base Money, and the *Landlord* giveth you a Quart for four of those *Half-pence*, what must the *Victualler* do? His *Brewer* will not be paid in that Coin, or if the *Brewer* should be such a Fool, the *Farmers* will not take it from

from them for their * *Bear*, because they are bound by their Leases to pay their Rents in good and lawful Money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the *Squire their Landlord* will never be so bewitched to take such *Trash* for his Land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and where-ever it stops it is the same Thing, and we are all undone.

THE common Weight of these *Half-pence* is between four and five to an *Ounce*; suppose five, then three Shillings and four Pence will weigh a Pound, and consequently *twenty Shillings* will weigh *six Pounds Butter-weight*. Now there are many hundred *Farmers* who pay two hundred Pounds a-year Rent: Therefore when one of these *Farmers* cometh with his half Year's Rent, which is one hundred Pound, it will be at least six hundred Pound weight, which is three Horses Load.

IF a *Squire* hath a mind to come to Town to buy Cloaths and Wine and Spices for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here, he must bring with him five or six Horses loaden with *Sacks* as the *Farmers* bring their Corn; and when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaded with Mr. *Wood*'s Money. And I hope we shall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

THEY say, † *Squire Connolly* hath *Sixteen thousand Pounds a-year*; now if he sends for his *Rent* to Town, *as it is likely he doth*, he must have *two hundred and fifty Horses* to bring up his *half Year's Rent*, and two or three great *Cellars* in his House for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do I cannot tell. For I am assured, that some great Bankers keep by them *Forty thousand Pounds* in ready Cash to answer all Payments; which Sum in Mr. *Wood*'s Money, would require twelve hundred Horses to carry it.

* *A sort of Barley in* Ireland.

† *Speaker of the honourable House of Commons.*

FOR my own Part, I am already resolved what to do; I have a pretty good Shop of *Irish Stuffs* and *Silks*, and instead of taking Mr. *Wood*'s bad Copper, I intend to truck with my Neighbours the *Butchers*, and *Bakers*, and *Brewers*, and the rest, *Goods for Goods*, and the little *Gold* and *Silver* I have, I will keep by me like my *Heart's Blood* until better Times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. *Wood*'s Money, as my Father did the Brass Money in King *James*'s Time; who could buy *ten Pounds* of it with a *Guinea*, and I hope to get as much for a *Pistole*, and so purchase *Bread* from those who will be such Fools as to sell it me.

THESE *Half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be *Counterfeit*, because it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is so *base*. The *Dutch* likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *Goods*; and Mr. *Wood* will never be at rest, but coin on: So that in some Years we shall have at least five times 108,000 *l.* of this *Lumber*. Now the current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above Four hundred thousand Pounds in all; and while there is a *Silver* Six-pence left, these *Bloodsuckers* will never be quiet.

WHEN once the *Kingdom* is reduced to such a Condition, I will tell you what must be the End: The *Gentlemen of Estates* will all turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment; because, as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged by their Leases to pay *Sterling*, which is lawful current Money of *England*; then they will turn their own *Farmers*, *as too many of them do already*, run *all* into *Sheep* where they can, keeping only such other *Cattle* as are necessary; then they will be their own *Merchants*, and send their *Wool*, and *Butter*, and *Hides*, and *Linen* beyond Sea for ready *Money* and *Wine*, and *Spices* and *Silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *Cottagers*. The *Farmers* must *rob* or *beg*, or leave their *Country*. The *Shopkeepers* in this and every other Town, must *break* and *starve*:

starve: For it is the *landed Men* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shop-keeper*, and *Handicrafts-man*.

But when the *Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himself, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for *England*, and keep some poor *Taylor* or *Weaver*, and the like, in his own House, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the Miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *foolish* and *wicked* as to take this *cursed Coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* should be put into *one Scale*, and *this surly Fellow* Wood *into the other*: That Mr. *Wood* should weigh down *this whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*: And that is more than the *English* do by *all the World besides*.

But your *great Comfort is*, that, as his Majesty's *Patent* doth not oblige you to take this *Money*, so the *Laws* have not given the *Crown* a Power of forcing the *Subjects* to take what *Money* the *King* pleaseth: For then by the same Reason, we might be bound to take *Pebble-stones*, or *Cockle-shells*, or *stamped Leather* for *current Coin*: If ever we should happen to live under an ill *Prince*; who might likewise by the same Power make a *Guinea* pass for ten Pounds, a *Shilling* for twenty Shillings, and so on; by which he would in a short time get all the *Silver* and *Gold* of the *Kingdom* into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but *Brass* or *Leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* or *oppressive* in the *French Government*, than their common Practice of calling in all their Money after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher Value, which however is not the thousandth Part so wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their Subjects *Silver* for *Silver*, and *Gold* for *Gold*; but this *Fellow* will not so much as give us good *Brass* or *Copper* for our *Gold* and *Silver*, nor even a twelfth Part of their Worth.

HAVING said this much, I will now go on to tell you the Judgments of some great *Lawyers* in this Matter; whom I fee'd on purpose for your Sakes, and got their *Opinions* under their *Hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good Grounds.

A famous Law-book, *called the* Mirrour of Justice, *discoursing of the Charters (or Laws) ordained by our* antient Kings, *declares the* Law *to be as follows:* "It "was ordained that no *King* of this Realm should "*change*, or *impair* the *Money*, or make any other "*Money* than of *Gold* or *Silver* without the Assent of "all the Counties, that is, *as my Lord* Coke *says* *, "without the Assent of *Parliament*."

THIS Book is very antient, and of great Authority for the Time in which it was wrote, and with that Character is often quoted by that great Lawyer my Lord *Coke* †. By the Laws of *England*, several Metals are divided into *lawful* or *true Metal* and *unlawful* or *false Metal*; the former comprehends *Silver* or *Gold*, the latter all *baser Metals:* That the former is only to pass in Payments, appears by an Act of *Parliament* ‡ made the twentieth Year of *Edward* I. called the *Statute concerning the passing of Pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into *English*; for some of our *Laws* at that time were, as I am told, writ in *Latin:* "Whoever in buying or selling pre-"sume to refuse an Half-penny or Farthing of law-"ful Money, bearing the Stamp, which it ought to "have, let him be seized on as a Contemner of the "King's Majesty, and cast into Prison."

BY this *Statute*, no Person is to be reckoned a *Contemner* of the *King's Majesty*, and for that Crime to be *committed to Prison*; but he who refuseth to accept the King's Coin made of *lawful Metal*; by which, as I observed before, *Silver* and *Gold* only are intended.

THAT, this is the true *Construction* of the *Act*, appeareth not only from the plain Meaning of the Words, but

* 2 *Inst.* 576. † 2 *Inst.* 576. 7. ‡ 2 *Inst.* 572.

but from my Lord *Coke*'s * Observation upon it. By this Act (says he) it appears, that no Subject can be forced to take, in *Buying* or *Selling* or other *Payments*, any Money made but of lawful Metal; that is, of *Silver* or *Gold*.

THE Law of *England* gives the King all Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not the Mines of other *Metals*; the Reason of which *Prerogative* or *Power*, as it is given † by my Lord *Coke*, is because Money can be made of *Gold* and *Silver*; but not of other Metals.

PURSUANT to this Opinion, *Half-pence* and *Farthings* were antiently made of *Silver*, which is evident from the Act of *Parliament* of *Henry* IV. Chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: "*Item*, For the great "Scarcity that is at present within the Realm of *Eng-* "*land* of Half-pence and Farthings of *Silver*; it is or- "dained and established, that the third Part of all the "*Money* of *Silver Plate* which shall be brought to the "*Bullion*, shall be made in *Half-pence* and *Farthings*." This shews that by the Words *Half-penny* and *Farthing* of lawful Money in that Statute concerning the *passing of* Pence, is meant a small Coin in *Half-pence* and *Farthings of Silver*.

THIS is further manifest from the Statute of the ninth Year of *Edward* III. Chap. 3. which enacts, "That no *Sterling Half-penny* or *Farthing* be molten "for to make Vessels, or any other thing by the "Goldsmiths, nor others, upon Forfeiture of the "*Money*, so molten (or melted)."

BY another Act in this *King*'s Reign, *Black Money* was not to be current in *England*. And by an Act made in the eleventh Year of his Reign, Chap. 5. *Galley Half-pence* were not to pass: What kind of *Coin* these were I do not know; but I presume they were made of *base Metal*. And these Acts were no new *Laws*, but further Declarations of the old *Laws* relating to the Coin.

THUS the *Law* standeth in relation to *Coin*. Nor is there any Example to the contrary, except one in

* 2 *Inst.* 577. † 2 *Inst.* 577.

Davis's Reports; who tells, that, in the Time of *Tyrone*'s Rebellion, Queen *Elizabeth* ordered *Money* of *mixt Metal* to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and sent over hither for Payment of the *Army*; obliging all People to receive it; and commanding that all *Silver Money* should be taken only as *Bullion*, that is, for as much as it weighed. *Davis* telleth us several Particulars in this Matter too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy Council* of this *Kingdom* obliged a *Merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixt Money* for Goods transmitted hither.

BUT this Proceeding is rejected by all the best Lawyers, as contrary to Law, the *Privy Council* here having no such legal Power. And besides it is to be considered, that the Queen was then under great Difficulties by a Rebellion in this *Kingdom* assisted from *Spain*, and whatever is done in great Exigencies and dangerous Times, should never be an Example to proceed by in Seasons of *Peace* and *Quietness*.

I will now, my dear Friends, to save you the Trouble, set before you in short, what the *Law* obligeth you to do; and what it doth not oblige you to.

FIRST, you are obliged to take all Money in Payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the *English* Standard or Weight; provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

SECONDLY, you are not obliged to take any Money which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*; not only the *Halfpence* or *Farthings* of *England*, but of any other Country. And it is merely for Conveniency, or Ease, that you are content to take them; because the Custom of coining *Silver Half pence* and *Farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose, on account of their being subject to be lost.

THIRDLY, much less are we obliged to take those *vile Half-pence* of that same *Wood*, by which you must lose almost eleven Pence in every Shilling.

THEREFORE, my Friends, stand to it one and all: Refuse this *filthy Trash*. It is no Treason to rebel against

gainst Mr. *Wood*: His *Majesty* in his Patent obligeth no body to take these *Half-pence*: Our *gracious Prince* hath no such ill Advisers about him; or if he had, yet you see the Laws have not left it in the *King's* Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is lawful, of right Standard, *Gold* and *Silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me in the next Place apply myself particularly to you who are the poorer Sort of *Tradesmen*: Perhaps you may think you will not be so great Losers as the Rich, if these *Half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any *Silver*, and your Customers come to your Shops or Stalls with nothing but *Brass*; which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *Half-pence* to a Shop for *Tobacco* or *Brandy*, or any other thing you want; the Shop-keeper will advance his Goods accordingly, or else he must break and leave the *Key under the Door*. Do you think I will sell you a Yard of Ten-penny Stuff for twenty of Mr. *Wood*'s *Half-pence*? No, not under two hundred at least; neither will I be at the Trouble of compting, but weigh them in a Lump. I will tell you one Thing further; that if Mr. *Wood*'s Project should take, it will ruin even our Beggars: For when I give a Beggar a Half-penny, it will quench his Thirst, or go a good Way to fill his Belly; but the twelfth Part of a Half-penny will do him no more Service than if I should give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

In short, these *Half-pence* are like the *accursed Thing*, which, as the *Scripture* telleth us, the *Children of Israel* were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the *Plague* and destroy every one who lays his Hands upon them. I have heard *Scholars* talk of a Man who told the King that he had invented a Way to torment People by putting them into a Bull of Brass with Fire under it: But the *Prince* put the *Projector* first into his own *Brazen Bull* to make the Experiment. This very much resembles the Project

of

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W. F. R. WELDON.

A *LETTER* to Mr. *Harding* the Printer, upon Occasion of a *Paragraph* in his News-paper of *August* 1st, 1724, relating to Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence.

IN your News-letter of the First instant, there is a Paragraph, dated from *London, July* 25th, relating to *Wood*'s Half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *Letter to the Shop-keepers, &c.* that this vile Fellow would never be at rest; and that the Danger of our Ruin approacheth nearer: And therefore the Kingdom requireth *New* and *Fresh Warning*. However, I take that Paragraph to be, in a great Measure, an Imposition upon the Publick; at least I hope so, because I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own News-writer. I cannot but observe from that Paragraph, that this publick Enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his Trash, taketh every Occasion to treat this Kingdom with the utmost Contempt. He representeth "several of our Merchants and Trad-"ers upon Examination before a Committee of Coun-"cil agreeing, that there was the utmost Necessity of "Copper-money here, before his Patent; so that se-"veral Gentlemen have been forced to tally with their "Workmen, and give them Bits of Cards, sealed and "subscribed with their Names." What then? If a Physician prescribe to a Patient a Dram of Physick, shall a Rascal Apothecary cram him with a *Pound*, and and mix it up with *Poison?* And is not a Landlord's Hand and Seal to his own Labourers a better Security for five or ten Shillings, than *Wood*'s Brass ten times below the real Value, can be to the Kingdom for an Hundred and eight thousand Pounds?

BUT who are these *Merchants and Traders of Ireland* that make this Report of *the utmost Necessity we are under for Copper-money?* They are only a few Betrayers.

Betrayers of their Country, Confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchase a great Quantity of his Coin, perhaps at half the Price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the Ruin of the Publick, and their own private Advantage. Are not these excellent Witnesses, upon whose Integrity the Fate of a Kingdom must depend; who are Evidences in their own Cause, and Sharers in this Work of Iniquity?

If we could have deserved the Liberty of coining for ourselves, as we formerly did, (and why we have not *is every body's Wonder as well as mine*) Ten thousand Pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one Fifth below the intrinsick Value, and this Sum, with the Stock of Half-pence we then had, would have been sufficient: But *Wood*, by his Emissaries, Enemies to God, and this Kingdom, hath taken Care to buy up as many of our old Half-pence as he could; and from thence the present Want of Change ariseth; to remove which, by Mr. *Wood's* Remedy, would be, to cure a Scratch on the Finger by cutting off the Arm: But supposing there were not one Farthing of Change in the whole Nation, I will maintain, that Five and twenty thousand Pounds would be a Sum fully sufficient to answer all our Occasions. I am no inconsiderable Shop-keeper in this Town, I have discoursed with several of my own, and other Trades; with many Gentlemen both of City and Country; and also with great Numbers of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers; who all agree that two Shillings in Change for every Family, would be more than necessary in all Dealings. Now by the largest Computation (even before that grievous Discouragement of *Agriculture*, which hath so much lessened our Numbers) the Souls of this Kingdom are computed to be one Million and a half; which allowing six to a Family, maketh two hundred and fifty thousand Families, and consequently, two Shillings to each Family, will amount only to Five and twenty thousand Pounds: Whereas this *honest liberal Hard-ware-*

man.

man Wood, would impose upon us above *four times* that Sum.

YOUR Paragraph relateth further; that Sir *Isaac Newton* reported an *Assay* taken at the *Tower*, of *Wood*'s Metal; by which it appears, that *Wood had in all Respects performed his Contract*. His Contract! With whom; was it with the Parliament or People of *Ireland*? Are not they to be the Purchasers? But they detest, abhor and reject it, as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with Dirt and Trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to Law, and will impose his Goods upon us by Force.

BUT your News-letter says, that an *Assay* was made of the Coin. How impudent and insupportable is this? *Wood* taketh care to coin a Dozen or two Halfpence of good Metal, sends them to the *Tower* and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a Gentleman often sendeth to my Shop for a *Pattern* of Stuff; I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes or sends and compares the *Pattern* with the whole Piece, and probably we come to a Bargain. But if I were to buy an Hundred Sheep, and the Grazier should bring me one single Weather, fat and well fleeced by way of *Pattern*, and expect the same Price round for the whole Hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good Security to restore my Money for those that were *lean*, or *shorn*, or *scabby*; I would be none of his Customer. I have heard of a Man who had a mind to sell his House, and therefore carried a Piece of *Brick* in his Pocket, which he shewed as a *Pattern* to encourage Purchasers: And this is directly the Case in Point with Mr. *Wood's Assay*.

THE next Part of the Paragraph contains Mr. *Wood*'s voluntary Proposals for *preventing any further Objections or Apprehensions*.

HIS first Proposal is; That *whereas he hath already coined Seventeen thousand Pounds, and has Copper prepared to make it up Forty thousand Pounds, he will be content*

to

to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his Patent empowers him to coin a far greater Quantity.

To which if I were to answer, it should be thus: Let Mr. *Wood* and his Crew of *Founders* and *Tinkers* coin on till there is not an old Kettle left in the Kingdom: Let them coin old Leather, Tobacco-pipe-clay or the Dirt in the Streets, and call their Trumpery by what Name they please from a Guinea to a Farthing; we are not under any Concern to know how he and his Tribe or Accomplices think fit to employ themselves: But I hope, and trust, that we are all to a Man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his Ware.

THE King hath given him a Patent to coin Half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them: And I have already shewn in my *Letter to the Shop-keeper, &c.* that the Law hath not left it in the Power of the *Prerogative* to compel the Subject to take any Money, beside Gold and Silver, of the right Sterling and Standard.

WOOD further proposeth, (if I understand him right, for his Expressions are dubious) that *he will not coin above Forty thousand Pounds unless the Exigencies of Trade require it:* First, I observe that this Sum of *Forty thousand Pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole Kingdom, although we had not one of our old Half-pence left. Again I ask, who is to be Judge when the *Exigencies of Trade require it?* Without doubt, he meaneth himself; for as to us of this poor Kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if his Project should succeed, we were never *once* consulted until the Matter was over; and he will judge of our *Exigencies* by his own: Neither will these be ever at an End until he and his Accomplices will think they have enough: And it now appears that he will not be content with all our Gold and Silver, but intendeth to buy up our Goods and Manufactures with the same Coin.

I ſhall not enter into Examination of the Prices for which he now propoſeth to ſell his Half-pence, or what he calleth his Copper, by the Pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former Letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that, by his own firſt Computation, we were to pay Three Shillings for what was intrinſically worth but One, although it had been of the true Weight and Standard for which he pretended to have contracted: but there is ſo great a Difference both in Weight and Badneſs in ſeveral of his Coins, that ſome of them have been Nine in Ten below the intrinſick Value, and moſt of them Six or Seven.

His laſt Propoſal being of a peculiar Strain and Nature, deſerveth to be very particularly conſidered, both on account of the Matter and the Style. It is as followeth.

"Lastly, in conſideration of the direful Ap-
"prehenſions which prevail in *Ireland*, that Mr. *Wood*
"will by ſuch Coinage drain them of their Gold and
"Silver; he propoſes to take their Manufactures in
"Exchange; and that no Perſon be *obliged* to receive
"more than Fivepence Half-penny at one Pay-
"ment."

First, Obſerve this little impudent *Hard-ware-man* turning into Ridicule *the direful Apprehenſions of a whole Kingdom*, priding himſelf as the Cauſe of them, and daring to preſcribe what no King of *England* ever attempted, how far a whole Nation ſhall be obliged to take his Braſs Coin. And he hath Reaſon to inſult; for ſure there was never an Example in Hiſtory of a great Kingdom kept in Awe for above a Year, in daily Dread of utter Deſtruction; not by a powerful Invader at the Head of Twenty thouſand Men; not by a Plague or a Famine; not by a tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more gracious), or a corrupt Adminiſtration; but by one ſingle, diminutive, inſignificant Mechanick.

But to go on: To remove our *direful Apprehenſions, that he will drain us of our Gold and Silver by his*

Coinage, this little arbitrary *Mock-Monarch* most graciously offereth to *take our Manufactures in Exchange*. Are our *Irish* Understandings indeed so low in his Opinion? Is not this the very Misery we complain of? That his cursed Project will put us under the Necessity of selling our Goods for what is equal to *Nothing*. How would such a Proposal sound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other Country with which we traffick, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this Condition, that we should take their Money at ten times higher than the intrinsick Value? Doth Mr. *Wood* think, for Instance, that we will sell him a Stone of Wool for a Parcel of his *Counters* not worth *Sixpence*, when we can send it to *England*, and receive as many Shillings in Gold and Silver? Surely there was never heard such a Compound of Impudence, Villany, and Folly.

HIS Proposals conclude with perfect *High Treason*. He promises, that no Person shall be *obliged* to receive more than Fivepence Half-penny of his Coin in one Payment: By which it is plain, that he pretendeth to *oblige* every Subject in this Kingdom to take so much in every Payment, if it be offered: Whereas his Patent *obligeth* no Man; nor can the Prerogative, by Law, claim such a Power; as I have often observed: So that here Mr. *Wood* taketh upon him the *entire Legislature*, and an absolute Dominion over the Properties of the whole Nation.

GOOD God! Who are this Wretch's *Advisers*? Who are his *Supporters*, *Abettors*, *Encouragers*, or *Sharers*? Mr. *Wood* will *oblige* me to take Fivepence Half-penny of his Brass in every Payment. And I will shoot Mr. *Wood* and his Deputies through the Head, like *Highway-men* or *House-breakers*, if they dare to force one Farthing of their Coin on me in the Payment of an Hundred Pounds. It is no Loss of Honour to submit to the *Lion*. But who, with the Figure of a *Man*, can think with Patience of being devoured alive by a *Rat*? He hath laid a Tax upon the People of *Ireland* of Seventeen Shillings at least in the Pound: A Tax, I say, not only upon Lands, but

Interest-

Interest-money, Goods, Manufactures, the Hire of Handicraftsmen, Labourers and Servants. Shop-keepers, look to yourselves. *Wood* will *oblige* and force you to take Fivepence Half-penny of his Trash in every Payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty Payments in one Day; or else you can hardly find Bread: And pray consider, how much that will amount to in a Year: Twenty times Fivepence Half-penny is Nine Shillings and twopence; which is above an Hundred and sixty Pounds a-year: Whereby you will be Losers of at least One hundred and forty Pounds by taking your Payments in his Money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on such Conditions, they may: But for my own particular; *Let his Money perish with him.* If the famous Mr. *Hambden* rather chose to go to Prison, than pay a few Shillings to King *Charles* I. without Authority of Parliament; I will rather chuse to be *hanged* than have all my Substance taxed at Seventeen Shillings in the Pound, at the arbitrary Will and Pleasure of, the venerable Mr. *Wood*.

The Paragraph concludes thus. *N. B.* (that is to say, *Nota Bene*, or *Mark well*) "No Evidence appeared from *Ireland* or elsewhere, to prove the Mischiefs complained of, or any Abuses whatsoever committed in the Execution of the said Grant."

The Impudence of this Remark exceedeth all that went before. First, the House of Commons in *Ireland*; which represents the whole People of the Kingdom: And, secondly, the Privy Council addressed his Majesty against these Half-pence. What could be done more to express the universal Sense of the Nation? If his Copper were Diamonds, and the Kingdom were entirely against it; would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a Committee of the whole House of Commons, and our whole Privy Council go over to argue *Pro* and *Con* with Mr. *Wood*? To what End did the King give his Patent for Coining Half-pence in *Ireland*? Was it not because it was represented to his Sacred Majesty, that such a Coinage

would be of Advantage to the Good of this Kingdom, and of all his Subjects here? It is to the Patentee's Peril if his Representation be false; and the Execution of his Patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think that his Patent was given him to ruin a Million and a half of People, that he might be a Gainer of Three or Fourscore thousand Pounds to himself? Before he was at the Charge of passing a Patent; much more of raking up so much filthy Dross, and stamping it with his Majesty's *Image and Superscription*; should he not first, in common Sense, in common Equity, and common Manners, have consulted the principal Party concerned; that is to say, the People of the Kingdom, the House of Lords or Commons, or the Privy Council? If any Foreigner should ask us, *Whose Image and Superscription* there is on *Wood*'s Coin? We should be ashamed to tell him it was *Cesar*'s. In that great Want of Copper Half-pence, which he alledgeth we were, our City set up *our* * *Cesar*'s Statue in excellent Copper, at an Expence that is equal in Value to Thirty thousand Pounds of his Coin: And we will not receive his *Image* in worse Metal.

I observe many of our People putting a melancholy Case on this Subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone if *Wood*'s Half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if his Majesty puts out a *Proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often dinned in my Ears. But, I desire my Countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The King never issueth out a *Proclamation* but to enjoin what the Law permits him. He will not issue out a *Proclamation* against *Law:* Or, if such a Thing should happen by a Mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it, than to run our Heads into the Fire. Besides, his Majesty will never command us by a *Proclamation*, what he doth not offer to command us in the Patent itself. There he leaves it to our Discretion; so that our Destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves.

* *An Equestrian Statue of K.* George I. *at* Essex-bridge, Dublin.

selves. Therefore, let no Man be afraid of a *Proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet, upon this Occasion, will be of no Force. The King's Revenues here, are near Four hundred thousand Pounds a-year. Can you think his Ministers will advise him to take them in *Wood*'s Brass, which will reduce the Value to Fifty thousand Pounds. *England* gets a Million *Sterling* by this Nation; which, if this Project goeth on, will be almost reduced to nothing: And do you think those who live in *England* upon *Irish* Estates, will be content to take an Eighth or a Tenth Part, by being paid in *Wood*'s Dross.

If *Wood* and his *Confederates* were not convinced of our Stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an Enterprize. He now sees a Spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watcheth until it begins to flag; he goeth about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopeth we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last, out of Ignorance, or Fear, or of being perfectly tired with Opposition, we shall be forced to yield. And, therefore, I confess, it is my chief Endeavour to keep up your Spirits and Resentments. If I tell you there is a Precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your Necks: If I point to it before your Eyes, must I be at the Trouble of repeating it every Morning? Are our People's *Hearts waxed gross?* Are *their Ears dull of Hearing, and have they closed their Eyes?* I fear there are some few *Vipers* among us, who, for ten or twenty Pounds Gain, would sell their Souls and their Country; although at last, it would end in their own Ruin as well as ours: Be not like *the deaf Adder, who refuseth to hear the Voice of the Charmer, charm he never so wisely.*

Although my Letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my Countrymen. I have no Interest in this Affair, but what is common to the Publick: I can live better than many others: I have some Gold and Silver by me, and a Shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a Shift, when

many of my Betters are ſtarving. But I am grieved to ſee the Coldneſs and Indifference of many People with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a *Proclamation*; others ſhrug up their Shoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no Danger at all: Others are comforted that it will be a common Calamity, and they ſhall fare no worſe than their Neighbours. Will a Man, who heareth Midnight Robbers at his Door, get out of Bed, and raiſe his Family for a common Defence? And ſhall a whole Kingdom ly in a Lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* cometh at the Head of his *Confederates* to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our Poſterity for ever? If an Highway-man meets you on the Road, you give him your Money to ſave your Life; but, God be thank'd, Mr. *Wood* cannot touch a Hair of your Heads. You have all the Laws of God and Man on your Side. When he, or his Accomplices, offer you his Droſs, it is but ſaying *No*, and you are ſafe. If a mad Man ſhould come to my Shop with a handful of Dirt raked out of the Kennel, and offer it in Payment for Ten Yards of Stuff, I would pity or laugh at him: or, if his Behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my Doors. And if Mr. *Wood* cometh to demand any Gold or Silver, or Commodities for which I have paid my Gold and Silver, in Exchange for his Traſh, can he deſerve or expect better Treatment?

WHEN the *evil* Day is come, (if it muſt come) let us mark and obſerve thoſe who preſume to offer theſe Half-pence in Payment. Let their Names and Trades, and Places of Abode, be made publick, that every one may be aware of them, as Betrayers of their Country, and Confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at Markets and Fairs: And let the firſt honeſt Diſcoverer give the Word about, that *Wood*'s Half-pence have been offered! And caution the poor innocent People not to receive them.

PERHAPS I have been too tedious; but there would never be an End, if I attempt to ſay all that this melancholy Subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly

humbly offering one Proposal; which, if it were put in Practice, would blow up this destructive Project at once. Let some skilful judicious Pen draw up an *Advertisement* to the following Purpose. That,

"Whereas one *William Wood*, Hard-ware-man, "now or lately sojourning in the City of *London*, hath, "by many Misrepresentations, procured a Patent for "coining an Hundred and Eight Thousand Pounds in "Copper Half-pence for this Kingdom; which "is a Sum five times greater than our Occasions re-"quire. And whereas it is notorious that the said "*Wood* hath coined his Half-pence of such base Me-"tal, and false Weight, that they are, at least, six "Parts in seven below the real Value. And whereas "we have Reason to apprehend, that the said *Wood* "may, at any Time hereafter, clandestinely coin as "many more Half-pence as he pleaseth. And, where-"as, the said Patent neither doth, nor can *oblige* his "Majesty's Subjects, to receive the said Half-pence in "any Payment, but leaveth it to their voluntary "Choice; because, by Law the Subject cannot be "*obliged* to take any Money, except *Gold* or *Silver*. "And, whereas, contrary to the Letter and Meaning "of the said Patent, the said *Wood* hath declared, that "every Person shall be *obliged* to take Fivepence "Half-penny of his Coin in every Payment. And, "whereas the House of Commons, and Privy Coun-"cil have severally addressed his most Sacred Majesty, "representing the ill Consequences which the said "*Coinage* may have upon this Kingdom. And lastly, "whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole Na-"tion, to a Man, (except Mr. *Wood* and his Confe-"derates) are in the utmost Apprehensions of the ruin-"ous Consequences, that must follow from the said "*Coinage*. Therefore we, whose Names are under-"written, being Persons of considerable Estates in this "Kingdom, and Residers therein, do unanimously re-"solve, and declare, that we will never receive one "Farthing, or Half-penny of the said *Wood*'s coining; "and that we will direct all our Tenants to refuse the

"said

" said Coin from any Person whatever; of which, " that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them " a *Copy* of this *Advertisement*, to be read to them by " our Stewards, Receivers, &c."

I could wish, that a Paper of this Nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three hundred principal Gentlemen of this Kingdom; and printed Copies thereof sent to their several Tenants, I am deceived, if any Thing could sooner defeat this execrable Design of *Wood* and his *Accomplices:* This would immediately give the Alarm, and set the Kingdom on their Guard: This would give Courage to the meanest Tenant and Cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true.*———

I must tell you in particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several hundred Persons have inquired at your House, for my *Letter to the Shop-keepers*, &c. and you had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that Letter, and with this; you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your Sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every News-paper; and let it not be your Fault or mine, if our Countrymen will not take Warning. I desire you, likewise, to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your Servant,

M. B.

Aug. 14, 1724.

Some

Some Observations upon a Paper, called, *The* Report *of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy Council in* England, *relating to* Wood's *Half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

HAVING already written *Two Letters* to People of my own Level and Condition: And, having now very pressing Occasion for writing a *Third*, I thought I could not more properly address it, than to your *Lordships* and *Worships*.

THE Occasion is this; a printed Paper was sent to me on the 18th instant, entitled, *A* Report *of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable* Privy Council *in* England, *relating to Mr.* Wood's *Half-pence and Farthings*. There is no Mention made where the Paper was printed; but I suppose it to have been in *Dublin*: And I have been told, that the Copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London Journal*, or some other Print of no Authority or Consequence: And for any Thing that legally appeareth to the contrary, it may be a Contrivance to *fright* us; or a *Project* of some *Printer*, who hath a mind to make a Penny by publishing something upon a Subject, which now employeth all our Thoughts in this *Kingdom*. Mr. *Wood*, in publishing this Paper, would insinuate to the World, as if the *Committee* had a greater Concern for his Credit and private Emolument, than for the Honour of the *Privy Council* and both *Houses of Parliament* here, and for the Quiet and Welfare of this whole Kingdom: For it seemeth intended as a Vindication of Mr. *Wood*; nor without several

several severe Reflexions on the Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* of *Ireland*.

THE whole is indeed written with the Turn and Air of a Pamphlet; as if it were a Dispute between *William Wood* on the one Part; and the *Lords Justices, Privy Council*, and *both Houses* of *Parliament* on the other; the Design of it being to clear *William Wood*, and to charge the other Side with casting rash and groundless Aspersions upon him.

BUT, if it be really what the Title imports, Mr. *Wood* hath treated the *Committee* with great Rudeness, by publishing an Act of theirs in so unbecoming a Manner, without their Leave, and before it was communicated to the *Government* and *Privy Council* of *Ireland*; to whom the Committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all Deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a Report of a Committee of the Council in *England* is *hitherto* a Law in either *Kingdom*; and until any Point is determined to be a Law, it remaineth disputable by every Subject.

THIS (may it please your *Lordships* and *Worships*) may seem a strange Way of discoursing in an *illiterate Shop-keeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the Help of Books) to improve that small Portion of Reason, which God hath pleased to give me; and when Reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my Head from it. Thus, for Instance, if any Lawyer should tell me that such a Point were Law, from which many gross, palpable Absurdities must follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* should positively assert, (which he no where doth, but the direct contrary) that a *limited Prince* could, by his *Prerogative*, oblige his Subjects to take half an Ounce of Lead, stamped with his Image, for Twenty Shillings in Gold, I should swear he was *deceived* or a *Deceiver*; because a Power like that, would leave the whole Lives and Fortunes of the People, entirely at the Mercy of the Monarch: Yet this, in Effect, is what *Wood* hath advanced in

some

some of his Papers; and what suspicious People may possibly apprehend from some Passages in that which is called the *Report*.

THAT Paper mentions *such Persons to have been examined, who were* desirous *and* willing *to be heard upon this Subject*. I am told, they were four in all, *Coleby*, *B*——, Mr. *Finley* the Banker, and one more, whose Name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the Treasury in *Ireland*; and altho' he was acquitted for want of legal Proof, yet every Person in the Court believed him to be guilty.

BUT, since I have gone so far as to mention particular Persons; it may be some Satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himself, that has the Honour to have a whole Kingdom at his Mercy, for almost two Years together. I find he is, in the Patent, intitled *Esq*; although he were understood to be only a *Hard-ware-man*; and so I have been bold to call him in my former Letters: However, a *'Squire* he is, not only by virtue of his Patent, but by having been a Collector in *Shropshire*; where pretending to have been robbed, and suing the County, he was cast, and, for the Infamy of the Fact, lost his Employment.

I have heard another Story of this 'Squire *Wood*, from a very Honourable Lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was sent for, six Years ago, by Sir *Isaac Newton*, to try the Coinage of four Men, who then solicited a Patent for coining Half-pence for *Ireland*; their Names were *Wood*, *Coston*, *Ellifton*, and *Parker*. *Parker* made the fairest Offer, and *Wood* the worst; for his Coin were Three Half-pence in a Pound Weight less Value than the other. By which it is plain with what Intentions he solicited this Patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

IT is alledged, in the said Paper called the *Report*, that, upon repeated Orders from a Secretary of State, for sending over such Papers and Witnesses, as should be thought proper to support the Objections made against the Patent, (by both Houses of Parliament); the *Lord Lieutenant* represented "the great Difficulty

" he

" he found himself in, to comply with these Orders, " That one of the principal Members of both Houses, " who were in the King's Service, or Council, would " take upon him to advise how any material Person " or Papers, might be sent over upon this Occasion, " *&c. And this is often repeated, and represented as* a " Proceeding that seems very extraordinary; and that, " in a Matter which had raised so great a *Clamour* in " *Ireland*, no one Person could be prevailed upon to " come over from *Ireland*, in support of the united " Sense of both Houses of Parliament in *Ireland*; e- " specially, that the chief Difficulty should arise from " a general Apprehension of a Miscarriage, in an In- " quiry before his Majesty, or in a Proceeding by " due Course of Law, in a Case where both Houses " of Parliament had declared themselves so fully con- " vinced and satisfied upon Evidence, and Exami- " nations taken in the most solemn Manner."

How shall I, a poor ignorant Shop-keeper, utterly unskilled in Law, be able to answer so weighty an Objection? I will try what can be done by plain Reason, unassisted by Art, Cunning or Eloquence.

IN my humble Opinion, the Committee of Council hath already prejudged the whole Case, by calling the united Sense of both *Houses of Parliament* in *Ireland*, an *universal Clamour*. Here the Addresses of the Lords and Commons of *Ireland*, against a ruinous destructive Project of an *obscure, single Undertaker*, is called a *Clamour*. I desire to know how such a Style would be resented in *England*, from a Committee of Council there to a Parliament; and how many *Impeachments* would follow upon it. But supposing the Appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise Minister who despised the *universal Clamour* of a People; and if that *Clamour* can be quieted, by disappointing the fraudulent Practice of a single Person, the Purchase is not exorbitant.

BUT, in answer to this Objection: First, it is manifest, that if this Coinage had been in *Ireland*, with such Limitations as have been formerly specified in other Patents, and granted to Persons of this Kingdom, or

or even of *England*, able to give sufficient Security; few or no Inconveniencies could have happened, which might not have been immediately remedied. As to Mr. *Knox*'s Patent, mentioned in the *Report*, Security was given into the Exchequer, that the Patentee should, upon all Demands, be obliged to receive his Half-pence back, and pay Gold or Silver in Exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom, I suppose, that Patent was made over) was, in 1694, forced to leave off Coining before the End of that Year, by the great Crouds of People continually offering to return his Coinage upon him. In 1698, he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same Reason. This entirely alters the Case; for there is no such Condition in *Wood*'s Patent; which Condition was worth a hundred times all other Limitations whatever.

PUT the Case, that the two Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* of *England*, and the *Privy Council* there should address his Majesty to recal a Patent, from whence they apprehend the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom: And to make it stronger, if possible, that the whole Nation, almost to a Man, should thereupon discover the *most dismal Apprehensions* (as Mr. *Wood* styles them); would his Majesty debate half an Hour what he had to do? Would any Minister dare advise him against recalling such a Patent? Or would the Matter be referred to the *Privy Council*, or to *Westminster-Hall*; the two Houses of *Parliament* Plaintiffs, and *William Wood* Defendant? And is there even the smallest Difference between the two Cases?

WERE not the People of *Ireland* born as *free* as those of *England*? How have they forfeited their Freedom? Is not their *Parliament* as fair a *Representative* of the *People*, as that of *England*? And hath not their Privy Council as great, or a greater Share in the Administration of publick Affairs? Are they not Subjects of the same King? Doth not the same *Sun* shine over them? And have they not the same *God* for their Protector?

Am I a *Freeman* in *England*, and do I become a *Slave* in six Hours, by crossing the Channel? No Wonder then, if the boldest Persons were cautious to interpose in a Matter already determined by the whole Voice of the Nation; or to presume to represent the Representatives of the Kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a Treatment as they would deserve, at the next Session. It would seem very extraordinary, if an inferior Court in *England* should take a Matter out of the Hands of the High Court of Parliament, during a Prorogation, and decide it against the Opinion of both Houses.

IT happeneth, however, that, although no Persons were so bold, as to go over as Evidences, to prove the Truth of the Objections made against this Patent by the *High Court of Parliament* here; yet these Objections stand good, notwithstanding the Answers made by Mr. *Wood* and his *Council*.

THE *Report* says, that *upon an Assay made of the Fineness, Weight and Value of this Copper, it exceeded in every Article*. This is possible enough, in the Pieces upon which the *Assay* was made; but *Wood* must have failed very much in Point of Dexterity, if he had not taken Care to provide a sufficient Quantity of such Half-pence as would bear the Trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of several Parcels:* Since it is now plain, that the Bias of Favour hath been wholly on his Side.

BUT what Need is there of disputing, when we have a positive Demonstration of *Wood*'s faudulent Practices in this Point. I have seen a large Quantity of these Half-pence weighed by a very skilful Person, which were of four different Kinds, three of them considerably under Weight. I have now before me, an exact Computation of the Difference of Weight between these four Sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth Sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a Degree; that, in the Coinage of three Hundred and Sixty Tuns of Copper, the Patentee will be a Gainer, only by that Difference, of Twenty four thousand four hundred

hundred and ninety four Pounds; and, in the whole, the Publick will be a Loser of Eighty two thousand one hundred and sixty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings, even supposing the Metal, in Point of Goodness, to answer *Wood*'s Contract, and the *Assay* that hath been made; which it infallibly doth not. For, this Point hath likewise been inquired into by very experienced Men; who, upon several Trials on many of these Half-pence, have found them to be at least one fourth Part below the real Value (not including the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he or his Accomplices have already made of *his own Coin*, and scattered about): Now the Coinage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper coined by the Weight of the fourth, or lightest Sort of his Half-pence, will amount to One hundred twenty two thousand four hundred eighty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings; and if we subtract a fourth Part of the real Value by the *base Mixture* in the Metal, we must add to the publick Loss one fourth Part, to be subtracted from the intrinsick Value of the Copper; which in Three hundred and sixty Tuns, amounts to Ten thousand and eighty Pounds; and this added to the former Sum of Eighty two thousand one hundred sixty eight Pounds, sixteen Shillings, will make in all, Ninety two thousand two hundred forty eight Pounds Loss to the Publick; besides the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he may at any Time hereafter think fit to coin: Nor do I know whether he reckons the *Dross* exclusive or inclusive with his Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper; which however, will make a considerable Difference in the Account.

You will here please to observe, that the Profit allowed to *Wood* by the Patent, is Twelvepence out of every Pound of Copper, valued at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* whereas 5 *d.* only is allowed for Coinage of a Pound Weight for the *English* Half-pence; and this Difference is almost 25 *per Cent*, which is double to the highest Exchange of Money, even under all the additional Pressures and Obstructions of Trade, that this unhappy

Kingdom lieth at present. This one Circumstance in the Coinage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper, maketh a Difference of Twenty seven thousand seven hundred and twenty Pounds between *English* and *Irish* Half-pence, even allowing those of *Wood* to be all of the heaviest Sort.

IT is likewise to be considered, that for every Half-penny in a Pound Weight, exceeding the Number directed by the Patent, *Wood* will be a Gainer in the Coinage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper, Sixteen hundred and eighty Pounds Profit more than the Patent alloweth him; out of which he may afford to make his *Comptrollers easy* upon that Article.

As to what is alledged, that *these Half-pence far exceed the like Coinage for* Ireland *in the Reigns of his Majesty's Predecessors:* There cannot well be a more exceptionable Way of arguing, although the Fact were true; which, however, is altogether mistaken; not by any Fault in the *Committee*, but by the Fraud and Imposition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worst Patterns he could find; such as were coined in small Numbers by *Permissions to private Men*, as *Butchers Half-pence*, *Black-Dogs*, and the like; or perhaps, the small St. *Patrick*'s Coin which passeth now for a Farthing; or at best, some of the smallest *Raps* of the latest Kind. For I have now by me some Half-pence coined in the Year 1680, by Virtue of the Patent granted to my Lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*; and they are heavier by a ninth Part than those of *Wood*, and in much better Metal: And the great St. *Patrick*'s Half-penny is yet larger than either.

BUT what is all this to the present Debate? If, under the various Exigencies of former Times, by Wars, Rebellions and Insurrections, the Kings of *England* were sometimes forced to pay their Armies here with mix'd or base Money; God forbid that the Necessities of turbulent Times should be a Precedent for Times of Peace, and Order, and Settlement.

IN

In the Patent abovementioned, granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and renewed to *Knox*, the Securities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *Patentee* to receive his Money back upon every Demand, were an effectual Remedy against all Inconveniencies: And the *Copper was coined in our own Kingdom*; so that we were in no Danger to purchase it with the Loss of all our Silver and Gold carried over to another; nor be at the Trouble of going to *England* for the redressing of any Abuse.

That the Kings of *England* have exercised their Prerogative of coining Copper for *Ireland* and for *England*, is not the present Question: But (to speak in the Style of the Report) it would *seem a little extraordinary*; supposing a King should think fit to exercise his *Prerogative* by coining Copper in *Ireland*, to be current in *England*, without referring it to his Officers in that Kingdom, to be informed whether the Grant were reasonable, and whether the People desired it or no, and without Regard to the Addresses of his Parliament against it. God forbid that so mean a Man as I should meddle with the King's *Prerogative*: But I have heard very wise Men say, that the King's *Prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *Good* and *Welfare* of his *People*. I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the Good of *Ireland* was intended by that Patent. But *Ireland* is not consulted at all in the Matter; and as soon as *Ireland* is informed of it, they declare against it; the *two Houses of Parliament* and the *Privy Council* address his Majesty upon the Mischiefs apprehended by such a Patent. The *Privy Council* in *England* take the Matter out of the *Parliament*'s Cognizance: The Good of the Kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* shall have the Power of ruining a whole Nation for his private Advantage.

I never can suppose, that such Patents as these were originally granted with the View of being a *Job* for the Interest of a particular Person, to the Damage of the Publick. Whatever Profit must arise to the

Patentee, was surely meant at best but as a secondary Motive; and since somebody must be a Gainer, the Choice of the Person was made either by Favour, or *something else*, or by the Pretence of Merit and Honesty: This Argument returneth so often and strongly into my Head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majesty, when he consented to the passing of this Patent, *conceived* he was doing an Act of Grace to his most loyal Subjects of *Ireland*, without any Regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *Instrument*: But the People of *Ireland* think this Patent (intended *no Doubt* for their Good) to be a most intolerable Grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never succeed without an open Avowal that this Profit is preferred, not only before the *Interests*, but the very *Safety* and *Being* of a great Kingdom; and a Kingdom distinguished for its Loyalty, perhaps above all others upon Earth: Not turned from its Duty by the *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords abolished at a Stroke*; *by the Hardships of the Act of Navigation newly enforced*; *by all possible Obstructions in Trade*; and by a Hundred other Instances, enough to fill this Paper: Nor was there ever among US the least Attempt towards an Insurrection in Favour of the *Pretender*. Therefore whatever Justice a *Free People* can claim, we have at least an *equal* Title to it with our Brethren in *England*; and whatever Grace a good Prince can bestow on the *loyal Subjects*, we have most Reason to expect it: Neither has this Kingdom any Way deserved to be sacrificed to one *single*, *rapacious*, *obscure*, *ignominious* Projector.

