

DR. JOHNSON'S

THE

VOLUME

OF

THE

WORKS

THE
WORKS

OF

DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,

Dean of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME XI.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by A. DONALDSON, and sold at his
Shops in London and Edinburgh.

MDCCLXVIII.

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 ADVERTISEMENT.

THE pleasure Dean SWIFT'S Works have already afforded will be a sufficient apology for communicating to the Reader, tho' somewhat out of season, these additional Volumes; who will be less displeas'd, that they have been so long suppress'd, than thankful that they are now at last published. We have no occasion to apologize for the Pieces themselves; far as they have all the internal marks of genuineness, so, by their further opening the Author's private correspondence, they display the goodness of his heart, no less than the never-ceasing sallies of his wit. His answer to *The Rights of the Christian Church* is a remarkable instance of both; which, though unfinished, and but the slight proflusions of his

2 2

strength,

strength, shew how sincere, how able a champion he was of religion and the church. So soon as these were printed in Dublin, in a new edition of the Dean's works, it was a justice due to them to select them thence to complete the London edition. Like the Author, though they owe their birth to Ireland, they will feel their maturity in Britain, and each nation will contend which shall receive them with greater ardour.



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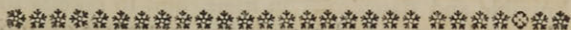


A

S E R M O N

O N

F A L S E W I T N E S S .



EXODUS xx. 16.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

IN those great changes that are made in a country by the prevailing of one party over another, it is very convenient that the prince, and those who are in authority under him, should use all just and proper methods for preventing any mischief to the public from seditious men. And governours do well, when they encourage any good subject to discover (as his duty obligeth him) whatever plots or conspiracies may be any way dangerous to the state: Neither are they to be blamed, even when they receive informations from bad men, in order to find out the truth, when it concerns the public welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill opinion of an informer; although it is not impossible, but an honest man may be called by that name. For whoever knoweth any thing, the telling of which would prevent some great evil to his prince, his country, or his neighbour, is bound in conscience to reveal it. But the mischief is,

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A

that

that when parties are violently inflamed, which seemeth unfortunately to be our case at present, there is never wanting a set of evil instruments, who either out of mad zeal, private hatred, or filthy lucre, are always ready to offer their service to the prevailing side, and become accusers of their brethren, without any regard to truth or charity. Holy *David* numbers this among the chief of his sufferings; *False witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breathe out cruelty* *. Our Saviour and his apostles did likewise undergo the same distress, as we read both in the Gospels and the Acts.

Now, because the sin of false witnessing is so horrible and dangerous in itself, and so odious to God and man: And because the bitterness of too many among us is risen to such a height, that it is not easy to know where it will stop, or how far some weak and wicked minds may be carried by a mistaken zeal, a malicious temper, or hope of reward, to break this great commandment delivered in the text: Therefore, in order to prevent this evil, and the consequences of it, at least among you who are my hearers, I shall,

- I. FIRST, Shew you several ways by which a man may be called a false witness against his neighbour.
- II. SECONDLY, I shall give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.
- III. AND lastly, I shall conclude with shewing you very briefly, how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

I. As to the first, there are several ways by

* Psa. xxvii. 12.

which a man may be justly called a false witness against his neighbour.

First, According to the direct meaning of the word, when a man accuseth his neighbour without the least ground of truth. So we read, *that Jezebel hired two sons of Belial to accuse Naboth for blaspheming God and the King, for which, although he was entirely innocent, he was stoned to death* *. And, in our age, it is not easy to tell how many men have lost their lives, been ruined in their fortunes, and put to ignominious punishment, by the downright perjury of false witnesses! The law itself in such cases being not able to protect the innocent. But this is so horrible a crime, that it doth not need to be aggravated by words.

A second way by which a man becometh a false witness is, when he mixeth falsehood and truth together, or concealeth some circumstances, which, if they were told, would destroy the falsehoods he uttereth. So the two false witnesses who accused our Saviour before the chief priests, by a very little perverting his words, would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for so it was among the Jews to prophesy any evil against the temple. *This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days* †; whereas the words, as our Saviour spoke them, were to another end, and differently expressed: For when the Jews asked him to shew them a sign, he said, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up*. In such cases as these, an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, since he neither can deny his words, nor perhaps readily strip them from the malicious additions of a false witness.

Thirdly, A man is a false witness, when, in accusing his neighbour, he endeavoureth to aggravate by his gestures, and tone of his voice, or when

* 1 King: xxi. 13. † Matth. xxvi. 6.

He chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from somebody else. As if any one should tell me that he heard another speak certain dangerous and seditious speeches, and I should immediately accuse him for speaking them himself; and so drop the only circumstances that made him innocent. This was the case of St. Stephen. The false witnesses said, *This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law* *. Whereas St. Stephen said no such words: but only repeated some prophecies of Jeremiah or Malachi, which threatened Jerusalem with destruction if it did not repent: However, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy person was stoned to death for words he never spoke.

Fourthly, The blackest kind of false witnesses are those who do the office of the Devil, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any instances of this kind mentioned in holy scripture: But I am afraid, this vile practice hath been too much followed in the world. When a man's temper hath been so soured by misfortunes and hard usage, that perhaps he hath reason enough to complain; then one of these seducers, under the pretence of friendship, will seem to lament his case, urge the hardships he hath suffered, and endeavour to raise his passions, until he hath said something that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate against him in a court of justice.

Fifthly, Whoever beareth witness against his neighbour, out of a principle of malice and revenge, from any old grudge, or hatred to his person; such a man is a false witness in the sight of God, although what he says be true; because the motive or cause is evil, not to serve his prince or country, but to gratify his own resentments. And

* Acts vi. 13.

therefore

therefore, although a man thus accused may be very justly punished by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuser, who, instead of regarding the public service, intended only to glut his private rage and spite.

Sixthly, I number among false witnesses, all those who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour and reward; and to this end employ their time, either by listening in public places, to catch up an accidental word; or in corrupting men's servants to discover any unwary expression of their master; or thrusting themselves into company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous language; fastening a thousand falsehoods and scandal upon a whole party, on purpose to provoke such an answer as they may turn to an accusation. And truly this ungodly race is said to be grown so numerous, that men of different parties can hardly converse together with any security. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the misrepresentation of these informers; of whom the clergy have not wanted occasions to complain with holy David: *They daily mistake my words, all they imagine is, to do me evil.* Nor is it any wonder at all, that this trade of informing should be now in a flourishing condition, since our case is manifestly thus; we are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper towards each other: The prevailing side may talk of past things as they please, with security; and generally do it in the most provoking words they can invent; while those who are down are sometimes tempted to speak in favour of a lost cause, and therefore, without great caution, must needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furnish plenty of materials for witnesses and informers.

Lastly, Those may well be reckoned among false witnesses against their neighbour, who bring him into trouble and punishment by such accusations as
are

are of no consequence at all to the public, nor can be of any other use but to create vexation. Such witnesses are those, who cannot hear an idle intemperate expression, but they must immediately run to the magistrate to inform; or perhaps wrangling in their cups over-night, when they were not able to speak or apprehend three words of common sense, will pretend to remember every thing in the morning, and think themselves very properly qualified to be accusers of their brethren. God be thanked, the throne of our King * is too firmly settled to be shaken by the folly and rashness of every sottish companion. And I do not in the least doubt, that when those in power begin to observe the falsehood, the prevarication, the aggravating manner, the treachery and seducing, the malice and revenge, the love of lucre; and lastly, the trifling accusations in too many wicked people, they will be as ready to discourage every sort of those whom I have numbered among false witnesses, as they will be to countenance honest men, who, out of a true zeal to their Prince and country, do, in the innocence of their hearts, freely discover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good Christian will think it sufficient to reprove his brother for a rash unguarded word, where there is neither danger nor evil example to be apprehended; or, if he will not amend by reproof, avoid his conversation.

II. And thus much may serve to shew the several ways whereby a man may be said to be a false witness against his neighbour. I might have added one kind more, and it is of those who inform against their neighbour out of fear of punishment to themselves, which, although it be more excusable, and hath less of malice than any of the rest, cannot however be justified. I go on therefore upon the

* George I.

second head, to give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

It is readily agreed, that innocence is the best protection in the world; yet that it is not always sufficient without some degree of prudence, our Saviour himself intimateth to us, by instructing his disciples *to be wise as serpents, as well as innocent as doves*. But, if ever innocence be too weak a defence, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious times, when factions are arrived to an high pitch of animosity, and the minds of men, instead of being warmed by a true zeal for religion, are inflamed only by party fury. Neither is virtue itself a sufficient security in such times, because it is not allowed to be virtue, otherwise than as it hath a mixture of party.