AMONG other Causes mentioned in this *Patent* to shew how advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which seemeth to be of a *singular Nature*: That the *Patentee* shall be obliged during his Term, *to pay Eight hundred Pounds a-year to the Crown, and Two hundred Pounds a-year to the Comptroller*. I have heard indeed that the King's Council do always consider, in the passing of a Patent, whether it will be of Advantage to the Crown; but I have likewise heard, that it is at the same

same time considered, whether passing of it may be injurious to any other Persons or Bodies politick? However, although the Attorney and Solicitor be Servants to the King, and therefore bound to consult his Majesty's Interest; yet I am under some Doubt whether Eight hundred Pounds a-year to the Crown would be equivalent to the Ruin of a Kingdom: It would be far better for us to have paid Eight thousand Pounds a-year into his Majesty's Coffers, in the Midst of all our Taxes (which in Proportion are greater in this Kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the War) than purchase such an Addition to the Revenue at the Price of our *utter Undoing*.

But here it is plain, that Fourteen thousand Pounds are to be paid by Mr. *Wood*, only as a *small circumstantial* Charge for the Purchase of his Patent: What were his other *visible Costs* I know not; and what were his *latent*, is variously conjectured: But he must be surely a Man of some wonderful Merit. Hath he saved any other Kingdom at his own Expence, to give him a Title of reimbursing himself by the *Destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the *Longitude*, or the *Universal Medicine*? No; but he hath found out the *Philosopher's Stone* after a new Manner, by *debasing of Copper*, and resolving to force it upon us for *Gold*.

When the two Houses represented to his Majesty, that this *Patent to Wood was obtained in a clandestine Manner*; surely the Committee could not think the Parliament would insinuate, that it had not passed in the common Forms, and run through every Office where Fees and Perquisites were due. They knew very well, that Persons in Places were no Enemies to Grants; and that the Officers of the Crown could not be kept in the Dark. But the * *late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed, it was a *Secret* to him; (and who will doubt of his *Veracity*, especially when he swore to a Person of Quality from whom I had it, that *Ireland* should never be troubled with these Half-pence). It was

* Charles *Duke of* Grafton.

was a *Secret* to the People of *Ireland*, who were to be the *only Sufferers*; and those who best knew the State of the Kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an Affair, were wholly Strangers to it.

IT is allowed by the *Report* that this *Patent* was passed without the Knowledge of the chief Governor or Officers of *Ireland*: And it is there elaborately shewn, *that former Patents have passed in the same Manner*, and *are good in Law*. I shall not dispute the Legality of Patents, but am ready to suppose it in his Majesty's Power to grant a Patent for stamping round Bits of Copper to every Subject he hath. Therefore to lay aside the Point of Law, I would only put the Question; Whether in *Reason* and *Justice* it would not have been proper, in an Affair upon which the *Welfare of the Kingdom depends*, that the said Kingdom should have received timely Notice; and the Matter not be carried on between the *Patentee*, and the *Officers of the Crown* who were to be the only Gainers by it.

THE Parliament, who in Matters of this Nature are the most able and faithful Counsellors, did represent this Grant to be *destructive of Trade, and dangerous to the Properties of the People*; to which the only Answer is, That *the King hath a Prerogative to make such a Grant*.

IT is asserted, that in the Patent to *Knox*, His *Halfpence are made and declared the current Coin of the Kingdom*; whereas in this to *Wood*, there is only a *Power given to issue them to such as will receive them*. The Authors of the *Report*, I think, do not affirm that the King can by Law declare *any thing* to be current Money by his Letters Patents. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if *Knox*'s Patent contained in it Powers contrary to Law, why is it mentioned as a Precedent in his Majesty's *just and merciful Reign*? But although that Clause be not in *Wood*'s Patent, yet possibly there are others, the Legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, whereby *a Power is given to* William Wood *to break into Houses*

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in Search of any Coin made in Imitation of his. This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the Liberty of the Subject: Yet, this is a *Precedent* taken from *Knox*'s Patent, where the same Power is granted; and is a strong Instance what Uses may be sometimes made of *Precedents*.

But although before the passing of this Patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any Persons of this Kingdom, or make the least Inquiry whether Copper Money were wanted among us: Yet now, at length, when the Matter is over, when the Patent hath long passed, when *Wood* hath already coined Seventeen thousand Pounds, and hath his Tools and Implements prepared to coin *six times* as much more; the Committee hath been pleased to make this Affair the Subject of Inquiry; *Wood* is permitted to produce his Evidences, which consists as I have already observed of Four in Number; whereof *Coleby*, *B——*, and Mr. *Finley* the Banker are Three. And these were to prove that Copper Money was extremely wanted in *Ireland*. The first had been out of the Kingdom almost twenty Years from the Time that he was tried for *robbing the Treasury*; and therefore his *Knowledge* and *Credibility* are equal.

Mr. *Finley*, one of the other Witnesses, honestly confessed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted Copper Money or no; but all his Intention was to buy a certain Quantity from *Wood* at a *large Discount*, and sell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand Pounds for himself.

But, suppose there were not one single Half-penny of Copper Coin in this whole Kingdom; (which Mr. *Wood* seemeth to intend, unless we will come to his Terms, as appeareth by employing his Emissaries to buy up our old Ones, at a Penny in the Shilling more than they pass for) it could not be any *real Evil* to us; although it might be some *Inconvenient*. We have many Sorts of small Silver Coins, to which they are Strangers in *England*; such as the *French Threepences*, *Fourpence Half-pennies*, and *Eightpence Farthings*, the

the *Scots Fivepences* and *Tenpences*; besides their *Twentypences* and *Three* and *Fourpences*, by which we are able to make Change, to a Half-penny, of almost any Piece of Gold or Silver; and if we were driven to the Expedient of a *sealed Card*, with the little Gold or Silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood*'s adulterated Copper; which he is neither *obliged* by his *Patent*, nor HITHERTO *able* by his Estate to make good.

THE Report farther telleth us, "it must be admitted that Letters Patents, under the great Seal of *Great Britain*, for coining Copper Money for *Ireland*, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable Exercise of his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and in no Manner derogatory, or invasive of any Liberty or Privilege of his Subjects of *Ireland*." First, we desire to know, why his Majesty's *Prerogative* might not have been as well asserted, by passing his Patent in *Ireland*, and subjecting the several Conditions of the Contract to the Inspection of those, who are only concerned; as was formerly done in the only Precedents for Patents granted for coining for this Kingdom, since the mixt Money in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, during the Difficulties of a Rebellion: Whereas now, upon the greatest Imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to *England* with our Complaints; where it hath been, for some Time, the Fashion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly used*. Again, the *Report* says, that *such Patents are obligatory*. After long thinking, I am not able to find out what can possibly be meant here by this Word *Obligatory*: This Patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his Coin, nor us to take it; or, if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no Patent can *oblige* the Subject against Law; unless an illegal Patent passed in *one* Kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

LASTLY, it is added, that *such Patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any Liberty or Privilege*

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of the King's Subjects of Ireland. *If* this Proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any Limitation, either expressed or implied; it must follow, that a King of *England* may, at any Time, coin Copper Money for *Ireland*; and oblige his Subjects here to take a Piece of Copper, under the Value of half a Farthing, for half a Crown, as was practised by the late King *James*; and even without that arbitrary Prince's Excuse, from the Necessity and Exigencies of his Affairs. If this be in no Manner *derogatory, nor invasive of any Liberties or Privileges of the Subjects of* Ireland; it ought to have been expressed what our *Liberties* and *Privileges* are; and whether we have any at all; for in specifying the Word *Ireland*, instead of saying *his Majesty's Subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same Foot with our Fellow Subjects in *England*; which, however, the Practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that *Poining's* Act, deprived us of our *Liberty*, but only changed the Manner of passing Laws here; (which, however, was a Power most indirectly obtained) by leaving the Negative to the two Houses of Parliament. But, waving all Controversies relating to the Legislature; no Person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm, that the People of *Ireland* have not the same Title to the Benefits of the *Common Law*, with the rest of his Majesty's Subjects; and therefore, whatever Liberties or Privileges the People of *England* enjoy by *Common Law*, we of *Ireland* have the same; so that, in my humble Opinion, the Word *Ireland* standing in that Proposition, was, in the mildest Interpretation, a *Lapse of the Pen.*

THE *Report* farther asserts, "that the Precedents are "many, wherein Cases of great Importance to *Ireland*, "and which immediately affected the Interests of that "Kingdom, such as Warrants, Orders, and Directions, "by the Authority of the King and his *Predecessors*, "have been issued under the Royal Sign Manual with-"out any previous Reference, or Advice of his Maje-"sty's Officers of *Ireland*; which have always had

"their

"their due Force, and have been punctually complied "with, and obeyed." It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because, it may prove an eternal Source of Discontent. However, among all these *Precedents*, there is not one of a Patent for coining Money for *Ireland*.

THERE is nothing hath perplexed me more than this Doctrine of *Precedents*. If a Jobb is to be done, and, upon searching Records, you find it hath been done before, there will not want a Lawyer to justify the Legality of it by producing his *Precedents*; without ever considering the Motives and Circumstances that first introduced them; the Necessity, or Turbulence, or Iniquity of Times; the Corruptions of Ministers, or the arbitrary Disposition of the Prince then reigning: And I have been told, by Persons eminent in the Law, that the worst Actions which human Nature is capable of, may be justified by the same Doctrine. How the first *Precedents* began of determining Cases of the highest Importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting its Interest, without any previous Reference or Advice to the King's Officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this Kingdom was entirely reduced, by the Submission of *Tyrone*, in the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, there was a Period of Four hundred Years, which was a various Scene of War and Peace between the *English* Pale and the *Irish* Natives; and the Government of that Part of this Island which lay in the *English* Hands, was, in many Things, under the immediate Administration of the King: Silver and Copper were often coined here among us; and once, at least, upon great Necessity, a mix'd or base Metal was sent from *England*. The Reign of K. *James* I. was employed in settling the Kingdom, after *Tyrone*'s Rebellion; and this Nation flourished extremely, until the Time of the Massacre, 1641. In that difficult Juncture of Affairs, the Nobility and Gentry coined their own Plate here in *Dublin*.

BY all that I can discover, the Copper Coin of *Ireland*, for Three hundred Years past, consisted of small Pence and Half-pence; which particular Men had Licence

cence to coin, and were current only within certain Towns and Districts, according to the personal Credit of the Owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many Sorts: neither have I heard of any Patent granted for coining Copper for *Ireland*, until the Reign of King *Charles* II. which was in the Year 1680, to *George Leg*, Lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by King *James* II. in the first Year of his Reign, to *John Knox*. Both Patents were passed in *Ireland*; and in both the Patentees were bound to receive their Coin again, from any one that would offer them Twenty Shillings of it; for which they were obliged to pay Gold or Silver.

The Patents both of Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, were referred to the Attorney-general here, and a Report made accordingly, and both, as I have already said, were passed in this Kingdom. *Knox* had only a Patent for the Remainder of the Term granted to Lord *Dartmouth*; the Patent expired in 1701, and upon a Petition by *Roger Moor* to have it renewed, the Matter was referred hither; and upon the Report of the Attorney and Solicitor, that it was not for his Majesty's Service, or the Interest of the Nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by King *William*. It should therefore seem very *extraordinary*, that a Patent for coining Copper Half-pence, intended and professed for the Good of the Kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that Kingdom, for the Good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the Application of a *poor, private, obscure Mechanick*; and a Patent of such a Nature, that as soon as ever the Kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it, as *ruinous* and *destructive*. The Representatives of the Nation in Parliament, and the Privy Council, address the King to have it recalled; yet the Patentee, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this Patent approved; and his private Interest shall weigh down the Application of a whole Kingdom. St. *Paul* says, *All*

Things are lawful, *but all Things are not* expedient. We are answered, that this Patent is *lawful*; but is it *expedient?* We read, that the High Priest said, *It was expedient that one Man should die for the People*; and this was a most wicked Proposition. But that a *whole Nation* should *die for one Man*, was never heard of before.

BUT, because much Weight is laid on the *Precedents* of other Patents, for *coining Copper for* Ireland; I will set this Matter in as clear a Light as I can. Whoever hath read the *Report*, will be apt to think that a Dozen Precedents, at least, could be produced of Copper coined for *Ireland*, by Virtue of Patents passed in *England*; and that the Coinage was there too; whereas, I am confident, there cannot be one *Precedent* shewn of a Patent passed in *England* for coining Copper for *Ireland*, for above an Hundred Years past; and if there were any before, it must be in Times of Confusion. The only *Patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned, to Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*; the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now, let us compare these Patents with that granted to *Wood*. First, the Patent to *Knox*, which was under the same Conditions as that granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, was passed in *Ireland*; the Government, and the *Attorney* and *Solicitor-general*, making Report that it would be useful to this Kingdom.

THE Patent was passed with the Advice of the *King's Council* here; the *Patentee* was obliged to receive his Coin from those who thought themselves surcharged, and to give *Gold* and *Silver* for it: Lastly, the *Patentee* was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per Ann.* to the Crown. Then, as to the Execution of that Patent: First, I find the Half-pence were *milled*; which, as it is of great Use to prevent Counterfeits, (and therefore industriously avoided by *Wood*) so it was an Addition to the Charge of Coinage. And as for the Weight and Goodness of the Metal, I have several Half-pence now by me, many of which weigh

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a ninth Part more than those coined by *Wood*; and bear the Fire and Hammer a great deal better; and which is no Trifle, the Impression fairer and deeper. I grant, indeed, that many of the latter Coinage yield in Weight to some of *Wood*'s, by a *Fraud* natural to such *Patentees*; but not so immediately after the Grant, and before the Coin grew current: For, in this Circumstance, Mr. *Wood* must serve for a *Precedent* in *future Times*.

Let us now examine this new Patent granted to *William Wood*. It passed upon very false Suggestions of his own, and of a few Confederates: It passed in *England* without the least Reference hither: It passed unknown to the very *Lord Lieutenant*, then in *England*. *Wood* is impowered to coin One hundred and eight thousand Pounds, *and all the* Officers *in the Kingdom* (Civil and Military) *are commanded* in the Report to countenance and assist him. *Knox* had only Power to utter what we would take, and was obliged *to receive his Coin back again at our Demand*, and to *enter into Security for so doing*. *Wood*'s Half-pence are not *milled*, and therefore more easily counterfeited by *himself* as well as by others. *Wood* pays a Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* for 14 Years; *Knox* paid only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per Ann.* for 21 Years.

It was the *Report* that set me the Example of making a Comparison between those two Patents, wherein the *Committee* was grosly misled by the false Representation of *William Wood*; as it was by another Assertion, that Seven hundred Tuns of Copper were coined during the 21 Years of Lord *Dartmouth*'s and *Knox*'s Patents. Such a Quantity of Copper at the Rate of 2*s.* 8*d.* *per* Pound, would amount to about an Hundred and ninety thousand Pounds; which was very near as much as the current Cash of the Kingdom in those Days; yet, during that Period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much Copper Coin; and for several Years there was no coining at all: Besides, I am assured, that upon inquiring into the Custom-house Books, all the Copper imported

into this Kingdom from 1683, to 1692, which includes eight Years of the 21 (besides one Year allowed for the Troubles) did not exceed 47 Tuns: And we cannot suppose even that small Quantity to have been wholly applied to Coinage: So that, I believe, there was never any Comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the Design for which it was produced.

THE Psalmist reckons it an Effect of God's Anger, when *he selleth his People for Nought, and taketh no Money for them.* That we have greatly offended *God* by the Wickedness of our Lives, is not to be disputed; But our King we have not offended in Word or Deed; and, although he be *God*'s Vicegerent upon Earth, he will not punish us for any Offences, except those which we shall commit against his legal Authority, his sacred Person (which God preserve) or the Laws of the Land.

THE Report is very profuse in Arguments, that *Ireland* is in great Want of Copper Money: Who were the Witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: But, in the Name of *God*, who are to be *Judges*? Doth not the Nation best know its own Wants? Both Houses of Parliament, the Privy Council and the whole Body of the People declare the contrary. Or, let the Wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by *Mr. Wood*. WE know our own Wants but too well: They are many and *grievous* to be borne: but quite of another Kind. Let *England* be satisfied: As Things go, they will in a short time have all our Gold and Silver: and may keep their adulterate Copper at home; for we are determined not to purchase it with our Manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciously offered to accept. Our *Wants* are not so bad by an hundredth Part as the Method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his Faculty in *New-England*; and I hope he will meet at least with an equal *Reception* here: What *That* was I leave to publick Intelligence. I am supposing a wild Case; that if there should be any

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Person already receiving a monstrous Pension out of this Kingdom, who was instrumental in procuring the *Patent*, they have either not well consulted their own Interests, or *Wood* must put more Droſs into his Copper, and still diminish its Weight.

Upon *Wood*'s Complaint that the Officers of the King's Revenue here had already given Orders to all the inferior Officers not to receive any of his Coin; the *Report* says, "That this cannot but be looked upon "as a very extraordinary Proceeding, *and being contra-"ry to the Powers given in the Patent*." The *Committee* say, "They cannot advise his Majesty to give Di-"rections to the Officers of the Revenue here, not to "receive or utter any of the said Coin as hath been de-"sired in the Addresses of both Houses;" but on the contrary, "they think it both just and reasonable "that the King should immediately give Orders to the "Commissioners of the Revenue, *&c.* to revoke all Or-"ders, *&c.* that may have been given by them to hin-"der or obstruct the receiving the said Coin:" And accordingly we are told such Orders are arrived. Now this was a Cast of *Wood*'s Politicks; for his Information was wholly false and groundless; which he knew very well; and that the Commissioners of the Revenue here were all, except one, sent us from *England*, and love their Employments too well to have taken such a Step: But *Wood* was wise enough to consider, that such Orders of *Revocation* would be an open Declaration of the Crown in his Favour; would put the Government here under a Difficulty; would make a Noise; and, possibly create some Terror in the poor People of *Ireland*. And one great Point he hath gained; that although any Orders of Revocation will be needless, yet a new Order is to be sent, and perhaps already here, to the Commissioners of the Revenue, and all the King's Officers in *Ireland*; that "*Wood*'s Half-pence be suffered and permitted, with-"out any Let, Suit, Trouble, Molestation or Denial of "any of the King's Officers or Ministers whatever, "to pass and be received as *current Money*, by such as "shall be *willing* to receive them. In this Order

there is no Exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *Officers* both *Civil* and *Military*; from the *Lord High Chancellor* to a *Justice of Peace*; and from the *General* to an *Ensign*: So that *Wood's* Project is not likely to fail for Want of *Managers* enough. For my own Part, as Things stand, I have but little Regret to find myself out of the *Number*; and therefore I shall continue in all Humility to exhort and warn my Fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this Coin, which will reduce the Kingdom to Beggary by much *quicker and larger Steps*, than have hitherto been taken.

BUT it is needless to argue any longer. The Matter is come to an Issue. His Majesty, *pursuant to the Law*, hath left the *Field* open between *Wood* and the Kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath Liberty to *offer* his Coin, and we have *Law*, *Reason*, *Liberty*, and *Necessity* to *refuse* it. A knavish Jockey may ride an old foundered Jade about the Market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the Words *voluntary* and *willing to receive it*, will be understood and applied in their true natural Meaning, *as commonly understood by Protestants*. For, if a *fierce Captain* cometh to my Shop to buy six Yards of Scarlet Cloth, followed by a Porter laden with a Sack of *Wood*'s Coin upon his Shoulders; if we are agreed about the Price, and my Scarlet lieth ready cut upon the Counter; if he then giveth me the *Word of Command* to receive my Money in *Wood*'s Coin, and calls me a *disaffected Jacobite Dog* for refusing it; (although I am as loyal a Subject as himself, and *without Hire*) and thereupon seizeth my Cloth, leaving me the Price in this odious Copper, and bids me take my Remedy: in this Case I shall hardly be brought to think I am *left to my own Will*. I shall therefore on such Occasions, first order the Porter aforesaid to go off with his Pack; and then see the Money in *Silver* and *Gold* in my Possession before I cut or measure my Cloth. But if a *common Soldier* drinks his Pot first, and then offers Payment in *Wood*'s Half-pence, the *Landlady* may be under some Difficulty: For, if she

she complains to his *Captain* or *Ensign*, they are likewise *Officers*; included in this general Order for encouraging these Half-pence to pass as *current Money*. If she goeth to a Justice of Peace, he is also an *Officer*; to whom this general Order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my Practice, which I have already begun; and be paid for her Goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content, for some Reasons, that the *Military Gentlemen* had been excepted by Name; because I have heard it said, that their Discipline is best confined within their own District.

His Majesty, in the Conclusion of his Answer to the Address of the House of Lords, against *Wood's* Coin, is pleased to say, "That he will do every Thing "in his Power to the Satisfaction of his People." It should seem therefore, that the recalling the Patent is not to be understood as a Thing *in his Power*: But however, since the Law doth not oblige us to receive this Coin; and consequently the Patent leaves it to our voluntary Choice: there is nothing remaining to preserve us from Ruin, but that the whole Kingdom should continue in a firm determinate Resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal Coin*: After which, let the *Officers* to whom these Orders are directed (I would willingly except the *Military*) come with their *Exhortation*, their *Arguments*, and their *Eloquence*, to persuade us to find our Interest in our Undoing. Let *Wood* and his *Accomplices* travel about the Country with *Cart-Loads* of their *Ware*, and see who will take it off their Hands: There will be no Fear of his being robbed; for a *Highway-man* will scorn to touch it.

I am only in Pain how the *Commissioners* of the *Revenue* will proceed in this Juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged, by Act of Parliament, to take nothing but *Gold* and *Silver* in Payment for his Majesty's *Customs*: And I think they cannot justly offer this Coinage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

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THE Sum of the whole is this. "The Committee "advises the King to send immediate Orders to all his "Officers here, that *Wood*'s Coin be suffered and per- "mitted without any Let, Suit, Trouble, &c. to pass "and be received as *current Money*, by such as shall be "*willing* to receive the same." It is probable that the first *willing Receivers* may be those who *must receive it whether they will or no*, at least under the Penalty of losing an Office. But the *landed undepending Men*, the *Merchants*, the *Shop-keepers* and Bulk of the People, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the Consequence be? The Owners will sell it for as much as they can get. *Wood*'s Half-pence will come to be offered for six a Penny (yet then he will be a sufficient Gainer) and the *necessary Receivers* will be Losers of two thirds in their *Salaries* or *Pay*.

THIS puts me in mind of a Passage I was told many Years ago in *England*. At a Quarter-sessions in *Leicester*, the Justices had wisely decreed to take off a Half-penny in a Quart from the Price of Ale. One of them who came in after the Thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus, "Gentlemen, "You have made an Order, that *Ale* should be sold in "our County for three Half-pence a Quart: I desire "you will now make another to appoint who must "drink it, for by G— I will not."

I must beg Leave to caution your *Lordships* and *Worships* in one Particular. *Wood* hath graciously promised to *load* us at present only with Forty thousand Pounds of his Coin, *until the Exigencies of the Kingdom require the rest*. I intreat you will never suffer Mr. *Wood* to be a Judge of your *Exigency*. While there is one Piece of Silver or Gold left in the Kingdom, he will call it an *Exigency*. He will double his present *Quantum* by Stealth as soon as he can: He will pour his own *Raps* and *Counterfeits* upon us: *France* and *Holland* will do the same; nor will our own Coiners at home be behind them: To confirm which, I have now in my Pocket a *Rap* or Counterfeit Half-penny in Imitation of his, but so ill performed, that,

that, in my own Conscience, I believe it is not of his Coining.

I must now desire your *Lordships* and *Worships* that you will give great Allowance for this long undigested Paper. I find myself to have gone into several Repetitions, which were the Effects of Haste, while new Thoughts fell in, to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every Paragraph in the *Report*; which although it be not artfully drawn, and is perfectly in the Spirit of a Pleader, who can find the most plausible Topicks in Behalf of his Client; yet there was no great Skill required to direct the many Mistakes contained in it; which, however, are by no Means to be charged upon the Right Honourable Committee, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent Representations of *Wood* and his Accomplices. I desire one Particular may dwell upon your Minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; That, after all the Weight laid upon the *Precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *Report*, of a Patent for coining Copper in *England*, to pass in *Ireland*; and only two Patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both passed in *Ireland*, by References to the King's Council here; both less advantageous to the Coiner than this of *Wood*; and in both, "Securities "given to receive the Coin at every Call, and give "Gold and Silver in lieu of it." This demonstrates the most flagrant Falsehood, and Impudence of *Wood*; by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable Committee his Instruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant Gain) to ruin a Kingdom, which hath deserved *quite different Treatment*.

I am very sensible, that such a Work as I have undertaken, might have worthily employed a much better Pen: But when a House is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the Family runs first to lock the Door. All the Assistance I had were some Informations from an *eminent Person*; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make

make them of a Piece with my own Productions; and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the Case of *David*, who *could not move in the Armour of* Saul; and therefore I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised Philistine* (*Wood* I mean) *with a Sling and a Stone*. And I may say for *Wood*'s Honour, as well as my own, that he resembleth *Goliah* in many Circumstances, very applicable to the present Purpose: For *Goliah* had a "Helmet of *Brass* upon his Head, and he was armed "with a Coat of Mail, and the Weight of the Coat was "five thousand Shekels of *Brass*, and he had Greaves "of *Brass* upon his Legs, and a Target of *Brass* be-"tween his Shoulders." In short, he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over *Brass*; and "he defied the Armies of "the living God." *Goliah*'s Conditions of Combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood*: "If he "prevail against us, then shall we be his Servants." But if it happens that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other Part of the Condition, he shall never be a *Servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any *honest* Man's Shop.

I will conclude with my humble Desire and Request, which I made in my second Letter; that your *Lordships* and *Worships* would please to order a *Declaration* to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest Terms your Resolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood*'s Half-pence, or Farthings; and forbidding your Tenants to receive them. That the said *Declaration* may be signed by as many Persons as possible, who have Estates in this Kingdom; and be sent down to your several Tenants aforesaid.

AND if the Dread of *Wood*'s Half-pence should continue until next *Quarter-sessions*, (which I hope it will not) the Gentlemen of every County will then have a fair Opportunity of declaring against them, with Unanimity and Zeal.

I am, with the greatest Respect,
(May it please your Lordships and Worships)
Your most dutiful and
obedient Servant,

Aug. 25. 1724.

M. B.

LETTER IV.

To the whole People of IRELAND.

N. B. This was the Letter against which the Lord Lieutenant (*Carteret*) and Council, issued a Proclamation, offering Three hundred Pounds to discover the Author; and for which *Harding* the Printer was tried before one *William Whitshed*, then Chief Justice: But the noble Jury would not find the Bill; nor would any Person discover the Author.

My dear Countrymen,

HAVING already written three *Letters*, upon so disagreeable a Subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *Half-pence*, I conceived my Task was at an End: But I find that Cordials must be frequently applied to weak Constitutions, *Political* as well as *Natural*. A People long used to Hardships lose, by degrees, the very Notions of *Liberty*; they look upon themselves as Creatures at Mercy; and that all Impositions laid on them by a stronger Hand, are, in the Phrase of the *Report*, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *Poverty* and *Lowness of Spirit*, to which a *Kingdom* may be Subject, as well as a *particular Person*. And when *Esau* came fainting from the Field, at the Point to die, it is no Wonder that he sold his *Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage*.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn to all who could want Instruction, by what Methods they might safely proceed, whenever this *Coin* should be offered to them: And, I believe, there hath not been, for many

many Ages, an Example of any Kingdom so firmly united in a Point of great Importance, as this of ours is at present, against that detestable Fraud. But, however, it so happens, that some weak People begin to be alarmed a-new, by Rumours industriously spread. *Wood* prescribeth to the News-mongers in *London*, what they are to write. In one of their Papers published here by some obscure Printer, (and certainly with a bad Design) we are told, that the "Papists in *Ireland* "have entered into an Association against his Coin;" although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the Matter: So that the two Houses of Parliament, the Privy-Council, the great Numbers of Corporations, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Grand-Juries, and Principal Gentlemen of several Counties, are stigmatised in a Lump, under the Name of *Papists*.

THIS Impostor and his Crew, do likewise give out, that, by refusing to receive his Drofs for Sterling, we "dispute the King's Prerogative; are grown ripe for "Rebellion, and ready to shake off the Dependency "of *Ireland* upon the Crown of *England*." To countenance which Reports, he hath published a Paragraph in another News-paper, to let us know, that "the "Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immedi-"ately to settle his Half-pence."

I intreat you, my dear Countrymen, not to be under the least Concern upon these and the like Rumours; which are no more than the last Howls of a Dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These Calumnies are the only Reserve that is left him. For surely, our continued and (almost) unexampled Loyalty, will never be called in Question, for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have, by one obscure *Ironmonger*.

I AM to disputing the King's *Prerogative*, give me Leave to explain to those who are ignorant, what the Meaning of that Word *Prerogative* is.

THE Kings of these Realms enjoy several Powers, wherein the Laws have not interposed: So, they can make

make War and Peace without the Consent of Parliament; and this is a very great *Prerogative*. But if the Parliament doth not approve of the War, the King must bear the Charge of it out of his own Purse; and this is a great Check on the Crown. So, the King hath a *Prerogative* to coin Money, without Consent of Parliament: But he cannot compel the Subject to take that Money, except it be Sterling, Gold or Silver; because, herein he is limited by Law. Some Princes have, indeed, extended their *Prerogative* further than the Law allowed them: Wherein, however, the Lawyers of succeeding Ages, as fond as they are of *Precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the Truth, it is only of late Times that *Prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For, whoever reads the Histories of *England*, will find that some former Kings, and those none of the worst, have, upon several Occasions, ventured to controul the Laws with very little Ceremony or Scruple, even later than the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. In her Reign that pernicious Counsel of sending *base Money* hither, very narrowly failed of losing the Kingdom; being complained of by the Lord Deputy, the Council, and the whole Body of the *English* here: So that, soon after her Death, it was recalled by her Successor, and lawful Money paid in Exchange.

Having thus given you some Notion of what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*, as far as a *Tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the Opinion of the great Lord *Bacon*; that, "as God governs the World by the settled Laws of Nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those Laws but upon high important Occasions: So, among earthly Princes, those are the wisest and the best, who govern by the known Laws of the Country, and seldomest make use of their *Prerogative*."

Now, here you may see that the vile Accusation of *Wood* and his Accomplices, charging us with *disputing the King's Prerogative*, by refusing his Brass, can have no Place; because compelling the Subject to

take any Coin, which is not Sterling, is no Part of the King's *Prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his People to dispute it; as well from that inviolable Loyalty we have always paid to his Majesty, as from the Treatment we might in such a Case justly expect from some, who seem to think, we have neither *common Sense* nor *common Senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *fellow-Subjects*, and not our *Masters*. One great Merit I am sure we have, which those of *English* Birth can have no Pretence to; that our Ancestors reduced this Kingdom to the Obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a worse Climate, the Privilege of being governed by Laws to which we do not consent; a ruined Trade; a House of *Peers* without *Jurisdiction*; almost an Incapacity for all Employments, and the Dread of *Wood*'s Half-pence.

BUT we are so far from disputing the King's *Prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath Power to give a Patent to any Man, for setting his Royal Image and Superscription upon whatever Materials he pleaseth; and Liberty to the Patentee to offer them in any Country from *England* to *Japan*; only attended with one small Limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them*.

UPON these Considerations, I was ever against all Recourse to *England* for a Remedy against the present impending Evil; especially when I observed, that the Addresses of both Houses, after long Expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in Favour of *Wood*; upon which, I made some Observations in a former Letter; and might at least have made as many more: For, it is a Paper of as singular a Nature as I ever beheld.

BUT I mistake; for before this Report was made, his Majesty's *most gracious Answer* to the House of Lords was sent over, and printed; wherein there are these Words, *granting the Patent for coining Half-pence and Farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE

OF

OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *&c.* That King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant Patents for this Purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large: Their Patents were passed under the great Seal of *Ireland*, by References to *Ireland*, the Copper to be coined in *Ireland*; the Patentee was bound, on Demand, to receive his Coin back in *Ireland*, and pay Silver and Gold in Return. *Wood*'s Patent was made under the great Seal of *England*, the Brass coined in *England*, not the least Reference made to *Ireland*; the Sum immense, and the Patentee under no Obligation to receive it again, and give good Money for it: This I only mention, because, in my private Thoughts, I have sometimes made a Query, whether the *Penmar* of those Words in his Majesty's *most gracious Answer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several Circumstances; which, in my poor Opinion, seem to make a Difference.

LET me now say something concerning the other great Cause of some People's Fear; as *Wood* hath taught the *London* News-writer to express it: That *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to settle* Wood's *Half-pence*.

WE know very well that the Lords Lieutenants, for several Years past, have not thought this Kingdom *worthy the Honour of their Residence*, longer than was absolutely necessary for the King's Business; which consequently *wanted no Speed in the Dispatch*. And therefore, it naturally fell into most Mens Thoughts, that a new Governor coming at an *unusual* Time, must portend some *unusual* Business to be done; especially, if the common Report be true; that the Parliament prorogued to I know not when, is, by a new Summons (revocking that Prorogation) to assemble soon after his Arrival: For which extraordinary Proceeding, the Lawyers on the other Side of the Water, have, by great good Fortune, found two *Precedents*.

ALL this being granted, it can never enter into my Head, that so *little a Creature as Wood* could find

Credit enough with the King and his Ministers, to have the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* sent hither in a Hurry, upon his Errand.

FOR, let us take the whole Matter nakedly, as it lieth before us, without the Refinements of some People, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a Patent granted under the great Seal of *England*, upon false Suggestions, to one *William Wood*, for coining Copper Half-pence for *Ireland*: The Parliament here, upon Apprehensions of the worst Consequences from the said Patent, address the King to have it recalled: This is refused, and a Committee of the Privy Council *report* to his Majesty, that *Wood* hath performed the Conditions of his Patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his Half-pence; no Man being obliged to receive them; the People here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one Man; resolving they will have nothing to do with his Ware. By this plain Account of the Fact, it is manifest, that the King and his Ministry are wholly out of the Case; and the Matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any Man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great Haste, before the ordinary Time, and a Parliament summoned by anticipating a Prorogation; merely to put an Hundred thousand Pounds into the Pocket of a *Sharper*, by the Ruin of a most loyal Kingdom?

BUT, supposing all this to be true: By what Arguments could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the same Parliament, which addressed with so much Zeal and Earnestness against this Evil; to pass it into a Law? I am sure their Opinion of *Wood* and his Project are not mended since their last Prorogation: And supposing those *Methods* should be used, which, *Detractors* tell us, have been sometimes put in Practice for *gaining Votes*; it is well known, that in this Kingdom there were few Employments to be given: and if there were more; it is *as well known* to whose Share they must fall.

BUT,

But, because great Numbers of you are altogether ignorant in the Affairs of your Country, I will tell you some Reasons, why there are so few Employments to be disposed of in this Kingdom. All considerable Offices for Life here, are possessed by those, to whom the Reversions were granted; and these have been generally Followers of the chief Governors, or Persons who had Interest in the Court of *England*. So the Lord *Berkely* of *Stratton* holdeth that great Office of *Master of the Rolls*; the Lord *Palmerstown* is *First Remembrancer*, worth near 2000 l. *per Ann.* One *Dodington*, Secretary to the Earl of *Pembroke*, begged the Reversion of *Clerk of the Pells*, worth 2500 l. a-year, which he now enjoyeth by the Death of the Lord *Newton*. Mr. *Southwell* is *Secretary of State*, and the Earl of *Burlington Lord High Treasurer* of *Ireland* by Inheritance. These are only a few among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the Reversions of several Employments during Pleasure are granted the same Way. This among many others, is a Circumstance whereby the Kingdom of *Ireland* is distinguished from all other Nations upon Earth; and maketh it so difficult an Affair to get into a civil Employ, that Mr. *Addison* was forced to purchase an old obscure Place, called *Keeper of the Records in* Bermingham's *Tower*, of Ten Pounds a-year, and to get a Salary of 400 l. annexed to it, though all the Records there are not worth half a Crown, either for Curiosity or Use. And we lately saw a * *Favourite Secretary*, descend to be *Master of the Revels*, which, by his *Credit and Extortion* he hath made *pretty considerable*. I say nothing of the Under-treasurer-ship worth about 9000 l. a-year; nor the Commissioners of the Revenue, Four of whom generally live in *England*: For, I think none of these are granted in Reversion. But the Jest is, that I have known upon Occasion, some of these absent Officers as *keen* against the Interest of *Ireland*,

* *Mr.* Hopkins, *Secretary to the Duke of* Grafton.

as if they had never been indebted to her for a *single Groat*.

I confess I have been sometimes tempted to wish that this Project of *Wood* might succeed; because I reflected with some Pleasure, what a *jolly Crew* it would bring over among us of *Lords* and *Squires*, and *Pensioners* of *both Sexes*, and Officers *Civil* and *Military*; where we should live together as merry and sociable as Beggars; only with this one Abatement, that we should neither have *Meat* to feed, nor *Manufactures* to clothe us; unless we could be content to *prance* about in *Coats of Mail*; or eat Brass as Ostriches do Iron.

I return from this Digression, to that which gave me the Occasion of making it: And, I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of *Ireland* were as *temptable* as any *other* Assembly, *within a Mile of* Christendom (which God forbid) yet the *Managers* must of Necessity fail for Want of *Tools* to work with. But I will yet go one Step further, by supposing that a Hundred new Employments were erected on Purpose to gratify *Compliers:* Yet still an insuperable Difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *Money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of *Town* nor *Country Party*; and it is not improbable, that a Gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his *own Estate*, which bringeth him *Gold* and *Silver*, than with the Addition of an *Employment*; when his *Rents* and *Salary* must both be paid in *Wood's* Brass, at above Eighty *per cent.* Discount.

FOR these, and many other Reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least Apprehensions, from the sudden Expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant*, while we continue in our present hearty Disposition; to alter which, there is no suitable Temptation can possibly be offered: And if, as I have often asserted from the best Authority, the *Law* hath not left a *Power* in the *Crown* to force any Money, except Sterling, upon the Sub-

Subject; much less can the Crown *devolve* such *Power* upon *another*.

This I speak with the utmost Respect to the *Person* and *Dignity* of his Excellency the Lord *Carteret*; whose Character was lately given me, by a Gentleman that hath known him from his first Appearance in the World: That Gentleman describeth him as a young Man of great Accomplishments, excellent Learning, regular in his Life, and of much Spirit and Vivacity. He hath, since, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal Secretary of State: and is now about the 37th Year of his Age appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. From such a Governor this Kingdom may reasonably hope for as much Prosperity, as *under so many Discouragements* it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the Memory of Man, there have been Governors of so much Dexterity, as to carry Points of terrible Consequence to this Kingdom, by their Power with *those who are in Office*; and by their Arts in managing or deluding others with *Oaths*, *Affability*, and even with *Dinners*. If *Wood*'s Brass had, in those Times, been upon the *Anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what Methods would have been taken. *Depending* Persons would have been told in plain Terms, that it was a *Service expected from them, under the Pain of the publick Business being put into more complying Hands*. Others would be allured by *Promises*. To the *Country Gentlemen*, besides *good Words*, *Burgundy* and *closeting*; it might, perhaps, have been hinted, how *kindly it would be taken to comply with a Royal Patent, although it were not compulsory*. That, if any Inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other *Graces or Favours hereafter*: That, *Gentlemen ought to consider, whether it were prudent or safe to disgust* England: They would be desired to *think of some good Bills for encouraging of Trade, and setting the Poor to Work: Some further Acts against Popery, and for uniting Protestants*. There would be solemn

lemn Engagements, that we should *never be troubled with above Forty thousand Pounds in his Coin, and all of the best and weightiest Sort; for which we should only give our Manufactures in Exchange, and keep our Gold and Silver at home.* Perhaps, *a seasonable Report of some Invasion would have been spread in the most proper Juncture*, which is a great Smoother of Rubs in publick Proceedings: And we should have been told, that *this was no Time to create Differences, when the Kingdom was in Danger.*

THESE, I say, and the like Methods, would, in corrupt Times, have been taken to let in this Deluge of Brass among us: And, I am confident, would even then have not succeeded; much less under the Administration of so excellent a Person as the Lord *Carteret*; and in a Country, where the People of all Ranks, Parties and Denominations, are convinced to a Man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their Posterity for ever, will be dated from the Admission of that execrable Coin: That if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate Quantity, than the *Plague* can be confined to a few Families; and that no *Equivalent* can be given by any earthly Power, any more than a dead Carcass can be recovered to Life by a Cordial.

THERE is one comfortable Circumstance in this universal Opposition to Mr. *Wood*, that the People sent over hither from *England*, to *fill up our Vacancies, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military*, are all on our Side: *Money*, the great *Divider* of the World, hath, by a strange Revolution, been the great *Uniter* of a most *divided* People. Who would leave a Hundred Pounds a-year in *England*, (*a Country of Freedom*) to be paid a Thousand in *Ireland* out of *Wood*'s Exchequer? The * *Gentleman they* have lately made *Primate*, would never quit his Seat in an *English* House of Lords, and his Preferments at *Oxford* and *Bristol*, worth Twelve hundred Pounds a-year, for four times the Denomination here, but not half the Value: Therefore,

* *Dr.* HUGH BOULTER.

Therefore, I expect to hear he will be as good an *Irishman*, at least, upon *this one Article*, as any of his Brethren; or even of *Us*, who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Island. For those who, in the common Phrase, do not *come hither to learn the Language*, would never change a better Country for a worse, to receive *Brass* instead of *Gold*.

ANOTHER Slander spread by *Wood* and his Emissaries is, that, by opposing him, we discover an Inclination to *shake off our Dependence upon the Crown of* England. Pray observe, how important a Person is this same *William Wood*; and how the publick Weal of two Kingdoms, is involved in his private Interest. First, all those who refuse to take his Coin *are Papists*; for he telleth us, that *none but Papists are associated against him*. Secondly, they *dispute the King's Prerogative*. Thirdly, they *are ripe for Rebellion*. And Fourthly, they are going to *shake off their Dependence upon the Crown of* England; that is to say, *they are going to chuse another King*: For there can be no other Meaning in this Expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

AND this giveth me an Opportunity of explaining, to those who are ignorant, another Point which hath often *swelled in my Breast*. Those who come over hither to us from *England*, and some *weak* People among ourselves, whenever, in Discourse, we make mention of *Liberty* and *Property*, shake their Heads, and tell us, that *Ireland* is a *depending Kingdom*; as if they would seem, by this Phrase, to intend, that the People of *Ireland* is in some State of Slavery or Dependence, different from those of *England*: Whereas, a *depending Kingdom* is a *modern Term of Art*; unknown, as I have heard, to all antient *Civilians*, and *Writers upon Government*; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called in some Statutes an *Imperial Crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a Style, as any Kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this Expression, a *depending Kingdom*, there is no more understood, than that, by a Statute made here, in the 33d Year

Year of *Henry* VIII. *the King and his Successors, are to be Kings Imperial of this Realm, as united and knit to the Imperial Crown of* England. I have looked over all the *English* and *Irish* Statutes, without finding any Law that maketh *Ireland depend* upon *England*; any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have *the same King with them*; and consequently they were obliged to have the *same King with us*. For the Law was made by *our own Parliament*; and our Ancestors then were not such *Fools (whatever they were in the preceding Reign)* to bring themselves under I know not what *Dependence*, which is now talked of, without any Ground *of Law, Reason*, or *common Sense*.

LET whoever think otherwise, I, *M. B. Drapier*, desire to be excepted. For I declare, next under God, I *depend* only on the King my Sovereign, and on the Laws of my own Country. And, I am so far from *depending* upon the People of *England*, that, if they should ever *rebel* against my Sovereign, (which God forbid) I would be ready at the first Command from his Majesty, to take Arms again them; as some of *my* Countrymen did against *theirs* at *Preston*: And, if such a Rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*; I would venture to transgress that *Statute* so far, as to lose every Drop of my Blood, to hinder him from being *King* of *Ireland*.

IT is true, indeed, that within the Memory of Man the Parliaments of *England* have *sometimes* assumed the Power of binding this Kingdom, by Laws enacted there; wherein they were, at first, openly opposed (as far as *Truth, Reason*, and *Justice* are capable of *opposing*) by the famous Mr. *Molineux*, an *English* Gentleman born here; as well as by several of the greatest Patriots, and *best Whigs* in *England*; but the *Love and Torrent* of Power prevailed. Indeed, the Arguments on both sides were irresistible. For, in *Reason*, all *Government* without the Consent of the *governed*, is the *very Definition of Slavery*: But in *Fact* eleven

Men

Men well armed, will certainly subdue one single Man in his Shirt. But I have done: For those who have used *Power* to cramp *Liberty*, have gone so far as to resent even the *Liberty of complaining*; although a Man upon the Rack, was never known to be refused the Liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And, as we are apt to *sink* too much under *unreasonable* Fears, so we are too soon inclined to be *raised* by groundless Hopes, (according to the Name of all *consumptive* Bodies like ours). Thus, it hath been given out for several Days past, that *somebody* in *England* impowered a second *somebody* to write to a third *somebody* here, to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with those Half-pence.* And this is reported to have been done by the * *same Person*, who was said to have sworn some Months ago, that he would *ram them down our Throats*, (although I doubt they would *stick in our Stomachs*). But which ever of these Reports is true or false, it is no Concern of ours. For, *in this Point*, we have nothing to do with *English Ministers:* And, I should be sorry to leave it in their Power to *redress* this Grievance, or to *enforce* it: For the *Report of the Committee*, hath given me a *Surfeit*. The Remedy is wholly in your own Hands; and therefore I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that *Spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you; and to let you see, that by the Laws of God, of Nature, of Nations, and of your own Country, you are and ought to be as free a People as your Brethren in *England*.

If the Pamphlets published at *London*, by *Wood* and his *Journeymen*, in Defence of his Cause, were reprinted here, and that our Countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked Design, more than all I shall be ever able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *Saint*, in Comparison of what he appeareth to be, from the Wri-

tings

* *Mr.* Walpole, *now Sir* Robert, *afterwards Earl of* Orford.

tings of those whom he *hireth* to justify his *Project*. But he is so far *Master of the Field (let others guess the Reason)* that no *London* Printer dare publish any Paper written in Favour of *Ireland:* And here no body hath yet been so *bold*, as to publish any thing in *Favour of him*.

THERE was a few Days ago a Pamphlet sent me of near 50 Pages, written in Favour of Mr. *Wood* and his Coinage; printed in *London*: It is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here: But it gave me an Occasion, to reflect upon an Unhappiness we lye under, that the People of *England* are utterly ignorant of our Case: Which, however, is no Wonder; since it is a Point they do not in the least concern themselves about; further than, perhaps, as a Subject of Discourse in a Coffee-house, when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have Reason to believe, that no Minister ever gave himself the Trouble of reading any Papers written in our Defence; because I suppose their *Opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the Reports of *Wood* and his Accomplices; else it would be impossible, that any Man could have the Impudence, to write such a Pamphlet as I have mentioned.

OUR *Neighbours, whose Understandings are just upon a Level with ours*, (which perhaps are none of the *brightest*) have a strong Contempt for most Nations, but especially for *Ireland*: They look upon us as a Sort of *Savage Irish*, whom our Ancestors conquered several hundred Years ago: And if I should describe the *Britons* to you, as they were in *Cæsar*'s Time, when they *painted their Bodies, or clothed themselves with the Skins of Beasts*, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused, in relation to the present Subject, that, hearing only *one Side of the Cause*, and having neither Opportunity nor Curiosity to examine the *other*, they *believe a Lie*, merely for their Ease; and conclude, because Mr. *Wood* pretendeth to have *Power*, he hath also *Reason* on his Side.

THEREFORE,

THEREFORE, to let you see how this Case is represented in *England* by *Wood* and his Adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that Pamphlet, a few of those notorious Falshoods, in Point of *Fact* and *Reasoning*, contained therein; the Knowledge whereof, will confirm my Countrymen in their *own* right Sentiments, when they will see by comparing both, how much their *Enemies are in the Wrong*.

FIRST, The Writer positively asserts, "That *Wood*'s "Half-pence were current among us for several "Months, with the universal Approbation of all "People, without one single Gainsayer; and we all "to a Man thought ourselves happy in having them."

SECONDLY, He affirms, "That we were drawn "into a Dislike of them, only by some cunning evil-"designing Men among us, who opposed this Patent "of *Wood*, to get another for themselves."

THIRDLY, "That those who most declared at first "against *Wood*'s Patent, were the very Men who in-"tend to get another for their own Advantage."

FOURTHLY, "That our Parliament and Privy "Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, "the Grand Juries and Merchants, and, in short, the "whole Kingdom; nay, the very Dogs *(as he ex-"presseth it)* were fond of those Half-pence, until "they were inflamed by those few designing Persons "aforesaid."

FIFTHLY, He says directly, "That all those who "opposed the Half-pence, were Papists, and Ene-"mies to King *George*."

THUS far I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear from your own Knowledge, that the Author is a most notorious Liar in every Article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole Kingdom, that if Occasion required, we might get it confirmed *under Five hundred thousand Hands*.

SIXTHLY, He would persuade us, "That if we "sell Five Shillings worth of our Goods or Manufa-"ctures for Two Shillings and Fourpence worth of "Copper, although the Copper were melted down,

" and that we could get Five Shillings in Gold and " Silver for the ſaid Goods; yet to take the ſaid " Two Shillings and Fourpence in Copper, would be " greatly for our Advantage."

AND laſtly, He maketh us a very fair Offer, as impowered by *Wood*, " That if we will take off Two " hundred thouſand Pounds in his Half-pence for our " Goods, and likewiſe pay him three *per Cent.* Inte- " reſt for thirty Years, for an Hundred and twenty " thouſand Pounds (at which he computes the Coin- " age above the intrinſick Value of the Copper) for " the Loan of his Coin, he will after that Time give " us good Money for what Half-pence will be then " left."

LET me place this Offer in as clear a Light as I can, to ſhew the unſupportable Villany and Impudence of that incorrigible Wretch. Firſt (ſays he), " I will ſend Two hundred thouſand Pounds of my " Coin into your Country: The Copper I compute " to be in real Value Eighty thouſand Pounds, and I " charge you with an Hundred and twenty thouſand " Pounds for the Coinage; ſo that you ſee, I lend " you an Hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds for " thirty Years; for which you ſhall pay me three *per* " *Cent.* That is to ſay, Three thouſand ſix hundred " Pounds *per Annum*, which in thirty Years will a- " mount to an Hundred and eight thouſand Pounds. " And when theſe thirty Years are expired, return me " my Copper, and I will give you good Money for " it."

THIS is the Propoſal made to us by *Wood* in that Pamphlet, written by one of his *Commiſſioners*: And the Author is ſuppoſed to be the ſame infamous *Coleby*, one of his *Under-Swearers* at the *Committee of Council*, who was tried for *robbing the Treaſury here*, where he was an Under-Clerk.

BY this Propoſal, he will firſt receive Two hundred thouſand Pounds, in Goods or Sterling, for as much Copper as he values at Eighty thouſand Pounds; but in reality not worth Thirty thouſand Pounds.

Secondly,

Secondly, He will receive for Interest an Hundred and eight thousand Pounds: And when our Children come, thirty Years hence, to return his Half-pence upon his Executors (for before that Time he will be probably gone *to his own Place*), those Executors will very reasonably reject them as Raps and Counterfeits; which they will be, and Millions of them of his own Coinage.

METHINKS, I am fond of such a *Dealer* as this, who mendeth every Day upon our Hands like a *Dutch* Reckoning; where, if you dispute the Unreasonableness and Exorbitancy of the Bill, the Landlord shall bring it up every time with new Additions.

ALTHOUGH these and the like Pamphlets, published by *Wood* in *London*, but altogether unknown here, where no body could read them, without as much *Indignation* as *Contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a Specimen how this *Man* employeth his Time; where he rideth alone without any Creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our Silence: And the *English* in general, if they think of this Matter at all, impute our Refusal to *Wilfulness* or *Dissatisfaction*, just as *Wood* and his *Hirelings* are pleased to represent.

BUT, although our Arguments are not suffered to be printed in *England*, yet the Consequence will be of little Moment. Let *Wood* endeavour to *persuade* the People *there*, that we ought to *receive* his Coin; and let me *convince* our People *here*, that they ought to *reject* it under Pain of our utter undoing: And then let him do his *best* and his *worst*.

BEFORE I conclude, I must beg Leave, in all Humility to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *Indiscretion*, by causing so honourable a Name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned so often, and in such a Manner upon this Occasion. A short Paper, printed at *Bristol*, and reprinted here, re-

ports Mr. *Wood* to say, that he *wonders at the Impudence and Insolence of the* Irish, *in refusing his Coin, and what he will do when Mr.* Walpole *comes to Town.* Where, by the Way, he is mistaken; for it is the *true* English *People of* Ireland, who refuse it; although we take it for granted, that the *Irish* will do so too, whenever they are asked. In another printed Paper of his contriving it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole will cram his Brass down our Throats.* Sometimes it is given out, that we must *either take those Half-pence or eat our Brogues.* And, in another News-letter but of Yesterday, we read, that the same great Man *hath sworn to make us swallow his Coin in Fire-Balls.*

THIS brings to my Mind the known Story of a *Scots* Man, who receiving Sentence of Death, with all the Circumstances of *hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling,* and the like, cried out; *What need all this* COOKERY? And, I think, we have Reason to ask the same Question; For, if we believe *Wood,* here is a *Dinner* getting ready for us, and you see the *Bill of Fare*; and I am sorry the *Drink* was forgot, which might easily be supplied with *melted Lead* and *flaming Pitch*.

WHAT vile Words are these to put into the Mouth of a great Counsellor, in high Trust with his Majesty, and looked upon as a Prime Minister? If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a Manner of representing his Patrons; when I come to be a *Great Man,* he shall never be suffered to attend at my *Levee.* This is not the Style of a great Minister; it favours too much of the *Kettle* and the *Furnace*; and came entirely out of *Wood's Forge.*

As for the Threat of making us *eat our Brogues,* we need not be in Pain; for if his Coin should pass, that *unpolite Covering for the Feet,* would no longer *be a National Reproach*; because then we should have neither *Shoe* nor *Brogue* left in the Kingdom. But here

here the Falshood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *Brogue* in his whole Life.

As to *swallowing these Half-pence in Fire-Balls*, it is a Story equally improbable. For, to execute this *Operation*, the whole Stock of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin and Metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow *Balls* with *Wild-fire*, no bigger than a *reasonable* Throat can be able to swallow. Now the Metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty Millions of Half-pence to be *swallowed* by a Million and a half of People; so that, allowing two Half-pence to each *Ball*, there will be about seventeen *Balls* of *Wild-fire* a-piece, to be swallowed by every Person in the Kingdom: And to administer this Dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than Fifty thousand *Operators*, allowing one *Operator* to every thirty; which, considering the *Squeamishness* of some Stomachs, and the *Peevishness of young Children*, is but reasonable. Now, under Correction of better Judgments, I think the Trouble and Charge of such an Experiment, would exceed the Profit; and therefore I take this *Report* to be *spurious*; or, at least, only a new *Scheme* of Mr. *Wood* himself; which, to make it pass the better in *Ireland*, he would father upon a *Minister of State*.

But I will now demonstrate, beyond all Contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is against this Project of Mr. *Wood*; and is an entire Friend to *Ireland*; only by this one invincible Argument, That he has the universal Opinion of being a wise Man, an able Minister, and, in all his Proceedings, pursuing the *true Interest* of the *King his Master*: And, that as his *Integrity* is above all *Corruption*, so is his *Fortune* above all *Temptation*. I reckon therefore, we are perfectly safe from that *Corner*; and shall never be under the Necessity of contending with so *formidable*

a Power; but be left to possess our *Bragues* and *Potatoes in Peace*, * as *remote from Thunder as we are from Jupiter.*

I am, my dear Countrymen,

Your loving Fellow-subject,

Fellow-sufferer, and

humble Servant,

Oct. 13. 1724.

M. B.

* *Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.*

In

In about a Month after the Proclamation was publiſhed, offering Three hundred Pounds Reward for the diſcovering the Author of the preceeding Letter, the following Paper was publiſhed.

The PRESENTMENT of the *Grand Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin*.

WHEREAS ſeveral great Quantities of baſe Metal coined, commonly called *Wood*'s Half-pence, have been brought into the Ports of *Dublin*, and lodged in ſeveral Houſes of this City, with an Intention to make them paſs clandeſtinely among his Majeſty's Subjects of this Kingdom; notwithſtanding the Addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Privy Council, and the Declarations of moſt of the Corporations of this City againſt the ſaid Coin: And whereas his Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom at Liberty to take or refuſe the ſaid Half-pence;

WE the *Grand Jury* of the County of the City of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas-Term* 1724, having entirely at Heart his Majeſty's Intereſt, and the Welfare of our Country, and being thoroughly ſenſible of the great Diſcouragement which Trade hath ſuffered by the Apprehenſions of the ſaid Coin; whereof we have already felt the diſmal Effects; and that the Currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great Diminution of his Majeſty's Revenue, and the Ruin of us and our Poſterity: Do *preſent* all ſuch Perſons as have attempted, or ſhall endeavour by Fraud, or otherwiſe, to impoſe the ſaid Half-pence upon us, contrary

contrary to his Majesty's most gracious Intentions, as Enemies to his Majesty's Government, and to the Safety, Peace, and Welfare of all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; whose Affections have been so eminently distinguished by their Zeal to his illustrious Family, before his happy Accession to the Throne, and by their continual Loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just Gratitude, acknowledge the Services of all such *Patriots*, as have been eminently *zealous* for the Interest of his Majesty, and this Country, in detecting the fraudulent Impositions of the said *Wood*, and preventing the passing his base Coin: So we do, at the same time, declare our Abhorrence and Detestation of all Reflexions on his Majesty, and his Government; and that we are ready, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend his most Sacred Majesty against the Pretender, and all his Majesty's open and secret Enemies, both at home and abroad.

Given under our Hands, at the Grand Jury Chamber, this 28th of *November*, 1724.

George Forbes,	*David Tew,*
William Epsom,	*Thomas How,*
Nathaniel Pearson,	*John Jones,*
Joseph Nattal,	*James Brown,*
William Aston,	*Charles Lyndon,*
Stearn Tighe,	*Jerom Bredin,*
Richard Walker,	*John Sican,*
Edmond French,	*Anthony Brunton,*
John Vereilles,	*Thomas Gaven,*
Philip Pearson,	*Daniel Elwood,*
Thomas Robinson,	*John Brunet.*
Richard Davison,	

Seasonable

Seasonable ADVICE to the Grand Jury concerning the Bill preparing against the PRINTER of the preceeding Letter.

SINCE a *Bill* is preparing for the *Grand Jury*, to find against the Printer of the *Drapier's last Letter*; there are several Things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen, before they determine upon it.

FIRST, They are to consider; That the Author of the said Pamphlet did write three other Discourses on the same Subject; which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole Nation; and were allowed to have raised, and continued that Spirit among us, which hitherto hath kept out *Wood's* Coin. For all Men will grant, that, if those Pamphlets had not been writ, his Coin must have overrun the Nation some Months ago.

SECONDLY, It is to be considered, That this Pamphlet, against which a *Proclamation* hath been issued, is wrote by the *same Author*; that no body ever doubted the Innocence and Goodness of his Design; that he appears, through the whole Tenor of it, to be a *loyal Subject* to his Majesty, and devoted to the *House of Hanover*, and declareth himself, in a Manner, peculiarly zealous against the *Pretender*. And, if such a Writer, in four several Treatises on so nice a Subject, where a Royal Patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of *England*, and of Liberty, should, in one or two Places, happen to let fall an inadvertent Expression, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the Good he hath done; especially, when we consider, that he could have no possible Design in View, either of Honour, or Profit; but purely THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, It ought to be well considered, whether any one Expression in the said Pamphlet be really liable to a just Exception; much less to be found *wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon his Majesty and his Ministry*, &c.

THE two Points in that Pamphlet, which, it is said, the Prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are first, where the Author mentions the Penner of the King's Answer. First, it is well known, his Majesty is not Master of the *English* Tongue; and therefore, it is necessary that some other Person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that Language. Secondly, his Majesty's Answer is not in the first Person, but the third. It is not said, WE ARE CONCERNED, or OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but his MAJESTY *is concerned*, and his ROYAL PREDECESSOR. By which it is plain, these are properly not the Words of his Majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his Ministers. Thirdly, it will be easily seen, that the Author of the Pamphlet delivereth his Sentiments upon this Particular, with the utmost Caution and Respect, as any impartial Reader will observe.

THE second Paragraph, which, it is said, will be taken Notice of, as a Motive to find the Bill, is what the Author says of *Ireland*, being a *dependent Kingdom*. He explaineth all the *Dependency* he knoweth of; which is a Law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted that *whatever is King of* England *shall be King of* Ireland. Before this Explanation be condemned, and the Bill found upon it, it would be proper that some Lawyers should fully inform the Jury, what other Law there is, either Statute or Common, for this *Dependency*; and if there be no Law, there is no Transgression.

THE fourth Thing, very maturely to be considered by the Jury is, what Influence their finding the Bill may have upon the Kingdom: The People in general find no Fault in the *Drapier's* last Book, any more than in the three former; and therefore, when

when they hear it is condemned by a Grand Jury of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in Favour of *Wood*'s Coin; they will think we of this Town have changed our Minds, and intend to take those Halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: So, that the Question comes to this; Which will be of the worst Consequence; to let pass one or two Expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a Book written for the publick Service; or to leave a free open Passage for *Wood*'s Brass to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever?

THE fifth Thing to be considered is, That the Members of the Grand Jury being Merchants, and principal Shop-keepers, can have no *suitable Temptation* offered them, as a Recompence for the Mischief they will do, and suffer, by letting in this Coin; nor can be at any Loss, or Danger, by rejecting the Bill: They do not expect any Employments in the State, to make up in their own private Advantage, by the Destruction of their Country: Whereas, those who go about to *advise*, *entice*, or *threaten* them to find that Bill, have great Employments, which they have a mind to keep, or get *greater*; as it was likewise the Case of all those who signed the Proclamation, to have the Author prosecuted. And therefore, it is known, that his * Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, so renowned for his Piety and Wisdom, and Love of his Country, absolutely refused to condemn the Book, or the Author.

LASTLY, it ought to be considered what Consequence the finding of the Bill, may have upon a poor Man, perfectly innocent; I mean the Printer. A Lawyer may pick out Expressions, and make them liable to Exception, where no other Man is able to find any. But how can it be supposed, that an ignorant Printer can be such a *Critick?* He knew the Author's Design was honest, and approved by the whole Kingdom: He advised with Friends, who told him there was

* *Dr.* WILLIAM KING.

was no Harm in the Book, and he could see none himself. It was sent him in an unknown Hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his Wife have offered to take their Oaths, that they knew not the Author; and therefore, to find a Bill that may bring a Punishment upon the Innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For, it will be impossible to find the Author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his Name. But, I suppose, what he did at first out of Modesty, he continueth to do out of Prudence. God protect Us and Him.

I will conclude all with a Fable ascribed to *Demosthenes:* He had served the People of *Athens* with great Fidelity, in the Station of an *Orator*; when upon a certain Occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his Enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his Countrymen, the following Story: Once upon a Time the *Wolves* desired a League with the *Sheep*, upon this Condition: That the Cause of Strife might be taken away, which was the *Shepherds* and *Mastiffs*: This being granted, the *Wolves*, without all Fear, made Havock of the *Sheep*.

November 11.
1724.

The

The Evening before the Trial, Copies of the preceeding Paper were conveyed to every Person of the Grand Jury; who, moved by the Reasons contained in the said Paper, would not find the Bill; whereupon, the Chief Justice *Whitshed* dissolved the Jury in a Rage: After which, the following Extract was published, and dispersed about the Town, to show the Illegality of the said *Whitshed*'s Proceeding.

An Extract of a Book, entituled, *An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at* Westminster, Oct. 21. 1680. *Pag.* 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the House of Commons in *England, Nov.* 13th, 1680.

SEVERAL Persons being examined about the dismissing a Grand Jury in *Middlesex*; the House came to the following *Resolutions*.

Resolved, That the Discharging of a Grand Jury, by any Judge, before the End of the Term, Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are under their Consideration, and not presented, is abitrary, illegal, destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to subvert the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine the Proceedings of the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*; and report the same, with their Opinion herein, to this House.

A

LETTER

To the Right Honourable the

Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH.

They compaſſed me about alſo with Words of Deceit, and fought againſt me without a Cauſe.
For my Love they are my Adverſaries; but I give myſelf unto Prayer.
And they have rewarded me Evil for Good, and Hatred for my Love. Pſal. cix. 3. 4. 5.
Seek not to be Judge, being not able to take away Iniquity; leſt at any Time thou fear the Perſon of the Mighty, and lay a ſtumbling Block in the Way of thy Uprightneſs.
Offend not againſt the Multitude of a City, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the People.
Bind not one Sin upon another, for in one thou ſhalt not be unpuniſhed. Eccluſ. vii. 6. 7. 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent, quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

Directions to the PRINTER.

Mr. *Harding*,

"WHEN I sent you my former Papers, I can-
"not say I intended you either *Good* or *Hurt*;
"and yet you have happened through my Means to
"receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any
"more of the *latter*, and increase the *former*. Your
"Trade, particularly in this Kingdom, is, of all o-
"thers the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for, as
"you deal in the most worthless Kind of Trash; the
"Penny Productions of pennyless Scribblers; so, you
"often venture your Liberty, and sometimes your
"Lives, for the Purchase of half a Crown; and, by
"your own Ignorance, are punished for other Mens
"Actions.

"I am afraid, you, in particular, think you have
"Reason to complain of me, for your own, and your
"Wife's Confinement in Prison, to your great Ex-
"pence as well as Hardship; and for a Prosecution
"still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. *Harding*,
"how that Matter standeth. Since the Press hath
"lain under so strict an Inspection, those who have a
"mind to inform the World, are become so cauti-
"ous, as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the
"Way of Danger. My Custom, therefore, is to
"dictate to a Prentice who can write in a feigned
"Hand; and what is written, we send to your
"House by a Black-guard Boy. But, at the same
"time, I do assure you, upon my Reputation, that
"I never did send you any Thing, for which, I
"thought you could possibly be called to an Ac-
"count. And, you will be my Witness, that I al-
"ways desired you, by a Letter, to take some good
"Advice before you ventured to print; because I
"knew the *Dexterity* of *Dealers in the Law*, at find-
"ing out something to fasten on, where no Evil is
"meant. I am told, indeed, that you did accord-

"ingly consult several very able Persons; and even "*some*, who afterwards *appeared against you*: To "which I can only answer; that you must either "change your *Advisers*, or determine to print no-"thing that comes from a *Drapier*.

"I desire you will send the inclosed Letter, direct-"ed to my Lord Viscount *Molesworth*, at his House "at *Brackdenstown* near *Swords*: But I would have "it sent *printed*, for the Convenience of his Lord-"ship's reading; because this counterfeit Hand of "my Prentice, is not very legible. And, if you "think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it "read over carefully by some *notable* Lawyer: I am "assured, you will find enough of them who are "Friends to the *Drapier*, and will do it without a Fee; "which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your "Expences. For, although I have taken so much "Care, that I think it impossible to find a Topick out "of the following Papers, for sending you again to "Prison; yet I will not venture to be your Guarantee.

"THIS ensuing Letter containeth only a short Ac-"count of myself, and an humble Apology for my "former Pamphlets, especially the *last*; with little "Mention of Mr. *Wood*, or his *Half-pence* because I "have already said enough upon that Subject, until "Occasion shall be given for *new Fears*; and, in that "Case, you may perhaps hear from me again."

I am,

Your Friend,

and Servant,

From my Shop in
St. *Francis-street*,
Dec. 14. 1724.

M. B.

P. S. "For Want of Intercourse between you and "me, which I never will suffer, your People are apt "to make very gross Errors in the Press, which I de-"sire you will provide against."

TO

TO THE

Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Molesworth*, at his House at *Brackdenstown* near *Swords*.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late on the Maxim of common Observers, that those who meddle in Matters out of their Calling, will have Reason to repent; which is now verified in me: For, by engaging in the Trade of a Writer, I have drawn upon myself the Displeasure of the Government, signified by a *Proclamation*; promising a Reward of Three hundred Pounds, to the first *faithful* Subject who shall be able, and inclined to *inform* against me. To which I may add, the *laudable Zeal* and *Industry* of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, in his Endeavours to discover so dangerous a Person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly Cause to do so; and the common Observation still standeth good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the Course of human Affairs, that a Man shall be made liable to *legal* Animadversions, where he hath nothing to answer for, either to *God* or his *Country*; and condemned at *Westminster-Hall*, for what he will never be charged with at the *Day of Judgment*.

After strictly examining my own Heart, and consulting some Divines of great Reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any * *Malice* or *Wickedness against the Publick*; of any *Designs to sow Sedition*; *of reflecting*

* *Articles mentioned in the Indictment, and* vide *the Proclamation.*

flecting on the King and his Ministers; or of endeavouring *to alienate the Affections of the People of this Kingdom from those of* England. All I can charge myself with, is a weak Attempt to serve a Nation in Danger of Destruction by a most wicked and malicious Projector; without waiting until I were called to its Assistance: Which Attempt, however it may perhaps give me the Title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never ly a Burden upon my Conscience. God knows, whether I may not, with all my Caution, have already run myself into a second Danger, by offering thus much in my own Vindication. For I have heard of a *Judge*, who, upon the Criminal's *Appeal* to the *dreadful Day of Judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *Premunire*, for *appealing to a foreign Jurisdiction*: And of another in *Wales*, who severely checked the Prisoner for offering the same Plea; taxing him with reflecting on the Court by such a Comparison; because *Comparisons were odious*.

BUT, in order to make some Excuse for being more speculative than others of my Condition; I desire your Lordship's Pardon, while I am doing a very foolish Thing; which is to give you some little Account of myself.

I was bred at a Free-school, where I acquired some little Knowledge in the *Latin Tongue*. I served my Apprenticeship in *London*, and there set up for myself with good Success; until, by the *Death of some Friends, and the Misfortunes of others*, I returned into this Kingdom; and began to employ my Thoughts in cultivating the *Woollen Manufacture* through all its Branches; wherein I met with great Discouragement, and powerful Opposers; whose Objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the People of *England* would be offended, if our Manufactures were brought to equal theirs: And even some of the *Weaving Trade* were my Enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your Lordship, at that Time, did me the Honour to come into my Shop, where I

shewed

shewed you a * Piece of *black and white Stuff*, just sent from the *Dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my Customer for it.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future to sit quietly in my Shop, and deal in *common Goods*, like the rest of my Brethren; until it happened some Months ago, considering with myself, that the *lower and poorer Sort of People* wanted a *plain, strong, coarse Stuff, to defend them against Cold* Easterly *Winds*; *which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long Time together*; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the Kingdom, and preserved many Thousands from *Agues*. I then made a † *second* and a *third* Kind of *Stuffs* for the *Gentry*, with the same Success; insomuch, that an *Ague* hath hardly been heard of for some Time.

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a ‡ *fourth* Piece, made of the best *Irish* Wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best *Lord* or *Judge* of the Land! But, of late, some *great Folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *Shuddering in their Limbs*; and have thrown it off in a Rage; cursing to Hell the poor *Drapier*, who invented it: So that I am determined, never to *work for Persons of Quality* again; except for your *Lordship* and a *very few more*.

I assure your Lordship, upon the Word of an honest Citizen, that I am not richer, by the Value of one of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, with the Sale of all the several *Stuffs* I have contrived: For, I give the whole Profit to the *Dyers* and *Pressers*. And, therefore, I hope you will please to believe, that no other Motive, besides

* *By this is meant, a preceding Discourse in this Volume, entitled,* A Proposal for the Universal Use of *Irish* Manufactures.

† *Alluding to the* Drapier's *three first Letters.*

‡ *Meaning the fourth Letter, against which the Proclamation was issued.*

besides the Love of my Country, could engage me to busy my Head and Hands, to the Loss of my Time; and the Gain of nothing but *Vexation* and *Ill-will*.

I have now in Hand one *Piece of Stuff* to be woven on purpose for your Lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the * *Shreds and Remnants of the Wool employed in the former*. However, I shall *work* it up as well as I can; and at worst, you need only give it among your Tenants.

I am very sensible how ill your Lordship is like to be entertained with the Pedantry of a *Drapier*, in the Terms of his own Trade. How will the Matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an Affair of State? For, such is now grown the Controversy with Mr. *Wood*, if some *great Lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at Play, that Men begin with *Farthings*, and go on to *Gold*, until some of them lose their Estates and die in Jail: So it may possibly fall out in my Case, that by *playing* too long with Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *Fine*, double to the Reward for *betraying* me; be sent to Prison, and *not be delivered thence until I shall have paid the uttermost Farthing*.

THERE are, My Lord, three Sorts of Persons with whom I am resolved never to dispute; a *Highway-man* with a Pistol at my Breast; *a Troop of Dragoons* who come to plunder my House; and a *Man of the Law* who can make a Merit of accusing me. In each of these Cases, *which are almost the same*, the best Method is to *keep out of the Way*: and the next best is to *deliver your Money, surrender your House*, and *confess nothing*.

I am told, that the two Points in my last Letter, from which an Occasion of Offence hath been taken, are where I mention his Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House of Lords upon Mr. *Wood*'s Pa-

* *Meaning the present Letter.*

tent;

tent; and where I discourse upon *Ireland*'s being a *Dependant Kingdom*. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost Respect and Caution; and I thought it necessary to shew where *Wood*'s Patent differed in many essential Parts, from all others that ever had been granted; because, the contrary had, for want of due Information, been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of *Ireland*'s *Dependency*, I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the Curiosity to inquire among several eminent Lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the Matter. I then turned over all the Statutes of both Kingdoms without the least Information, further than an *Irish* Act that I quoted of the 33d of *Henry* VIII. uniting *Ireland* to *England* under one King. I cannot say I was *sorry* to be disappointed in my Search; because it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend only* upon *God* and my *Prince*, and the *Laws of my own Country, after the Manner of other Nations*. But since my *Betters* are of a *different Opinion*, and desire *further Dependencies*, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own Heart, upon the *Exception* I made of *M. B. Drapier*: Indeed that Hint was borrowed from an idle Story I had heard in *England*, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but because it *insinuates neither Treason nor Sedition*, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred Years ago, when the Peers were so great that the Commons were looked upon as little better than their *Dependents*; a Bill was brought in for making some new Additions to the Power and Privileges of the Peerage. After it was read, one Mr. *Drue*, a Member of the House stood up, and said, he very much approved the Bill, and would give his Vote to have it pass; but however, for some Reasons best known to himself, he desired that a Clause might be inserted for *excepting the Family of the* Drues. The Oddness of the Proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the Bill was thrown out.

WHETHER

WHETHER I were mistaken, or went too far in examining the *Dependency*, must be left to the impartial Judgment of the World, as well as to the Courts of Judicature; although indeed not in so *effectual* and *decisive a Manner*. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile Spirit, that this Point did not *belong to my Subject*, is a false and foolish Objection. There were several scandalous Reports industriously spread by *Wood* and his Accomplices, to discourage all Opposition against his infamous Project. They gave it out that we were prepared for a *Rebellion*; and that we disputed the King's *Prerogative*; and were shaking off our *Dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much Belief against the most visible Demonstrations to the contrary, that a great Person of this Kingdom, now in *England*, sent over such an Account of it to his Friends, as would make any good Subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that Calumny as it deserved. Then I proved by an invincible Argument, that we could have no Intention to dispute his Majesty's *Prerogative*; because the *Prerogative* was not concerned in the Question; the Civilians and Lawyers of all Nations agreeing, that *Copper is not Money*. And lastly, to clear us from the Imputation of shaking off our *Dependency*: I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this *Dependency* consisted; and cited the Statute above mentioned, made in *Ireland*; by which it is enacted, that *whosoever is King of* England, *shall be King of* Ireland; and that the two Kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one King*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *Dependency*; because it was altogether out of our Power: For surely no King of *England* will ever consent to the Repeal of this Statute.

BUT upon this Article I am charged with a heavier Accusation. It is said that I *went too far*, when I declared, that *if ever the Pretender should come to be fixed upon the Throne of* England (*which God forbid*) *I would so far venture to transgress this Statute, that I*

would

would lose the last Drop of my Blood, before I would submit to him as King of Ireland.

THIS I hear on all Sides, is the strongest and weightiest Objection against me; and which hath given the most Offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct Statute; and that any Motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a King, whom *England* should receive. Now, if in defending myself from this Accusation, I should freely confess, that I *went too far*; that the Expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my Zeal for his present Majesty, and his Protestant Line in the House of *Hanover*; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like Kind; and, that I hope this free Acknowledgment and Sorrow for my Error, will be some Atonement, and a little soften the Hearts of my powerful Adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a Defence as this, I do not doubt, but the People would wrest it to an ill Meaning, by a spiteful Interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other Answer which that Paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the Mercy of every candid Reader; but still without recanting my own Opinion.

I will now venture to tell your Lordship a Secret, wherein, I fear, you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this Habit of writing and discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almost* the whole Kingdom, and am apt to grate the Ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my Apprenticeship in *London*, and a long Residence there after I had set up for myself. Upon my Return and Settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one Country of Freedom for another*. I had been long conversing with the Writings of your Lordship, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Molineaux*, Colonel *Sidney*, and other dangerous Authors, who talk of "Liberty as a "Blessing, to which the whole Race of Mankind hath "an original Title; whereof nothing but unlawful "Force can divest them." I knew a good deal of the several *Gothick* Institutions in *Europe*; and by what In-

cidents and Events they came to be destroyed: And I ever thought it the most uncontrouled and universally agreed Maxim, that "Freedom consisteth in a People "being governed by Laws made with their own Con-"sent; and Slavery in the contrary." I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that *Liberty* and *Property* are words of known Use and Signification in this Kingdom; and the very Lawyers pretend to understand, and have them often in their Mouths. These were the Errors which have misled me; and to which alone I must impute the severe Treatment I have received. But I shall in Time *grow wiser*, and learn to consider my *Driver*, the *Road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to say, that the boldest and most obnoxious Words I ever delivered, would in *England* have only exposed me as a stupid Fool, who went to prove that "the Sun shone in a "clear Summer's Day:" And I have Witnesses ready to depose, that your Lordship hath said and writ fifty times worse; and, what is still an Aggravation, with infinitely more Wit and Learning, and stronger Arguments: So that, as Politicks run, I do not know a Person of more exceptionable Principles than yourself: And if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in Honour to pay my Fine, and support me in Prison; or else I may chance to *inform* against you by Way of *Reprizal*.

IN the mean time, I beg your Lordship to receive my Confession; that if there be any such Thing as a *Dependency* of *Ireland* upon *England*, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *Law* of *God*, of *Nature*, of *Reason*, of *Nations*, or of the *Land* (which I shall die rather than grant) then was the *Proclamation* against me, the most *merciful* that ever was put out; and instead of accusing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *seditious*; it might have been directly as guilty of *High Treason*.

ALL I desire is, that the Cause of my Country against Mr. *Wood*, may not suffer by any Inadvertency of mine: Whether *Ireland* depends upon *England*, or only upon *God*, the *King*, and the *Law*: I hope no

Man

Man will assert that it *dependeth* upon Mr. *Wood*. I should be heartily sorry, that this *commendable* Resentment against me should accidentally (and *I hope*, what was never intended) strike a Damp upon that Spirit in all Ranks and Corporations of Men against the desperate and ruinous Design of Mr. *Wood*. Let my Countrymen blot out those Parts in my last Letter which they dislike; and let no *Rust remain* in my *Sword*, to cure the Wounds I have given to our most mortal Enemy. When Sir *Charles Sidley* was taking the Oaths, where several Things were to be *renounced*; he said, he loved *renouncing*; asked if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a *Renouncer*; yet let me have but *good City Security* against this pestilent Coinage, and I shall be ready not only to *renounce* every Syllable in all my four Letters, but deliver them chearfully with my own *Hands* into *those* of the common *Hangman*, to be burnt with no better Company than the *Coiner's Effigies*, if any Part of it hath escaped out of the *secular Hands* of my faithful Friends the common People.

But, whatever the Sentiments of *some People* may be, I think it is agreed, that many of those who *subscribed* against me, are on the Side of a vast Majority in the Kingdom, who opposed Mr. *Wood*: And, it was with great Satisfaction, that I observed some *Right Honourable Names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the Bottom of a *strong Declaration*, against him, and his Coin. But if the Admission of it among us be *already determined*; the *worthy* Person who is to *betray* me, ought in Prudence to do it with all convenient Speed; or else it may be difficult to find Three hundred Pounds in *Sterling* for the Discharge of his *Hire*, when the Publick shall have lost Five hundred thousand; if there be so much in the Nation; besides Four Fifths of its annual Income for ever.

I am told by Lawyers, that, in Quarrels between Man and Man, it is of much Weight which of them

gave the first Provocation, or struck the first Blow. It is manifest that Mr. *Wood* hath done both: And therefore I should humbly propose to have him first *hanged*, and his *Dross* thrown into the Sea: After which, the *Drapier* will be ready to stand his Trial. "It must "needs be that Offences come; but woe unto him by "whom the Offence cometh." If Mr. *Wood* had held his *Hand*; every Body else would have held their *Tongues*: And then, there would have been little Need of *Pamphlets*, *Juries*, or *Proclamations* upon this Occasion. The Provocation must needs have been very great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent *Drapier*, to become an *Author*. One would almost think the very *Stones* in the Street would rise up in such a Cause: And I am not sure, they will not *do so* against Mr. *Wood*, if ever he comes within their Reach. It is a known Story of the dumb Boy, whose Tongue forced a Passage for Speech by the Horror of seeing a Dagger at his Father's Throat. This may lessen the Wonder, that a Tradesman hid in Privacy and Silence, should *cry out* when the Life and Being of his political *Mother* are attempted before his Face; and by so infamous a Hand.

BUT, in the mean time, Mr. *Wood* the *Destroyer* of a Kingdom, walks about in Triumph (unless it be true, that he is in Jail for Debt) while he who endeavoured to *assert the Liberty of his Country*, is forced to *hide his Head* for occasionally dealing in a Matter of *Controversy*. However, I am not the first who hath been condemned to Death for *gaining a great Victory* over a powerful Enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict Orders of Military Discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual Proceeding of Mankind, because it is too late) the Advice given me by a certain *Dean*.* He shewed the Mistake I was in, of trusting to the general Good-will of the People; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected: But that some unfortunate *circumstantial Lapse*, would probably bring me within the Reach

* *The* Author, *it is supposed meaneth himself.*

Reach of *Power*: That my good Intentions would be no Security against "those who watched every Motion "of my Pen in the Bitterness of my Soul." He produced an Instance of a Person as innocent, as disinterested, and as well-meaning as myself; who had written a * very seasonable and inoffensive Treatise, exhorting the People of this Kingdom to wear their own Manufactures; for which, however, the Printer was persecuted with the utmost Virulence; *the Jury sent back Nine times*; and the Man given up to the Mercy of the Court. The *Dean* further observed, That I was in a Manner left alone to stand the *Battle*; while others, who had Ten thousand times better Talents than a *Drapier*, were so prudent as to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant Amusement to look on with Safety, while another was giving them *Diversion* at the Hazard of his Liberty and Fortune; and thought they made a sufficient Recompence by a little Applause: Whereupon he concluded with a short Story of a *Jew* at *Madrid*; who being condemned to the Fire on account of his Religion, a Crowd of Schoolboys followed him to the Stake, and apprehending they might lose their *Sport*, if he should happen to recant; would often *clap him on the Back*, and cry *Stafirmo Moyese (Moses continue stedfast.)*

I allow this Gentleman's Advice to have been very good, and his Observations just; and in one Respect my Condition is worse than that of the *Jew*, for *no Recantation will save me*. However, it should seem by *some late Proceedings*, that my State is not altogether deplorable This I can impute to nothing but the Steddiness of *two impartial Grand Juries*; which hath confirmed in me an Opinion I have long entertained; That, as Philosophers say, "Virtue is seated in "the Middle;" so, in another Sense, the little *Virtue* left in the World is chiefly to be found among the *middle*

* *The* Author *meaneth himself again*; *in the Discourse advising the People of* Ireland *to wear their own Manufactures.*

dle Rank of Mankind; who are neither *allured* out of her Paths by *Ambition*, nor *driven* by *Poverty*.

SINCE the *Proclamation*, occasioned by my last Letter, and a *due* Preparation for proceeding against me in a Court of Justice, there have been two printed Papers clandestinely spread about; whereof no Man is able to trace the Original, further than by *Conjecture*; which, with its usual Charity, lays them to my Account. The former is entitled, *Seasonable Advice*, and appeareth to have been intended for Information of the Grand Jury; upon the Supposition of a Bill to be prepared against that Letter. The other is an Extract from a printed Book of Parliamentary Proceedings, in the Year 1680; containing an angry Resolution of the House of Commons in *England*, against *dissolving Grand Juries*. As to the former, your Lordship will find it to be the Work of a more artful Hand, than that of a common *Drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the Minds of a Jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and for that Reason *it is manifest*, that no *Judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the Bench, either by *himself*, or his *Dependents*, to use the *least Insinuation*, that might possibly affect the Passions, or Interests, of any one single *Jury Man*, much less of a whole *Jury*; whereas every Man *must* be *convinced*, who will just give himself the Trouble to dip into the common printed Trials: So as, it is amazing to think, what a Number of *upright Judges* there have been in both Kingdoms, for above *sixty Years past*; which, considering how long they held their Offices *during Pleasure*, as they *still do among us*, I account next to a *Miracle*.

As to the other Paper, I must confess it is a sharp Censure from an *English* House of Commons, against *dissolving Grand Juries*, by any Judge before the End of the Term, Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are under their Consideration; and not presented as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

How-

However, the Publisher seemeth to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For, whatever *Dependence* there may be of *Ireland* upon *England*, I hope he would not insinuate, that the Proceedings of a *Lord Chief Justice in Ireland*, must *depend* upon a *Resolution* of an *English* House of Commons. Besides, that *Resolution* although it were levelled against a particular Lord Chief Justice, Sir *William Scroggs*, yet the Occasion was directly contrary. For, *Scroggs dissolved* the *Grand Jury of London*, for fear they *should* present; but ours in *Dublin* was *dissolved*, because they would *not* present; which *wonderfully alters the Case*. And, therefore, a *second Grand Jury* supplied that Defect by making a Presentment that hath *pleased the whole Kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all Parties, that both the one and the other *Jury* behaved themselves in such a Manner, as ought to be remembered to their Honour, while there shall be any Regard left among us, for *Virtue* or *Publick Spirit*.

I am confident, your Lordship will be of my Sentiments in one Thing; that some short, plain, authentick Tract might be published, for the Information both of *Petty* and *Grand Juries*, how far their Power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed Copy of such a Treatise might be deposited in every Court, to be consulted by the Jury-men, before they consider of their Verdict; by which Abundance of Inconveniencies would be avoided; whereof innumerable Instances might be produced from former Times, because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an *Eastern* King, who put a *Judge* to Death for an iniquitous Sentence; and ordered his *Hide to be stuffed into a Cushion*, and placed upon the Tribunal for the Son to sit on; who was preferred to his Father's Office. I fancy, such a *Memorial* might not have been unuseful to a Son of Sir *William Scroggs*, and that both he and his Successors would often *wriggle* in their Seats, as long as the *Cushion* lasted: I wish the Relater had told us what Number of such *Cushions* there might be in that Country.

I cannot but observe to your Lordship, how nice and dangerous a Point it is grown, for a private Person to inform the People; even in an Affair, where the publick Interest and Safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr. *Wood*; and this in a Country, where *Loyalty is woven into the very Hearts of the People*, seemeth a little extraordinary. Sir *William Scroggs* was the first who introduced that *commendable Acuteness into the Courts of Judicature*; but how far this Practice hath been imitated by his Successors, or *strained upon Occasion*, is out of my Knowledge. When Pamphlets *unpleasing to the Ministry*, were presented as Libels, he would order the offensive Paragraphs to be read before him; and said it was strange, that the Judges and Lawyers of the *King's Bench* should be duller than all the People of *England*: And he was often so very happy in applying the initial Letters of Names, and expounding *dubious Hints*, (the two common Expedients among Writers of that Class, for escaping the Law) that he discovered much *more* than ever the Authors intended; as many of them, or their Printers, found to their Cost. If such Methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*, I defy any Man of fifty times my Understanding and Caution, to avoid being *entrapped*; unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old Arguments and Computations; whereof the World is already grown weary. So that my good Friend *Harding* lieth under this *Dilemma*; either to let my *learned Works* hang for ever a-drying upon his Lines; or venture to publish them at the Hazard of being laid by the Heels.

I need not tell your Lordship where the Difficulty lieth: It is true, that the King and the Laws *permit* us to refuse this Coin of Mr. *Wood*; but, at the same time, it is equally true, that the King and the Laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely possible* that the Ministers in *England* may not suppose the Consequences of uttering that Brass among us, to be so ruinous

ruinous as we apprehend; because, perhaps, if they understood it in that Light, they would, in common Humanity, use their Credit with his Majesty for saving *a most loyal Kingdom from Destruction*. But, as long as it shall please these great Persons to think that Coin will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we ly under the Disadvantage of being censured as *obstinate* in not complying with a Royal Patent. Therefore, nothing remaineth, but to make use of that *Liberty*, which the *King* and the *Laws* have left us; by continuing to refuse this Coin; and by frequent Remembrances to keep up that Spirit raised against us; which, otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in Time to sink altogether. For, any publick Order against receiving or uttering Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, is not *reasonably* to be expected in this Kingdom, without Directions from *England*; which I think no body presumeth, or is so sanguine to hope.

But to confess the Truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my Office as a Writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *Brethren*, the Makers of *Songs* and *Ballads*; who, perhaps, are the best qualified at present, to gather up the Gleanings of this Controversy. As to myself, it hath been my Misfortune to begin, and pursue it upon a very wrong Foundation. For, having detected the Frauds and Falshoods of this vile Impostor *Wood*, in every Part, I foolishly *disdained* to have Recourse to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for Mercy*; but rather chose to *appeal* to *Law* and *Liberty*, and *the common Rights of Mankind*, without considering the *Climate* I was in.