However, although virtue and innocence are no infallible defence against perjury, malice and subornation, yet they are great supports for enabling us to bear those evils with temper and resignation; and it is an unspeakable comfort to a good man, under the malignity of evil mercenary tongues, that a few years will carry his appeal to an higher tribunal, where false witnesses, instead of daring to bring accusations before an All-seeing Judge, will call for mountains to cover them. As for earthly judges, they seldom have it in their power; and, God knows, whether they have it in their will, to mingle mercy with justice; they are so far from knowing the hearts of the accuser or the accused, that they cannot know their own; and their understanding is frequently biassed, although their intentions be just. They are often prejudiced to causes, parties, and persons, through the infirmity of human nature, without being sensible themselves that they are so: And therefore, although God may pardon their errors here, he certainly will not ratify their sentences hereafter.

However

However since, as we have before observed, our Saviour prescribeth to us to be not only harmless as doves, but wise as serpents; give me leave to prescribe to you some rules, which the most ignorant person may follow for the conduct of his life with safety in perilous times, against false accusers.

1st, Let me advise you to have nothing at all to do with that which is commonly called politics, or the government of the world: In the nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant, and when your opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from ignorance, it shall be an accusation against you. Besides, opinions in government are right or wrong just according to the humour and disposition of the times; and, unless you have judgement to distinguish, you may be punished at one time for what you would be rewarded in another.

2^{dly}, Be ready at all times in your words and actions to shew your loyalty to the king that reigns over you. This is the plain manifest doctrine of holy scripture. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, &c.* * And another apostle telleth us, *The powers that be are ordained of God.* Kings are the ordinances of man by the permission of God, and they are ordained of God by his instrument man. The powers that be, the present powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in some sense are the ordinances of man, are what you must obey, without presuming to examine into rights and titles; neither can it be reasonably expected, that the powers in being, or in possession, should suffer their title to be publicly disputed by subjects without severe punishment. And to say the truth, there is no duty in religion more easy to the generality of mankind, than obedience to government:

* 1. Pet. ii. 13.

I say, to the generality of mankind; because while their law, and property, and religion are preserved, it is of no great consequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no temptations to desire a change.

3dly, In order to prevent any danger from the malice of false witnesses, be sure to avoid intemperance. If it be often so hard for men to govern their tongues when they are in their right senses, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with drink? In those cases most men regard not what they say, and too many not what they swear; neither will a man's memory, disordered with drunkenness serve to defend himself, or satisfy him whether he was guilty or no.

4thly, Avoid, as much as possible, the conversation of those people, who are given to talk of public persons and affairs, especially of those whose opinions in such matters are different from yours. I never once knew any disputes of this kind managed with tolerable temper; but on both sides they only agree as much as possible to provoke the passions of each other, indeed with this disadvantage, that he who argueth on the side of power may speak securely the utmost his malice can invent; while the other lieth every moment at the mercy of an informer; and the law in these cases will give no allowance at all for passion, inadvertency, or the highest provocation.

I come now in the last place to shew you how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

In what I have hitherto said, you easily find, that I do not talk of bearing witness in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thousand accounts in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many scandalous corruptions

almost peculiar to this country, which would require to be handled by themselves. But I have confined my discourse only to that branch of bearing false witness, whereby the public is injured in the safety or honour of the prince, or those in authority under him.

In order therefore to be a faithful witness, it is first necessary that a man doth not undertake it from the least prospect of any private advantage to himself. The smallest mixture of that leaven will sour the whole lump. Interest will infallibly bias his judgement, altho' he be ever so firmly resolved to say nothing but truth. He cannot serve God and Mammon: But as interest is his chief end, he will use the most effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumstances to make his testimony valuable; he will be sorry if the person he accuſeth should be able to clear himself; in short, he is labouring a point which he thinks necessary to his own good; and it would be a disappointment to him, that his neighbour should prove innocent.

5thly, Every good subject is obliged to bear witness against his neighbour, for any action or words, the telling of which would be of advantage to the public, and the concealment dangerous, or of ill example. Of this nature are all plots and conspiracies against the peace of a nation, all disgraceful words against a prince, such as clearly discover a disloyal and rebellious heart: But where our prince and country can possibly receive no damage or disgrace; where no scandal or ill example is given; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a rash or indiscreet word, which in strictness of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no further than warning and reproof.

In describing to you the several kinds of false witnesses, I have made it less necessary to dwell
much

much longer upon this head; because a faithful witness, like every thing else, is known by his contrary: Therefore it would be only repetition of what I have already said to tell you, that the strictest truth is required in a witness; that he should be wholly free from malice against the person he accuses; that he should not aggravate the smallest circumstance against the criminal, nor conceal the smallest in his favour; and to crown all, tho' I have hinted it before, that the only cause or motive of his undertaking an office, so subject to censure, and so difficult to perform, should be the safety and service of his prince and country.