Since your last Residence in *Ireland*, I frequently have taken my Nag to ride about your Grounds; where I fancied myself to feel an Air of *Freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low Condition of a Tradesman, did not qualify me to wait on you at your House; for then, I am afraid, my Writings would not have escaped *severer Censures*. But I have lately sold my Nag, and honestly told his greatest Fault, which was that of snuffing up the Air about

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Brackdenstown; whereby he became such a Lover of *Liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried, at the Bottom of a strong Chest, your Lordship's Writings, under a Heap of others that treat of *Liberty*; and spread over a *Layer* or two of *Hobbs*, *Pilmer*, *Bodin*, and many more Authors of that Stamp, to be readiest at Hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *new Set* of Principles in Government. In the mean time, I design quietly to look to my Shop, and keep as far out of your Lordship's Influence as possible: And if you ever see any more of my Writings on this Subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a Sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your Lorship will please to give me an easy Lease of some Part of your Estate in *Yorkshire*, thither I will carry my Chest; and turning it upside down, resume my political Reading where I left it off; feed on plain homely Fare, and live and die a *free* honest *English* Farmer: But not without Regret, for leaving my Countrymen under the Dread of the brazen Tallons of Mr. *Wood*; my most loyal and innocent Countrymen; to whom I owe so much for their good Opinion of me, and my poor Endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

M. B.

From my Shop in
St. *Francis-street*,
Dec. 14. 1704.

Adver-

Advertisement *to the* Reader.

THE former of the two following Papers is dated *October* 6th 1724, by which it appeareth to be written a little after the Proclamation against the Author of the *Drapier*'s fourth Letter. It is delivered with much Caution, because the Author confesseth himself to be Dean of St. *Patrick*'s; and I could discover his Name subscribed at the End of the Original, although blotted out by some other Hand. I can tell no other Reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the Writer finding how effectually the *Drapier* had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the People in Power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the Paper in his Cabinet. However, having received some Encouragement to collect into one *Volume* all Papers relating to *Ireland*, supposed to be written by the *Drapier*; and knowing how favourably that Author's Writings in this Kind hath been received by the Publick; to make the Volume more compleat, I procured a Copy of the following Letter from one of the Author's Friends, with whom it was left while the Author was in *England*; and I have printed it as near as I could in the Order of Time.

THE

THE next Treatise is called *An Address*, &c. It is without a Date; but seemeth to be written during the first Session of Parliament in Lord *Carteret*'s Government. The Title of this Address is in the usual Form, by *M. B.* Drapier. There is but a small Part of it that relateth to *William Wood* and his Coin: The rest containeth several Proposals for the Improvement of *Ireland*; the many Discouragements it lieth under; and what are the best Remedies against them.

BY many Passages in some of the *Drapier*'s former Letters, but particularly in the following Address, concerning the great Drain of Money from *Ireland* by Absentees, Importation of foreign Goods, Balance of Trade, and the like; it appeareth that the Author had taken much Pains, and been well informed in the Business of computing; all his Reasonings upon that Subject, although he doth not here descend to particular Sums, agreeing generally with the Accounts given by others, who have since made that Inquiry their particular Study. And, it is observable, that in this Address, as well as in one of his printed Letters, he hath specified several important Articles, that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him.

A

A

LETTER

TO THE

Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON.

My LORD,

I DESIRE you will consider me as a Member who cometh in at the latter End of a Debate, or as a Lawyer who speaketh to a Cause, when the Matter hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some Months ago I was at your House upon a Commission, where I am one of the Governors: But I went thither not so much on account of the Commission, as to ask you some Questions concerning Mr. *Wood*'s Patent to coin Half-pence for *Ireland*; where you very freely told me, in a mixt Company, how much you had been always against that wicked Project: Which raised in me an Esteem for you so far, that I went in a few Days to make you a Visit, after many Years Intermission. I am likewise told, that your Son wrote two Letters from *London*, (one of which I have received) impowering those to whom they were directed, to assure his Friends, that whereas there was a malicious Report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. *Walpole* for Forty thousand Pounds of *Wood*'s Coin, to be received in *Ireland*; the said Report was false and groundless; and he had never

discoursed with that Minister on the Subject; nor would ever give his Consent to have one Farthing of the said Coin current here. And, although it be long since I have given myself the Trouble of conversing with People of Titles or Stations; yet I have been told by those who can take up with such Amusements, that there is not a considerable Person of the Kingdom, scrupulous in any Sort to declare his Opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous Consequences of *Wood*'s Patent, have been so strongly represented by both Houses of Parliament; by the Privy Council; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*; by so many Corporations; and the Concurrence of the principal Gentlemen in most Counties, at their Quarter-sessions, without any Regard to Party, Religion, or Nation.

I conclude from hence, that the Currency of these Half-pence would, in the universal Opinion of our People, be utterly destructive to this Kingdom; and consequently, that it is every Man's Duty not only to refuse this Coin himself, but as far as in him lieth, to persuade others to do the like: And whether this be done in private or in Print, is all a Case: As no Lay-man is forbid to write, or to discourse upon religious or moral Subjects; although he may not do it in a Pulpit (at least in our Church). Neither is this an Affair of State, until Authority shall think fit to declare it so: Or, if you should understand it in that Sense; yet you will please to consider that I am not now a preaching.

THEREFORE, I do not think it my Duty, since the *Drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his Place, as not to incur his Fortune: For I have learn'd from old Experience, that there are Times wherein a Man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those Characters, I may be allowed, by offering new Arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refresh the Memory of my Fellow-subjects, and keep up that good Spirit raised

raised among them; to preserve themselves from utter Ruin by lawful Means, and such as are permitted by his Majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two Propositions: First, that we are a most loyal People; and, Secondly, that we are a free People, in the common Acceptation of that Word applied to a Subject under a limited Monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many Years ago in Discourse differ much, in the Presence of Lord *Wharton*, about the Meaning of that Word *Liberty*, with Relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free People; there is only another Appellation left; which, I doubt, my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed* would call me to an Account for, if I ventured to bestow: For, I observed, and I shall never forget upon what Occasion, the Device upon his Coach to be *Libertas & natale Solum*; at the very Point of Time when he was sitting in his Court, and perjuring himself to betray both.

Now, as for our Loyalty to his present Majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other Part of his Dominions; I am sure it hath never been exceeded: And I am confident he hath not a Minister in *England* who could ever call it once in Question: But that some hard Rumours at least have been transmitted from the other Side the Water, I suppose you will not doubt: And Rumours of the severest Kind; which many good People have imputed to the indirect Proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his Emissaries; as if he endeavoured it should be thought that our Loyalty depended upon the Test of refusing or taking his Copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal People; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper Marks of Favour and Protection from so gracious a King, that a loyal and free People can expect: Among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; That *Wood*'s Halfpence may never have Entrance into this Kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no

longer expreſs our Wiſhes; although there were no ſuch Mortal as a *Drapier* in the World.

I am heartily ſorry, that any Writer ſhould, in a Cauſe ſo generally approved, give Occaſion to the Government and Council to charge him with "* Paragraphs highly reflecting upon his Majeſty and his "Miniſters; tending to alienate the Affections of his "good Subjects in *England* and *Ireland* from each "other; and to promote Sedition among the People." I muſt confeſs, that with many others, I thought he meant well; although he might have the Failing of better Writers, to be not always fortunate in the Manner of expreſſing himſelf.

HOWEVER, ſince the *Drapier* is but one Man, I ſhall think I do a publick Service, by aſſerting that the reſt of my Countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* Pamphlets to reflect on the King, or his Miniſters, or to breed Sedition.

I ſolemnly declare, that I never once heard the leaſt Reflexion caſt upon the King, on the Subject of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin: For in many Diſcourſes on this Matter, I do not remember his Majeſty's Name to be ſo much as mentioned. As to the Miniſtry in *England*, the only two Perſons hinted at were the Duke of *Grafton*, and Mr. *Walpole*: The former, as I have heard you and an hundred others affirm, declared, that he never ſaw the Patent in Favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was paſſed, although he were then Lord Lieutenant: And therefore I ſuppoſe every body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ſince.

MR. *Walpole* was indeed ſuppoſed to be underſtood by the Letter *W*. in ſeveral News-papers; where it is ſaid, that ſome Expreſſions fell from him not very favourable to the People of *Ireland*; for the Truth of which, the Kingdom is not to anſwer, any more than for

* *Taken out of the* Drapier's *4th Letter, for which the Printer was proſecuted; and a Proclamation publiſhed againſt the Author, offering* 300 l. *Reward for diſcovering him.*

for the Discretion of the Publishers. You observe, the *Drapier* wholly cleareth Mr. *Walpole* of this Charge, by very strong Arguments; and speaketh of him with Civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the Company gave their Opinion, that Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood*'s Project, which I always contradicted; and for my own Part, never once opened my Lips against that Minister, either in mixt or particular Meetings: And my Reason for this Reservedness was; because it pleased him, in the *Queen*'s Time (I mean Queen *Anne* of ever blessed Memory) to make a Speech directly against me, by Name, in the House of Commons, as I was told a very few Minutes after, in the Court of *Requests*, by more than fifty Members.

But you, who are in a great Station here, (if any thing here may be called Great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by publick Voice to be chief Minister, will, among the general Talkers, share the Blame, whether justly or no, of every Thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many Instances, from my own Knowledge, while I was in the World; and particularly in the Case of the * greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt Minister I ever conversed with.

But, whatever unpleasing Opinion some People might conceive of Mr. *Walpole*, on account of those Half-pence; I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many Persons of Credit, come from *England*, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have seen Letters under his Hand, full of Arrogance and Insolence towards *Ireland*, and boasting of his Favour with Mr. *Walpole*; which is highly probable: Because he reasonably thought it for his Interest to spread such a Report; and because it is the known Talent of low and little Spirits, to have a great Man's Name perpetually in their Mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the People of *Ireland* from learning any bad Lessons out of the *Drapier's*

* *Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer Oxford.*

pier's Pamphlets, with regard to his Majesty and his Ministers. And, therefore, if those Papers were intended to sow Sedition among us, *God* be thanked, the Seeds have fallen upon a very improper Soil.

As to alienating the Affections of the People of *England* and *Ireland* from each other; I believe, the *Drapier*, whatever his Intentions were, hath left that Matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both Kingdoms, as well in Country as in Town; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most Men, in the Dispositions of each People towards the other. By the People, I understand here, only the Bulk of the common People; and I desire no Lawyer may distort or extend my Meaning.

THERE is a Vein of Industry and Parsimony, that runs through the whole People of *England*; which, added to the Easiness of their Rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more than they do of *Mexico*; further than that it is a Country subject to the King of *England*, full of Boggs, inhabited by wild *Irish Papists*, who are kept in Awe by mercenary Troops sent from thence: And their general Opinion is, that it were better for *England*, if this whole Island were sunk into the Sea: For, they have a Tradition, that every Forty Years there must be a Rebellion in *Ireland*. I have seen the grossest Suppositions pass upon them; that the *wild Irish* were taken in Toyls; but that, in some Time, they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your Hands: I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my Neighbours, your Tenants, at *Pepperhara*; whether I had come from *Ireland* by Sea: And upon the Arrival of an *Irishman* to a Country-town, I have known Crowds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A Gentleman now in *Dublin* affirms, that passing some Months ago through *Northampton*, and finding the whole Town in a Hurry, with Bells, Bonefires, and

and Illuminations; upon asking the Cause, was told, it was for Joy, that the *Irish* had submitted to receive *Wood*'s Half-pence. This, I think, plainly sheweth what Sentiments that large Town hath of us; and how little they made it their own Case; although they ly directly in our Way to *London*; and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human Shapes.

As to the People of this Kingdom, they consist either of *Irish Papists*; who are as inconsiderable, in Point of Power, as the Women and Children; or of *English Protestants*, who love their Brethren of that Kingdom; although they may possibly sometimes complain, when they think they are hardly used: However, I confess, I do not see any great Consequence, how their personal Affections stand to each other, while the Sea divides them; and while they continue in their Loyalty to the same Prince. And yet, I will appeal to you, whether those from *England* have Reason to complain, when they come hither in Pursuit of their Fortunes? Or, whether the People of *Ireland* have Reason to boast, when they go to *England* on the same Design?

My second Proposition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free People: This, I suppose, you will allow; at least, with certain Limitations remaining in your own Breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the Words *Liberty* and *Property*, as applied to the Subject; are often mentioned in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in yours, and other Courts below; from whence it must follow, that the People of *Ireland* do, or *ought* to enjoy all the Benefits of the Common and Statute Law; such as to be tried by Juries, to pay no Money without their own Consent, as represented in Parliament; and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free People cannot, by Law, be compelled to take any Money in Payment, except Gold and Silver; I do not see how any Man should be hindered from cautioning his Countrymen against this Coin of *William*

liam Wood; who is endeavouring by Fraud to rob us of that Property, which the Laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and that this Copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *Drapier*'s Case in another Light, by supposing, that a Person going into his Shop, should agree for Thirty Shillings worth of Goods, and force the Seller to take his Payment in a Parcel of Copper-pieces, intrinsically not worth above a Crown: I desire to know, whether the *Drapier* would not actually be robbed of Five and twenty Shillings, and how far he could be said to be Master of his Property? The same Question may be applied to Rents and Debts, on Bond or Mortgage, and to all Kind of Commerce whatever.

GIVE me Leave to do what the *Drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked Fact, as it standeth in the View of the World.

ONE *William Wood*, Esq; and Hard-ware-man, obtaineth, by Fraud, a Patent in *England*, to coin 108,000 *l.* in Copper, to pass in *Ireland*; leaving us Liberty to take, or to refuse. The People here, in all Sorts of Bodies and Representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept his Coin: To justify these Declarations, they generally offer two Reasons; first, because by the Words of the Patent, they are left to their own Choice; and, secondly, because they are not obliged by Law: So that here you see there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a Kingdom on one Side, and *William Wood* on the other. And if Mr. *Wood* gets the Victory, at the Expence of *Ireland*'s Ruin, and the Profit of One or two hundred thousand Pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he liveth) for himself; I doubt, both present and future Ages will, at least, think it a very singular Scheme.

IF this Fact be truly stated; I must confess, I look upon it as my Duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the Bounds of Truth, of Duty, and of Decency, to warn my Fellow-subjects, as they value their King, their Country, and

and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious Coin; no not so much as one single Half-penny. For if one single Thief forces the Door, it is vain to talk of keeping out the whole Crew behind.

And, while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself Leave to suppose, that what I say can either offend my * *Lord Lieutenant*; whose Person and great Qualities I have always highly respected; (as I am sure his Excellency will be my Witness) or the Ministers in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the *Privy Council* here; who, as I am informed, did send an Address to his Majesty against Mr. *Wood*'s Coin; which if it be a Mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a Spreader of false News: But I confess, I am so great a Stranger to Affairs, that for any thing I know, the whole Body of the Council may since have been changed: And, although I observe some of the very same Names in a late Declaration against that Coin, which I saw subscribed to the Proclamation against the *Drapier*; yet possibly they may be different Persons; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this Controversy, where the Reasoners on each Side are divided by St. *George*'s Channel, his Majesty's Prerogative, perhaps, would not have been mentioned; if Mr. *Wood*, and his Advocates, had not made it necessary, by giving out, that the Currency of his Coin should be enforced by a Proclamation. The Traders and common People of the Kingdom, were heartily willing to refuse this Coin; but the Fear of a Proclamation brought along with it most dreadful Apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the *Drapier* to remove this Difficulty: and accordingly, in one of his former Pamphlets, he hath produced invincible Arguments, (where-ever he picked them up) that the King's Prerogative was not at all concerned

* *Lord* Carteret.

concerned in the Matter; since the Law had sufficiently provided against any Coin to be imposed upon the Subject, except Gold and Silver; and that Copper is not Money, but as it hath been properly called *Nummorum Famulus*.

THE three former Letters from the *Drapier*, having not received any publick Censure, I look upon them to be without Exception; and that the good People of this Kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that Spirit raised against this destructive Coin of Mr. *Wood*: As for this last Letter, against which a Proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my Abilities were equal; but being naturally somewhat slow of Comprehension, no Lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good Designs, without any visible Motive either of Profit or Honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the Cockle from the Corn.

THAT which, I am told, giveth greatest Offence in this last Letter, is where the *Drapier* affirms; that if a Rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*, he would venture so far to transgress the *Irish* Statute, (which unites *Ireland* to *England* under one King) as to lose every Drop of his Blood, to hinder him from being King of *Ireland*.

I shall not presume to vindicate any Man, who openly declareth he would transgress a Statute; and a Statute of such Importance: But, with the most humble Submission, and Desire of Pardon for a very innocent Mistake, I should be apt to think that the loyal Intention of the Writer, might be at least some small Extenuation of his Crime. For in this I confess myself to think with the *Drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other Objections against that Pamphlet; but, I suppose they will all appear at the Prosecution of the *Drapier*. And, I think, whoever in his own Conscience believes

lieves the said Pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his Ministers*, &c. would do well to discover the Author,[4] (as little a Friend as I am to the Trade of Informers) although the Reward of 300 *l.* had not been tacked to the Discovery. I own, it would be a great Satisfaction to me, to hear the Arguments not only of Judges, but of Lawyers, upon this Case. Because you cannot but know, there often happen Occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore, it hath been the Wisdom of the *English* Parliaments, to be very reserved in limiting the Press. When a Bill is debating in either House of Parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the Controversy handled by Pamphlets on both Sides; without the least Animadversion upon the Authors.

So here, in the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin; since the two Houses gave their Opinion by Addresses, how dangerous the Currency of that Copper would be to *Ireland*, it was, without all Question, both lawful and convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be let more particularly into the Nature of the Danger they were in, and of the Remedies that were in their own Power, if they would have the Sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular Persons, to whom God hath given Zeal and Understanding sufficient for such an Undertaking. Thus it happened in the Case of that destructive Project for a Bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into Parliament a few Years ago; and it was allowed, that the Arguments and Writings of some without Doors, contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad if some able Lawyers would prescribe the Limits, how far a private Man may venture in delivering his Thoughts upon publick Matters: Because a true Lover of his Country, may think it hard to be a quiet Stander-by and

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an indolent Looker on, while a publick Error prevaileth; by which a whole Nation may be ruined. Every Man who enjoyeth Property, hath some Share in the Publick; and therefore, the Care of the Publick is, in some Degree, every such Man's Concern.

To come to Particulars, I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any Writer so much as to mention the Prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into Doubt, upon any Point whatever: I know it is often debated in *Westminster Hall*; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent Lawyers, do frequently handle that Subject in their Books.

SECONDLY, How far the Prerogative extendeth to force Coin upon the Subject, which is not Sterling; such as Lead, Brass, Copper, mixt Metal, Shells, Leather, or any other Material; and fix upon it whatever Denomination the Crown shall think fit.

THIRDLY, What is really and truly meant by that Phrase of a *depending Kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*; and wherein that *Dependency* consisteth?

LASTLY, In what Points relating to *Liberty* and *Property*, the People of *Ireland* differ, or at least *ought* to differ, from those of *England*?

IF these Particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite Ease and Use to the Kingdom; and either prevent or silence all Discontents.

MY Lord *Somers*, the greatest Man I ever knew of your Robe; and whose Thoughts of *Ireland* differed as far as Heaven and Earth, from those of some others among his Brethren here; lamented to me, that the Prerogative of the Crown, or the Privileges of Parliament, should ever be liable to Dispute, in any single Branch of either; by which means he said, the Publick often suffered great Inconveniencies; whereof he gave me several Instances. I produce the Authority of so eminent a Person, to justify my Desires, that some high Points might be cleared.

FOR want of such known Ascertainment, how far a Writer may proceed in expressing his good Wishes for

for his Country; a Person of the most innocent Intentions, may possibly, by the Oratory and Comments of Lawyers, be charged with many Crimes, which from his very Soul he abhorreth; and consequently may be ruined in his Fortunes, and left to rot among Thieves in some stinking Jail; merely for mistaking the Purlieus of the Law. I have known, in my Life-time, a Printer prosecuted and convicted, for publishing a *Pamphlet; where the Author's Intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent, as those of a Martyr at his last Prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my Duty, preach to the People under my Inspection, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*'s Coin; and although I never heard that my Sermon gave the least Offence, as I am sure none was intended; yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would insure it from the Hands of the common Hang-man; or my own Person from those of a Messenger.

I have heard the late Chief Justice *Holt* affirm, that, in all criminal Cases, the most favourable Interpretation should be put upon Words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same Position asserted in many Trials, for the greatest Crimes; although often very ill practised, by the perpetual Corruption of Judges. And, I remember, at a Trial in *Kent*, where Sir *George Rook* was indicted for calling a Gentleman Knave and Villain; the Lawyer for the *Defendant* brought off his Client, by alledging, that the Words were not injurious; for, *Knave* in the old and true Signification, imported only a Servant; and *Villain* in *Latin*, is *Villicus*; which is no more than a Man employed in Country Labour; or rather a Baily.

If Sir *John Holt*'s Opinion were a Standard Maxim for all Times and Circumstances, any Writer, with a very small Measure of Discretion, might easily be safe; but, I doubt, in Practice it hath been frequently con-

 trouled,

* A Proposal for the universal Use of *Irish* Manufactures, *written by the Author.*

trouled, at least before his Time; for I take it to be an old Rule in Law.

I have read, or heard, a Passage of Signior *Lati*, an *Italian*; who being in *London*, busying himself with writing the History of *England*, told King *Charles* the II. that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving Offence, but found it a Thing impossible; although he should have been as wise as *Solomon*: The King answered, that if this were the Case, he had better employ his Time in writing Proverbs as *Solomon* did: But *Lati* lay under no publick Necessity of writing; neither would *England* have been one Halfpenny the better, or the worse, whether he writ or no.

THIS I mention, because I know it will readily be objected; what have private Men to do with the Publick? What Call had a *Drapier* to turn Politician, to meddle in Matters of State? Would not his Time have been better employed in looking to his Shop; or his Pen in writing Proverbs, Elegies, Ballads, Garlands, and Wonders? He would then have been out of all Danger of Proclamations, and Prosecutions. Have we not able Magistrates and Counsellors, hourly watching over the Publick-weal? All this may be true: And yet when the Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, against Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, failed of Success; if some Pen had not been employed to inform the People how far they might legally proceed, in refusing that Coin, to detect the Fraud, the Artifice, and Insolence of the Coiner; and to lay open the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom; which would inevitably follow from the Currency of the said Coin; I might appeal to many Hundred thousand People, whether any one of them would ever have had the Courage or Sagacity to refuse it.

IF this Copper should begin to make its Way among the common, ignorant People, we are inevitably undone; it is they who give us the greatest Apprehension, being easily frighted, and greedy to swallow Misinformations: For, if every Man were wise enough to understand his own Interest, which is every Man's principal

principal Study, there would be no need of Pamphlets upon this Occasion. But, as Things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my Duty to God, my King, and my Country, to inform the People, that the Proclamation lately issued against the *Drapier*, doth not in the least affect the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin; but only refers to certain Paragraphs in the *Drapier*'s last Pamphlet, (not immediately relating to his Subject, nor at all to the Merits of the Cause), which the Government was pleased to dislike; so that any Man has the same Liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this Coin, which he had before: Neither is any Man obliged to believe, that those honourable Persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable Proclamation against the *Drapier*, have at all changed their Opinions with Regard to Mr. *Wood*, or his Coin.

THEREFORE concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure Foot, I shall continue, upon any proper Occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that Spirit raised in the Nation, (whether the real Author were a real *Drapier* or no, is little to the Purpose) against this horrid Design of Mr. *Wood*; at the same time carefully watching every Stroke of my Pen, and venturing only to incur the publick Censure of the World as a Writer; not of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, as a Criminal. Whenever an Order shall come out by Authority, forbidding all Men, upon the highest Penalties, to offer any thing in Writing or Discourse against Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last Man in the Kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: For, although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active Obedience against my Conscience, and the publick Safety.

I desire to put a Case, which I think the *Drapier*, in some of his Books, hath put before me; although not so fully as it requireth.

You know the Copper Half-pence in *England* are coined by the Publick; and every Piece worth pretty tolerably near the Value of the Copper. Now, suppose, that, instead of the publick Coinage, a Patent had been granted to some private, obscure Person, for coining a proportionable Quantity of Copper in that Kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in this; and all of it at least five times below the intrinsick Value: The current Money of *England* is reckoned to be Twenty millions; and ours under * Five hundred thousand Pounds: By this Computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath Power to give us 108,000 Pound; so the Patentee in *England*, by the same Proportion, might circulate Four millions three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds; besides as much more by Stealth and Counterfeits: I desire to know from you, whether the Parliament might not have addressed upon such an Occasion; what Success they probably would have had; and how many *Drapiers* would have risen to pester the World with Pamphlets: Yet that Kingdom would not be so great a Sufferer as ours in the like Case; because their Cash would not be conveyed into foreign Countries, but ly hid in the Chests of cautious, thrifty Men, until better Times. Then I desire, for the Satisfaction of the Publick, that you will please to inform me why this Country is treated in so very different a Manner, in a Point of such high Importance; whether it be on account of *Poining*'s Act of Subordination, Dependence, or any other Term of Art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill Success of Mr. *Wood*, will affect you less than any Person of Consequence in the Kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your Purchases in *England*; and truly so would I, if I had Money, although I were to pay a Hundred Years Purchase; because I should be glad to possess a Freehold that could not be taken from me

* *It is since sunk to* 200,000 *l.*

me by any Law to which I did not give my own Consent; and where I should never be in Danger of receiving my Rents in mix'd Copper, at the Loss of sixteen Shillings in the Pound. You can live in Ease and Plenty at *Pepper-bàra*, in *Surrey*; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and publick-spirited in you to be of the Kingdom's Side in this Dispute, by shewing, without Reserve, your Disapprobation of Mr. *Wood*'s Design; at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other Points; and therefore I could get but few Believers, when I attempted to justify you in this Article from your own Words.

I would humbly offer another Thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *Drapier*'s Observation. If these Half-pence should once gain Admittance; it is agreed, that in no long Space of Time, what by the clandestine Practices of the Coiner, what by his own Counterfeits, and those of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited Quantity would be trebled upon us, until there would not be a Grain of Gold or Silver visible in the Nation. This, in my Opinion, would lay a heavy Charge upon the Crown, by creating a Necessity of transmitting Money from *England* to pay the Salaries at least of the principal Civil Officers: For I do not conceive how a Judge (for Instance) could support his Dignity with a Thousand Pounds a-year in *Wood*'s Coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near Two hundred. To argue that these Half-pence, if no other Coin were current, would answer the general Ends of Commerce among ourselves, is a great Mistake; and the *Drapier* hath made that Matter too clear to admit an Answer; by shewing us what every Owner of Land must be forced to do with the Products of it in such a Distress. You may read his Remarks at large in his second or third Letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several Months past, there have more Papers been

written in this Town, such as they are, all upon the best publick Principle, the *Love* of our Country, than perhaps hath been known in any other Nation, and in so short a Time: I speak in general from the *Drapier* down to the Maker of *Ballads*; and all without any Regard to the common Motives of Writers; which are Profit, Favour, and Reputation. As to Profit, I am assured by Persons of Credit, that the best Ballad upon Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a Groat to the Author; and the unfortunate Adventurer *Harding*, declareth he never made the *Drapier* any Present, except one Pair of Scissars. As to Favour, whoever thinketh to make his Court by opposing Mr. *Wood* is not very deep in Politicks. And as to Reputation, certainly no Man of Worth and Learning, would employ his Pen upon so transitory a Subject, and in so obscure a Corner of the World, to distinguish himself as an Author. So that I look upon myself, the *Drapier*, and my numerous Brethren, to be all true Patriots in our several Degrees.

ALL that the Publick can expect for the future, is only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence; and refer them for Conviction to the *Drapier*'s Reasons. For, a Man of the most superior Understanding, will find it impossible to make the best Use of it, while he writeth in Constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out Expressions, for Fear of bringing his Printer, or himself, under a Prosecution from my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*. It calls to my Remembrance the Madman in Don *Quixote*, who being soundly beaten by a Weaver for letting a Stone (which he always carried on his Shoulder) fall upon a Spaniel, apprehended that every Cur he met was of the same Species.

FOR these Reasons, I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributeth, in the least, to preserve that Union among us for opposing this fatal Project of Mr. *Wood*, my Pains will not be altogether lost.

I

I sent these Papers to an eminent Lawyer (and yet a Man of Virtue and Learning into the Bargain) who, after many Alterations returned them back, with assuring me, that they are perfectly innocent; without the least Mixture of Treason, Rebellion, Sedition, Malice, Disaffection, Reflexion, or wicked Insinuation whatever.

If the *Bell-man* of each Parish, as he goeth his Circuit, would cry out, every Night, *Past Twelve o' Clock: Beware of* Wood's *Half-pence*; it would probably cut off the Occasion for publishing any more Pamphlets; provided that in Country Towns it were done upon Market-days. For my own Part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against Law, I will begin the Experiment in the Liberty of St. *Patrick*'s; and hope my Example may be followed in the whole City. But if Authority shall think fit to forbid all Writings, or Discourses upon this Subject, except such as are in Favour of Mr. *Wood*, I will obey as it becometh me; only when I am in Danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the Reeds, not any Reflexion upon the Wisdom of my Countrymen; but only these few Words, *BEWARE OF WOOD's HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due Respect,

your most obedient,

humble Servant,

J. S.

Deanery-house,
Oct. 26. 1724.

AN

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS TO BOTH Houses of PARLIAMENT.

By M. B. *Drapier.*

Writ before the Lord *Carteret* came over, and soon after the *Drapier*'s fourth Letter.

Multa gemens ignominiam plagasq; superbi Victoris,———

I HAVE been told, that *Petitions* and *Addresses*, either to King or Parliament, are the Right of every Subject; provided they consist with that Respect, which is due to Princes and great Assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest *Proposals*, or *Opinions* of private Men, have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the Style of *Advice*; which is a Presumption far from my Thoughts. However, if *Proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope every Man may be suffered to declare his own and the Nation's *Wishes*.

For

For Instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further Laws were enacted for the Advancement of *Trade*; for the Improvement of *Agriculture*, now strangely neglected, against the Maxim of all wise Nations; for supplying the manifest Defects in the Acts concerning Plantation of Trees; for setting the Poor to Work, and many others.

Upon this Principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty *Wish* of the whole Nation, very few excepted, that the Parliament in this Session would *begin* by strictly examining into the detestable Fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, Hardware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appeareth by your own Votes and Addresses, procured a Patent in *England*, for coining Half-pence in that Kingdom, to be current here. This, I say, is the *Wish* of the whole Nation, *very few excepted*; and upon account of those *few*, is more strongly and justly the *Wish* of the rest: Those *few* consisting either of *Wood*'s Confederates, some obscure Tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak Judgment, and strong Ambition; who think to find their Accounts in the Ruin of the Nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And, because such Men proceed upon a System of Politicks, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter Strangers; I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a Station of Fifteen hundred Pounds a Year, Salary and Perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a Year, real Estate. Then suppose a destructive Project be on Foot; such for Instance, as this of *Wood*; which if it succeed, in all the Consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the Rents and Wealth of the Kingdom one Half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five Sixths). Suppose, I conceive, that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this Project, will *please those by whom I expect to be preferred, or higher exalted*. Nothing then remaineth, but to compute and balance my Gain and my Loss, and sum up the whole.

whole. I suppose that I shall keep my Employment ten Years, (not to mention the fair Chance of a better). This at 1500 *l.* a Year amounts, in ten Years, to 15,000 *l.* My Estate, by the Success of the said Project, sinks 400 *l.* a Year; which at 20 Years Purchase, is but 8000 *l.* so that I am a clear Gainer of 7000 *l.* upon the Balance. And during all that Period, I am possessed of *Power* and *Credit*, can gratify my *Favourites*, and take Vengeance of my *Enemies*. And if the Project miscarry, my private *Merit* is still entire. This *Arithmetick*, as horrible as it appeareth, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practised, and applied in Conjunctures, whereon depended the *Ruin* or *Safety* of a Nation: Although, probably the Charity and Virtue of a *Senate*, will hardly be induced to believe that there can be such Monsters among Mankind. And yet, the wise Lord *Bacon* mentioneth a Sort of People, (I doubt the Race is not yet extinct) who would *set a House on Fire*, for the Convenience of roasting their own Eggs at the Flame.

BUT whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his Thoughts to observe the Course of publick Affairs in this Kingdom, from the Time of the *Revolution*, must acknowledge, that the highest Points of Interest and Liberty, have been often sacrificed to the Avarice and Ambition of particular Persons, upon the very Principles and *Arithmetick* that I have supposed: The only Wonder is how these *Artists* were able to prevail upon Numbers; and influence even publick Assemblies to become Instruments for effecting their execrable Designs.

IT is, I think, in all Conscience, *Latitude* enough for *Vice*, if a Man in *Station* be allowed to act Injustice, upon the *usual* Principles of *getting a Bribe*, *wreaking his Malice*, *serving his Party*, or *consulting his Preferment*; while his Wickedness terminateth in the Ruin only of *particular* Persons. But to deliver up our *whole* Country, and every living Soul who inhabiteth it, to certain Destruction; hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *Casuists* on

on the Side of *Corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding *any* Employment whatever, above the Degree of a *Constable*, (according to the Scheme and Intention of a * *great Minister gone to his own Place*) than to live under the daily Apprehension of a few *false Brethren* among ourselves. Because, in the former Case we should be wholly free from the Danger of being betrayed; since none could *then* have Impudence enough to *pretend* any publick Good.

It is true, that in this desperate Affair of the new *Half-pence*, I have not heard of any Man above my own Degree of a Shop-keeper, to have been hitherto so bold, as, in *direct Terms*, to vindicate the fatal Project; although I have been told of some very *mollifying Expressions*, which were used, and very *gentle Expedients* proposed and handed about, when it first came under Debate: But, since the Eyes of the People have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own Ruin, in the Success of *Wood*'s Attempt, these GRAND COMPOUNDERS have been more cautious.

But that the same Spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other Instances of great Compliance) from *certain Circumstances*, that have attended some *late Proceedings* in a † *Court of Judicature*. There is not any common-place more frequently insisted on, by those who treat of our Constitution, than the great Happiness and Excellency of Trials by *Juries*; yet if this blessed Part of our Law be eludible at pleasure, by the Force of *Power*, *Frowns* and *Artifice*; we shall have little Reason to boast of our Advantage, in this Particular, over other States or Kingdoms in *Europe*. And surely, these *high* Proceedings, exercised in a Point that so nearly concerned the *Life-Blood* of the People, their *necessary Subsistence*, their very *Food*

* *The late Earl of* Sunderland. † *By Chief Justice* Whitshed.

Food and *Raiment*, and even the *publick Peace*, will not allow any favourable *Appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *superabundant Zeal* could have no other Design, or produce any other Effect, than to *damp* that *Spirit* raised in the Nation against this accursed Scheme of *William Wood*, and his *Abettors*; to which *Spirit* alone, we owe and for ever must owe our being *hitherto* preserved, and our Hopes of being preserved for the future; if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by *Your* wise Assemblies. I wish I could account for such a Demeanor upon a more *charitable* Foundation, than that of putting our Interest in over Balance with the Ruin of our Country.

I remember some Months ago, when this Affair was fresh in Discourse, a Person nearly allied to *SOMEBODY*, or (as the Hawkers called him) *NOBODY*, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his Acquaintance, to shew the bad Consequences that might follow from any publick Resentment to the Disadvantage of his *ALLY*, Mr. *Wood*; principally alledging the Danger of all Employments being disposed of from *England*. One of these *Emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *Topick*: I answered, naturally, that I knew there was no Office of *any* Kind, which a Man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the Disadvantage of being born here, as only in the Condition of *Leasers* and *Gleaners*: Neither could I forbear mentioning the known Fable of the Countryman, who intreated his *Ass* to fly for fear of being taken by the *Enemy*; but the *Ass* refused to give himself that Trouble, and upon a very wise Reason; because he could not possibly change his present Master for a *worse*: The *Enemy* could not make him *fare harder*, *beat him more cruelly*, nor load him with *heavier Burdens*.

UPON these, and many other Considerations, I may affirm it to be the *Wish* of the whole Nation, that the Power and Privileges of *Juries* were declared, ascertained,

tained, and confirmed by the Legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by publick *Censure*; not from any Hope that such a *Censure* will amend their *Practices*, or hurt their *Interest*, (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*); but that the Nation may know their *Enemies* from their *Friends*.

I say not this with any Regard or View to myself; for I write in great Security; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my Expence further than by shewing their *Zeal to discover, prosecute*, and *condemn* me, for endeavouring to do my Duty, in serving my Country: And yet I am conscious to myself that I never had the least Intention to *reflect on his Majesty's Ministers*, nor on any other Person, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, nor do *yet* conceive to be of *that Number*. However, some would have it, that I WENT TOO FAR; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have GONE FURTHER; and I think I could not easily have FARED WORSE. And therefore I was no further affected with their *Proclamation*, and subsequent Proceedings than a good Clergyman is with the *Sins* of the People. And as to the poor *Printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a RIGHTEOUS Tribunal.

As my Intentions is only to lay before your great Assemblies, the general Wishes of the Nation; and as I have already declared it our principal *Wish* that your *first* Proceedings would be to examine into the pernicious Fraud of *William Wood*; so I must add, as the universal Opinion, that all *Schemes of Commutation, Composition*, and the like *Expedients*, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the most pernicious Consequences to the Publick; against the Dignity of a FREE Kingdom; and prove an Encouragement to future *Adventurers* in the same destructive Projects. For, it is a Maxim, which no Man at present disputes, that even a *Connivance* to admit One thousand Pounds in these HALF-PENCE, will produce, in Time, the same

ruinous Effects, as if we openly consented to admit a Million. It were, therefore, infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave Things in the doubtful melancholy State they are at present, (which, however, God forbid) and trust entirely to the general Aversion of our People against this Coin; using all honest Endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that Aversion, than submit to apply those *Palliatives* which *weak, perfidious*, or *abject Politicians*, are, upon all *Occasions*, and in all *Diseases*, so ready to *administer*.

IN the small Compass of my reading, (which however, hath been more extensive than is usual to Men of my inferior Calling), I have observed that *Grievances* have always preceeded *Supplies*; and, if ever *Grievances* had a Title to such a Pre-eminence, it must be this of *Wood*; because it is not only the greatest *Grievance* that any Country could suffer, but a *Grievance* of such a Kind, that, if it should take Effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *Supplies* at all; except an *adulterate Copper*; unless a Tax were laid for paying the Civil and Military Lists, and the *large* Pensions, with real Commodities instead of Money; which, however, might be liable to some few Objections as well as Difficulties: For although the *common Soldiers* might be content with *Beef* and *Mutton*, and *Wool*, and *Malt*, and *Leather*; yet I am in some Doubt as to the *Generals*, the *Colonels*, the *numerous Pensioners*, the *Civil Officers*, and others, who all live in *England* upon *Irish Pay*; as well as those *few* who reside among us only, because they cannot help it.

THERE is one Particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former Papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the History of any Age or Country; neither do I ever reflect upon it, without the utmost *Astonishment*.

AFTER the unanimous Addresses to his sacred Majesty, against this Patent of *Wood*, from both Houses of Parliament, which are the *Three Estates* of the Kingdom;

Kingdom; and likewise an Address from the Privy Council, to whom, under the chief Governors, the whole Administration is entrusted; the Matter is referred to a Committee of Council in *London*. *Wood*, and his Adherents, are heard on one Side; and a few *Volunteers*, without any Trust or Direction from hence, on the other. The Question, (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the Want of *Half-pence* in *Ireland*: Witnesses are called on the Behalf of Mr. *Wood* (of what Credit I have formerly shewn): Upon the Issue the Patent is found good and legal; all his Majesty's Officers here, (not excepting the *Military*) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual. The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament; of the Privy Council, and of the City of *Dublin*; the Declarations of most Counties and Corporations through the Kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no Weight, Consequence, or Consideration whatever: And the whole Kingdom of *Ireland nonsuited*, in Default of Appearance; as if it were a private Cause between *John Dow*, Plaintiff, and *William Row*, Defendant.

WITH great Respect to those honourable Persons, the Committee of Council in *London*, I have not understood them to be our *Governors*, *Counsellors*, or *Judges*. Neither did our Case turn at all upon the Question, whether *Ireland* wanted *Half-pence* or no. For there is no Doubt, but we do want both Half-pence, Gold and Silver; and we have *numberless* other *Wants*, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name; although they are peculiar to this Nation; to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with *Religion* and *Laws*, or any Degree of *Soil* and *Sunshine*! But, for what *Demerits* on our Side, I am altogether in the Dark.

BUT, I do not remember, that our Want of Half-pence was either affirmed or denied in any of our Addresses or Declarations, against those of *Wood*: We alledged, the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his Patent, the Baseness of his Metal, the prodigious Sum to be coined, which might be increased by Stealth;

from foreign Importation and his own Counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little Gold and Silver, and all our poor Remainder of a very *limited* and *discouraged* Trade: We urged, that the Patent was passed without the least Reference hither; and without Mention of any *Security* given by *Wood*, to receive his own Half-pence upon Demand; both which are contrary to all former Proceedings in the like Cases. These, and many other Arguments we offered; but still the Patent went on, and at this Day our Ruin would have been half completed; if God, in his Mercy, had not raised an universal Detestation of these Half-pence, in the whole Kingdom, with a firm Resolution never to receive them; since we are not under Obligations to do so by any *Law*, either *Human* or *Divine*.

BUT, in the Name of *God*, and of all *Justice* and *Piety!* when the King's Majesty was pleased that this Patent should pass; is it not to be understood, that he *conceived*, *believed* and *intended* it as a gracious Act, for the Good and Benefit of his Subjects, for the Advantage of a great and fruitful Kingdom; of the most *loyal* Kingdom upon Earth, where no *Hand* or *Voice* was ever lifted up against him; a Kingdom where the Passage is, not of three Hours from *Britain*; and a Kingdom where *Papists* have less *Power* and less *Land*, than in *England*: Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majesty's Ministers understood and proposed the same End, *the Good of this Nation*, when they advised the passing this Patent? Can the Person of *Wood* be otherwise regarded, than as the *Instrument*, the *Mechanick*, the *Head-workman*, to prepare his Furnace, his Fuel, his Metal, and his Stamps? If I employ a *Shoe-boy*, is it in View to his Advantage, or to my own Convenience? I mention the *Person* of *William Wood* alone; because *no other* appears, and we are not to reason upon *Surmises*; neither would it avail, if they had a real Foundation.

ALLOWING therefore, (for we cannot do less) that this Patent, for the coining of Half-pence, was wholly intended,

intended, by a gracious King, and a *wise publick-spirited* Ministry, for the Advantage of *Ireland*; yet when the whole Kingdom to a Man, for whose Good the Patent was designed, do, upon maturest Consideration, universally join, in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these Half-pence; as the most ruinous Project that ever was set on Foot; to complete the Slavery and Destruction of a poor innocent Country: *Is it, was it, can it*, or *will it* ever be a Question, not whether such a Kingdom, or *William Wood*, should be a Gainer; but whether such a Kingdom should be *wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated*, made a Scene of *Misery* and *Desolation*, for the Sake of *William Wood?* God, of his infinite Mercy, avert this dreadful Judgment; and it is our universal *Wish*, that God would put it into *your* Hearts to be his Instruments for so good a Work.

For my own Part, who am but *one* Man of obscure Condition, I do solemnly declare, in the Presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing Death, rather than submit to receive this *accursed Coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same Objections, until they shall be forced upon me, by a Law of *my own Country*; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some *foreign* Land, and eat the *Bread of Poverty* among a *free* People.

Am I legally punishable for these Expressions? Shall *another Proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my Country's Part against *William Wood*; where her final Destruction is intended? But, whenever you shall please to impose *Silence* upon me, I will submit; because, I look upon your *unanimous Voice* to be the *Voice* of the Nation; and this I have been taught and do believe to be, in some Manner the *Voice of God*.

The great Ignominy of a whole Kingdom, lying so long at *Mercy*, under so *vile* an Adversary, is such a deplorable Aggravation, that the utmost Expressions of Shame and Rage, are too low to set it forth; and therefore, I shall leave it to receive such a Resentment, as is worthy of a *Parliament*.

IT is likewise our universal *Wish*, that his Majesty would grant Liberty to coin Half-pence in this Kingdom, for our own Use; under such Restrictions as a Parliament *here* shall advise: Since the Power of coining even Gold and Silver, is possessed by every *petty* Prince abroad; and was always practised by *Scotland*, to the very Time of the *Union*; yet surely *Scotland*, as to Soil, Climate, and Extent, is not, in itself, a fourth Part the Value of *Ireland*; (for Bishop *Burnet* says, it is not above a fortieth Part in Value to the rest of *Britain*) and with respect to the Profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty thousandth Part. Although I must confess, that a *Mote* in the *Eye*, or a *Thorn* in the *Side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *Beam*, or a *Spike* at *Distance*.

THE Histories of *England*, and of most other Countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical Effects, from the Abuses of *Coin*; by debasing the Metal, by lessening, or enhancing the Value upon *Occasions*, to the publick Loss; of which we have an Example, within our own Memory in *England*, and another very lately in *France*. It is the *tenderest* Point of Government, affecting every Individual, in the highest Degree. When the Value of Money is *arbitrary*, or *unsettled*; no Man can well be said to have any *Property* at all; nor is any Wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaveth such deep and lasting Scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy Island, to have a Title to some *Indulgence* from *England*; not only upon the Score of *Christianity*, *natural Equity*, and the *general Rights of Mankind*; but chiefly on account of that *immense Profit* they receive from us; without which, that Kingdom would make a very *different* Figure in *Europe*, from what it doth at present.

THE Rents of Land in *Ireland*, since they have been *of late* so enormously raised, and screwed up, may be computed to about Two millions; whereof one third Part, at least, is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual Absentees in *England*; as I find by a Computation

putation made with the Assistance of several skilful Gentlemen.

The other Articles by which we are altogether Losers, and *England* a Gainer; we found to amount to almost as much more. I will only set down as many Heads of them as I can remember; and leave them to the Consideration of those, who understand Accounts better than I pretend to do.

The *occasional* Absentees, for Business, Health, or Diversion.

Three Fourths of the Revenue of the chief Governor, during his Absence; which is usually four Fifths of his Government.

The whole Revenue of the *Post-Office*.

The *numerous Pensions* paid to Persons in *England*.

The Pay of the chief Officers of the Army absent in *England*, which is a great Sum.

Four Commissioners of the Revenue, always absent.

Civil Employments very numerous, and of great Income.

The vast Charge of Appeals to the House of Lords, and to the Court of Delegates.

Students at the Inns of Courts, and the two Universities.

Eighty thousand Pounds sent yearly to *England*, for Coals; whereof the prime Cost is nothing; and therefore, the Profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand Pounds paid several Years past, for Corn sent over hither from *England*; the Effect of our own *great Wisdom* in discouraging *Agriculture*.

The *kind* Liberty granted us of wearing *Indian* Stuffs, and Calicoes, to gratify the Vanity and Folly of our Women; which, beside the Profit to *England*, is an inconceivable Loss to us; forcing the Weavers to beg in our Streets, or transport themselves to foreign Countries.

The prodigious Loss to us, and Gain to *England*, by selling them *all* our *Wool* at their own Rates; whereof the Manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime Cost: *A Proceeding without Example in the Christian or Heathen World.*

Our

OUR own *Wool* returned upon us, in *English* Manufactures, to our infinite Shame and Damage; and the great Advantage of *England*.

THE full Profit of all our *Mines* accruing to *England*; an Effect of great Negligence and Stupidity.

AN Affectation among us, of liking all Kinds of Goods made in *England*.

Note, Many of the above Articles have been since particularly computed by another Writer, to whose Treatise the Reader is referred.

THESE, and many other Articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious Men to amount to near Seven Hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* clear Profit to *England*. And, upon the whole, let any Man look into those Authors who write upon the Subject of *Commerce*, he shall find that there is not one single Article in the Essentials, or Circumstances of Trade, whereby a Country can be a *Loser*, which we do not possess in the *highest Perfection*; somewhat, in every Particular, that bears a Kind of *Analogy* to *William Wood*; and now the *Branches* are all cut off, he standeth ready with his *Ax* at the *Root*.

UPON this Subject of *perpetual Absentees*, I have spent some Time in very insignificant Reflexions; and considering the usual Motives of human Actions, which are *Pleasure*, *Profit*, and *Ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those Persons find their Account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those *English* Peers or Gentlemen, who, beside their Estates at home, have Possessions here; for, in that Case, the Matter is desperate; but I mean those Lords, and wealthy Knights, or Squires, whose Birth, and partly their Education, and *all* their Fortune (except some Trifle, and that in a very few Instances) are in this Kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during several Years, when I resided in *England*; and truly I could not discover that the *Figure* they made was, by any means a Subject for *Envy*; at least it gave me *two very different Passions*: For, excepting the Advantage of going now

and

and then to an *Opera*, or sometimes appearing *behind a Crowd* at Court; or adding to the Ring of *Coaches* in *Hide-Park*, or losing their Money at the *Chocolate-House*; or getting News, Votes, and Minutes, about five Days before us in *Dublin*; I say, besides these, and a few other Privileges of *less* Importance, their Temptations to live in *London*, were beyond my Knowledge or Conception. And I used to wonder, how a Man of Birth and Spirit, could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign* Country, when he might live with Lustre in *his own*; and even at less than half that Expence, which he strains himself to make, without obtaining any *one* End; except that which happened to the *Frog* when he would needs contend for Size with the *Ox*. I have been told by Scholars, that *Cesar* said, he would rather be the *first* Man, in I know not what Village, than the *second* in *Rome*. This, perhaps, was a Thought only fit for *Cesar*: But to be *proceeded* by *Thousands*, and *neglected* by *Millions*; to be wholly without *Power*, *Figure*, *Influence*, *Honour*, *Credit*, or *Distinction*, is not, in my poor Opinion, a very *amiable Situation* of Life, to a Person of *Title* or *Wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *shine* in his Native Country.

But, besides the depopulating of the Kingdom, the leaving so many Parts of it wild and uncultivated, the Ruin of so many Country-seats and Plantations, the cutting down all the Woods to supply Expences in *England*, the Absence of so many noble and wealthy Persons, hath been the Cause of *another fatal Consequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For, if that *very considerable* Number of Lords, who possess the ample Forfeitures, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the Affairs of their own Country in *Parliament*; the Weight, Reputation, and Dignity thereby added to that noble House, would, in all human Probability, have prevented *certain Proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*; because they *never can be remedied*: And we might have then *decided our own Properties among ourselves*, without being forced to travel five hundred Miles by Sea and Land, to *ani-*

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ral, of any Substance or Estates, and their Priests almost universally, are, what we called *Whigs* in the Sense which by that Word is generally understood. They feel the *Smart*, and see the *Scars* of their former *Wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *Sacrifice* to the least Attempts towards a *Change*; although it cannot be doubted that they would be glad to have their *Superstition* restored under any Prince whatever.

SECONDLY, the *Dissenters* are now *tolerated by Law*; neither do we observe any *Murmurs* at present from that Quarter, except those reasonable Complaints they make of *Persecution*, because they are excluded from civil Employments; but their Number being very small in either *House* of Parliament, they are not *yet* in a Situation to erect a *Party*: Because however indifferent Men may be with regard to *Religion* they are *now* grown wise enough to know, that if such a *Latitude* were allowed to *Dissenters*, the few small Employments left us in Cities and Corporations, would find *other Hands* to lay hold on them.

THIRDLY, the Dispute between *High* and *Low Church* is now at an End; two Thirds of the *Bishops* having been promoted in *this* Reign, and most of them from *England*, who have bestowed *all* Preferments in their Gift to those they could well *confide in*. The *Deaneries* all except Three, and many principal Church Livings, are in the Donation of the Crown: So, that we already possess *such a Body of Clergy* as will never engage in Controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* Subject.

LASTLY, as to *Court* and *Country Parties*, so famous and avowed under most Reigns in *English* Parliaments: This Kingdom hath not, for several Years past, been a proper Scene whereon to exercise such Contentions, and is now less proper than ever; many great Employments for Life being in *distant* Hands, and the *Reversions diligently watched and secured*; the temporary Ones of any *inviting* Value are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast as they drop; and the few remaining,

ing, are of too low Consideration to create Contests about them, except among younger Brothers, or Tradesmen like myself. And, therefore, to institute a *Court* and *Country Party* without *Materials*, would be a very new System in Politicks, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor, unless in *a Nation of Idiots*, can ever succeed. For the most ignorant *Irish* Cottager will not *sell his Cow for a Groat*.

THEREFORE, I conclude, that all *Party* and *Faction* with regard to publick Proceedings, are now extinguished in this Kingdom; * neither doth it appear in View how they can possibly *revive*; unless some new Causes be administered; which cannot be done without *crossing the Interests of those who are the greatest Gainers by continuing the same Measures*. And general Calamities *without Hope of Redress*, are allowed to be the great *Uniters* of Mankind.

HOWEVER we may dislike the *Causes*, yet this *Effect* of begetting an universal Concord among us in all *National Debates*, as well as in *Cities*, *Corporations*, and *Country Neighbourhoods*, may keep us at least alive, and in a Condition to eat the little Bread allowed us in *Peace* and *Amity*. I have heard of a Quarrel in a Tavern, where all were at Daggers-drawing, until one of the Company cried out, desiring to know the *Subject of the Quarrel*; which, when none of them could tell, they put up their Swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the Evening in *Quiet*. The *former Part* hath been our Case; I hope the *latter* will be so too; that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *something* that may give us a Title to fall out; since Nature hath instructed even a Brood of *Goslings to flock together* while the *Kite* is hovering over their Heads.

IT is certain, that a firm *Union* in any Country, where every Man wishes the same Thing with relation

* Note, *Since this Discourse was written, it hath appeared by Experience, that the Author was much mistaken in his Conjectures.*

to the Publick, may, in several Points of the greatest Importance, in some Measure, supply the *Defect of Power*; and even of *those Rights which are the natural and undoubted Inheritance of Mankind.* If the universal *Wish* of the Nation upon any Point, were declared by the *unanimous* Vote of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of Lords; I should think myself obliged in Conscience to act in my Sphere according to that Vote; because, in all free Nations, I take the proper Definition of *Law* to be *the Will of the Majority of those who have the Property in Land*; which if there be a Monarchy, is to be confirmed by the Royal Assent. And, although such *Votes* or *Declarations* have not received such a Confirmation, for certain *accidental Reasons*; yet I think they ought to be of much Weight with the *Subject*; provided they neither oppose the King's Prerogative, endanger the Peace of the Nation, nor infringe any Law already in Force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for Instance, if Nine in Ten of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of native temporal Peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *Brass Coin*, except under certain Limitations and Securities, should be deemed as *Enemies to the King and the Nation*; I should think it a heinous Sin in myself to act contrary to such a Vote: And, if the same Power should declare the same *Censure* against those who wore *Indian* Stuffs and *Calicoes*, or *Woollen Manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this Nation is reduced to the lowest Ebb of Misery; I should *readily*, *heartily*, and *chearfully* pay Obedience; and to my utmost Power *persuade* others to do the like: Because there is no *Law* of this Land obliging us either to *receive such Coin*, or to *wear such foreign Manufactures*.

* UPON this last Article, I could humbly wish that the Reverend the *Clergy* would set us an Example, by contenting

* Note, *This hath since been put in Practice, by the Persuasions and Influence of the Author; but much defeated by the most infamous Fraud of Shop-keepers.*

contenting themselves with wearing Gowns and other Habiliments of *Irish* Drapery; which, as it would be some Incitment to the *Laity*, and set many Hands to Work; so they would find their Advantage in the *Cheapness*; which is a Circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable Body. * And, in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious Artists of the Weaving Trade, would contrive some decent Stuffs and Silks for *Clergymen*, at reasonable Rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial Brethren, that the whole Corporations of *Weavers* in Silk and Woollen, would publish some *Proposals*, (I wish they would do it to both Houses of Parliament) inviting Persons of all Degrees and of both Sexes, to wear the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of our own Country; entering into solemn, mutual Engagements, that the Buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable Ware for his Money, and at a certain Rate, without the Trouble of cheapning: So that, if I sent a Child for a Piece of Stuff of a particular Colour and Fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had Reason to complain, the Corporation should give me immediate Satisfaction; and the Name of the Tradesman who did me the Wrong, should be published; and Warning given not to deal with him for the future, unless the Matter plainly appeared to be a Mistake: For, besides the Trouble of going from Shop to Shop, an ignorant Customer runs the Hazard of being cheated in the Price and Goodness of what he buys; being forced to an unequal Combat with a dextrous, and dishonest Man in his own Calling. Thus our Goods fall under a general Disreputation; and the Gentry call for *English* Cloth, or Silk from an Opinion they have (and often too justly by our own Faults) that the *Goodness* more than maketh up for the Difference of the Price.

* *This Scheme was likewise often urged to the Weavers by the Author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in Practice.*

BESIDES, it hath been the sottish and ruinous Practice of us Tradesmen, upon any great Demand of Goods, either at home or from abroad, to raise the Prices immediately, and manufacture the said Goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

OF this foul and foolish Proceeding, too many Instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor Kingdom hath received such a fatal Blow in the *only Article of Trade* allowed us of any Importance, that nothing but the Success of *Wood*'s Project, could outdo it. During the late Plague in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who buy their Linen Cloths in that Kingdom, not daring to venture thither for Fear of Infection; a very great Demand was made here for that Commodity, and exported to *Spain*: But, whether by the Ignorance of the Merchants, or Dishonesty of the *Northern* Weavers, or the Collusion of both; the Ware was so bad, and the Price so excessive, that except some small Quantity, which was sold below the prime Cost, the greatest Part was returned back: And, I have been told by very intelligent Persons, that if we had been fair Dealers, the whole Current of the Linen Trade to *Spain* would have taken its Course from hence.

IF any Punishment were to be inflicted on *Numbers of Men*; surely there could none be thought too great for such a Race of *Traitors* and *Enemies* to God and their Country; who for the Prospect of a little *present* Gain, do not only ruin themselves, (for that alone would be an *Example* to the rest, and a *Blessing* to the Nation) but sell their Souls to Hell, and their Country to Destruction: And, if the *Plague* could have been confined only to those who were *Partakers in the Guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marseilles*, those Wretches would have died with less Title to *Pity*, than a *Highwayman* going to the Gallows.

BUT it happeneth very *unluckily*, that, for *some Time past*, all Endeavours or Proposals from private Persons, to advance the publick Service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called *flying in the*

King's

King's Face: And this, to my Knowledge, hath been the Style of *some Persons*, whose *Ancestors*, (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves*, have been *flying in Princes Faces* these fourscore Years; and from their own Inclinations would do so still, if their Interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the Face of a* Kingdom; which hath given them *Wings* to enable them for such a *Flight*.

THUS, about four Years ago, when a * Discourse was published, endeavouring to persuade our People to wear their own Woollen Manufactures, full of the most dutiful Expressions to the King, and without the least *Party Hint*; it was termed *flying in the King's Face*; the *Printer* was prosecuted in the Manner we all remember; (and I hope, *it will somewhere be remembered further*) the *Jury* kept eleven Hours, and sent back nine times, until they were under the Necessity of leaving the Prisoner to the Mercy of the Court, by a *special Verdict*. The † *Judge* on the Bench, *invoking God for his Witness*, when he asserted, that the Author's Design was to bring in the *Pretender*.

AND thus also, my own poor Endeavours to prevent the Ruin of my Country, by the Admission of *Wood*'s Coin, was called by the same Persons *flying in the King's Face*; which I directly deny: For I cannot allow that *vile* Representation of the Royal *Countenance* in *William Wood*'s adulterate Copper, to be his sacred Majesty's *Face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *Impression*, but the *Baseness* of the *Metal*; because I well remembered, that the *Image* which *Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be set up, for all Men to fall down and worship it*, was not of *Copper*, but pure *Gold*. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few *Royal Images* of that *Metal* among us; the Sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our Veneration for his Majesty, which is already so great; yet

* The *Author here meaneth a preceeding Discourse, entitled*, A Proposal for the universal Use of the *Irish* Manufactures.

† Note, Judge *Whitshed*.

would very much *enliven* it with a Mixture of *Comfort* and *Satisfaction*.

Alexander the Great, would suffer no Statuary, except *Phidias*, to carve his Image in Stone or Metal. How must he have treated such an Operator as *Wood*, who goeth about with *Sacks-full* of *Dross*; odiously misrepresenting his Prince's *Countenance*; and would force them, by Thousands, upon every one of us, at above *six times the Value*.

BUT, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himself; together with his *Favourers*, *Abettors*, *Supporters*, either *publick* or *private*; by those who *connive* at his Project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *Opposers*, for fear of lessening their *Favour*, or hazarding their *Employments*; by those who endeavour to *damp* the *Spirit* of the People raised against this Coin; or check the honest Zeal of such as by their *Writings*, or *Discourses*, do all they can to keep it up: Those *Softners*, *Sweetners*, *Compounders*, and *Expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their *Heads* so strongly, that we can *hear their Pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that, in detecting the Practices of such *Enemies* to the Kingdom, I was *flying in the King's Face*; or thought they were better *Representers* of his Majesty, than that very *Coin*, for which they are *secret* or *open* Advocates.

IF I were allowed to recite only those *Wishes* of the Nation, which may be in our Power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, That an End might be put to our Apprehensions of *Wood*'s Half-pence, and to any Danger of the like destructive Scheme for the future.

Secondly, That Half-pence might be coined in this Kingdom, by a publick Mint, with due Limitations.

Thirdly, That the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, at least of the House of Commons, were declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty Votes*, against wearing any Silk or Woollen Manufactures, imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing *Indian* Silks

or

or Calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest Penalties in *England*: And it behoveth us, to take Example from so wise a Nation; because we are under a *greater Necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any Woollen Manufactures of our own; which is the principal Branch of foreign Trade in *England*.

Fourthly, That some effectual Methods may be taken to civilize the poorer Sort of our Natives, in all those Parts of this Kingdom where the *Irish* abound; by introducing among them our Language and Customs; for Want of which they live in the utmost Ignorance, Barbarity and Poverty, giving themselves wholly up to Idleness, Nastiness, and Thievery, to the very great and just Reproach of too many Landlords. And, if I had in me the least Spirit of a *Projector*, I would engage that this might be effected in a few Years, at a very inconsiderable Charge.

Fifthly, That due Encouragement should be given to *Agriculture*; and a Stop put to that pernicious Practice of Graziers, engrossing vast Quantities of Land, sometimes at a great Distance; whereby the Country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, That the Defects in those Acts for planting Forest Trees, might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the Demesnes of a few Gentlemen; and even there, in general, very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due Care taken to preserve what is planted, or to inclose Grounds; not one Hedge in an hundred coming to Maturity, for want of Skill and Industry. The Neglect of *copsing* Woods cut down, hath likewise been of very evil Consequences. And if Men were restrained from that unlimited Liberty of *cutting down their own Woods* before their proper Time, as they are in some other Countries; it would be a mighty Benefit to the Kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another Example in *Europe* of such a prodigious Quantity of excellent Timber cut down in so short a Time, with so little Advantage to the Country, either in *Shipping* or *Building*.

At the Time when the Coinage of Halfpence by WILLIAM WOOD, made most Noise, several Papers of Humour and Ridicule, ran about the Town and Kingdom, to expose that pernicious Project; among others, that which followeth; and is supposed to be written by the Author of the DRAPIER's Letters. We have, therefore, ventured to reprint it in its proper Place.

A full and true Account of the solemn Procession to the GALLOWS, at the Execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Esquire, and Hard-ware-man.

Written in the YEAR 1724.

SOME Time ago, upon a Report spread, that *William Wood*, Hard-ware man, was concealed in his Brother-in-law's House here in *Dublin*; a great Number of People of different Conditions, and of both Sexes, crowded about the Door, determinately bent to take Revenge upon him as a Coiner and Counterfeiter. Among the rest, a certain curious Person, standing in a Corner, observed that they all discovered their Resentments in the proper Terms and Expressions of their several Trades and Callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me; with Leave to publish them, for the Use of those who at any Time hereafter may be at a Loss for proper Words.

Words, wherein to express their good Dispositions towards the said *William Wood*.

The People cried out to have him delivered into their Hands.

Says the Parliament Man, *Expel* him the *House*.
2d Parliament Man, I second that *Motion*.
Cook, I'll *baste* him.
2d *Cook*, I'll give him his *Belly-full*.
3d *Cook*, I'll give him a *Lick* in the *Chops*.
4th *Cook*, I'll *sauce* him.
Drunken-man, I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.
Book-seller, I'll turn over a *new Leaf* with him.
Sadler, I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier, I'll make the *Light* shine through him.
Grocer, I'll *pepper* him.
Groom, I'll *curry* his Hide.
Apothecary, I'll *pound* him.
2d *Apothecary*, I'll beat him to *Mummy*.
School-master, I'll make him an *Example*.
Rabbet-catcher, I'll *ferret* him.
Paver, I'll *thump* him.
Coiner, I'll give him a *Rap*.
WHIG, *Down* with him.
TORY, *Up* with him.
Miller, I'll dash out his *Grinders*.
2d *Miller*, *Damn* him.
Boat-man, *Sink* him.
Scavenger, Throw him in the *Kennel*.
Dyer, I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
Bagnio-man, I'll make the House too *hot* for him.
Whore, *Pox* rot him.
2d *Whore*, Let me *alone* with him.
3d *Whore*, *Clap* him up.
Mustard-maker, I'll have him by the *Nose*.
Curate, I'll make the *Devil came out of him*.
Popish Priest, I'll *send him* to the Devil.
Dancing-master, I'll *teach* him *better Manners*.

2d

2d *Dancing-master*, I'll make him cut a *Caper* three Storey high.
Farmer, I'll *thrash* him.
Taylor, I'll sit in his *Skirts*.
2d *Taylor*, *Hell* is too good for him.
3d *Taylor*, I'll *pink* his *Doublet*.
4th *Taylor*, I'll make his A— make *Buttons*.
Basket-maker, I'll *hamper* him.
Fidler, I'll have him by the *Ears*.
2d *Fidler*, I'll bang him to some *Tune*.
Barber, I'll have him by the *Beard*.
2d *Barber*, I'll pull his *Whiskers*.
3d *Barber*, I'll make his *Hair* stand an End.
4th *Barber*, I'll *comb* his *Locks*.
Tinker, I'll try what *Metal* he is made of.
Cobler, I'll make an *End* of him.
Tobacconist, I'll make him *smoke*.
2d *Tobacconist*, I'll make him set up his *Pipes*.
Gold-finder, I'll make him *stink*.
Hackney-Coachman, I'll make him know his *Driver*.
2d *Hackney-Coachman*, I'll *drive* him to the Devil.
Butcher, I'll have a *Limb* of him.
2d *Butcher*, Let us *blow him up*.
3d *Butcher*, My *Knife* in him.
Nurse, I'll *swaddle* him.
Anabaptist, We'll *dip* the Rogue in the *Pond*.
Ostler, I'll *rub* him *down*.
Shoemaker, Set him in the *Stocks*.
Banker, I'll kick him into *Half-crowns*.
2d *Banker*, I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler, I'll have a *Rubber* with him.
Gamester, I'll make his *Bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker, I'll *lace* his Sides.
Gardener, I'll make him *water his Plants*.
Ale-wife, I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold, I'll make him pull in his *Horns*.
Old Woman, I'll *mumble* him.
Hangman, I'll *throttle* him.

BUT

But, at last, the People, having received Assurances, that *William Wood* was neither in the House nor Kingdom, appointed certain Commissioners to hang him in Effigy; whereof the whole Ceremony and Procession, deserve to be transmitted to Posterity.

First, The Way was cleared by a Detachment of the *Black Guards*, with short Sticks in their Hands, and Cockades of Paper in their Hats.

Then appeared *William Wood* Esq; represented to the Life by an old Piece of carved Timber, taken from the Keel of a Ship. Upon his Face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper Distances, several Pieces of his own Coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his Calling, and his Crime. He wore on his Head a Peruke very artfully composed of four old Mops; a Halter about his Neck served him for a Cravat. His Cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with Persons in his Condition; which some censorious People imputed to Affectation; for he was covered with a large Rugg of several Colours in Patch-work; he was borne upon the Shoulders of an able-bodied Porter. In his March by St. *Stephen's Green*, he often bowed on both Sides, to shew his Respects to the Company; his Deportment was grave, and his Countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his Father alone, in a long mourning Cloak, with his Hat over his Nose, and a Handkerchief in his Left Hand to wipe the Tears from his Face.

Next in Order marched the Executioner *himself in Person*; whose venerable Aspect drew the Eyes of the whole Assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a Halter which he bore on his Left Shoulder, as the Badge of his Office.

Then followed two Persons Hand in Hand; the one representing *William Wood*'s * Brother-in-law; the other a certain Sadler, his intimate Friend, whose Name I forgot. Each had a small Kettle in his Hands, where-

* *One* Molyneaux, *an Ironmonger.*

in was a reasonable Quantity of the new Half-pence. At proper Periods they shook their Kettles, which made a melancholy Sound, like the ringing of a Knell for their Partner and Confederate.

AFTER these followed several Officers, whose Assistance was necessary for the more decent Performance of the great Work in Hand.

THE Procession was closed with an innumerable Crowd of People, who frequently sent up loud Huzzas; which were censured by wiser Heads as a Mark of Inhumanity, and an ungenerous Triumph over the unfortunate; without duly considering the various Vicissitudes of human Life. However, as it becometh an impartial Historian, I will not conceal one Observation, That Mr. *Wood* himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least Alteration in his Countenance; only when he came within Sight of the fatal Tree, which happened to be of the same Species of Timber with his own Person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

AT the Place of Execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a Tear. He made no Resistance, but submitted himself, with great Resignation, to the Hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much Roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him Pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserveth to be written in Letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

THOSE of the softer Sex who attended the Ceremony, lamented that so comely and well *timbred* a Man should come to so untimely an End. He hung but a short Time; for upon feeling his Breast, they found it cold and stiff.

IT is strange to think how this melancholy Spectacle turned the Hearts of the People to Compassion: When he was cut down, the Body was carried through the whole City to gather Contributions for his Wake; and all Sorts of People shewed their Liberality according as they were able. The Ceremony

ny was performed in an Alehouſe of Diſtinction, and in a Manner ſuitable to the Quality of the Deceaſed. While the Attendants were diſcourſing about his Funeral, a worthy Member of the Aſſembly ſtood up and propoſed, that the Body ſhould be carried out next Day, and burned with the ſame Pomp and Formalities uſed at his Execution; which would prevent the Malice of his Enemies, and all Indignities that might be done to his Remains. This was agreed to; and, about nine a Clock on the following Morning, there appeared a ſecond Proceſſion. But Burning not having been any Part of the Sentence; Authority thought fit to interpoſe, and the Corpſe was reſcued by the Civil Power.

We hear the Body is not yet interred; which occaſioneth many Speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is poſitively aſſured by many who pretend to have been Eye-witneſſes, that there doth not appear the leaſt Alteration in any one Lineament or Feature of his Countenance, nor viſible Decay in his whole Frame, further than what had been made by Worms long before his Execution. The Solution of which Difficulty I ſhall leave among Naturaliſts.

A

Short VIEW

OF THE

STATE of *IRELAND*.

Written in the Year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath, for some Time, been practised, as a Method of making Men's Court, when they are asked about the Rate of Lands, the Abilities of Tenants, the State of Trade and Manufacture in this Kingdom, and how their Rents are paid; to answer, that in their Neighbourhood, all Things are in a flourishing Condition, the Rent and Purchase of Land every Day increasing. And if a Gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his Representations, besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a Dozen Contradictors at his Elbow. I think it is no Manner of Secret, why these Questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

BUT since, with regard to the Affairs of this Kingdom, I have been using all Endeavours to subdue my Indignation; to which indeed, I am not provoked by any personal Interest, being not the Owner of one Spot of Ground in the whole *Island*; I shall only enumerate by Rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true Causes of any Countries flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what Effects arise from those Causes in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

THE

THE first Cause of a Kingdom's thriving, is the Fruitfulness of the Soil, to produce the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life; not only sufficient for the Inhabitants, but for Exportation into other Countries.

THE second, is, the Industry of the People, in working up all their native Commodities, to the last Degree of Manufacture.

THE third, is, the Conveniency of safe Ports and Havens, to carry out their own Goods, as much manufactured, and bring in those of others, as little manufactured, as the Nature of mutual Commerce will allow.

THE fourth, is, that the Natives should, as much as possible, export and import their Goods in Vessels of their own Timber, made in their own Country.

THE fifth, is, the Privilege of a free Trade in all foreign Countries, which will permit them; except to those who are in War with their own Prince or State.

THE sixth, is, by being governed only by Laws made with their own Consent; for otherwise they are not a free People. And therefore, all Appeals for Justice, or Applications for Favour or Preferment, to another Country, are so many grievous Impoverishments.

THE seventh, is, by Improvement of Land, Encouragement of Agriculture, and thereby increasing the Number of their People; without which, any Country, however blessed by Nature, must continue poor.

THE eighth, is, the Residence of the Prince or chief Administrator of the civil Power.

THE ninth, is, the Concourse of Foreigners for Education, Curiosity, or Pleasure, or as to a general Mart of Trade.

THE tenth, is, by disposing all Offices of Honour, Profit, or Trust, only to the Natives, or at least with very few Exceptions; where Strangers have long inhabited the Country, and are supposed to understand, and regard the Interest of it as their own.

The eleventh, is, when the Rents of Lands, and Profits of Employments, are spent in the Country which produce them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the Love of our native Country prevaileth.

The twelfth, is, by the publick Revenues being all spent and employed at home; except on the Occasions of a foreign War.

The thirteenth, is, where the People are not obliged, unless they find it for their own Interest or Conveniency, to receive any Monies, except of their own Coinage by a publick Mint, after the Manner of all civilized Nations.

The fourteenth, is, a Disposition of the People of a Country to wear their own Manufactures, and import as few Incitements to Luxury, either in Cloaths, Furniture, Food, or Drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other Causes of a Nation's thriving which I cannot at present recollect; but without Advantage from at least some of these: After turning my Thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our Wealth proceedeth, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what Share falls to *Ireland* of these Causes, or of the Effects and Consequences.

It is not my Intention to complain, but barely to relate Facts; and the Matter is not of small Importance. For it is allowed, that a Man who liveth in a solitary House far from Help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire, in the Neighbourhood, the Reputation of being rich; because those who come for Gold, will go off with Pewter and Brass, rather than return empty: And, in the common Practice of the World, those who possess most Wealth, make the least Parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out, in shewing their Faces on the *Exchange*.

As to the first Cause of a Nation's Riches, being the Fertility of the Soil, as well as Temperature of Climate, we have no Reason to complain; for although the

the Quantity of unprofitable Land in this Kingdom, reckoning Bogs, and Rock, and barren Mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in *England*; yet, the native Productions which both Kingdoms deal in, are very near on Equality in Point of Goodness; and might, with the same Encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except Mines and Minerals; in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of Skill and Industry.

IN the second, which is the Industry of the People; our Misfortune is not altogether owing to our own Fault, but to a Million of Discouragements.

THE Conveniency of Ports and Havens, which Nature hath bestowed so liberally on this Kingdom, is of no more Use to us, than a beautiful Prospect to a Man shut up in a Dungeon.

As to Shipping of its own, *Ireland* is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent Timber cut down within these Fifty or Sixty Years, it can hardly be said, that the Nation hath received the Benefit of one valuable House to dwell in, or one Ship to trade with.

IRELAND is the only Kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in antient or modern Story, which was denied the Liberty of exporting their native Commodities and Manufactures, where-ever they pleased; except to Countries at War with their own Prince or State: Yet this Privilege, by the Superiority of mere Power, is refused us in the most momentous Parts of Commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a Thousand other unexampled Circumstances, as grievous, as they are invidious to mention. To go unto the rest.

IT is too well known, that we are forced to obey some Laws we never consented to; which is a Condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted Name, for Fear of Lord Chief Justice *Whitped*'s Ghost, with his * *Libertas & natale Solum*, written as a Motto on his

* *Liberty and my Native Country.*

his Coach, as it stood at the Door of the Court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus, we are in the Condition of Patients, who have Physick sent them by Doctors at a Distance, Strangers to their Constitution, and the Nature of their Disease: And thus, we are forced to pay Five hundred *per Cent.* to decide our Properties; in all which, we have likewise the Honour to be distinguished from the whole Race of Mankind.

As to Improvements of Land, those few who attempt that, or Planting, through Covetousness or Want of Skill, generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in Trees nor Hedges; and by running into the Fancy of Grazing, after the Manner of the *Scythians*, are every Day depopulating the Country.

We are so far from having a King to reside among us, that even the Viceroy is generally absent four Fifths of his Time in the Government.

No Strangers from other Countries, make this a Part of their Travels; where they can expect to see nothing, but Scenes of Misery and Desolation.

Those who have the Misfortune to be born here, have the least Title to any considerable Employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political Consideration.

One third Part of the Rents of *Ireland* is spent in *England*; which, with the Profit of Employments, Pensions, Appeals, Journeys of Pleasure or Health, Education at the *Inns* of Court, and both Universities, Remittances at Pleasure, the Pay of all superior Officers in the Army, and other Incidents, will amount to a full half of the Income of the whole Kingdom, all clear Profit to *England*.

We are denied the Liberty of coining Gold, Silver, or even Copper. In the Isle of *Man*, they coin their own *Silver*; every petty Prince, Vassal to the *Emperor*, can coin what Money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the Articles already mentioned, we are an Exception to all other States or Monarchies that were ever known in the World.

As

As to the last, or fourteenth Article, we take special Care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole Course of our Lives. Both Sexes, but especially the Women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own Manufactures, even those which are better made than in other Countries; particularly a Sort of Silk Plaid, through which the Workmen are forced to run a Sort of Gold Thread that it may pass for *Indian*. Even Ale and Potatoes are imported from *England* as well as Corn: And our foreign Trade is little more than Importation of *French* Wine; for which I am told we pay ready Money.

Now, if all this be true, upon which I could easily enlarge, I would be glad to know by what secret Method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing People, without *Liberty*, *Trade*, *Manufactures*, *Inhabitants*, *Money*, or the *Privilege of Coining*; without *Industry*, *Labour*, or *Improvement of Lands*, and with more than half the Rent and Profits of the whole *Kingdom*, annually exported; for which we receive not a single Farthing: And to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the Linen of the *North*, a Trade casual, corrupted, and at Mercy; and some Butter from *Cork*. If we do flourish, it must be against every Law of Nature and Reason; like the Thorn at *Glastenbury*, that blossometh in the Midst of Winter.

LET the worthy *Commissioners* who come from *England*, ride round the Kingdom, and observe the Face of Nature, or the Faces of the Natives; the Improvement of the Land; the thriving numerous Plantations; the noble Woods; the Abundance and Vicinity of Country-seats; the commodious Farmers Houses and Barns; the Towns and Villages, where every body is busy, and thriving with all Kind of Manufactures; the Shops full of Goods, wrought to Perfection, and filled with Customers; the comfortable Diet and Dress, and Dwellings of the People; the vast Number of Ships in our Harbours and Docks, and Ship-wrights in our Sea-port Towns; the Roads

crowded

crowded with Carriers, laden with rich Manufactures, the perpetual Concourse to and fro of pompous Equipages.

WITH what Envy and Admiration would those Gentlemen return from so delightful a Progress? What glorious Reports would they make when they went back to *England?*

BUT my Heart is too heavy to continue this Irony longer; for it is manifest, that whatever Stranger took such a Journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in *Lapland* or *Iceland*, rather than in a Country so favoured by Nature as ours, both in Fruitfulness of Soil, and Temperature of Climate: The miserable Dress and Diet, and Dwelling of the People: The general Desolation in most Parts of the Kingdom: The old Seats of the Nobility and Gentry all in Ruins, and no new ones in their Stead: The Families of Farmers, who pay great Rents, living in Filth and Nastiness upon Butter-milk and Potatoes, without a Shoe or Stocking to their Feet, or a House so convenient as an *English* Hog-sty, to receive them: These, indeed may be comfortable Sights to an *English* Spectator, who cometh for a short Time, only *to learn the Language*, and returneth back to his own Country, whether he findeth all our Wealth transmitted.

Nostrâ Miseriâ magna est.

THERE is not one Argument used to prove the Riches of *Ireland*, which is not a logical Demonstration of its Poverty. The Rise of our Rents, is squeezed out of the very Blood, and Vitals, and Cloaths, and Dwellings of the Tenants; who live worse than *English* Beggars. The Lowness of Interest, in all other Countries, a Sign of Wealth, is in us a Proof of Misery; there being no Trade to employ any Borrower. Hence, alone, cometh the Dearness of Land, since the Savers have no other Way to lay out their Money. Hence the Dearness of Necessaries for Life; because the Tenants cannot afford to pay such extra-

vagant

vagant Rates for Land, (which they must take or go a-begging) without raising the Price of Cattle, and of Corn, although themselves should live upon Chaff. Hence our Increase of Buildings in this City; because Work-men have nothing to do, but employ one another; and one Half of them are infallibly undone. Hence, the daily Increase of *Bankers*; who may be a necessary Evil in a trading Country, but so ruinous in ours; who, for their private Advantage, have sent away all our Silver, and one Third of our Gold; so that within three Years past, the running Cash of the Nation, which was about Five hundred thousand Pounds, is now less than two; and must daily diminish, unless we have Liberty to coin, as well as that important Kingdom the Isle of *Man*; and the meanest Prince in the *German* Empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought that this Paradox of the Kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to those worthy Gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except some Custom-house Officers, Birds of Passage, oppressive thrifty 'Squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving People among us: And I have often wished, that a Law were enacted to hang up half a Dozen *Bankers* every Year; and thereby interpose at least some short Delay, to the further Ruin of *Ireland*.

YE are idle, ye are idle, answered *Pharaoh* to the *Israelites*, when they complained to *his Majesty*, that they were forced to make Bricks without Straw.

ENGLAND enjoyeth every one of those Advantages for enriching a Nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the Bargain, a good Million returned to them every Year, without Labour or Hazard, or one Farthing Value received on our Side. But how long we shall be able to continue the Payment, I am not under the least Concern. One Thing I know, that, *when the Hen is starved to Death, there will be no more Golden Eggs.*

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtile Piece of Malice; that, because there may be

be a dozen Families in this Town, able to entertain their *English* Friends in a generous Manner at their Tables; their Guests, upon their Return to *England*, shall report, that we wallow in Riches and Luxury.

YET, I confess, I have known an Hospital where all the Houshold Officers grew rich; while the Poor, for whose Sake it was built, were almost starving for want of Food and Raiment.

To conclude: If *Ireland* be a rich and flourishing Kingdom; its Wealth and Prosperity must be owing to certain Causes, that are yet concealed from the whole Race of Mankind; and the Effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at Strangers, when they deliver such Paradoxes; but a Native and Inhabitant of this Kingdom, who gives the same Verdict, must be either ignorant to Stupidity, or a Manpleaser, at the Expence of all Honour, Conscience, and Truth.

AN

AN ANSWER TO A PAPER, CALLED

A MEMORIAL of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

Written in the Year 1728.

I RECEIVED a *Paper* from you, where-ever you are, printed without any Name of Author or Printer; and sent, I suppose, to me among others, without any particular Distinction. It containeth a Complaint of the Dearness of Corn; and some Schemes of making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

BUT, pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short History of the Steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful Situation.

IT was indeed the shameful Practice of too many *Irish* Farmers, to wear out their Ground with Plowing; while, either through Poverty, Laziness, or Ignorance, they neither took Care to manure it as they ought; nor gave Time to any Part of the Land to

recover itself: And when their Leases were near expiring, being assured that their Landlords would not renew, they plowed even the Meadows, and made such a Havock, that many Landlords were considerable Sufferers by it.

THIS gave Birth to that abominable Race of Graziers, who, upon Expiration of the Farmers Leases, were ready to engross great Quantities of Land; and the Gentlemen having been before, often ill paid, and their Land worn out of Heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich Grazier made him an Offer to take all his Land, and give him Security for Payment. Thus, a vast Tract of Land, where Twenty or thirty Farmers lived together, with their Cottagers and Labourers in their several Cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two Herdsmen and their Boys; whereby the Master Grazier, with little Trouble, seized to himself the Livelihood of an hundred People.

IT must be confessed, that the Farmers were justly punished for their *Knavery*, *Brutality*, and *Folly*. But neither are the *Squires* and *Landlords* to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the *Country*, the vast Number of *Beggars*, and the Ruin of those few sorry Improvements we had.

THAT *Farmers* should be limited in Plowing, is very reasonable, and practised in *England*; and might have easily been done here, by penal Clauses in their Leases: But to deprive them, in a Manner, altogether from tilling their Lands, was a most stupid Want of Thinking.

HAD the *Farmers* been confined to plow a certain Quantity of Land, with a Penalty of Ten Pounds an Acre, for whatever they exceeded; and farther limited for the Three or four last Years of their Leases; all this Evil had been prevented; the Nation would have saved *a Million of Money*; and been more populous by above *Two hundred thousand Souls*.

FOR a People denied the Benefit of *Trade*, to manage their Lands in such a Manner, as to produce nothing

but

but what they are forbidden to trade with; or, only such Things as they can neither export, nor manufacture to Advantage, is an Absurdity, that a *wild Indian* would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful Commerce, by sending to foreign Markets for our daily Bread.

The *Grazier*'s Employment is to feed great Flocks of *Sheep*, or *black Cattle*, or both. With Regard to *Sheep*; as Folly is usually accompanied with Perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a Commodity, (further than for our own Use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain Country*, and only to some *few* Ports in that Country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wanteth a Name in our Language to express it by: And the Good of it is, that the more *Sheep* we have, the fewer human Creatures are left to wear the *Wool*, or eat the *Flesh*. *Ajax* was mad when he mistook a Flock of *Sheep* for his Enemies: But we shall never be sober, until we have the same Way of Thinking.

The other Part of the *Grazier*'s Business is, what we call *black Cattle*; producing *Hides*, *Tallow*, and *Beef* for Exportation. All which, are good and useful Commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest Part of the *Hides* are sent out raw, for Want of *Bark* to *tan* them; and that Want will daily grow stronger: For, I doubt, the new Project of *Tanning* without it, is at an End. Our *Beef*, I am afraid, still continueth scandalous in foreign Markets, for the old Reasons. But our *Tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole Kingdom on *Beef* and *Mutton*, and thereby drive out half the People who should eat their Share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as *Egypt*, for Bread to it, is a most peculiar and distinguished Piece of publick Oeconomy; of which I have no Comprehension.

I know very well, that our Ancestors, the *Scythians*, and their Posterity our Kinsmen the *Tartars*, lived upon the Blood and Milk, and raw Flesh of their

Cattle, without one Grain of *Corn*; but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without *Bread* to my Victuals.

WHAT amazed me for a Week or two, was to see, in this prodigious Plenty of *Cattle*, and Dearth of *human Creatures*, and Want of *Bread*, as well as *Money* to buy it, that all Kind of *Flesh-meat* should be monstrously *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this Kingdom. I thought it a Defect in the Laws; that there was not some Regulation in the Price of *Flesh*, as well as *Bread*: But I imagine myself to have guessed out the Reason. In short, I am apt to think, that the whole Kingdom is overstocked with *Cattle*, both *Black* and *White*: And, as it is observed, that the poor *Irish* have a Vanity, to be rather Owners of two lean Cows, than one fat, although with double the Charge of Grazing, and but half the Quantity of Milk; so I conceive it much more difficult at present, to find a fat *Bullock*, or *Wedder*, than it would be, if half of both were fairly knocked on the Head: For, I am assured, that the District in the several Markets, called *Carrion-row*, is as reasonable as the Poor can desire; only the Circumstance of *Money to purchase it*; and of *Trade*, or *Labour* to *purchase that Money*; are, indeed, wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your Memorial.

A Hundred thousand Barrels of *Wheat*, you say, should be imported hither; and Ten thousand Pounds *Præmium*, to the Importers. Have you looked into the Purse of the Nation? I am no Commissioner of the *Treasury*; but am well assured, that the whole running *Cash*, would not supply you with a Sum to purchase so much *Corn*; which, only at twenty Shillings a Barrel, will be a Hundred thousand Pounds; and Ten thousand more for the *Præmium*. But you will traffick for your *Corn* with other Goods: And where are those Goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the Rents of *Absentees*, and other Occasions in *London*; besides a huge Balance of Trade this

Year

Year against us. Will Foreigners take our Bankers Paper? I suppose they will value it at little more than so much a Quire. Where are these *rich Farmers* and *Ingrossers of Corn*, in so bad a Year, and so little sowing?

You are in Pain of Two Shillings *Præmium*, and forget the Twenty Shillings for the Price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your Scheme for a *Tax* for raising such a Sum, is all visionary; and owing to a great Want of Knowledge in the *miserable State* of this Nation. *Tea*, *Coffee*, *Sugar*, *Spices*, *Wine*, and *foreign Cloaths*, are the Particulars you mention, upon which this Tax should be raised. I will allow the two first; because they are unwholesome: And the last, because I should be glad if they were all burned; but, I beg you will leave us our Wine, to make us a while forget our Misery; or give your Tenants leave to plow for *Barley*. But I will tell you a *Secret*, which I learned many Years ago from the Commissioners of the *Customs* in *London*: They said, when any *Commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate Rate*, the Consequence was to lessen that Branch of the Revenue by one Half; and one of those Gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the Mistake of Parliaments, on such Occasions, was owing to an Error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the Business of laying *heavy Impositions*, two and two never made more than one; which happeneth by lessening the Import, and the strong Temptation of running such Goods as paid high Duties. At least in this Kingdom, although the Women are as vain and as extravagant as their Lovers, or their Husbands can deserve; and the Men are fond enough of Wine; yet the Number of both, who can afford such Expences, is so small, that the major Part must refuse gratifying themselves; and the Duties will rather be lessened than increased. But, allowing no Force in this Argument; yet so preternatural a Sum, as One hundred and ten thousand Pounds, raised all on a Sudden, (for there is no dallying with Hunger) is just in

Proportion with raising a Million and a Half in *England*; which, as Things now stand, would probably bring that opulent Kingdom under such Difficulties.

You are concerned, how strange and surprising it would be in foreign Parts, to hear that the Poor were starving in a *rich* Country, &c. Are you in earnest? Is *Ireland* the *rich* Country you mean? Or are you insulting our *Poverty*? Were you ever out of *Ireland*? Or were you ever in it until of late? You may probably have a good Employment, and are saving all you can, to purchase a good Estate in *England*. But by talking so familiarly of One hundred and ten thousand Pounds, by a Tax upon a few *Commodities*; it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present Condition; or else you would know and allow, that such a Sum is not to be raised here, without a *general Excise*; since, in Proportion to our Wealth, we pay already in *Taxes* more than *England* ever did, in the Height of the War. And when you have brought over your Corn, who will be the Buyers? Most certainly not the Poor, who will not be *able* to purchase the Twentieth Part of it.

Sir, upon the Whole, your Paper is a very crude Piece, liable to more Objections than there are Lines; but, I think, your Meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general Contribution, in supporting the Poor in *Potatoes* and *Butter-milk*, until the new Corn cometh in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the Thing, at least, is possible; and, I think, if our Brethren in *England* would contribute, upon this Emergency, out of the Million they gain from us every Year, they would do a Piece of *Justice* as well as *Charity*. In the mean time, go and preach to your own Tenants, to fall to the Plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring Squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the Guilt of having driven away half the Inhabitants, and starving the rest. For, as to your Scheme of raising *One hundred and ten thousand Pounds*, it is as vain as that of *Rabelais*; which was

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to squeeze out Wind from the Posteriors of a dead Ass.

But, why all this Concern for the Poor? We want them not, as the Country is now managed? they may follow Thousands of their Leaders, and seek their Bread abroad. Where the Plough hath no Work, one Family can do the Business of Fifty, and you may send away the other Forty-nine. An admirable Piece of Husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest Nations; who erroneously thought People to be the Riches of a Country.

If so wretched a State of Things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious Pleasure, after all the Warning I have in vain given the Publick, at my own Peril, for several Years past; to see the Consequences and Events answering in every Particular. I pretend to no Sagacity: What I writ was little more than what I had discoursed to several Persons, who were generally of my Opinion; and, it was obvious to every common Understanding, that such Effects must needs follow from such Causes. A fair Issue of Things, begun upon Party Rage, while some sacrificed the Publick to Fury, and others to Ambition: While a Spirit of Faction and Oppression reigned in every Part of the Country; where Gentlemen, instead of consulting the Ease of their Tenants, or cultivating their Lands, were worrying one another, upon Points of *Whig* and *Tory*, of *High-Church* and *Low-Church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous Controversy of *Strops* for *Razors*: Whilst *Agriculture* was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the Farmers, and Labourers, and poor Tradesmen, forced to Beggary or Banishment: *Wisdom crieth in the Streets; because I have called on ye; I have stretched out my Hand, and no Man regarded it. But ye have set at nought all my Counsels, and would none of my Reproof. I also will laugh at your Calamity, and mock when your Fear cometh.*

I have now done with your Memorial, and freely excuse your Mistakes, since you appear to write as a Stranger, and as of a Country which is left at Liberty

to

to enjoy the benefits of Nature; and to make the best of those Advantages which God hath given it in Soil, Climate, and Situation.

BUT having lately sent out a Paper, entitled, *A short View of the State of* Ireland; and hearing of an Objection, that some People think I have treated the Memory of the late Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, with an Appearance of Severity. Since I may not probably have another Opportunity of explaining myself in that Particular, I chuse to do it here: Laying it therefore down for a Postulatum; which, I suppose, will be universally granted; That no *little Creature*, of so *mean* a Birth and Genius, had ever the *Honour* to be a *greater Enemy* to his Country, and to all Kinds of Virtue, than HE. I answer thus; whether there be two different Goddesses called *Fame*, as some Authors contend, or only one Goddess, sounding two different Trumpets; it is certain, that People distinguished for their *Villany*, have as good a Title for a Blast from the *proper Trumpet*, as those who are most renowned for their *Virtues*, have from the other; and have equal Reason to complain, if it be refused them. And accordingly, the Names of the most *celebrated Profligates*, have been faithfully transmitted down to Posterity. And although the Person here understood, acted his Part in an obscure Corner of the World; yet his Talents might have shone with Lustre enough in the noblest Scene.

As to my naming a Person dead, the plain honest Reason is the best. He was armed with Power, Guilt, and Will to do Mischief, even where he was not provoked; as appeared by his prosecuting two *Printers*, one to Death, and both to Ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the King, nor him, nor the Publick.

WHAT an Encouragement to Vice is this? If an ill Man be alive, and in Power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the World, or of his own Villanies, he hath nothing to do but to die, and then his Reputation is safe. For these excellent Casuists know just *Latin* enough to have heard a most foolish Precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; so that if *Socrates*, and

Anytus

Anytus his Accuser, had happened to die together, the Charity of Survivers must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same Character on both. The only Crime of charging the Dead, is when the least Doubt remaineth, whether the Accusations be true; but when Men are openly abandoned, and lost to all Shame, they have no Reason to think it hard, if their Memory be reproached. Whoever reporteth, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that Man is a Slanderer, *Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.* Even the least Misrepresentation, or Aggravation of Facts, deserves the same Censure in some Degree: But in this Case I am quite deceived, if my Error hath not been on the Side of Extenuation.

I have now present before me, the Idea of some Persons, (I know not in what Part of the World) who spend every Moment of their Lives, (and every Turn of their Thoughts while they are awake, and probably of their Dreams while they sleep) in the most detestable Actions and Designs; who delight in *Mischief, Scandal,* and *Obloquy,* with the *Hatred* and *Contempt* of all Mankind against them; but chiefly of those among their own Party, and their own Family; such, whose *odious Qualities* rival each other for Perfection: *Avarice, Brutality, Faction, Pride, Malice, Treachery, Noise, Impudence, Dulness, Ignorance, Vanity,* and *Revenge,* contending every Moment for Superiority in their Breasts. Such Creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it Prudence or Safety to attempt a Reformation. Yet, although their Memories will *rot,* there may be some Benefit for their Survivers to smell it while it is *rotting.*

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

A. B.

DUBLIN, March 25. 1728.

A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR

Preventing the Children of poor People in IRELAND from being a Burden to their Parents or Country; and for making them beneficial to the Publick.

Written in the Year 1729.

IT is a melancholy Object to those who walk through this great Town, or travel in the Country; when they see the *Streets*, the *Roads*, and *Cabin Doors* crowded with *Beggars* of the Female Sex, followed by Three, Four, or Six Children, *all in Rags*, and importuning every Passenger for an Alms. These *Mothers*, instead of being able to work for their honest Livelihood, are forced to employ all their Time in strolling to beg Sustenance for their *helpless Infants*; who, as they grow up, either turn *Thieves* for want of Work; or leave their *dear native Country to fight for the Pretender in* Spain, or sell themselves to *Barbadoes*.

I think it is agreed by all Parties, that this prodigious Number of Children in the Arms, or on the Backs,

Backs, or at the *Heels* of their *Mothers*, and frequently of their *Fathers*, is, *in the present deplorable State of the Kingdom*, a very great additional Grievance; and therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy Method of making these Children sound and useful Members of the Commonwealth, would deserve so well of the Publick as to have his Statue set up for a Preserver of the Nation.

But my Intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the Children of *professed Beggars*: It is of a much greater Extent, and shall take in the whole Number of Infants at a certain Age, who are born of Parents, in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our Charity in the Streets.

As to my own Part, having turned my Thoughts for many Years, upon this important Subject; and maturely weighed the several *Schemes of other Projectors*, I have always found them grosly mistaken in their Computation. It is true, a Child *just drop't from its Dam*, may be supported by her Milk, for a Solar Year with little other Nourishment; at most not above the Value of Two Shillings; which the Mother may certainly get, or the Value in *Scraps*, by her lawful Occupation of *Begging*: And it is exactly at one Year old, that I propose to provide for them in such a Manner, as, instead of being a Charge upon their *Parents*, or the *Parish*, or *wanting Food and Raiment* for the rest of their Lives; they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the Feeding, and partly to the Cloathing of many Thousands.

There is likewise another great Advantage in my *Scheme*, that it will prevent those *voluntary Abortions*, and that horrid Practice of *Women murdering their Bastard Children*; alas! too frequent among us; sacrificing the *poor innocent young Babes*, I doubt, more to avoid the Expence than the Shame; which would move Tears and Pity in the most savage and inhuman Breast.

The Number of Souls in *Ireland* being usually reckoned one Million and a half; of these I calculate there may be about Two hundred thousand Couple whose

whose Wives are Breeders; from which Number I subtract Thirty thousand Couple, who are able to maintain their own Children; although I apprehend there cannot be so many, under *the present Distresses of the Kingdom*; but, this being granted, there will remain an Hundred and seventy thousand Breeders. I again subtract Fifty thousand, for those Women who miscarry, or whose Children die by Accident, or Disease within the Year. There only remain an Hundred and twenty thousand Children of poor Parents, annually born: The Question therefore is, How this Number shall be reared and provided for? Which, as I have already said, under the present Situation of Affairs, is utterly impossible, by all the Methods hitherto proposed: For we can *neither employ them in Handicraft or Agriculture*; we neither build Houses, (I mean in the Country) nor cultivate Land: They can very seldom pick up a Livelihood *by Stealing*, until they arrive at Six Years old; except where they are of towardly Parts; although, I confess, they learn the Rudiments much earlier; during which Time, they can, however, be properly looked upon only as *Probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal Gentleman in the County of *Cavan*, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two Instances under the Age of Six, even in a Part of the Kingdom *so renowned for the quickest Proficiency in that Art*.

I am assured by our Merchants, that a Boy or a Girl before Twelve Years old, is no saleable Commodity; and even when they come to this Age, they will not yield above Three Pounds, or Three Pounds and Half a Crown at most, on the Exchange; which cannot turn to Account either to the Parents or Kingdom; the Charge of Nutriment and Rags, having been at least four times that Value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own Thoughts; which I hope will not be liable to the least Objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing *American* of my Acquaintance in *London*; that a young healthy Child,

Child, well nurſed, is, at a Year old, a moſt delicious, nourishing, and wholeſome Food; whether *ſtewed*, *roaſted*, *baked*, or *boiled*; and I make no doubt, that it will equally ſerve in a *Fricaſie* or *Ragoût*.

I do therefore humbly offer it to *publick Conſideration*, that, of the Hundred and twenty thouſand Children already computed, Twenty thouſand may be reſerved for Breed; whereof only one fourth Part to be Males; which is more than we allow to *Sheep*, *black Cattle*, or *Swine*; and my Reaſon is, that theſe Children are ſeldom the Fruits of Marriage, *a Circumſtance not much regarded by our Savages*; therefore *one Male* will be ſufficient to ſerve *four Females*. That the remaining Hundred thouſand, may, at a Year old be offered in Sale to the *Perſons of Quality* and *Fortune* through the Kingdom; always adviſing the Mother to let them ſuck plentifully in the laſt Month, ſo as to render them plump, and fat for a good Table. A Child will make two Diſhes at an Entertainment for Friends; and when the Family dineth alone, the fore or hind Quarter will make a reaſonable Diſh; and, ſeaſoned with a little Pepper or Salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth Day, eſpecially in *Winter*.

I have reckoned upon a Medium, that a Child juſt born will weigh twelve Pounds; and in a ſolar Year, if tolerably nurſed, increaſeth to Twenty eight Pounds.

I grant this Food will be ſomewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for Landlords*; who, as they have already devoured moſt of the Parents, ſeem to have the beſt Title to the Children.

Infants Fleſh will be in Seaſon throughout the Year; but more plentiful in *March*, and a little before and after: For we are told by a grave * Author, an eminent *French* Phyſician, that *Fiſh being a prolifick Diet*, there are more Children born in *Roman Catholick Countries* about nine Months after *Lent*, than at any other Seaſon: Therefore reckoning a Year after

* Rabelais.

Lent, the Markets will be more glutted than usual; because the Number of *Popish Infants*, is at least, three to one in this Kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral Advantage, by lessening the Number of *Papists* among us.

I have already computed the Charge of nursing a Beggar's Child (in which List I reckon all *Cottagers*, *Labourers*, and four Fifths of the *Farmers*) to be about two Shillings *per Annum*, Rags included; and, I believe, no Gentleman would repine to give ten Shillings for the *Carcass of a good fat Child*, which, as I have said, will make four Dishes of excellent nutritive Meat, when he hath only some particular Friend, or his own Family to dine with him. Thus the 'Squire will learn to be a good Landlord, and grow popular among his Tenants; the Mother will have eight Shillings neat Profit, and be fit for Work until she produceth another Child.

Those who are more thrifty *(as I must confess the Times require)* may flay the Carcass; the Skin of which artificially dressed, will make admirable *Gloves for Ladies*, and *Summer Boots for fine Gentlemen*.

As to our City of *Dublin*; Shambles may be appointed for this Purpose, in the most convenient Parts of it; and Butchers, we may be assured, will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the Children alive, and dressing them hot from the Knife, as we do *roasting Pigs*.

A very worthy Person, *a true Lover of his Country*, and whose Virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this Matter, to offer a Refinement upon my Scheme. He said, that many Gentlemen of this Kingdom, having of late destroyed their Deer; he conceived, that the Want of Venison might be well supplied by the Bodies of young Lads and Maidens, not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, nor under twelve; so great a Number of both Sexes in every County being now ready to starve, for Want of Work and Service: And these to be disposed of by their Parents, if alive, or otherwise, by their nearest

Relations.

Relations. But, with due Deference to so excellent a Friend, and so deserving a Patriot, I cannot be altogether in his Sentiments. For as to the Males my *American* Acquaintance assured me from frequent Experience, that their Flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our School-boys, by continual Exercise; and their Taste disagreeable; and to fatten them would not answer the Charge. Then, as to the Females, it would, I think, with humble Submission, *be a Loss to the Publick*, because they soon would become Breeders themselves: And besides it is not improbable, that some scrupulous People might be apt to censure such a Practice (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon Cruelty; which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest Objection against any Project, how well soever intended.

But, in order to justify my Friend; he confessed, that this Expedient was put into his Head by the famous *Salmanaazor*, a Native of the Island of *Formosa*, who came from thence to *London*, about twenty Years ago, and in Conversation told my Friend, that, in his Country, when any young Person happened to be put to Death, the Executioner sold the Carcass to *Persons of Quality*, as a prime Dainty; and that, in his Time, the Body of a plump Girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an Attempt to poison the Emperor, was sold to his Imperial *Majesty's prime Minister of State*, and other great *Mandarines* of the Court, *in Joints from the Gibbet*, at Four hundred Crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same Use were made of several plump young Girls in this Town, who, without one single Groat to their Fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a Chair, and appear at a *Play-house*, and *Assemblies* in foreign Fineries, which they never will pay for; the Kingdom would not be the worse.

Some Persons of a desponding Spirit are in great Concern about that vast Number of poor People, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my Thoughts what Course may be taken, to ease the Nation of so grievous an Incum-

brance. But I am not in the least Pain upon that Matter; because it is very well known, that they are every Day *dying*, and *rotting*, by *Cold* and *Famine*, and *Filth*, and *Vermin*, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And, as to the younger Labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a Condition: They cannot get Work, and consequently pine away for Want of Nourishment, to a Degree, that, if at any Time they are accidentally hired to common Labour, they have not Strength to perform it; and thus the Country, and themselves, are in a fair Way of being soon delivered from the Evils to come.

I have too long digressed; and therefore shall return to my Subject. I think the Advantages by the Proposal which I have made, are obvious, and many, as well as of the highest Importance.

For, *First*, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen *the Number of Papists*, with whom we are yearly over-run; being the principal Breeders of the Nation, as well as our most dangerous Enemies; and who stay at home on Purpose, with a Design *to deliver the Kingdom to the Pretender*; hoping to take their Advantage by the Absence *of so many good Protestants*, who have chosen rather to leave their Country, then stay at home, and pay Tithes against their Conscience, to an idolatrous *Episcopal Curate*.

Secondly, The poorer Tenants will have something valuable of their own; which, by Law, may be made liable to Distress, and help to pay their Landlord's Rent; their Corn and Cattle being already seized, and *Money a Thing unknown*.

Thirdly, Whereas the Maintenance of an Hundred thousand Children, from two Years old, and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten Shillings a Piece *per Annum*, the Nation's Stock will be thereby increased Fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*; besides, the Profit of a new Dish, introduced to the Tables of all *Gentlemen of Fortune* in the Kingdom, who have any Refinement in Taste; and the Money will circulate

late among ourselves, the Goods being entirely of our own Growth and Manufacture.

Fourthly, THE constant Breeders, besides the Gain of Eight Shillings *Sterling per Annum*, by the Sale of their Children, will be rid of the Charge of maintaining them after the first Year.

Fifthly, THIS Food would likewise bring great *Custom to Taverns*, where the Vintners will certainly be so prudent, as to procure the best Receipts for dressing it to Perfection; and, consequently, have their Houses frequented by all the *fine Gentlemen*, who justly value themselves upon their Knowledge in good Eating; and a skilful Cook, who understandeth how to oblige his Guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, THIS would be a great Inducement to Marriage, which all wise Nations have either encouraged by Rewards, or enforced by Laws and Penalties. It would increase the Care and Tenderness of Mothers towards their Children, when they were sure of a Settlement for Life, to the poor Babes, provided in some Sort by the publick, to their annual Profit instead of Expence. We should soon see an honest Emulation among the married Women, *which of them could bring the fattest Child to the Market*. Men would become as *fond* of their Wives, during the Time of their Pregnancy, as they are now of their *Mares* in Foal, their *Cows* in Calf, or *Sows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as it is too *frequent* a Practice) for Fear of a Miscarriage.

MANY other Advantages might be enumerated. For Instance, the Addition of some Thousand Carcasses in our Exportation of barrelled Beef: The Propagation of *Swines Flesh*, and Improvement in the Art of making good *Bacon*, so much wanted among us by the great Destruction of *Pigs*, too frequent at our Tables, and are no Way comparable in Taste, or Magnificence, to a well-grown fat yearly Child; which, roasted whole, will make a considerable Figure at a *Lord Mayor's Feast*, or any other publick Entertainment. But

this, and many others, I omit; being studious of Brevity.

SUPPOSING that One thousand Families in this City, would be constant Customers for Infants Flesh; besides others who might have it at *merry Meetings*, particularly at *Weddings* and *Christenings*; I compute that *Dublin* would take off, annually, about Twenty thousand Carcasses; and the rest of the Kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining Eighty thousand.

I can think of no one Objection, that will possibly be raised against this Proposal; unless it should be urged, that the Number of People will be thereby much lessened in the Kingdom. This I freely own; and it was indeed one principal Design in offering it to the World. I desire the Reader will observe, that I calculate my Remedy *for this one individual Kingdom of* Ireland, *and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be upon Earth.* Therefore, let no Man talk to me of other Expedients: *Of taxing our Absentees at five Shillings a Pound: Of using neither Cloaths, nor Houshold Furniture, except what is of our own Growth and Manufacture: Of utterly rejecting the Materials and Instruments that promote foreign Luxury: Of curing the Expensiveness of Pride, Vanity, Idleness, and Gaming in our Women: Of introducing a Vein of Parsimony, Prudence and Temperance: Of learning to love our own Country; wherein we differ even from* Laplanders, *and the Inhabitants of* Topinamboo: *Of quitting our Animosities, and Factions; nor act any longer like the* Jews: *who were murdering one another at the very Moment their City was taken: Of being a little cautious not to sell our Country and Consciences for nothing: Of teaching Landlords to have at least, one Degree of Mercy towards their Tenants.* Lastly, *Of putting a Spirit of Honesty, Industry, and Skill into our Shopkeepers; who, if a Resolution could now be taken to buy only our native Goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the Price, the Measure, and the Goodness;*

Goodness; nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair Proposal of just Dealing, although often and earnestly invited to it.

THEREFORE I repeat; let no Man talk to me of these and the like Expedients; until he hath, at least, a Glimpse of Hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere Attempt to put *them in Practice.*

BUT, as to myself; having been wearied out for many Years with offering vain, idle, visionary Thoughts; and at length utterly despairing of Success, I fortunately fell upon this Proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something *solid* and *real*, of no Expence, and little Trouble, full in our own Power; and whereby we can incur no Danger in *disobliging England*: For, this Kind of Commodity will not bear Exportation; the Flesh being of too tender a Consistence, to admit a long Continuance in Salt; *although, perhaps, I could name a Country, which would be glad to eat up our whole Nation without it.*

AFTER all, I am not so violently bent upon my own Opinion, as to reject any Offer proposed by wise Men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that Kind shall be advanced, in Contradiction to my Scheme, and offering a better, I desire the Author, or Authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two Points. *First*, As Things now stand, how will they be able to find Food and Raiment, for a Hundred thousand useless Mouths and Backs: And *Secondly*, There being a round Million of Creatures in human Figure, throughout this Kingdom; whose whole Subsistence, put into a common Stock, would leave them in Debt two Millions of Pounds *Sterling*: adding those, who are Beggars by Profession, to the Bulk of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers, with their Wives and Children, who are Beggars in Effect; I desire those Politicians, who dislike my Overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an Answer, that they will first ask the Parents of these Mortals, Whether they would not, at this Day, think it a great Happiness to have been sold for

Food

Food at a Year old, in the Manner I prescribe; and thereby have avoided such a perpetual Scene of Misfortunes, as they have since gone through; by the *Oppression of Landlords*; the Impossibility of paying Rent, without Money or Trade; the Want of common Sustenance, with neither House nor Cloaths, to cover them from the Inclemencies of the Weather; and the most inevitable Prospect of entailing the like, or greater Miseries upon their Breed for ever.

I profess, in the Sincerity of my Heart, that I have not the least personal Interest, in endeavouring to promote this necessary Work; having no other Motive than the *publick Good of my Country, by advancing our Trade, providing for Infants, relieving the Poor, and giving some Pleasure to the Rich.* I have no Children, by which I can propose to get a single Penny; the youngest being nine Years old, and my Wife past Child-bearing.

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A

VINDICATION

Of His Excellency

JOHN, Lord CARTERET,

From the CHARGE of favouring none but TORIES, HIGH-CHURCH-MEN, and JACOBITES.

Written in the Year 1730.

IN order to treat this important Subject, with the greatest Fairness and Impartiality; perhaps it may be convenient to give some Account of his *Excellency*; in whose Life and Character, there are certain Particulars, which might give a very just Suspicion of some Truth in the Accusation he lieth under.

HE is descended from two noble, antient, and most loyal Families, the *Carterets* and the *Granvilles*: Too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered in defending the former Constitution in Church and State, under King *Charles* the Martyr; I mean that very Prince, on account of whose Martyrdom, *a Form of Prayer, with Fasting, was enjoined by Act of Parliament, to be used on the 30th Day of* January *every Year, to implore the Mercies of God, that the Guilt of that sacred and innocent Blood, might not be visited on us or our Posterity*; as we may read at large in our *Common Prayer-books*. Which Day hath

hath been ſolemnly kept, even within the Memory of many Men now alive.

HIS *Excellency* the preſent Lord, was educated in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; from whence, with a Singularity, ſcarce to be juſtified, he carried away more *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Philoſophy*, than properly became a Perſon of his Rank; indeed much more of each than moſt of thoſe who are forced to live by their Learning, will be at the unneceſſary Pains to load their Heads with.

THIS was the Rock he ſplit on, upon his firſt Appearance in the World, and juſt got clear of his Guardians. For, as ſoon as he came to Town, ſome Biſhops, and Clergymen, and other Perſons moſt eminent for Learning and Parts, got him among them; from whom, although he were unfortunately dragged by a Lady and the Court, yet he could never wipe off the Stain, nor waſh out the Tincture of his Univerſity Acquirements and Diſpoſitions.

To this, another Misfortune was added; that it pleaſed God to endue him with great natural Talents, Memory, Judgment, Comprehenſion, Eloquence, and Wit: And, to finiſh the Work, all theſe were fortified even in his Youth; with the Advantages received by ſuch Employments, as are beſt fitted both to exerciſe and poliſh the Gifts of Nature and Education; having been Ambaſſador in ſeveral Courts, when his Age would hardly allow him to take a Degree; and made principal Secretary of State, at a Period when, according to Cuſtom, he ought to have been buſied in loſing his Money at a Chocolate-houſe; or in other Amuſements equally laudable and epidemick among Perſons of Honour.

I cannot omit another weak Side in his Excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that *Greek* and *Latin* Books might be found every Day in his Dreſſing Room, if it were carefully ſearched; and there is Reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome of the ſaid Books have been privately conveyed to him by *Tory* Hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that he hath been taken in the

very

very Fact of reading the said Books; even in the midst of a Session, to the great Neglect of publick Affairs.

I own there may be some Grounds for this Charge; because I have it from good Hands, that when his Excellency is at Dinner, with One or Two Scholars at his Elbows, he groweth a most unsupportable, and unintelligible Companion to all the fine Gentlemen round the Table.

I cannot deny that his Excellency lieth under another great Disadvantage. For, with all the Accomplishments above mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful Person; and, during the Prime of Youth, Spirits and Vigour, he hath in a most unexemplary Manner led a regular domestick Life; discovereth a great Esteem, and Friendship, and Love for his Lady, as well as true Affection for his Children; and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining Evening Companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the Person may possibly in former Days, have lain under the Imputation of a *Tory*; nor, at such Times, do the natural or *affected* Fears of *Popery* and, the *Pretender*, make any Part of the Conversation: I presume, because neither *Homer*, *Plato*, *Aristotle* nor *Cicero*, have made any Mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his Excellency's Failings: Yet, I think it is agreed by Philosophers and Divines, that some Allowance ought to be given to human Infirmity, and to the Prejudices of a wrong Education.

I am well aware, how much my Sentiments differ from the *orthodox* Opinion of One or Two principal Patriots, (at the Head of whom I name with Honour *Pistorides*). For these have decided the Matter directly against me, by declaring, that no Person who was ever known to ly under the Suspicion of one single *Tory* Principle; or who had been once seen at a great Man's Levee in the *worst of Times*, should be allowed to come within the Verge of the Castle; much less to bow in the Antichamber, appear at the *Assemblies*, or dance at a Birth-night. However, I dare assert, that this

this Maxim hath been often controuled; and that, on the contrary, a considerable Number of *early Penitents* have been received into Grace, who are now an *Ornament*, *Happiness*, and *Support* to the Nation.

NEITHER do I find any Murmuring on some other Points of greater Importance, where this favourite Maxim is not strictly observed.

To instance only in one, I have not heard that any Care hath hitherto been taken to discover whether Madam * *Violante* be a *Whig* or a *Tory* in her Principles; or even that she hath ever been *offered the Oaths to the Government:* On the contrary, I am told, that she openly professeth herself to be a *High Flyer*; and it is not improbable, by her *outlandish* Name she may also be a *Papist* in her Heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous Female, openly caressed by principal Persons of both Parties; who contribute to support her in a splendid Manner, without the least Apprehensions from a *Grand Jury*; or even from 'Squire *Hartly Hutcheson* himself, that *zealous Prosecutor of Hawkers and Libels*. And, as *Hobbs* wisely observeth, *so much Money* being equivalent to *so much Power*; it may deserve considering, with what Safety such an Instrument of *Power* ought to be trusted in the Hands of an *Alien*, who hath not given any legal Security for her good Affection to the Government.

I confess, there is one Evil which I could wish our Friends would think proper to redress. There are many *Whigs* in the Kingdom of the *old fashioned Stamp*, of whom we might make very good Use; they bear the same Loyalty with us to the *Hanoverian* Family, in the Person of King *George* II. The same Abhorrence of the *Pretender*, with the Consequences of *Popery* and *Slavery*, and the same Indulgence to *tender Consciences:* But having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more Leisure to think for the Publick, they are often apt to entertain Fears, and melancholy Prospects, concerning the

* *A famous* Italian *Rope-dancer*.

the State of their Country, the Decay of Trade, the Want of Money, the miserable Condition of the People, with other Topicks of like Nature; all which do equally concern both *Whig* and *Tory*; who, if they have any Thing to lose, must be equally Sufferers. Perhaps, one or two of these melancholy Gentlemen, will sometimes venture to publish their Thoughts in Print: Now I can, by no Means, approve our usual Custom of cursing and railing at this Species of Thinkers, under the Names of *Tories*, *Jacobites*, *Papists*, *Libellers*, *Rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter Ruin of that poor, angry, bustling, well-meaning Mortal *Pistorides*; who lieth equally under the Contempt of both Parties; with no other Difference, than a Mixture of *Pity* on one Side, and of *Aversion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, pestered, and pounded by one single Wag, who promiseth never to forsake him living or dead?

I was much pleased with the Humour of a *Surgeon* in this Town; who having, in his own Apprehension, received some great Injustice from the Earl of *Galloway*, and, despairing of Revenge, as well as Relief, declared to all his Friends, that he had set apart One hundred Guineas, to purchase the Earl's Carcass from the Sexton, whenever *it* should die; to make a Skeleton of the Bones, stuff the Hide, and shew them for Threepence; and thus get Vengeance for the Injuries he had suffered by its Owner.

Of the like Spirit, too often, is that implacable Race of Wits; against whom there is no Defence but Innocence, and Philosophy: Neither of which is likely to be at Hand; and therefore, the Wounded have no where to fly for a Cure, but to downright Stupidity, a crazed Head, or a profligate Contempt of Guilt and Shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable Creature *Traulus*, who although of somewhat a different Species; yet seemeth very far to outdo even the Genius of *Pistorides*, in that miscarrying Talent of railing with-

out Consistency or Discretion, against the most innocent Persons, according to the present Situation of his Gall and Spleen. I do not blame an *honest* Gentleman for the bitterest Invectives against one, to whom he professeth the greatest Friendship; provided he acteth in the Dark, so as not to be discovered: But in the Midst of *Caresses*, *Visits*, and *Invitations*, to run into the Streets, or to *as publick a Place*; and without the least pretended Incitement, sputter out the basest and falsest Accusations; then to wipe his Mouth, come up smiling to his Friend, shake him by the Hand, and tell him in a Whisper, it was *all for his Service*. This Proceeding, I am bold to think a great Failure in Prudence; and I am afraid lest such a Practitioner, with a Body so *open*, so *foul*, and so *full of Sorts*, may fall under the Resentment of an incensed political *Surgeon*, who is not in much Renown for his Mercy upon great Provocation: Who, without waiting for his Death, will *flay*, and *dissect* him alive; and, to the View of Mankind, lay open all the disordered Cells of his Brain, the Venom of his Tongue, the Corruption of his Heart, and Spots and Flatuses of his Spleen:——And all this for *Threepence*.

In such a Case what a Scene would be laid open! And to drop my Metaphor, what a Character of our mistaken Friend might an angry Enemy draw and expose! particularizing that unnatural Conjunction of Vices and Follies, so inconsistent with each other in the same Breast: Furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject; most profligately false, with the strongest Professions of Sincerity, positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend that if all this should be set out to the World by an angry Whig of the *old* Stamp; the unavoidable Consequence must be a Confinement of our *Friend* for some Months *more* to his Garret; and thereby depriving the Publick for so long a Time, and in so *important a Juncture*, of his useful Talents in their Service: While he is fed like a wild Beast through a

Hole,

Hole; but I hope with a special Regard to the *Quantity* and *Quality* of his Nourishment.

In vain would his Excusers endeavour to palliate his Enormities, by imputing them to Madness; because, it is well known, that Madness only operateth by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil Dispositions of the Mind: For the *Curators* of *Bedlam* assure us, that some Lunaticks are Persons of *Honour*, *Truth*, *Benevolence*, and many other Virtues, which appear in their highest Ravings, although after a wild incoherent Manner; while others, on the contrary, discover in every Word and Action, the utmost *Baseness* and Depravity of human Minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same Degree, although perhaps under a better Regulation, before their Entrance into that *Academy*.

But, it may be objected, that there is an Argument of much Force to excuse the Overflowings of that Zeal, which our Friend sheweth or meaneth for our Cause... And it must be confessed, that the *easy and smooth Fluency of his Elocution, bestowed on him by Nature, and cultivated by continual Practice*, added to the *Comeliness of his Person*, the *Harmony of his Voice*, the *Gracefulness of his Manner, and the Decency of his Dress*, are Temptations too strong for such a Genius to resist upon any publick Occasion, of making them appear with *universal Applause*: And if good Men are sometimes accused of loving their *Jest* better than their *Friend*; surely to gain the Reputation of the first *Orator* in the Kingdom, no Man of Spirit would scruple to lose all the *Friends* he had in the World.

It is usual for Masters to make their Boys declaim on both Sides of an Argument; and as some Kinds of Assemblies are called the *Schools of Politicks*, I confess nothing can better improve political School-boys, than the Art of making plausible or implausible Harangues; against the very Opinion for which they resolve to determine.

So Cardinal *Perron* after having spoke for an Hour to the Admiration of all his Hearers, to prove the Existence of God; told some of his Intimates, that he

could have ſpoken another Hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this Reaſon in the ſtrongeſt Light, that I think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but that allowing it as much Weight as the Reader ſhall pleaſe, it hath conſtantly met with ill Succeſs in the Mouth of our *Friend*; but whether for want of good Luck, or good Management, I ſuſpend my Judgment.

To return from this long Digreſſion; if the Perſons in high Stations have been allowed to chuſe *Wenches*, without Regard even to Difference in Religion, yet never incurred the leaſt Reflexion on their Loyalty, or their Proteſtantiſm; ſhall the Chief Governor of a great Kingdom be cenſured for chuſing a *Companion*, who may formerly have been ſuſpected for differing from the *Orthodox* in ſome ſpeculative Opinions of Perſons and Things, which cannot affect the fundamental Principles of a ſound *Whig*.

BUT let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible Caſe. Here is a Perſon ſent to govern *Ireland*, whoſe unfortunate weak Side it happeneth to be, for ſeveral Reaſons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged the Attendance of *one* or *two* Gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their Taſte, their Wit, and their Learning; who have taken the Oaths to his Majeſty, and pray heartily for him: Yet becauſe they may, perhaps, be ſtigmatized as *quondam* Tories by *Piſtorides* and his Gang; his Excellency muſt be forced to baniſh them, under the Pain and Peril of diſpleaſing the Zealots of his own Party; and thereby be put into a worſe Condition than every common good Fellow; who may be a ſincere *Proteſtant*, and a loyal Subject; and yet rather chuſe to drink fine Ale at the *Pope*'s Head, than muddy at the *King*'s.

LET me then return to my Suppoſitions. It is certain, the high-flown Loyaliſts in the *preſent* Senſe of the Word, have their Thoughts and Studies, and Tongues, ſo entirely diverted by political Schemes, that the *Zeal* of their *Principles* hath *eaten up* their *Underſtandings*;

Understandings; neither have they Time from their Employments, their Hopes, and their hourly Labours for acquiring new Additions of Merit, to amuse themselves with philological Converse, or Speculations which are utterly ruinous to all Schemes of rising in the World. What then must a great Man do, whose ill Stars have fatally perverted him to a Love, and Taste, and Possession of Literature, Politeness, and good Sense? Our thorough sped Republick of Whigs, which contains the Bulk of all *Hopers*, *Pretenders*, *Expecters*, and *Professors*, are, beyond all Doubt, most *highly useful* to Princes, to Governors, to great Ministers, and to their Country; but at the same time, and by necessary Consequence, the most disagreeable Companions to all who have that unfortunate Turn of Mind peculiar to his Excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a Nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an Original or Proselyte Favourer of the Times, might have been born to those useless Talents, which, in former Ages, qualified a Man to be a Poet, or a Philosopher. All I contend for, is, that where the true Genius of Party once entereth, *it sweeps the House clean*, and leaveth Room for many *other Spirits* to take joint Possession, until the *last State of that Man is exceedingly* better *than the first*.

I allow it a great Error in his Excellency, that he adhereth so obstinately to his old *unfashionable* Academick Education: Yet so perverse is human Nature, that the usual Remedies for this Evil in others, have produced a contrary Effect in him; to a Degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a Session, quote Passages out of *Plato* and *Pindar*, at his own Table, to some *book-learned* Companion, without blushing, even when Persons of *great Stations* are by.

I will venture one Step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken Method of educating Youth in the Knowledge of antient Learning and Language, is too apt to spoil their *Politicks* and *Principles*; because the Doctrine and Examples of the Books they

read, teach them Lessons *directly contrary in every Point*, to the *present Practice* of the World: And accordingly, *Hobbes* most judiciously observes, that the Writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, made young Men imbibe Opinions against absolute Power in a Prince, or even in a first *Minister*; and to embrace Notions of Liberty and Property.

IT hath been therefore, a great Felicity to these Kingdoms, that the Heirs to Titles and large Estates, have a Weakness in their Eyes, a Tenderness in their Constitutions; are not able to bear the Pain and Indignity of Whipping; and, as the Mother rightly expresseth it, could never *take to their Books*, yet are well enough qualified to sign a Receipt for Half a-year's Rent, to put their Name (*rightly spelt*) to a Warrant, and to read Pamphlets against *Religion* and *High-flying*; whereby they fill their Niches, and carry themselves through the World, with that Dignity which best becometh a *Senator* and a *'Squire*.

I could heartily wish his Excellency would be more condescending to the *Genius* of the Kingdom he governeth; to the Condition of the Times, and to the Nature of the Station he filleth. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old *English* Story-books, that one *Agesilaus* (no Matter to the Bulk of my Readers, whether I spell the Names right or wrong) was caught by the *Parson of the Parish*, riding on a Hobby-horse with his Children; that *Socrates*, a Heathen Philosopher, was found dancing by himself at Fourscore; that a King called *Cesar Augustus* (or some such Name) used to play with Boys; whereof some might possibly be Sons of *Tories*; and that two great Men called *Scipio* and *Lelius*, (I forget their *Christian* Names, and whether they were Poets or Generals) often played at *Duke* and *Drake*, with smooth Stones on a River. Now, I say, if these Facts be true, (and the Book where I found them is in Print) I cannot imagine why our most zealous Patriots may not a little indulge his Excellency, in an Infirmity which is not morally evil; provided he giveth no publick Scandal; (which is by

all

all Means to be avoided) I say, why he may not be indulged twice a Week, to converse with one or two particular Persons; and let him and them count over their old *exploded* Readings together after Mornings spent in hearing and prescribing *Ways and Means* from and to his *most obedient* Politicians, for the Welfare of the Kingdom; although the said particular Person, or Persons, may not have made so publick a Declaration of their political Faith in all its Parts, as the Business of the Nation requireth: Still submitting my Opinion to that *happy Majority*, which I am confident is *always in the Right*; by whom the *Liberty* of the Subject hath been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who, by their wise Councils, have made *Commerce* to flourish, *Money* to abound, Inhabitants to increase, the Value of Lands and Rents to rise, and the whole Island put on a new Face of *Plenty* and *Prosperity*.

But, in order to clear his Excellency more fully from this Accusation of shewing his Favours to *high Flyers*, *Tories*, and *Jacobites*, it will be necessary to come to Particulars.

The first Person of a *Tory* Denomination, to whom his Excellency gave any Marks of his Favour, was Doctor *Thomas Sheridan*. It is to be observed, that this happened so early in his Excellency's Government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that Gentleman's Character, upon so *dangerous* an Article. The Doctor being well known, and distinguished for his Skill and Success in the Education of Youth, beyond most of his Profession for many Years past, was recommended to his Excellency on the Score of his Learning, and particularly for his Knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue; whereof, it seemeth, his Excellency is a great Admirer, although for what Reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all Hands, that his Lordship was too easily prevailed on by the Doctor's Request, or indeed rather from the Bias of his own Nature, to hear a Tragedy acted in that *unknown* Language by the Doctor's Lads, which

was

was written by some Heathen Authors; but whether it contained any *Tory* or *High Church* Principles must be left to the Consciences of the *Boys*, the *Doctor*, and his *Excellency*: The *only* Witnesses in this Case, whose Testimonies can be depended upon.

It seemeth, his Excellency (a Thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his Entertainment; that some Time after he gave the Doctor a Church-living, to the Value of almost One hundred Pounds a-year, and made him one of his Chaplains; from an *antiquated* Notion, that good School-masters ought to be encouraged in every Nation, professing Civility and Religion. Yet his Excellency did not venture to make this bold Step, without strong Recommendations from Persons of undoubted Principles, *fitted to the Times*; who thought themselves bound in Justice, Honour, and Gratitude, to do the Doctor a good Office, in Return for the Care he had taken of their Children, or of those of their Friends. Yet the Catastrophe was terrible: For the Doctor, in the Height of his Felicity and Gratitude, going down to take Possession of his Parish, and furnished with a few led-sermons, whereof, as it is to be supposed, the Number was very small, having never served a Cure in the Church; he stopp'd at *Cork*, to attend on his Bishop; and, going to Church on the *Sunday* following, was, according to the usual Civility of Country Clergymen, invited by the Minister of the Parish to supply the Pulpit. It *happened* to be the First of *August*; and the First of *August happened* that Year to light upon a *Sunday*: And it *happened* that the Doctor's Text was in these Words; *Sufficient unto the Day is the Evil thereof*: And lastly, it *happened* that some one Person of the Congregation, whose Loyalty made him watchful upon every Appearance of Danger to his Majesty's Person and Government, when Service was over, gave the Alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to Town; and, by the Zeal of one Man *of no large Dimensions of Body or Mind*, such a Clamour was raised,

that

that we in *Dublin* could apprehend no less than an Invasion by the *Pretender*, who must be landed in the *South*. The Result was, that the Doctor must be struck out of the Chaplains List, and appear no more at the Castle; yet whether he were then, or be at this Day, a *Whig* or a *Tory*, I think is a Secret; only it is manifest, that he is a zealous *Hanoverian*, at least in Poetry, and a great Adorer of the present Royal Family, through all its Branches. His Friends likewise assert, that he had preached this same Sermon often, under the same Text; that not having observed the Words until he was in the Pulpit, and had opened his Notes; as he is a Person a little abstracted, he wanted Presence of Mind to change them: And that, in the whole Sermon, there was not a Syllable relating to Government or Party, or to the Subject of the Day.

In this Incident there seemeth to have been an Union of Events, that will probably never happen again to the End of the World; or at least like the grand Conjunction in the Heavens; which, I think, they say, can arrive but once in Twenty thousand Years.

The second Gentleman (if I am right in my Chronology) who, under the Suspicion of a *Tory*, received some Favour from his Excellency, is Mr. *James Stopford*; very strongly recommended by the most eminent *Whig* in *England*, on the account of his Learning, and Virtue, and other Accomplishments. He had passed the greatest Part of his Youth in close Study, or in travelling; and was either not at home or not at Leisure to trouble his Thoughts about Party; which I allow to be a great Omission; although I cannot honestly place him in the List of *Tories*; and therefore think his Excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him Vicar of *Finglass*, worth about One hundred Pounds a-year.

The Third is Doctor *Patrick Delany*. This Divine lieth under some Disadvantage; having, in his Youth, received

received many Civilities from a certain * Person, then in a very high Station here; for which Reason, I doubt the Doctor never drank his Confusion since, and what makes the Matter desperate, it is now too late; unless our *Inquisitors* will be content with drinking *Confusion* to his *Memory*: The aforesaid eminent Person, who was a Judge of all Merit, except that of *Party*, distinguished the Doctor, among other Juniors in our University, for his Learning, Virtue, Discretion, and good Sense. But the Doctor was then in too good a Situation at his College, to hope or endeavour at a better Establishment, from one who had no Power to give it him.

UPON the present Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the Doctor was named to his Excellency by a † *Friend*, among other Clergymen of Distinction, as Persons whose Characters it was proper his Excellency should know: And by the Truth of which the *Giver* would be content to stand or fall in his Excellency's Opinion; since not one of those Persons were in particular Friendship with the *Gentleman* who gave in their Names. By this and some other Incidents, particularly the Recommendation of the late Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Doctor became known to his Excellency, whose fatal Turn of Mind towards *Heathenish* and *outlandish* Books and Languages; finding, as I conceive, a like Disposition in the Doctor, was the Cause of his becoming so domestick, as we are told he is, at the Castle of *Dublin*.

THREE or four Years ago, the Doctor grown weary of an Academick Life, for some Reasons best known to the Managers of the Discipline in that learned Society (which it may not be for their Honour to mention) resolved to leave it; although by the Benefit of the Pupils, and his Senior Fellowship with all its Perquisites, he received every Year between Nine hundred

* *Sir* CONSTANTINE PHIPPS, *Lord Chancellor of* Ireland, *when Queen* ANNE *died*.

† *The* AUTHOR.

dred and a thousand Pounds. And a small Northern Living, in the University's Donation, of somewhat better than One hundred Pounds a Year, falling at the same time with the Chancellorship of *Christ Church*, to about equal the Value, in the Gift of his Excellency: The Doctor ventured into the World in a very scanty Condition; having squandered away all his annual Income in a Manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a Clergyman without a Family, will not be for the Advantage of his Character to discover either on the Exchange, or at a Banker's Shop.

About two Months ago, his Excellency gave the Doctor a Prebend in St. *Patrick's* Cathedral; which being of near the same Value with either of the two former, will add a third Part to his Revenues, after he shall have paid the great Incumbrances upon it: So that he may now be said to possess of Church-Preferments, in scattered Tithes, Three hundred Pounds a Year; instead of the like Sum of infallible Rents from a Senior Fellowship, with the Offices annexed; besides the Advantage of a free Lodging, a great Number of Pupils, and some other Easements.

But since the Doctor hath not, in any of his Writings, his Sermons, his Actions, his Discourse, or his Company, discovered one single Principle of either *Whig* or *Tory*; and that the Lord Lieutenant still continueth to admit him; I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: But, like a new *Free-Mason*, who hath not yet learned all the Dialect of the Mystery. Neither can he be justly accused of any *Tory* Doctrines; except perhaps, some among those few, with which that *wicked Party* was charged, during the Height of their Power; but have been since transferred for the most *solid Reasons*, to the *whole Body* of our firmest Friends.

I have now done with the Clergy: And upon the strictest Examination have not been able to find above One of that Order, against whom any *Party* Suspicion can ly; which is the unfortunate Gentleman, Doctor

Sheridan,

Sheridan, who by mere Chance-medley shot his own Fortune dead with a single *Text*.

As to the Laity, I can hear of but one Person of the *Tory* Stamp, who since the Beginning of his Excellency's Government, did ever receive any solid Mark of his Favour: I mean Sir *Arthur Acheson*, reported to be an acknowledged *Tory*; and what is almost as bad, a *Scholar* into the Bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain Truth, that this Gentleman is to have a Grant of a certain Barrack upon his Estate, within two Miles of his own House; for which the Crown is to be his Tenant, at the Rent of Sixty Pounds *per Annum*; he being only at the Expence of about *Five hundred* Pounds, to put the House in Repair, build Stables, and other Necessaries. I will place this *invidious* Mark of Beneficence conferred on a *Tory*, in a fair Light, by computing the Costs and necessary Defalcations: After which it may be seen how much Sir *Arthur* will be annually a clear Gainer by the Publick; notwithstanding his *unfortunate* Principles, and his Knowledge in *Greek* and *Latin*.

For Repairs, *&c*, 500*l*. the Interest whereof *per Ann*. ——	30	0	0
For all manner of Poultry to furnish the Troopers; but which the said Troopers must be at the Labour of catching, valued *per Ann*.	5	0	0
For straggling Sheep, ——	8	0	0
For Game destroyed five Miles round,	6	0	0
	49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir *Arthur*, ——	60	0	0
Deduct — — —	49	0	0
Remains clear — —	11	0	0

THUS, if Sir *Arthur Acheson* shall have the good Fortune to obtain a Grant of this Barrack, he will receive

ceive *neat* Profit annually from the Crown ELEVEN Pounds *Sterl.* to help him in entertaining the Officers, and making Provisions for his younger Children.

It is true, there is another Advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the Loss of Cattle and Poultry; by multiplying the Breed of Mankind, and particularly that of *good Protestants*, in a Part of the Kingdom half depopulated by the wild Humour among the Farmers thereof leaving their Country. But I am not so skilful in Arithmetick, as to compute the Value.

I have reckoned one *per Cent.* below the legal Interest for the Money that Sir *Arthur* must expend: And valued the Damage in the other Articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good Management be a *Saver* at least; which is a *prodigious Instance of Moderation* in our Friends towards a professed *Tory*. Whatever Merit he may pretend by the Unwillingness he hath shewn to make his Excellency uneasy in his Administration.

Thus I have with the utmost Impartiality, collected every single Favour, (further than personal Civilities) conferred by his Excellency on *Tories*, and reputed *Tories*, since his first Arrival hither, to this present 13th Day of *April*, in the Year of our Lord 1730, giving all Allowance possible to the Arguments on the other Side of the Question.

And the Account will stand thus:

Disposed of Preferments and Employments to *Tories*, or reputed *Tories*, by his Excellency *John*, Lord *Carteret*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in about the Space of six Years.

To Doctor *Thomas Sheridan* in a Rectory near *Kinsale*, *per Annum*,	100 0 0
To Sir *Arthur Acheson*, Baronet, a Barrack, *per Annum*,	11 0 0
	111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in gross, the Value of the Favours done by his Excellency to the *true*

Friends of their King and Country, and of the *Protestant Religion.*

IT is to be remembered, that although his Excellency cannot be properly said to bestow Bishopricks, Commands in the Army, the Place of a Judge, or Commissioner in the Revenue, and some others; yet they are, for the most part, disposed upon his Recommendation, except where the Persons are immediately sent from *England*, by their Interest at Court; for which I have allowed large Defalcations in the following Accounts. And, it is remarkable, that the *only* considerable Station conferred on a reputed *Tory* since his present Excellency's Government, was of this *latter* Kind.

AND indeed it is but too remarkable, that in a neighbouring Nation (where this dangerous Denomination of Men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of Consequence more formidable) *real Tories* can often with much less Difficulty, obtain very high Favours from the Government, than their *reputed* Brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible Submission to the Wisdom of their Policy; which however, will not, I believe, dispute the Praise of Vigilance with ours.

WHIG Account.

To Persons promoted to Bishopricks, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per Annum*,	10,050 0 0
To Civil Employments, — — —	9030 0 0
To Military Commands, — — —	8436 0 0
	27,516 0 0

TORY Account.

To *Tories*, — — — —	111 0 0
Balance, — — — —	27,405 0 0

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I shall conclude with this Observation, That, as I think, the *Tories* have sufficient Reason to be *fully satisfied* with the Share of *Trust*, and *Power*, and *Employments*, which they possess under the *Lenity* of the present Government: So, I do not find how his Excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but *High-Church*, *High-flyers*, *Termagants*, *Laudists*, *Sacheverellians*, *Tip-top-gallon-men*, *Jacobites*, *Tantivyes*, *Anti-Hanoverians*, *Friends to Popery and the Pretender*, *and to Arbitrary Power*, *Disobligers of* England, *Breakers of* DEPENDENCY, *Inflamers of Quarrels between the two Nations*, *Publick Incendiaries*, *Enemies to the King and Kingdoms*, *Haters of* TRUE *Protestants*, *Laurel-men*, *Annists*, *Complainers of the Nation's Poverty*, *Ormondians*, *Iconoclasts*, *Anti-glorious-Memorists*, *Anti-Revolutioners*, *White-Rosalists*, *Tenth-a-Junians*, and the like: When by a fair State of the Account; the Balance, I conceive, *seemeth to ly* on the other Side.

The Reader will perceive the following Treatise to be altogether Ironical.

A PROPOSAL FOR AN ACT of PARLIAMENT to pay off the DEBT of the Nation, without taxing the Subject, by which the Number of landed Gentry, and substantial Farmers will be considerably increased, and no Person will be the poorer, or contribute one Farthing to the Charge.

Written in the Year 1732.

THE Debts contracted some Years past, for the Service and Safety of the Nation, are grown so great, that under our present distressed Condition, by the Want of Trade, the great Remittances to pay *Absentees*, to pay *absent Regiments* serving abroad, and many other Drains of Money, well enough known and felt; the Kingdom seemeth altogether unable to discharge them by the common Methods of Payment: And either a *Poll* or *Land Tax*, would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the Lands which have been let for these ten or dozen Years past, were raised so high, that the Owners can, at present, hardly receive any Rent at all. For it is the usual Practice of an *Irish* Tenant, rather than want Land,

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to offer more for a Farm than he knoweth he can ever, be able to pay; and in that Case he groweth desperate and payeth nothing at all. So that a *Land Tax*, upon a rackt Estate, would be a Burden wholly insupportable.

THE Question will then be, how these National Debts can be paid; and how I can make good the several Particulars of my Proposal; which, I shall now lay open to the Publick.

THE Revenues of their Graces and Lordships, the Archbishops, and Bishops of this Kingdom, (excluding the Fines) do amount, by a moderate Computation, to 36,800*l. per Ann.* I mean the Rents which the Bishops receive from their Tenants. But the real Value of those Lands, at a full Rent, taking the several Sees one with another, is reckoned to be, at least, three Fourths more; so that multiplying 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full Rent of all the Bishops Lands, will amount to 147,200*l. per Ann.* from which subtracting the present Rent received by their Lordships, that is, 36,800 *l.* the Profits of the Lands received by the first and second Tenants, (who both have great Bargains) will rise to the Sum of 110,400*l. per Annum*, which Lands, if they were to be sold at Twenty two Years Purchase, would raise a Sum of 2,428,800 *l.* reserving to the Bishops their present Rents, only excluding Fines.

OF this Sum I propose, that out of the one Half which amounteth to 1,214,400*l.* so much be applied, as will entirely discharge the Debts of the Nation; and the Remainder laid up in the Treasury, to supply Contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy Taxes, until the Kingdom shall be in a better Condition.

BUT, whereas the present Set of Bishops would be great Losers by this Scheme, for want of their Fines; which would be hard Treatment to such *religious, loyal*, and deserving *Personages*; I have therefore set apart the other Half, to supply that Defect; which it will more than sufficiently do.

A Bishop's Lease for the full Term, is reckoned to be worth eleven Years Purchase; but if we take the

Bishops round, I suppose there may be four Years of each Lease elapsed; and many of the Bishops being well stricken in Years, I cannot think their Lives round to be worth more than seven Years Purchase; so that the Purchasers may very well afford Fifteen Years Purchase for the Reversion; especially by one great additional Advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This Sum of 2,428,800*l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably; because the Lands are to be sold only at Fifteen Years Purchase, and this lessens the Sum to be about 1,656,000*l.* of which I propose Twelve hundred thousand Pounds, to be applied partly for the Payment of the National Debt, and partly as a Fund for future Exigencies; and the remaining 456,000*l.* I propose as a Fund for paying the present Set of Bishops their Fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great Part remain as an Addition to the publick Stock.

Although the Bishops round do not, in Reality, receive three Fines a Piece, which take up 21 Years, yet I allow it to be so; but then, I will suppose them to take but one Year's Rent, in Recompence of giving them so large a Term of Life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the Product will be only 110,400*l.* so that above three Fourths will remain to be applied to publick Use.

If I have made wrong Computations, I hope to be excused as a Stranger to the Kingdom; which I never saw until I was called to an Employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my Days, but I took care to get the best Informations I could, and from the most proper Persons; however, the Mistakes I may have been guilty of, will very little affect the Main of my Proposal; although they should cause a Difference of One hundred thousand Pounds, more or less.

These Fines are only to be paid to the Bishop during his Incumbency in the same See: If he change it for a better, the Purchasers of the vacant See Lands, are to come immediately into Possession of the See he hath left; and both the Bishop who is removed, and

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he who cometh into his Place are to have no more Fines; for the removed Bishop will find his Account by a larger Revenue; and the other See will find Candidates enough. For the law Maxim will here have Place: *Caveat Emptor*. I mean the Persons who succeed, may chuse whether they will accept or no.

As to the Purchasers, they will probably be Tenants to the See, who are already in Possession, and can afford to give more than any other Bidders.

I will further explain myself. If a Person already a Bishop, be removed into a richer See, he must be content with the bare Revenues, without any Fines; and so must he who cometh into a Bishoprick vacant by Death: And this will bring the Matter sooner to bear; which, if the Crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present Set of Bishops; and consequently encourage Purchasers of their Lands. For Example, if a Primate should die; and the Gradation be wisely made, almost the whole Set of Bishops might be changed in a Month, each to his great Advantage, although no Fines were to be got; and thereby save a great Part of that Sum, which I have appropriated towards supplying the Deficiency of Fines.

I have valued the Bishops Lands at two Years Purchase, above the usual computed Rate; because those Lands will have a Sanction from the King and Council in *England*, and be confirmed by an Act of Parliament here: Besides, it is well known, that higher Prices are given every Day for worse Lands, at the remotest Distances, and at Rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by Want of Trade: When there are few Borrowers, and the little Money in private Hands lying dead, there is no other Way to dispose of it, but in buying of Land; which consequently makes the Owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the Nation's Debts, the Sale of these Lands would have many other good Effects upon the Nation. It will considerably increase the Number of Gentry, where the Bishop's Tenants are not able

or

or willing to purchase; for the Lands will afford an hundred Gentlemen a good Revenue to each. Several Persons from *England*, will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the Buyers, rather than give thirty Years Purchase at home, under the Loads of Taxes for the Publick and the Poor, as well as Repairs; by which Means much Money may be brought among us; and probably some of the Purchasers themselves, may be content to live cheap in a worse Country, rather than be at the Charge of Exchange and Agencies; and perhaps of *Non-sokeresies* in Absence, if they let their Lands too high.

This Proposal will also multiply Farmers, when the Purchasers will have Lands in their own Power, to give long and easy Leases to industrious Husbandmen.

I have allowed some Bishopricks, of equal Income, to be of more or less Value to the Purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For Instance: The Lands of the Primacy, and some other Sees, are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth Penny of the real Value to the Bishop, and there the Fines are the greater. On the contrary, the Sees of *Meath* and *Clonfert*, consisting, as I am told, much of Tithes, those Tithes are annually let to the Tenants, without any Fines. So the See of *Dublin* is said to have many Fee Farms, which pay no Fines; and some Leases for Lives, which pay very little, and not so soon nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their Graces my Lords the Archbishops, and my Lords the Bishops, will heartily join in this Proposal, out of Gratitude to his late and present Majesty, the best of Kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent Stations; as well as in Pity to this Country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the Nation's Debts, without impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred Gentlemen, as well as free them from Dependence; and thus remove that Envy which is apt to fall upon their Graces and Lordships, from considerable Persons; whose

Birth

Birth and Fortunes, rather qualify them to be Lords of Manors, than servile Dependents upon Churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any Law more popular than this. For the immediate Tenants to Bishops, being some of them Persons of Quality and good Estates; and more of them grown up to be Gentlemen by the Profits of these very Leases, under a Succession of Bishops; think it a Disgrace to be subject both to Rents and Fines, at the Pleasure of their Landlords. Then, the Bulk of the Tenants, especially the *Dissenters*, who are our *true loyal* Protestant Brethren, look upon it, both as an unnatural and iniquitous Thing, that Bishops should be Owners of Land at all; (wherein I beg to differ from them) being a Point so contrary to the Practice of the Apostles, whose Successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that Land should be sold for the common Use of the Brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their Feet, to be distributed to poor Proselytes.

I will add one Word more; that by such a wholesome Law, all the Oppressions felt by Under-tenants of Church Leases, which are now laid on the Bishops; would entirely be prevented, by their Graces and Lordships consenting to have their Lands sold for Payment of the Nation's Debts; reserving only the present Rent for their own plentiful and honourable Support.

I beg Leave to add one Particular; that, when Heads of a Bill (as I find the Style runneth in this Kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this Proposal into a Law; I should humbly offer, that there might be a Power given to every Bishop, (except those who reside in *Dublin*) for applying One hundred Acres of profitable Land, that lieth nearest to his Palace, as a Demesne for the Conveniency of his Family.

I know very well, that this Scheme hath been much talked of for some Time past, and is in the Thoughts of many Patriots; nither was it properly mine,

mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

ALTHOUGH I am almost a perfect Stranger in this Kingdom, yet since I have accepted an Employment here, of some Consequence as well as Profit; I cannot but think myself in Duty bound to consult the Interest of a People, among whom I have been so well ceived. And if I can be any way instrumental, towards contributing to reduce this excellent Proposal into a Law; which, being not in the least injurious to *England*, will, I am confident, meet with no Opposition from that Side; my sincere Endeavours to serve this Church and Kingdom, will be well rewarded.

A N

AN EXAMINATION OF

Certain Abuſes, Corruptions and Enormities in the City of DUBLIN.

Written in the Year 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great Cities, eſpecially the Metropolis of a Kingdom, than what the *French* call the *Police:* By which Word is meant the Government thereof, to prevent the many Diſorders occaſioned by great Numbers of People and Carriages, eſpecially through narrow Streets. In this Government our famous City of *Dublin*, is ſaid to be very defective; and univerſally complained of. Many wholeſome Laws have been enacted to correct thoſe Abuſes, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united Wiſdom of the Nation (whereof ſo many good Effects have already appeared this Seſſion) will ſoon take into their profound Conſideration.

As I have been always watchful over the Good of mine own Country; and particularly for that of our renowned City; where, *(abſit invidia)* I had the Honour to draw my firſt Breath; I cannot have a Minute's Eaſe or Patience to forbear enumerating ſome of the greateſt Enormities, Abuſes, and Corruptions ſpread almoſt through every Part of *Dublin*; and propoſing ſuch Remedies, as, I hope, the Legiſlature will approve of.

THE

THE narrow Compaſs to which I have confined myſelf in this Paper, will allow me only to touch the moſt important Defects; and ſuch as, I think, ſeem to require the moſt ſpeedy Redreſs.

AND firſt: Perhaps there was never known a wiſer Inſtitution than that of allowing certain Perſons of both Sexes, in large and populous Cities, to cry through the Streets many Neceſſaries of Life: It would be endleſs to recount the Conveniencies which our City enjoyeth by this uſeful Invention; and particularly Strangers, forced hither by Buſineſs, who reſide here but a ſhort Time: For, theſe having uſually but a little Money, and being wholly ignorant of the Town, might, at an eaſy Price purchaſe a tolerable Dinner, if the ſeveral Criers would pronounce the Names of the Goods they have to ſell, in any tolerable Language. And therefore until our Law-makers ſhall think it proper to interpoſe ſo far as to make thoſe Traders pronounce their Words in ſuch Terms, that a plain Chriſtian Hearer may comprehend what is cried; I would adviſe all new Comers to look out at their Garret Windows, and there ſee whether the Thing that is cried be *Tripes*, or *Flummery*, *Buttermilk*, or *Cowheels*. For, as Things are now managed, how is it poſſible for an honeſt Countryman, juſt arrived, to find out what is meant? For Inſtance, by the following Words, with which his Ears are conſtantly ſtunned twice a Day, *Muggs, Jugg, and Porringers, up in the Garret, and down in the Cellar.* I ſay, how is it poſſible for any Stranger to underſtand that this Jargon is meant as an Invitation to buy a Farthing's worth of Milk for his Breakfaſt or Supper, unleſs his Curioſity draweth him to the Window, or until his Landlady inform him? I produce this only as one Inſtance, among a hundred much worſe; I mean where the Words make a Sound wholly inarticulate, which give ſo much Diſturbance, and ſo little Information.

THE Affirmation ſolemnly made in the Cry of *Herrings*, is directly againſt all Truth and Probability; *Herrings alive, alive here:* The very Proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary

dinary Speech, than to say of some Neighbour for whom the Passing-bell rings, that *he is as dead as a Herring*. And pray, how is it possible that a *Herring*, which, as *Philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than one Minute three Seconds and a half out of Water, should bear a Voyage in open Boats from *Howth* to *Dublin*, be tossed into twenty Hands, and preserve its Life in Sieves for several Hours? Nay, we have Witnesses ready to produce, that many Thousands of these *Herrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a Day and a Night upon dry Land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious Wretches, who dare in the Face of the Sun, vouch the very same Affirmative of their *Salmon*; and cry, *Salmon, alive, alive*; whereas, if you call the Woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to pull back her Mantle, and shew you this individual *Salmon* cut into a dozen Pieces. I have given good Advice to these infamous Disgracers of their Sex and Calling, without the least Appearance of Remorse, and fully against the Conviction of their own Consciences; I have mentioned this Grievance to several of our Parish Ministers, but all in vain: So that it must continue until the Government shall think fit to interpose.

THERE is another *Cry*, which, from the strictest Observation I can make, appeareth to be very modern, and it is that of * *Sweet-hearts*; and is plainly intended for a Reflexion upon the Female Sex; as if there were at present so great a Dearth of Lovers, that the Women instead of receiving Presents from Men, were now forced to offer Money to purchase *Sweet-hearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *Cry* doth not glance at some Disaffection against the Government; insinuating, that while so many of our Troops are engaged in foreign Service; and such a great Number of our gallant Officers constantly reside in *England*; the Ladies are forced to take up with *Parsons* and *Attorneys*; but this is a most unjust Reflexion;

* *A Sort of Sugar-cakes in the Shape of Hearts.*

as may soon be proved by any Person who frequents the *Castle*, or publick Walks, our Balls and Assemblies; where the Crowds of * *Toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

THERE is a *Cry* peculiar to this City, which I do not remember to have been used in *London*; or at least, not in the same Terms that it hath been practised by both Parties, during each of their Power; but, very unjustly by the *Tories*. While these were at the Helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *Whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of Employments. To effect which, they hired certain ordinary Fellows, with large Baskets on their Shoulders, to call aloud at every House, *Dirt to carry out*; giving that Denomination to our whole Party; as if they would signify, that the Kingdom could never be *cleansed* until we were *swept* from the Earth like *Rubbish*. But, since that happy Turn of Times, when we were so *miraculously* preserved by just an *Inch*, from *Popery*, *Slavery*, *Massacre*, and the *Pretender*; I must own it Prudence in us, still to go on with the same *Cry*; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political Dirt* is wholly removed and thrown on its proper Dunghills, there to corrupt, and be no more heard of.

BUT, to proceed to other Enormities: Every Person who walks the Streets, must needs observe an immense Number of human Excrements at the Doors and Steps of waste Houses, and at the Sides of every dead Wall; for which the disaffected Party hath assigned a very false and malicious Cause. They would have it that these Heaps were laid there privately by *British Fundaments*, to make the World believe, that our *Irish* Vulgar do daily eat and drink; and, consequently, that the Clamour of Poverty among us, must be false; proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *Papists*. They would confirm this, by pretending to observe, that a *British Anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own

* *A new Name for a modern Periwig, with a long black Tail, and for its Owner now in Fashion.* Dec. 1. 1733.

own Country; and many of these Excrements, upon a strict View appearing Copple-crowned, with a Point like a Cone or Pyramid, are easily distinguished from the *Hibernian*, which ly much flatter, and with less Continuity. I communicated this Conjecture to an eminent Physician, who is well versed in such profound Speculations; and at my Request was pleased to make Trial with each of his Fingers, by thrusting them into the *Anus* of several Persons of both Nations; and professed he could find no such Difference between them as those ill-disposed People alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater Number of narrow Cavities were of *Hibernian* Origin. This I only mention to shew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any Handle to express their Malice against the Government. I had almost forgot to add, that my Friend the Physician could, by smelling each Finger, distinguish the *Hibernian* Excrement from the *British*; and was not above twice mistaken in an Hundred Experiments; upon which he intendeth very soon to publish a learned Dissertation.

THERE is a Diversion in this City, which usually begins among the *Butchers*; but is often continued by a Succession of other People, through many Streets. It is called the COSSING *of a Dog*: And I may justly number it among our Corruptions. The Ceremony is thus: A strange Dog happeneth to pass through a Flesh-market: Whereupon an expert *Butcher* immediately crieth in a loud Voice, and the proper Tone, *Coss*, *Coss*, several times: The same Word is repeated by the People. The Dog who perfectly understandeth the Term of Art, and consequently the Danger he is in, immediately flies. The People, and even his own *Brother Animals* pursue: The Pursuit and Cry attend him perhaps half a Mile; he is worried in his Flight; and sometimes hardly escapes. This, our Ill-wishers of the *Jacobite* Kind, are pleased to call a *Persecution*; and affirm that it always falleth upon the *Dogs* of the *Tory* Principle. But, we can well defend ourselves, by justly alledging, that, when they were uppermost, they

treated our *Dogs* full as inhumanly: As to my own Part, who have in former Times often attended these *Processions*; although I can very well distinguish between a *Whig* and a *Tory Dog*; yet I never carried my Resentments very far from a *Party Principle*, except it were against certain malicious *Dogs*, who most discovered their Enmity against us in the *worst of Times*. And, I remember too well, that, in the wicked Ministry of the Earl of *Oxford*, a large Mastiff of our Party being unmercifully *cessed*, ran, without Thinking, between my Legs, as I was coming up *Fishamble-street*; and, as I am of low Stature, with very short Legs, bore me riding backwards down the Hill, for above Two hundred Yards: And, although I made use of his Tail for a Bridle, holding it fast with both my Hands, and clung my Legs as close to his Sides as I could; yet we both came down together into the Middle of the Kennel; where, after rolling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado, amidst the Shouts and Huzzas of a Thousand malicious *Jacobites*: I cannot indeed, but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other *Services* and *Sufferings*, I have been since more than overpaid.

THIS Adventure may, perhaps, have put me out of Love with the Diversion of *Cessing*; which I confess myself an Enemy to; unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *Tory Dogs*; whereof great Numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their Principles; and are now justly esteemed the best *Worriers* of their former Friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the Chimney-Sweepers Boys, where Members of P—m—t chiefly lodge, are hired by *our Enemies* to sculk in the Tops of Chimneys, with their Heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual Hours when Members are going to the House, if they see a Coach stand near the Lodging of any *loyal* Member; they call *Coach, Coach*, as loud as they can bawl, just at the Instant when the Footman begins to give the same Call. And this is chiefly done on those Days, when

when any Point of Importance is to be debated. This Practice may be of very dangerous Consequence. For, these Boys are all hired by Enemies to the Government: And thus, by the Absence of a few Members, for a few Minutes, a Question may be carried against the *true Interest* of the Kingdom; and, very probably not without an Eye towards the *Pretender*.

I have not observed the Wit and Fancy of this Town, so much employed in any one Article as that of contriving Variety of Signs to hang over Houses, where *Punch* is to be sold. The Bowl is represented full of *Punch*; the Ladle standeth erect in the Middle; supported sometimes by one, and sometimes by two Animals, whose Feet rest upon the Edge of the Bowl. These Animals are sometimes one black *Lion*, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single *Eagle*, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a *Crow*, a *Swan*, a *Bear*, or a *Cock*, in the same Posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of those Animals, either separate, or in Conjunction, are, properly speaking, fit Emblems or Embellishments, to advance the Sale of *Punch*. Besides it is agreed among *Naturalists*, that no Brute can endure the Taste of strong Liquors; except where he hath been used to it from his Infancy: And consequently, it is against all the Rules of *Hieroglyph*, to assign those Animals as Patrons, or Protectors of *Punch*. For, in that Case we ought to suppose that the Host keepeth always ready the real Bird, or Beast, whereof the Picture hangs over his Door, to entertain his Guests; which, however, to my Knowledge, is not true in Fact: Not one of those Birds being a proper Companion for a *Christian*, as to aiding and assisting in making the *Punch*. For, as they are drawn upon the Sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their Feathers into the Liquor. Then, as to the *Bear*, he is too terrible, aukward, and slovenly a Companion to converse with; neither are any of them all *handy* enough to fill Liquor to the Company: I do, therefore, vehemently suspect a *Plot* intended against the Government, by these Devices. For, although

the *Spread-Eagle* be the Arms of *Germany*, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful *Protestant* Sign; yet I, who am very suspicious of fair Out-sides, in a Matter which so nearly concerneth our Welfare; cannot but call to mind, that the *Pretender*'s Wife is said to be of *German* Birth; and that many *Popish* Princes, in so vast an Extent of Land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking *Punch*. Besides, it is plain, that the *Spread-Eagle* exhibiteth to us the perfect Figure of a *Cross*; which is a Badge of *Popery*. Then, as to the *Cock*, he is well known to represent the *French* Nation, our old and dangerous Enemy. The *Swan*, who must of Necessity cover the entire Bowl with his Wings, can be no other than the *Spaniard*, who endeavoureth to engross all the Treasures of the *Indies* to himself. The *Lion* is indeed the common Emblem of Royal Power, as well as the Arms of *England*: But to paint him black is perfect *Jacobitism*: And a manifest Type of those who *blacken* the Actions of the best Princes. It is not easy to distinguish whether that other Fowl painted over the *Punch-bowl*, be a *Crow* or *Raven*; it is true, they have both been held ominous Birds: But I rather take it to be the former; because it is the Disposition of a *Crow*, to pick out the Eyes of other Creatures; and often even of *Christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here, with a Design to put the *Jacobites* in mind of their old Practice; first to lull us asleep, (which is an Emblem of Death) and then to blind our Eyes, that we may not see their dangerous Practices against the State.

To speak my private Opinion; the least offensive Picture in the whole Set, seemeth to be the *Bear*; because he representeth *Ursa Major*, or the *Great Bear* who presideth over the *North*, where the *Reformation* first began; and which, next to *Britain*, (including *Scotland* and the *North* of *Ireland*) is the great Protector of the *true Protestant* Religion. But, however, in those Signs where I observe the *Bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* Contrivance;

vance; by which, these Traitors hint an earnest Desire of using all *true Whigs*, as their Predecessors did the primitive Christians: I mean, to represent us as *Bears*, and then halloo their *Tory-Dogs* to bite us to Death.

THUS I have given a fair Account of what I dislike, in all the Signs set over those Houses that invite us to *Punch*. I own it was a Matter that did not need explaining; being so very obvious to common Understanding: Yet I know not how it happeneth, but methinks there seemeth a fatal Blindness to overspread our corporeal Eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish I may be found a false Prophet. For, these are not bare Suspicions, but manifest Demonstrations.

THEREFORE, away with these *Popish*, *Jacobite*, and idolatrous Gew-gaws. And I heartily wish a Law were enacted, under severe Penalties, against drinking any *Punch* at all: For, nothing is easier than to prove it a disaffected Liquor. The chief Ingredients, which are *Brandy*, *Oranges* and *Lemons*, are all sent us from *Popish* Countries; and nothing remaineth of *Protestant* Growth, but *Sugar* and *Water*. For, as to Biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary Ingredient, and is truly *British*, we find it is entirely rejected.

BUT I will put the Truth of my Assertion past all Doubt: I mean, that this Liquor is by one important Innovation, grown of ill Example, and dangerous Consequence to the Publick. It is well known, that, by the true original Institution of making *Punch*, left us by Captain *Ratcliff*, the Sharpness is only occasioned by the Juice of *Lemons*; and so continued until after the happy *Revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere Innovation, and, in a manner, *of but Yesterday*. It was the Politicks of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually. And to what Intent? The Thing speaketh itself. It was cunningly to shew their Virulence against his sacred Majesty King *William of ever glorious and immortal Memory*. But of late (to shew how

fast

fast Disloyalty increaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *Oranges*; nay, at present we often find Punch made all with *Oranges*; and not one single *Lemon*. For the *Jacobites*, before the Death of that immortal Prince, had, by a Superstition, formed a private Prayer; that, as they *squeezed* the *Orange*, so might that *Protestant* King be *squeezed* to Death: According to the known *Sorcery* described by *Virgil*; *Limus ut hic durescit, & hæc ut cera liquescit*, &c. And thus the *Romans*, when they sacrificed an Ox, used this kind of Prayer: *As I knock down this Ox, so may thou, O* Jupiter, *knock down our Enemies*. In like Manner, after King *William*'s Death, whenever a *Jacobite squeezed* an *Orange*, he had a mental Curse upon the *glorious Memory*; and a hearty Wish for Power to *squeeze* all his Majesty's Friends to Death, as he *squeezed* that *Orange*, which bore one of his Titles, as he was Prince of *Orange*. This I do affirm for Truth; many of that Faction having confessed it to me, under an *Oath of Secrecy*; which, however, I thought it my Duty not to keep, when I saw my dear Country in Danger. But, what better can be expected from an *impious* Set of Men, who never scruple to drink CONFUSION to all *true Protestants*, under the Name of *Whigs*? A most unchristian and inhuman Practice; *which to our great Honour and Comfort, was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious Detractors.*

THE Sign of two *Angels*, hovering in the Air, and with their right Hands supporting a *Crown*, is met with in several Parts of this City; and hath often given me great Offence: For, whether by the Unskilfulness, or dangerous Principles of the Painters, (although I have good Reasons to suspect the latter) those *Angels* are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *Countenances*, that they give great Offence to every loyal Eye; and equal Cause of Triumph to the *Jacobites*; being a most infamous Reflexion upon our able and excellent Ministry.

I now return to that great Enormity of City *Crits*; most of which we have borrowed from *London*. I shall

shall consider them only in a *political* View, as they nearly affect the Peace and Safety of both Kingdoms. And having been originally contrived by wicked *Machiavels*, to bring in *Popery*, *Slavery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, by defeating the *Protestant* Succession, and introducing the *Pretender*; ought, in Justice, to be here laid open to the World.

ABOUT two or three Months after the happy *Revolution*, all Persons who possess'd any Employment, or Office, in Church or State, were obliged by an Act of Parliament, to take the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*: And a great Number of disaffected Persons, refusing to take the said Oaths, from a pretended Scruple of Conscience, but really from a Spirit of *Popery* and Rebellion, they contrived a Plot, to make the swearing to those Princes odious in the Eyes of the People. To this End, they hired certain Women of ill Fame, but loud shrill Voices, under Pretence of selling Fish, to go through the Streets, with Sieves on their Heads, and cry, *buy my Soul, buy my Soul*; plainly insinuating, that all those, who swore to King *William*, were just ready to sell their *Souls* for an Employment. This Cry was revived at the Death of Queen *Anne*, and I hear still continueth in *London*, with much Offence to all *true Protestants*; but to our great Happiness, seemeth to be almost dropt in *Dublin*.

BUT, because I altogether contemn the Displeasure, and Resentment of *High flyers*, *Tories*, and *Jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worse even than professed Papists*, I do hereby declare, that those Evils which I am going to mention, were all brought upon us in the * *worst of Times*, under the late Earl of *Oxford*'s Administration, during the four last Years of Queen *Anne*'s Reign. *That wicked Minister was universally known to be a Papist in his Heart. He was of a most avaricious*

* *A Cant Word used by Whigs for the four last Years of Queen* Anne's *Reign, during the Earl of* Oxford's *Ministry; whose Character here is an exact Reverse in every Particular.*

avaricious Nature, and is said to have died worth four Millions Sterling, *besides his vast Expences in Buildings, Statues, Plate, Jewels, and other costly Rarities. He was of a mean obscure Birth, from the very Dregs of the People; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a Paper at the Council Table. I forbear to touch at his open, profane, profligate Life; because I desire not to rake into the Ashes of the Dead; and therefore I shall observe this wise Maxim:* De mortuis nil nisi bonum.

THIS flagitious Man, in order to compass his black Designs, employed certain wicked Instruments (which great Statesmen are never without) to adapt several *London* Cries, in such a Manner as would best answer his Ends. And, whereas it was upon good Grounds grievously suspected, that all *Places* at Court were sold to the highest Bidder: Certain Women were employed by his Emissaries, to carry *Fish* in Baskets on their Heads, and bawl through the Streets, *Buy my fresh Places*. I must, indeed own, that other Women used the same Cry, who were innocent of this wicked Design, and really sold their Fish of that Denomination, to get an honest Livelihood: But the rest, who were in the *Secret*, although they carried Fish in their Sieves or Baskets, to save Appearances; yet they had likewise a certain Sign, somewhat resembling that of the *Free Masons*, which the Purchasers of *Places* knew well enough, and were directed by the Women whither they were to resort, and make their Purchase. And, I remember very well, how oddly it looked, when we observed many Gentlemen finely dressed, about the Court End of the Town, and as far as *York-Buildings*, where the Lord-Treasurer *Oxford* dwelt; calling the Women who cried, *Buy my fresh Places*; and talking to them in the Corner of a Street, until they understood each other's Sign. But we never could observe that any Fish was bought.

SOME Years before the Cries last mentioned; the Duke of *Savoy* was reported to have made certain Overtures to the Court of *England*, for admitting his

eldest

eldest Son, by the Dutchess of *Orleans*'s Daughter, to succeed to the Crown, as next Heir, upon the *Pretender*'s being rejected; and that Son was immediately to turn *Protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great Numbers of People, disaffected to the then *illustrious*, but now *Royal* House of *Hanover*, were in those Measures. Whereupon another Set of Women were hired by the *Jacobite* Leaders, to cry through the whole Town, *Buy my* Savoys, *dainty* Savoys, *curious* Savoys. But, I cannot directly charge the late Earl of *Oxford* with this *Conspiracy*, because he was not then Chief Minister. However, this wicked Cry still continueth in *London*, and was brought over hither; where it remaineth to this Day; and is, in my humble Opinion, a very offensive Sound to every true Protestant, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* Times.

DURING the Ministry of that corrupt and *Jacobite* Earl above mentioned, the secret pernicious Design of those in Power, was to sell *Flanders* to *France*: The Consequence of which, must have been the infallible Ruin of the *States-General*, and would have opened the Way for *France* to obtain that universal Monarchy, they have so long aimed at; to which the *British* Dominions must next, after *Holland*, have been compelled to submit. Whereby the *Protestant* Religion would be rooted out of the World.

A Design of this vast Importance, after long Consultation among the *Jacobite Grandees*, with the Earl of *Oxford* at their Head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same Method with the former: It was therefore again put in Practice; but the Conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen Men, whose Voices were louder and stronger than those of the other Sex. And upon this Occasion, was first instituted in *London*, that famous Cry of FLOUNDERS. But the Criers were particularly directed to pronounce the Word *Flaunders*, and not *Flounders*. For, the Country which we now by Corruption call *Flanders*, is in its true Orthography spelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read

old

old *English* Books. I say, from hence begun that thundering Cry, which hath ever since stunned the Ears of all *London*, made so many Children fall into Fits, and Women miscarry; *Come buy my fresh* Flounders, *curious* Flounders, *charming* Flounders, *alive, alive, ho*; which last Words, can with no Propriety of Speech, be applied to Fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in *Herrings* and *Salmon*) but very justly to ten Provinces, containing many Millions of living *Christians*. But the Application is still closer, when we consider that all the People were to be taken like *Fishes* in a Net; and, by Assistance of the *Pope*, who sets up to be the *universal Fisher of Men*, the whole innocent Nation was, according to our common Expression, to be *laid as flat as a* Flounder.

I remember, myself, a particular Crier of *Flounders* in *London*, who arrived at so much Fame for the Loudness of his Voice, as to have the Honour of being mentioned upon that account in a Comedy. He hath disturbed me many a Morning, before he came within fifty Doors of my Lodging: And although I were not, in those Days, so fully apprized of the Designs which our common Enemy had then in Agitation; yet, I know not how, by a secret Impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong Dislike against the Fellow; and often said to myself, this Cry seemeth to be forged in the *Jesuits* School: *Alas, poor* England, *I am grievously mistaken, if there be not some* Popish *Plot at the Bottom*. I communicated my Thoughts to an intimate Friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my Speculations. But it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked Faction could have procured only a Thousand Men, of as strong Lungs as the Fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the Consequences might have been, not only to these two Kingdoms, but over all *Europe*, by selling *Flanders* to *France*. And yet these Cries continue unpunished, both in *London* and *Dublin*; although, I confess, not with equal Vehemency

or

or Loudness; because the Reason for contriving this desperate Plot, is, to our great Felicity wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the Majority of the *British* House of Commons, in the last Years of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, were in their Hearts directly opposite to the Earl of *Oxford*'s pernicious Measures; which put him under the Necessity of bribing them with Salaries. Whereupon he had again Recourse to his old Politicks. And accordingly his Emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful Women, of no good Life or Conversation, (as it was fully proved before Justice * *Peyton*) to cry that Vegetable, commonly called *Solsary*, through the Town. These Women differed from the common Criers of that Herb, by some private Mark which I could never learn; but the Matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same Period was the Cry of *Solsary* brought over into this Kingdom. But, since there is not, at this present, the least Occasion to suspect the Loyalty of our Criers upon that Article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one Cry more, which hath any Reference to Politicks; but is, indeed, of all others the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy Establishment. I mean, that of *Turnups*; not of *Turnips*, according to the best Orthography, but absolutely *Turnups*. Although this Cry be of an older Date than some of the preceeding Enormities, for it began soon after the Revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great an Height, as during the Earl of *Oxford*'s Power. Some People, (whom I take to be private Enemies) are, indeed, as ready as myself to profess their Disapprobation of this Cry, on Pretence that it began by the Contrivance of certain old Procuresses, who kept Houses of ill Fame, where lewd Women met to draw young Men into Vice. And this they pretend to prove by some Words in the Cry; because, after the Crier had bawled out

* *A famous Whig Justice in those Times.*

Turnups, ho, boy my dainty Turnups, but would sometimes add the two following Verses.

Turn up the Mistress, and turn up the Maid,
And turn up the Daughter, and be not afraid.

THIS, say some political Sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing further meant in so infamous a Cry, than an Invitation to Wantonness; which, indeed, ought to be severely punished in all well regulated Governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a Crime of State. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this Time of Day, with such poor Evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very Time when those two Verses were composed, and name the Author, who was no other than the famous Mr. *Swan*, so well known for his Talent at Quibbling; and was as virulent a *Jacobite* as any in *England*. Neither could he deny the Fact, when he was taxed for it in my Presence, by Sir *Harry Dutton-Colt*, and Colonel *Devenport*, at the *Smyrna* Coffee-house, on the 10th of *June* 1701. Thus it appeareth to a Demonstration, that those Verses were only a Blind to conceal the most dangerous Designs of the Party; who from the first Years after the happy Revolution, used a Cant-way of talking in their Clubs, after this Manner: *We hope to see the Cards shuffled once more, and another King* TURNUP *Trump*: And, *when shall we meet over a Dish of* TURNUPS? The same Term of Art was used in their Plots against the Government, and in their treasonable Letters writ in Cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. *Wallis*, as you may read in the Trials of those Times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a Light; because the *Scots* and *French* Authors have given a very different Account of the Word TURNUP; but whether out of Ignorance or Partiality, I shall not decree; because I am sure the Reader is convinced by my Discovery. It is to be observed, that this Cry was

sung

sung in a particular Manner, by Fellows in Disguise, to give Notice where those Traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villanous Designs.

I have no more to add upon this Article, than an humble Proposal, that those who cry this Root at present in our Streets of *Dublin*, may be compelled by the Justices of the Peace, to pronounce *Turnip*, and not *Turnup*; for, I am afraid, we have still too many Snakes in our Bosom; and it would be well if their Cellars were sometimes searched, when the Owners least expect it; for I am not out of *Fear*, that *latet anguis in Herba*.

THUS, we are zealous in Matters of small Moment, while we neglect those of the highest Importance. I have already made it manifest, that all these Cries were contrived in the *worst of Times*, under the Ministry of that desperate Statesman, *Robert* late Earl of *Oxford*; and for that very Reason ought to be rejected with Horror, as begun in the Reign of *Jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the Rags of *Popery* and *Treason*: Or if it be thought proper, that these Cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the Hands of *true Protestants*, who have given Security to the Government.

N. B. In the following Discourse the *Author* personateth a Country Gentleman in the North of *Ireland*. And this Letter is supposed as directed to the *Drapier*.

Having on the 12th of *October* last, received a LETTER, signed *Andrew Dealer*, and *Patrick Penniless*; I believe the following PAPER, just come to my Hands, will be a sufficient Answer to it.

The INTELLIGENCER, No. 19.

Sic vos, non vobis vellera ferris oves.

Written in the Year 1728.

SIR,

I AM a Country Gentleman, and a Member of *Parliament*, with an Estate of about 1400 *l.* a Year; which, as a *Northern* Landlord, I receive from above two hundred Tenants: And my Lands having been let near twenty Years ago, the Rents, until very lately, were esteemed not to be above half Value; yet by the intolerable Scarcity of *Silver*, I ly under the greatest Difficulties in receiving them; as well as in paying my Labourers; or buying any Thing necessary for my Family from *Tradesmen*, who are not able to be long out of their *Money*. But the Sufferings of me, and

and those of my Rank, are Trifles in Comparison of what the meaner Sort undergo; such as the *Buyers* and *Sellers* at *Fairs* and *Markets*; the *Shop-keepers* in every *Town*; the *Farmers* in general; all those who travel with *Fish*, *Poultry*, *Pedlary-ware*; and other Conveniencies to sell: But more especially *Handicrafts-men*, who work for us by the Day; and common Labourers whom I have already mentioned. Both these Kind of People I am forced to employ until their Wages amount to a *double Pistole*, or a *Moidore*, (for we hardly have any *Gold* of lower Value left us) to divide it among themselves as they can: And this is generally done at an *Ale-house*, or *Brandy-shop*; where, besides the Cost of getting *drunk*, which is usually the Case) they must pay *Ten-pence* or a *Shilling*, for changing their *Piece* into *Silver*, to some *Huckstering Fellow*, who follows that *Trade*. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor Men for want of due Payment, are forced to take up their *Oat-meal*, and other Necessaries of Life, at almost double Value; and, consequently, are not able to discharge half their Score; especially under the Scarceness of *Corn* for two Years past, and the melancholy Disappointment of the present *Crop*.

THE Causes of this, and a thousand other Evils, are clear and manifest to you, and all thinking Men; although hidden from the Vulgar: These indeed complain of hard Times, the Dearth of Corn, the Want of Money, the Badness of Seasons; that their Goods bear no Price, and the Poor cannot find Work; but their weak Reasonings never carry them to the Hatred and Contempt borne us by our Neighbours and Brethren; without the least Grounds of Provocation; who rejoice at our Sufferings, although sometimes to their own Disadvantage. They consider not the dead Weight upon every beneficial Branch of our Trade; that half our Revenues are annually sent to *England*; with many other Grievances peculiar to this unhappy Kingdom; which keep us from enjoying the common Benefits of Mankind; as you and some other Lovers

Lovers of their Country have so often observed, with such good Inclinations, and so little Effect.

IT is true indeed, that under our Circumstances in general; this Complaint for the Want of *Silver*, may appear as ridiculous, as for a Man to be impatient about a *cut* Finger, when he is struck with the *Plague*; And yet a poor Fellow going to the *Gallows*, may be allowed to feel the Smart of *Wasps* while he is upon *Tyburn-road*. This Misfortune is so urging, and vexatious in every Kind of small Traffick; and so hourly pressing upon all Persons in the Country whatever, that an hundred Inconveniencies, of perhaps great Moment in themselves, have been tamely submitted to, with far less Disquietude and Murmurs. And the Case seemeth yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful Men assert, that nothing is more easy than a Remedy; and, that the Want of *Silver*, in proportion to the little *Gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A Person of Distinction assured me very lately, that, in discoursing with the * *Lord Lieutenant*, before his last Return to *England*; his *Excellency* said, *He had pressed the Matter often, in proper Time and Place, and to proper Persons; and could not see any Difficulty of the least Moment, that could prevent us from being made easy upon this Article.*

WHOEVER carrieth to *England* twenty seven *English* Shillings, and bringeth back one *Moidore* of full Weight, is a Gainer of Nine Pence *Irish*: In a *Guinea*, the Advantage is Three Pence; and Two Pence in a *Pistole*. The BANKERS, who are generally Masters of all our *Gold* and *Silver*, with this Advantage, have sent over as much of the latter, as came into their Hands. The Value of One thousand *Moidores* in *Silver*, would thus amount in clear Profit to 37*l.* 10*s.* The *Shop-keepers*, and other *Traders*, who go to *London* to buy Goods, followed the same Practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable Distress.

To

* *The Lord* Carteret.

To a common Thinker, it should seem, that nothing would be more easy, than for the *Government* to redress this Evil, at any Time they shall please: When the Value of *Guineas* was lowered in *England* from 21 *s.* and 6 *d.* to only 21 *s.* the Consequences to this Kingdom were obvious, and manifest to us all: And a sober Man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new Regulation of *Coin* among us, was not then made; much more, why it hath never been since. It would surely require no very profound Skill in *Algebra*, to reduce the Difference of *nine Pence in thirty Shillings*; or *Three Pence* in a *Guinea* to less than a *Farthing*: and so small a Fraction could be no Temptation, either to *Bankers* to hazard their *Silver* at Sea, or Tradesmen to load themselves with it, in their Journeys to *England*. In my humble Opinion it would be no unseasonable Condescension, if the *Government* would graciously please to signify to the *poor loyal Protestant Subjects* of *Ireland*, either that this miserable Want of *Silver*, is not possible to be remedied in any Degree, by the nicest Skill in *Arithmetick*; or else, that it doth not stand with the good Pleasure of *England* to suffer any *Silver* at all among us. In the former Case, it would be Madness to expect Impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit: For, Lives and Fortunes are always at the Mercy of the CONQUEROR.

THE Question hath been often put in *printed Papers* by the DRAPIER and others, or, perhaps, by the same WRITER, under different Styles, why this Kingdom should not be permitted to have a *Mint* of its own, for the Coinage of *Gold*, *Silver*, and *Copper*; which is a Power exercised by many *Bishops*, and every petty Prince in *Germany*? But this Question hath never been answered; nor the least Application, that I have heard of, made to the *Crown* from hence, for the Grant of a *publick Mint*; although it standeth upon Record, that several Cities and Corporations here, had the Liberty of *coining Silver*. I can see no Reasons, why we alone of all Nations, are thus restrained; but such as I dare

not

not mention: Only this far, I may venture; that *Ireland* is the first Imperial Kingdom, since *Nimrod*, which ever assumed Power to coin their own *Money*.

I know very well, that in *England* it is lawful for any Subject to petition either the *Prince* or the *Parliament*; provided it be done in a dutiful and regular Manner: But what is lawful for a Subject of *Ireland*, I profess I cannot determine: Nor will I undertake, that your *Printer* shall not be prosecuted, in a *Court of Justice*, for publishing my *Wishes*; that a poor Shopkeeper might be able to change a *Guinea*, or a *Moidore*, when a Customer cometh for a *Crown's Worth* of Goods. I have known less Crimes punished with the utmost Severity, under the Title of *Disaffection*. And I cannot but approve the Wisdom of the *Antients*, who, after *Astrea* had fled from the Earth, at least took care to provide *three upright Judges for Hell*. Mens Ears, among us, are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happeneth to think out of Fashion, in what relateth to the Welfare of this Kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the *Tooth-ach*; lest our weak and busy Dabblers in Politicks, should be ready to swear against him for *Disaffection*.

There was a Method practised by Sir *Ambrose Crawley*, the great Dealer in *Iron-works*; which I wonder the Gentlemen of our Country, under this great Exigency, have not thought fit to imitate. In the several Towns and Villages where he dealt, and many Miles round; he gave *Notes* instead of *Money*, from *Two Pence* to *Twenty Shillings*; which passed current in all Shops and Markets, as well as in Houses, where Meat or Drink was sold. I see no Reason, why the like Practice may not be introduced among us, with some Degree of Success; or at least may not serve as a poor Expedient, in this our *blessed Age of Paper*; which, as it discharged all our greatest Payments, may be equally useful in the smaller; and may just keep us alive until an *English Act of Parliament shall forbid it*.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest *American* Colonies, upon the Continent, the People

enjoy

enjoy the Liberty of cutting the little *Money* among them into Halves and Quarters, for the Conveniencies of small Traffick. How happy should we be in Comparison of our present Condition, if the like Privilege were granted to us, of employing the Scissars for want of a *Mint*, upon our *foreign Gold*, by clipping it into *Half-Crowns* and *Shillings*, and even lower Denominations; for Beggars must be content to live upon Scraps; and it would be our Felicity, that these Scraps could never be exported to other Countries, while any Thing better was left.

If neither of these Projects will avail, I see nothing left us, but to truck and barter our Goods, like the *wild Indians*, with each other; or with our two powerful Neighbours, only with this Disadvantage on our Side, that the *Indians* enjoy the *Product* of their own Land, whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a Recompence in *Bagles* or *Glass* in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable Circumstance, in the present Juncture, that some Thousand Families are gone, or going, or preparing to go from hence, and settle themselves in *America*. The poorer Sort, for want of Work; the Farmers whose beneficial Bargains are now become a Back-rent too hard to be borne; and those who have any *ready Money*, or can purchase any, by the Sale of their Goods or Leases; because they find their Fortunes hourly decaying, that their Goods will bear no Price, and that few or none have any *Money* to buy the very Necessaries of Life, are returning to follow their departed Neighbours. It is true, *Corn* among us retrieves a very high Price; but it is for the same Reason, that *Rats* and *Cats*, and dead *Horses*, have been often bought for *Gold* in a Town besieged.

There is a Person of Quality in my Neighbourhood, who Twenty Years ago, when he was just come to Age, being unexperienced, and of a generous Temper, let his Lands, even as Times went then, at a low Rate to able Tenants, and consequently by the Rise of Land

Land since that Time, looked upon his Estate to be set at half Value: But Numbers of these Tenants, or their Descendants, are now offering to sell their Leases by Cant; even those which were for Lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some Fee-Farms, which the Landlord himself hath brought in at half the Price they would have yielded seven Years ago. And some Leases let at the same time for Lives, have been given up to him, without any Consideration at all.

THIS is the most favourable Face of Things at present among us; I say, among us of the *North*, who are esteemed the only thriving People in the Kingdom. And how far, and how soon this Misery and Desolation may spread, is easy to foresee.

THE vast Sums of *Money* daily carried off, by our numerous Adventurers to *America*, have deprived us of our *Gold* in these Parts, almost as much as our *Silver*.

AND the good Wives who come to our Houses, offer us their Pieces of Linen, upon which their whole Dependence lieth, for so little Profit, that it can neither half pay their Rents, nor half support their Families.

IT is remarkable, that the Enthusiasm spread among our *Northern* People, of sheltering themselves in the Continent of *America*, hath no other Foundation, than their present insupportable Condition at home. I have made all possible Inquiries, to learn what Encouragements our People have met with, by any Intelligence from those Plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a Voyage, in all Seasons of the Year, and so ill accommodated in their Ships, that many of them have died miserably in their Passage; but could never get one satisfactory Answer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a Letter to his Friend or Cousin from thence, inviting him, by all Means, to come over; that it was a fine fruitful Country, and to be held for ever at a *Penny* an Acre. But the Truth of the Fact is this: The *English* established in those Colonies, are in great Want of Men

to inhabit that Tract of Ground, which lieth between them and the *wild Indians*, who are not reduced under their Dominion. We read of some barbarous People, whom the *Romans* placed in their Armies, for no other Service than to blunt their Enemies Swords, and afterwards to fill up Trenches, with their dead Bodies. And thus our People, who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent Tracts, as a Screen against the Insults of the *Savages*, and may have as much Land as they can clear from the Woods, at a very reasonable Rate, if they can afford to pay about a *hundred* Years Purchase by their Labour. Now, besides the *Fox*'s Reasons, which incline all those who have already ventured thither, to represent every Thing in a fair Light, as well for justifying their own Conduct, as for getting Companions in their Misery: The governing People in those Plantations have also wisely provided, that no Letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither, without being first viewed by the Council; by which, our People here are wholly deceived, in the Opinions they have of the happy Condition of their Friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some Months ago, by an honest Man; who having transported himself and Family thither, and finding all Things directly contrary to his Hope, had the Luck to convey a private Note, by a faithful Hand, to his Relation here; intreating him not to think of such a Voyage, and to discourage all his Friends from attempting it.

Yet this, although it be a Truth well known, hath produced very little Effect, which is no Manner of Wonder; for as it is natural to a Man in a *Fever* to turn often, although without any Hope of Ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a Precipice, to avoid an Enemy just at his Back; so, Men in the extremest Degree of Misery and Want, will naturally fly to the first Appearance of Relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You

[illegible] very Sparingly [illegible] Have [illegible] the [illegible] affect [illegible] Subject I began with [illegible] the Loss [illegible] Custom. For I [illegible] Fashionable, [illegible] forced me [illegible] never, [illegible] as a [illegible] Actions, [illegible] Time [illegible] and distressed [illegible] the Gentle; [illegible] Fit of the [illegible] would be [illegible] Danger, [illegible] scarcely af- [illegible] the Loss [illegible] of any Age. [illegible] promise you [illegible] Difference: but I can [illegible] taken up, [illegible] good Success; [illegible] Office [illegible] Reputation or Pro- [illegible] either [illegible] Fellows [illegible] least View. [illegible] Comfort is, [illegible] be your Enemies.

Perhaps your [illegible] Country, can be your [illegible] not the Ho- [illegible] of their [illegible] having [illegible] Sort; and [illegible] which Plato [illegible] compelled [illegible] to be acquainted with many of that [illegible] before, am compelled [illegible] as you [illegible] lead a very retired Life.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

A. NORTH.

County of Down.
Dec. 26. 1728.

THE

THE ADVANTAGES

Proposed by REPEALING the Sacramental TEST, Impartially Considered.

Written in the Year 1732.

WHOEVER writeth impartially upon this Subject, must do it not only as a mere secular Man; but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular System of Christianity. And, I think, in whatever Country that Religion predominates, there is one certain Form of Worship and Ceremony, which is looked upon as the Established; and consequently only the Priests of that particular Form, are maintained at the publick Charge; and all Civil Employments are bestowed among those who comply (at least outwardly) with the same Establishment.

THIS Method is strictly observed, even by our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who are confessed to allow the fullest Liberty to Conscience, of any Christian State; and yet are never known to admit any Persons into Civil Offices, who do not conform to the legal Worship. As to their Military Men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being, by the Nature of their Government, under a Necessity of hiring foreign Troops,

of whatever religious Denomination, upon every great Emergency; and maintaining no small Number in Time of Peace.

THIS Caution therefore of making one Established Faith, seemeth to be universal, and founded upon the strongest Reasons; the mistaken, or affected Zeal of Obstinacy and Enthusiasm, having produced such a Number of horrible destructive Events, throughout all *Christendom*. For, whoever beginneth to think the National Worship is wrong in any important Article of Practice or Belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a Zeal to make as many Proselytes as he can: And a Nation may possibly have an Hundred different Sects with their Leaders; every one of which hath an equal Right to plead, that they must *obey God rather than Man*; must *cry aloud and spare not*; must *lift up their Voice like a Trumpet*.

THIS was the very Case of *England*, during the Fanatick Times. And, against all this, there seemeth to be no Defence, but that of supporting one established Form of Doctrine and Discipline; leaving the rest to a bare Liberty of Conscience; but without any Maintenance or Encouragement from the Publick.

WHERE-EVER this National Religion groweth so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great Majority of landed People, joined to the governing Party, whether Prince or Senate, or both; it ought to be changed; provided the Work might be done without Blood or Confusion. Yet, whenever such a Change shall be made, some other Establishment must succeed, although for the worse; allowing all Deviations that would break the Union, to be only tolerated. In this Sense, those who affirm that every Law, which is contrary to the Law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken. For, many Laws in *Popish* Kingdoms and States; many more among the *Turks*; and perhaps not a few in other Countries, are directly against the Divine Laws; and yet, God knoweth, are very far from being void in the executive Part.

THUS,

THUS, for Instance: If the three Estates of Parliament in *England* (whereof the Lords Spiritual, who represent the *Church*, are one) should agree, and obtain the Royal Assent to abolish Episcopacy; together with the Liturgy, and the whole Frame of the *English* Church, as *burdensome, dangerous, and contrary to Holy Scripture*; and that *Presbytery*, *Anabaptism*, *Quakerism*, *Independency*, *Muggletonianism*, *Brownism*, *Familism*, or any other subdivided Sect among us, should be established in its Place; without Question, all peaceable Subjects ought passively to submit; and the predominant Sect must become the Religion established; the Publick maintaining no other Teachers, nor admitting any Persons of a different religious Profession, into Civil Offices, at least, if their Intention be to preserve the Nation in Peace.

SUPPOSING then, that the present System of Religion were abolished; and *Presbytery*, which I find stands the fairest; with its Synods and Classes, and all its Forms and Ceremonies, essential or circumstantial were erected into the national Worship; Their Teachers, and no others, could have any legal Claim to be supported at the publick Charge, whether by Stipends or Tythes; and only the rest of the same Faith to be capable of civil Employments.

IF there be any true Reasoning in what I have laid down; it should seem, that the Project now in Agitation for repealing the *Test Act*, and yet leaving the Name of an Establishment to the present National Church is altogether inconsistent; and may admit of Consequences, which those, who are the most indifferent to any Religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the *Test* shall be repealed, which obligeth all Men, who enter into Office under the Crown, to receive the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of *Ireland*; the Way to Employments will immediately be left open to all *Dissenters* (except *Papists*) whose Consciences can suffer them to take the common Oaths, in such Cases prescribed; after

ter which, they are qualified to fill any Lay Station in this Kingdom, from that of Chief Governor to an Excise-man.

THUS, of the three Judges on each Bench, the first may be a *Presbyterian*, the second a *Free-will Baptist*, and the third a *Churchman*; the *Lord Chancellor* may be an *Independant*; the Revenues may be managed by seven Commissioners of as many different Sects; and the like of all other Employments. Not to mention the strong Probability, that the Lawfulness of taking Oaths may be revealed to the Quakers; who then will stand upon as good a Foot for Preferment, as any other loyal Subject. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motly Administration of Affairs, what a Clashing there will be of Interests and Inclinations; what Pullings and Hawlings backwards and forwards; what a Zeal and Bias in each Religionist, to advance his own Tribe, and depress the others. For, I suppose, nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most Men are in Faith and Morals; yet, whether out of Artifice, natural Complexion, or Love of Contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own Opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publickly shew the least Sense, either of Religion, or common Honesty.

As to the latter, Bishop *Burnet* telleth us, that the *Presbyterians*, in the Fanatick Times, professed themselves to be above Morality; which, as we find in some of their Writings, was numbered among the *beggarly Elements:* And accordingly, at this Day, no Scruples of Conscience, with regard to Conformity, are in any Trade or Calling, inconsistent with the greatest Fraud, Oppression, Perjury, or any other Vice.

THIS brings to my Memory a Passage in *Montaigne*, of a common Prostitute; who, in the storming of a Town, when a Soldier came up to her Chamber, and offered Violence to her Chastity, rather chose to venture her Neck, by leaping out of the Window, than suffer

suffer a Rape; yet still continued her Trade of Lewdness, while she had any Customers left.

I confess, that, in my private Judgment, an unlimited Permission of all Sects whatever (except *Papists*) to enjoy Employments, would be less pernicious to the Publick, than a fair Struggle between two Contenders; because, in the Farmer's Case, such a Jumble of Principles might possibly have the Effect of contrary Poisons mingled together; which a strong Constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

BUT, however, I shall take the other, and more probable Supposition, that this Battle for Employments, is to be fought only between the *Presbyterians*, and those of the Church *yet* established. I shall not enter into the Merits of either Side, by examining which of the two is the better spiritual Oeconomy, or which is most suited to our Civil Constitution. But the Question turneth upon this Point: When the *Presbyterians* shall have got their Share of Employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not by their own Principles, and by the strictest Rules of Conscience, to use the utmost of their Skill, Power, and Influence, in order to reduce the whole Kingdom to an Uniformity in Religion, both as to Doctrine and Discipline most agreeable to the Word of God. Wherein, if they can succeed without Blood (as under the present Disposition of Things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied; only I would warn them of a few Difficulties. The first is, for compromising among themselves, that important Controversy about the *old Light* and the *new*; which otherwise may, after this Establishment, split them as wide as *Papist* and *Protestant*, *Whig* and *Tory*, or *Churchman* and *Dissenter*; and consequently the Work will be to begin again. For in religious Quarrels, it is of little Moment how few or small the Differences are; especially when the Dispute is only about Power. Thus, the zealous *Presbyterians* in the *North*, are more alienated from the established Clergy, than

from the *Romish* Priests; taxing the former with idolatrous Worship, as disguised *Papists*, *Ceremony Mongers*, and many other Terms of Art; and this for a very powerful Reason; because the Clergy stand in their Way, which the *Popish* Priests do not. Thus I am assured, that the Quarrel between *Old* and *New Light-men*, is managed with more Rage and Rancour, than any other Dispute of the highest Importance; and this, because it serveth to lessen or increase their several Congregations, from whom they receive their Contributions.

ANOTHER Difficulty which may embarass the *Presbyterians* after their Establishment, will be how to adjust their Claim of the *Kirk*'s Independency on the Civil Power, with the Constitution of this Monarchy; a Point so delicate, that it hath often filled the Heads of great Patriots with dangerous Notions of the Church Clergy, without the least Ground of Suspicion.

As to the *Presbyterians* allowing Liberty of Conscience to those of Episcopal Principles, when their own *Kirk* shall be predominant; their Writers are so universally agreed in the Negative, as well as their Practice during *Oliver*'s Reign, that I believe no reasonable Churchman, (who must then be a *Dissenter*) will expect it.

I shall here take Notice, that in the Division of Employments among the *Presbyterians*, after this approaching Repeal of the *Test-Act*; supposing them in proper Time, to have an equal Share, I compute the Odds will be three or four to one on their Side, in any further Scheme they may have towards making their Religion National. For I reckon, all those Gentlemen sent over from *England*, whatever Religion they profess, or have been educated in, to be of that Party: Since it is no Mark of Prudence, for any Persons to oppose the Current of a Nation, where they are in some Sort only Sojourners, unless they *have it in Direction*.

IF there be any Maxim in Politicks, not to be controuled, it must be the following. That those whose private

private Interest is united with the Interest of their Country; supposing them to be of equal Understanding with the rest of their Neighbours, will heartily wish, that the Nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all Persons who are sent from another Kingdom, to be employed in Places of Profit or Power; because they can possibly bear no Affection to the Place where they sojourn, even for Life; their sole Business being to advance themselves, by following the Advice of their *Principals*. I except likewise those Persons who are taken into Offices, although Natives of the Land; because they are greater Gainers while they keep their Offices, than they could possibly be by mending the miserable Condition of their Country.

I except, thirdly, all Hopers, who, by balancing Accounts with themselves, turn the Scale on the same Side; because the strong Expectation of a good certain Salary will outweigh the Loss by bad Rents, received out of Lands in moneyless Times.

IF, my Lords the Bishops, who, I hear, are now employed in a Scheme for regulating the Conduct and Maintenance of the inferior Clergy, shall, in their Wisdom and Piety, and Love of the Church, consent to this Repeal of the *Test*, I have not the least Doubt, that the whole Reverend Body will chearfully submit to their spiritual Fathers; of whose paternal Tenderness for their Welfare, they have already found so many *amazing* Instances.

I am not, therefore, under the least Concern about the Clergy on this Account. They will *(for some Time)* be no great Sufferers by this Repeal; because I cannot recollect, among all our Sects, any one that giveth Latitude enough to take the Oaths required at an Institution to a Church-living; and until that Bar shall be removed the present Episcopal Clergy are safe for two Years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the *Northern* Parts, where there may be three *Dissenters* to one *Churchman*, the whole Revenue shall be engrossed by him who hath so small a Part of the Cure.

IF

It is true, indeed, that this Disadvantage, which the *Dissenters* at present ly under, of a Disability to receive Church-preferments, will be easily remedied by the Repeal of the *Test*. For the *Dissenting* Teachers are under no Incapacity of accepting Civil and Military Employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the *Popish* Clergy; among whom, great Cardinals and Prelates have been Commanders of Armies, Chief Ministers, Knights of many Orders, Ambassadors, Secretaries of State, and in most high Offices under the Crown; although they assert the *indelible Character* which no Sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, Commanders, as well as private Soldiers, were professed Preachers in the Time of their Dominion, is allowed by all. *Cromwell* himself was a Preacher; and hath left us one of his Sermons in Print, exactly in the same Style and Manner with those of our modern *Presbyterian* Teachers: So was Colonel *Howard*, Sir *George Downing*, and several others whose Names are on Record. I can therefore see no Reason why a painful *Presbyterian* Teacher, as soon as the *Test* shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with his spiritual Office and Stipend, a Commission in the Army, or the Civil List in *Commendam*: For, as I take it, the Church of *England* is the only Body of Christians, which, in Effect, disqualifies those who are employed to preach its Doctrine, from sharing in the Civil Power, further than as Senators; Yet this was a Privilege begun in Times of *Popery*, many hundred Years before the *Reformation*; and woven with the very Institution of our limited Monarchy.

There is indeed another Method, whereby the Stipends of dissenting Teachers may be raised and the Farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a People so deserving, and so loyal by their Principles. Every Bishop, upon the Vacancy of a Church-living, can sequester the Profits for the Use of the next Incumbent. Upon a Lapse of half

half a Year, the Donation falleth to the Archbishop, and after a full Year to the Crown, during Pleasure. Therefore, it would be no Hardship for any Clergyman, alive, if, in those Parts of *Ireland*, where the Number of Sectaries much exceedeth that of the Conformists, the Profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the Support of the dissenting Teacher, who hath so many Souls to take Care of: Whereby the poor Tenants would be much relieved in those hard Times, and in a better Condition to pay their Rents.

BUT there is another Difficulty in this Matter, against which a Remedy doth not so readily occur. For, supposing the Test-Act repealed, and the Dissenters in Consequence fully qualified for all secular Employments; the Question may still be put. Whether those of *Ireland* will be often the Persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, there may be another *Seminary* in View, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more easily contented with such low Offices; which some nearer Neighbours hardly think it worth stirring from their Chimney-sides to obtain. And, I am told, it is the common Practice of those who are skilled in the Management of Bees; that when they see a foreign Swarm, at some Distance, approaching with an Intention to plunder their Hives; these Artists have a Trick to divert them into some neighbouring Apiary, there to make what Havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten Ground in many suspecting Heads: For it is the peculiar Talent of this Nation, to see Dangers afar off: To all which, I can only say, that our native *Presbyterians* must, by Pains and Industry, raise such a Fund of *Merit*, as will answer to a Birth six Degrees more to the *North*. If they cannot arrive at this Perfection, as several of the established Church have compassed by indefatigable Pains; I do not well see, how their Affairs will much mend by repealing the *Test*: For, to be qualified by Law to accept

accept an Employment; and yet to be disqualified in Fact, as it will much increase the Mortification, so it will withdraw the Pity of many among their Well-wishers; and utterly deprive them of that *Merit* they have so long made, of being a loyal *true Protestant* People, persecuted only for Religion.

IF this happen to be their Case, they must wait Maturity of Time; until they can by prudent, gentle Steps, make their Faith become the Religion established in the Nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt, that they will take the most effectual Methods, to secure their Power against those who must then be *Dissenters* in their Turn; whereof, if we may form a future Opinion from present Times, and the Dispositions of *Dissenters*, who love to make a *thorough Reformation*; the Number and Qualities will be very inconsiderable.

THUS I have, with the utmost Sincerity, after long thinking, given my Judgment upon this arduous Affair; but with the utmost Deference and Submission to publick Wisdom and Power.

QUE-

QUERIES

Relating to the

Sacramental TEST.

Written in the Year 1732.

Query. WHETHER Hatred and Violence between Parties in a State be not more inflamed by different Views of Intereſt, than by the greater or leſſer Differences between them, either in Religion or Government?

WHETHER it be any Part of the Queſtion at this Time, which of the two Religions is worſe, *Popery*, or *Fanaticiſm*; or not rather, which of the two, (having both the ſame Good-will) is in the hopefulleſt Condition to ruin the Church?

WHETHER the Sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the Church as infallibly and effectually as the *Papiſts*?

WHETHER the prevailing Sectaries could allow Liberty of Conſcience to *Diſſenters*, without belying all

all their former Practice, and almost all their former Writings?

WHETHER many Hundred thousand *Scots* Presbyterians, are not full as virulent against the Episcopal Church, as they are against the *Papists*; or, as they would have us think, the *Papists* are against them?

WHETHER the *Dutch*, who are most distinguished for allowing Liberty of Conscience, do ever admit any Persons, who profess a different Scheme of Worship from their own, into Civil Employments; although, they *may* be forced by the Nature of their Government, to receive mercenary Troops of all Religions?

WHETHER the *Dissenters* ever pretended until of late Years, to desire more than a bare Toleration?

WHETHER, if it be true, what a sorry Pamphleteer asserteth, who lately writ for repealing the *Test*, that the *Dissenters* in this Kingdom are equally numerous with the Churchmen; it would not be a necessary Point of Prudence, by all proper and lawful Means to prevent their further Increase?

THE great Argument given by those whom they call *low* Churchmen, to justify the large Tolerations allowed to *Dissenters*, hath been; that, by such Indulgences, the Rancour of those Sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their Parties in a little Time crumble to nothing.

Query, If what the above Pamphleteer asserteth, that the Sectaries are in equal Numbers with Conformists, it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated Tolerations, have operated directly contrary to what those *low* Church Politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

WHETHER any Clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own Profession most agreeable to Holy Scripture, and the primitive Church, can really wish in his Heart, that all Sectaries should be upon an equal Foot with the Churchmen, in the Point of Civil Power and Employments?

WHETHER Episcopacy, which is held by the Church to be a Divine and Apostolick Institution be

be not a fundamental Point of Religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring Holy Orders?

WHETHER, by necessary Consequences, the several Expedients among the Sectaries to constitute their Teachers, are not absolutely null and void?

WHETHER the Sectaries will ever agree to accept Ordination only from Bishops?

WHETHER the Bishops and Clergy will be content to give up Episcopacy, as a Point indifferent, without which the Church can well subsist?

WHETHER that great Tenderness towards Sectaries, which now so much prevaileth, be chiefly owing to the Fears of *Popery*, or to that Spirit of Atheism, Deism, Scepticism, and universal Immorality, which all good Men so much lament?

GRANTING *Popery* to have many more Errors in Religion than any one Branch of the Sectaries; let us examine the Actions of both, as they have each affected the Peace of these Kingdoms, with Allowance for the short Time which the Sectaries had to act in, who are in a Manner *but of Yesterday*. The *Papists* in the Time of King *James* II. used all Endeavours to establish their Superstition; wherein they failed, by the united Power of *English* Church Protestants, with the Prince of *Orange*'s Assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted *Papists* had the least Design to depose or murder their King, much less to abolish kingly Government; nor was it their Interest or Inclination to attempt either.

ON the other Side, the *Puritans*, who had almost from the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, been a perpetual Thorn in the Church's Side, joining with the *Scots* Enthusiasts, in the Time of King *Charles* I. were the principal Cause of the *Irish Rebellion* and *Massacre*, by distressing that Prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely Succours. And, after that pious Prince had satisfied his Parliament in every single Point to be complained of, the same Sectaries by poisoning the Minds and Affections of the People, with the most false and wicked Re-

presentations of their King, were able in the Compass of a few Years to embroil the three Nations in a bloody Rebellion, at the Expence of many thousand Lives; to turn the kingly Power into Anarchy; or murder their Prince in the Face of the World, and (in their own Style) to destroy the Church *Root and Branch*.

THE Account therefore standeth thus: The *Papists* aimed at one pernicious Act, which was to destroy the *Protestant* Religion; wherein, by God's Mercy, and the Assistance of our glorious King *William*, they absolutely failed. The *Sectaries* attempted the three most infernal Actions, that could possibly enter into the Hearts of Men, forsaken by God; which were, the Murder of a most pious King, the Destruction of our Monarchy, and the Extirpation of the Church; and succeeded in them all.

UPON which, I put the following Queries, Whether any of those Sectaries have ever yet, in a solemn publick Manner, renounced any one of those Principles upon which their Predecessors then acted?

WHETHER, considering the cruel Persecutions of the Episcopal Church, during the Course of that horrid Rebellion and the Consequences of it, until the happy *Restoration*; is it not manifest, that the persecuting Spirit lieth so equally divided between the *Papists* and the Sectaries, that a Feather would turn the Balance on either Side?

AND therefore, lastly, Whether any Person of common Understanding, who professeth himself a Member of the Church established, although, perhaps, with little inward Regard to any Religion (which is too often the Case) if he loveth the Peace and Welfare of his Country; can, after cool Thinking, rejoice to see a Power placed again in the Hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a Faction, to act over all the same Parts a second Time?

WHETHER the Candour of that Expression, so frequent of late in Sermons and Pamphlets, of the

Strength

Strength and Number of the Papists *in Ireland*, can be justified? For as to their Number, however great, it is always magnified in Proportion to the Zeal, or Politicks of the Speaker and Writer; but it is a gross Imposition upon common Reason, to terrify us with their Strength. For *Popery*, under the Circumstances it lieth in this Kingdom; although it be offensive, and inconvenient enough, from the Consequences it hath to increase the Rapine, Sloth and Ignorance, as well as Poverty of the Natives; is not properly dangerous in that Sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every Party of a different religious Profession. It is the Contempt of the Wise: The best Topick for Clamours of designing Men: But the real Terror only of Fools. The landed *Popish* Interest in *England* far exceedeth that among us, even in Proportion to the Wealth and Extent of each Kingdom. The little that remaineth here, is daily dropping into *Protestant* Hands, by Purchase or Descent; and that affected Complaint of counterfeit Converts, will fall with the Cause of it in half a Generation; unless it be raised or kept alive, as a continual Fund of Merit and Eloquence. The *Papists* are wholly disarmed. They have neither Courage, Leaders, Money, or Inclinations to rebel. They want every Advantage which they formerly possessed, to follow that Trade; and wherein, even with those Advantages, they always miscarried. They appear very easy and satisfied under that Connivance which they enjoyed during the whole last Reign; nor ever scrupled to reproach another Party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much Severity.

Upon these Considerations I must confess to have suspended much of my Pity towards the great Dreaders of *Popery*; many of whom appear to be hail, strong, active young Men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and sleep heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good Reason) upon all other Subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous Concern, which our Neighbours and others, who

come from the same Neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this Account; although the former be further removed from the Dangers of *Popery*, by twenty Leagues of Salt-water: But this, I fear, is a Digression.

When an artificial Report was raised here many Years ago, of an intended Invasion by the *Pretender*, (which blew over after it had done its Office) the *Dissenters* argued in their Talk, and in their Pamphlets, after this Manner, applying themselves to those of the Church. Gentlemen, if the *Pretender* had landed, as the Law now standeth, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the *Test*, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up Arms in your Defence, our Answer shall be, Pray Gentlemen fight your own Battles, we will ly by quietly; conquer your Enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your Drudgery. This Way of Reasoning I have heard from several of their Chiefs and Abettors in an hundred Conversations; and have read it in twenty Pamphlets: And, I am confident, it will be offered again, if the Project should fail to take off the *Test*.

Upon which Piece of Oratory and Reasoning I form the following Query. Whether, in Case of an Invasion from the *Pretender* (which is not quite so probable as from the *Grand Signior*) the *Dissenters* can, with Prudence and Safety, offer the same Plea; except they shall have made a previous Stipulation with the Invaders? And, Whether the full Freedom of their Religion and Trade, their Lives, Properties, Wives, and Children, are not, and have not always been reckoned sufficient Motives for repelling Invasions, especially in our Sectaries, who call themselves the *truest Protestants*, by Virtue of their pretended or real Fierceness against *Popery*?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the Day of the Martyrdom of the blessed King *Charles* I. enjoined by Act of Parliament, can be justly reckoned

reckoned a particular and distinguishing Mark of good Affection to the present Government?

WHETHER in those Churches where the said Day is observed, it will fully answer the Intent of the said Act; if the Preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the Murder of that Royal Martyr; and lay the Guilt of that horrid Rebellion, with all its Consequences, the following Usurpations, the entire Destruction of the Church, the cruel and continual Persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its Doctrines, with the ensuing *Babel* of Fanaticism; to the Account of that blessed King; who, by granting the Petition of Right, and passing every Bill that could be asked for the Security of the Subject, had, by the Confession even of those wicked Men, before the War began, left them nothing more to demand?

WHETHER such a Preacher as I have named (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many Years past; even in the Presence of Viceroys) who takes that Course as a Means for Promotion; may not be thought to step a little out of the common Road, in a Monarchy where the Descendants of that most blessed Martyr have reigned to this Day.

I ground the Reason of making these Queries, on the Title of the Act; to which I refer the Reader...

To the Honourable

House of Commons, &c.

The Humble PETITION of the *Footmen* in and about the CITY of *DUBLIN*.

Written in the Year 1732.

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your *Petitioners* are a great and numerous *Society*, endowed with several Privileges, Time out of Mind.

THAT certain *lewd, idle*, and *disorderly* Persons for several Months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the publick Walks of this City, habited sometimes in *Green Coats*, and sometimes *laced*, with long *Oaken Cudgels* in their Hands, and without Swords; in hopes to procure Favour, by that Advantage, with a great Number of Ladies who frequent those Walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be true genuine *Irish Footmen*. Whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *Toupees*; as a judicious Eye may soon discover, by their *awkward, clumsey, ungenteel* Gait and Behaviour; by their Unskilfulness in Dress, even with the Advantage of our Habits; by their ill-favoured Countenances; with an Air of *Impudence* and *Dulness* peculiar to the rest of their Brethren; who have not yet arrived at that transcendent Pitch of Assurance. Although, it may be justly apprehended, that they will do so in Time, if their *Counterfeits*, shall happen to succeed

succeed in their evil Design, of passing for *real Footmen*, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the Ladies.

YOUR *Petitioners* do further alledge; that many of the said *Counterfeits*, upon a strict Examination, have been found in the very Act of *strutting*, *staring*, *swearing*, *swaggering*, in a Manner that plainly shewed their best Endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not succeed; yet by their ignorant and ungainly Way of copying our Graces, the utmost Indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole Profession.

YOUR *Petitioners* do therefore make it their humble Request, that this *Honourable House* (to many of whom your *Petitioners* are nearly *allied*) will please to take this Grievance into your most serious Consideration: Humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain Officers might, at the publick Charge, be employed to search for, and discover all such *Counterfeit Footmen*, and carry them before the next *Justice* of Peace; by whose Warrant, upon the first Conviction, they shall be stripped of their *Coats* and *Oaken* Ornaments, and be set two Hours in the Stocks. Upon the second Conviction, besides stripping, be set six Hours in the Stocks, with a Paper pinned on their Breast, signifying their Crime, in large Capital Letters, and in the following Words. *A. B.* commonly called *A. B.* Esq; a *Toupee*, and notorious *Impostor*, who presumeth to personate a *true Irish Footman*.

AND for any further Offence, the said *Toupee* shall be committed to *Bridewell*, whipped three times, forced to hard Labour for a Month, and not to be set at Liberty, until he shall have given sufficient Security for his good Behaviour.

YOUR *Honours* will please to observe, with what Lenity we propose to treat these enormous Offenders, who have already brought such a Scandal on our *Honourable Calling*, that several well-meaning People have mistaken them to be of our *Fraternity*, in Di-

minution

minution of that Credit and Dignity wherewith we have supported our Station, as we always did, in the *worst of Times*. And we further beg Leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a *seditious* Design, to render us less capable of serving the *Publick* in any great Employments, as several of our *Fraternity*, as well as our *Ancestors* have done.

WE do therefore, humbly implore your *Honours* to give necessary Orders for our Relief, in this present Exigency, and your *Petitioners* (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray, *&c.*

Dublin, 1732.

N. B. *About the Time that this Speech was written, the Town was much pestered with* Street-Robbers; who, *in a barbarous Manner would seize on Gentlemen, and take them into remote Corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this Speech had so good an Effect, that there have been very few Robberies of that Kind committed since.*

The last SPEECH *and* DYING WORDS *of* EBENEZER ELLISTON, *who was executed the Second Day of* May, 1732. *Published at his Desire for the common Good.*

I AM now going to suffer the just Punishment for my Crimes, prescribed by the Law of God and my Country. I know it is the constant Custom, that those who come to this Place should have Speeches made for them, and cried about in their own Hearing, as they are carried to Execution; and truly

truly they are such Speeches, that although our Fraternity be an ignorant illiterate People, they would make a Man ashamed to have such Nonsense and false *English* charged upon him, even when he is going to the Gallows. They contain a pretended Account of our Birth and Family, of the Act for which we are to die; of our sincere Repentance; and a Declaration of our Religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same Treatment with my Predecessors. However, having had an Education one or two Degrees better than those of my Rank and Profession; I have been considering ever since my Commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this Occasion.

And, First, I cannot say from the Bottom of my Heart, that I am truly sorry for the Offence I have given to God and the World; but I am very much so, for the bad Success of my Villanies, in bringing me to this untimely End. For it is plainly evident, that after having some Time ago obtained a Pardon from the Crown, I again took up my old Trade; my evil Habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other Kind of Employment. And therefore, although in Compliance with my Friends, I resolve to go to the Gallows after the usual Manner, kneeling, with a Book in my Hand, and my Eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more Devotion in my Heart, than I have observed in some of my Comrades, who have been drunk among common Whores, the very Night before their Execution. I can say further from my own Knowledge, that two of my Fraternity after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to Life, and made their Escapes, as it sometimes happeneth, proved afterwards the wickedest Rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the Impudence at both Times they went to the Gallows, to smite their Breasts, and lift up their Eyes to Heaven all the Way.

Secondly, From the Knowledge I have of my own wicked Disposition and that of my Comrades,

I give it as my Opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the Publick, than the Mercy of the Government in ever pardoning or transporting us; unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are sure to be well paid; and then a Pardon may do good; by the same Rule, *That it is better to have but One Fox in a Farm, than Three or Four.* But we generally make a Shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater Rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by Experience, that some Hopes we have of finding Mercy, when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great Encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young Fellows than the Company of those odious common Whores we frequent, and of which this Town is full. These Wretches put us upon all Mischief to feed their Lusts and Extravagancies: They are ten times more bloody and cruel than Men; their Advice is always not to spare if we are pursued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any Thing by it, are sure to be our Betrayers.

Now, as I am a dying Man, something I have done which may be of good Use to the Publick. I have left with an honest Man (and indeed the only honest Man I ever was acquainted with) the Names of all my wicked Brethren, the present Places of their Abode, with a short Account of the chief Crimes they have committed; in many of which I have been their Accomplice, and heard the rest from their own Mouths: I have likewise set down the Names of those we call our Setters, of the wicked Houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stollen Goods. I have solemnly charged this honest Man, and have received his Promise upon Oath, that whenever he heareth of any Rogue to be tried for Robbing, or Housebreaking, he will look into his List, and if he finds the Name there of the Thief concerned, to send the whole Paper to the Government. Of this I here

give

give my Companions fair and publick Warning, and hope they will take it.

In the Paper above mentioned, which I left with my Friend, I have also set down the Names of several Gentlemen who have been robbed in *Dublin* Streets for three Years past: I have told the Circumstances of those Robberies; and, shewn plainly, that nothing but the Want of common Courage was the Cause of their Misfortunes. I have therefore desired my Friend, that whenever any Gentleman happeneth to be robbed in the Streets, he will get that Relation printed and published with the first Letters of those Gentlemens Names, who by their own Want of Bravery are likely to be the Cause of all the Mischief of that Kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the World without a short Description of that Kind of Life, which I have led for some Years past; and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked Brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our Childhood, as to have no Sense of Goodness; yet something heavy always hangeth about us, I know not what it is, that we are never easy untill we are half drunk among our Whores and Companions; nor sleep sound, unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the Day, a wise Man would easily find us to be Rogues by our Faces; we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained Countenance; often turning back, and slinking through narrow Lanes and Alleys. I have never failed of knowing a Brother Thief by his Looks, although I never saw him before. Every Man among us, keepeth his particular Whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a Mind to change. When we have got a Booty, if it be in Money, we divide it equally among our Companions, and soon squander it away on our Vices in those Houses that receive us; for the Master and Mistress, and the very Tapster, go Shacks; and besides make us pay treble Reckonings. If our Plunder be Plate, Watches, Rings, Snuff-boxes, and the like, we have Customers in all Quarters

of

of the Town to take them off: I have seen a Tankard worth 15 Pounds sold to a Fellow in ——— Street for 20 Shillings; and a Gold Watch for 30. I have set down his Name, and that of several others in the Paper already mentioned. We have Setters watching in Corners, and by dead Walls, to give us Notice when a Gentleman goeth by; especially if he be any thing in Drink. I believe in my Conscience, that if an Account were made of a Thousand Pounds in stolen Goods; considering the low Rates we sell them at, the Bribes we must give for Concealment, the Extortions of Ale-house Reckonings, and other necessary Charges, there would not remain Fifty Pounds clear to be divided among the Robbers. And out of this we must find Cloaths for our Whores, besides treating them from Morning to Night; who, in Requital reward us with nothing but Treachery and the Pox. For when our Money is gone, they are every Moment threatning to inform against us, if we will not go on to look for more. If any thing in this World be like Hell, as I have heard it described by our Clergy; the truest Picture of it must be in the back Room of one of our Ale-houses at Midnight; where a Crew of Robbers and their Whores are met together after a Booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which Time, until they are past their Senses, in such a continued horrible Noise of Cursing, Blasphemy, Lewdness, Scurrility, and brutish Behaviour; such Roaring and Confusion, such a Clatter of Mugs and Pots at each other's Heads; that *Bedlam*, in Comparison, is a sober and orderly Place: At last they all tumble from their Stools and Benches, and sleep away the rest of the Night; and generally the Landlord or his Wife, or some other Whore who hath a stronger Head than the rest, picks their Pockets before they wake. The Misfortune is, that we can never be easy until we are drunk; and our Drunkenness constantly exposeth us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

This is a short Picture of the Life I have led; which is more miserable than that of the poorest Labourer who worketh for fourpence a-day. And yet

Custom

Custom is so strong, that I am confident, if I could make my Escape at the Foot of the Gallows, I should be following the same Course this very Evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common Enemies of Mankind; whose Interest it is to root us out like Wolves and other mischievous Vermin, against which no fair Play is required.

If I have done Service to Men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done Service to God; and that will be better than a silly Speech made for me, full of Whining and Canting, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my Ears tormented with, as I am passing along the Streets.

Good People, fare you well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die, like a Man, the Death of a Dog.

E. E.

To the Reverend

Dr. SWIFT, D.S.P.D.

With a Present of a Paper-book, finely bound, on his Birth-day, *November* 30, 1732.

By the Right Hon. John Earl of Orrery.

To thee, dear Swift, these spotless leaves I send;
Small is the present, but sincere the friend.
Think not so poor a book below thy care,
Who knows the price that thou canst make it bear?
Tho' tawdry now, and like *Tyrilla*'s face,
The specious front shines out with borrow'd grace:
Tho' paste-boards glitt'ring like a tinsel'd coat,
A *rasa tabula* within denote;
Yet if a venal and corrupted age,
And modern vices should provoke thy rage;
If warn'd once more by their impending fate,
A sinking country, and an injur'd state,
Thy great assistance should again demand,
And call forth reason to defend the land;
Then shall we view these sheets with glad surprize,
Inspir'd with thought, and speaking to our eyes:
Each vacant space shall then, enrich'd, dispense
True force of eloquence, and nervous sense;

Inform

Inform the judgment, animate the heart,
And ſacred rules of policy impart.
The ſpangled cov'ring, bright with ſplendid ore,
Shall cheat the ſight with empty ſhow no more;
But lead us inward to thoſe golden mines,
Where all thy ſoul in native luſtre ſhines.
So, when the eye ſurveys ſome lovely fair,
With bloom of beauty grac'd, with ſhape and air,
How is the rapture heighten'd when we find
Her form excell'd by her celeſtial mind.

VERSES left with a Silver Standiſh, on the DEAN of St. PATRICK's Deſk, on his BIRTH-DAY.

By the Reverend Dr. DELANY.

HITHER from *Mexico* I came,
To ſerve a proud *Iernian* dame,
Was long ſubmitted to her will,
At length ſhe loſt me at Quadrille,
Thro' various ſhapes I often paſs'd,
Still hoping to have reſt at laſt;
And ſtill ambitious to obtain
Admittance to the Patriot Dean.
And ſometimes got within his door,
* But ſoon turn'd out to ſerve the poor:
Not ſtrolling idleneſs to aid,

* *Alluding to* 500 l. *a-year lent by the Dean, without Intereſt, to poor Tradeſmen.*

But

But honest industry decay'd.
At length an Artist purchas'd me,
And wrought me to the shape you see.
This done, to *Hermes* I apply'd:
" O *Hermes* gratify my pride;
" Be it my fate to serve a sage,
" The greatest genius of his age:
" That matchless pen let me supply,
" Whose living lines will never die."
I grant your suit, the God reply'd,
And here he left me to reside.

VERSES writ by Dr. SWIFT.

A Paper-book is sent by BOYLE,
Too neatly gilt for me to soil,
DELANY sends a silver standish,
When I no more a pen can brandish.
Let both around my tomb be plac'd,
As trophies of a muse deceas'd:
And let the friendly lines they writ
In praise of long departed wit,
Be grav'd on either side in columns,
More to my praise than all my volumes:
To burst with envy, spite, and rage,
The *Vandals* of the present age.

The End of the Fourth Volume.


TAYLOR INSTITUTION
DOMI MINA
NUS TIO
ILLU MEA