Under these conditions and limitations (but not otherwise) there is no manner of doubt, but a good man may lawfully and justly become a witness in behalf of the public, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very desirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is positive as well as negative; that is to say, as we are directed not to bear false witness against our neighbour, so we are to bear true. Next to the word of God, and the advice of teachers, every man's conscience strictly examined will be his best director in this weighty point; and to that I shall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by way of advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and sin of bearing false witness; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a sort of people that seldom frequent these holy places, where they can hardly pick up any materials to serve their turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the words of the preacher: And whoever is that way disposed, I doubt, cannot be in a very good condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in

his mercy preserve us from all the guilt of this grievous sin forbidden in my text, and from the snares of those who are guilty of it.

I shall conclude with one or two precepts given by Moses from God to the children of *Israel*, in the xxiii. of Exod. 1, 2.

Thou shalt not raise a false report : Put not thine hand with the wicked, to be an unrighteous witness.

Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many, to wrest judgement.

Now to God the Father, &c.





A

S E R M O N

O N T H E

Poor Man's Contentment.

PHILIP. Chap. iv. Part of the 11th verse.

*I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith
to be content.*

THE holy scripture is full of expressions to set forth the miserable condition of man during the whole progress of his life; his weakness, pride, and vanity; his unmeasurable desires, and perpetual disappointments; the prevalency of his passions, and the corruptions of his reason; his deluding hopes, and his real, as well as imaginary fears; his natural and artificial wants; his cares and anxieties; the diseases of his body, and the diseases of his mind; the shortness of his life; his dread of a future state, with his carelessness to prepare for it: And the wise men of all ages have made the same reflections.

But all these are general calamities, from which none are excepted; and, being without remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great question, long debated in the world, is, whether the rich or the poor are the least miserable of the two! It is certain, that no rich man ever desired to be poor, and
that

that most, if not all, poor men desire to be rich; from whence it may be argued, that, in all appearance, the advantage lieth on the side of wealth, because both parties agree in preferring it before poverty. But this reasoning will be found to be false: For, I lay it down as a certain truth, that God Almighty hath placed all men upon an equal foot, with respect to their happiness in this world, and the capacity of attaining their salvation in the next; or, at least, if there be any difference, it is not the advantage of the rich and the mighty. Now, since a great part of these, who usually make up our congregations, are not of considerable station, and many among them of the lower sort, and since the meaner people are generally, and justly, charged with the sin of repining and murmuring at their own condition, to which, however, their betters are sufficiently subject, (although, perhaps, for shame, not always so loud in their complaints) I thought it might be useful to reason upon this point in as plain a manner as I can. I shall therefore shew, first, that the poor enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and the great: And, likewise, that the rich and the great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

But here I would not be misunderstood; perhaps, there is not a word more abused than that of the poor, or wherein the world is more generally mistaken. Among the number of those who beg in our streets, or are half starved at home, or languish in prison for debt, there is hardly one in a hundred who doth not owe his misfortunes to his own laziness or drunkenness, or worse vices.

To these he owes those very diseases which often disable him from getting his bread. Such wretches are deservedly unhappy; they can only blame themselves; and when we are commanded to have
 pity

pity on the poor, these are not understood to be of the number.

It is true, indeed, that sometimes honest, endeavouring men are reduced to extreme want, even to the begging of alms, by losses, by accidents, by diseases, and old age, without any fault of their own: But these are very few, in comparison of the other; nor would their support be any sensible burden to the public, if the charity of well disposed persons were not intercepted by those common scrollers, who are most importunate, and who least deserve it. These, indeed, are properly and justly called the poor, whom it should be our study to find out and distinguish, by making them partake of our superfluity and abundance.

But neither have these any thing to do with my present subject: For, by the poor I only intend the honest, industrious artificer, the meaner sort of tradesmen, and the labouring man, who getteth his bread by the sweat of his brows, in town or country, and who make the bulk of mankind among us.

First, I shall therefore shew, first, that the poor (in the sense I understand the world) do enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and great; and likewise, that the rich and great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

Secondly, From the arguments offered to prove the foregoing head, I shall draw some observations that may be useful for your practice.

I. As to the first: Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the best of all earthly possessions, because it is that, without which we can have no satisfaction in any of the rest. For riches are of no use, if sickness taketh from us the ability of enjoying them, and power and greatness are then only a burden. Now, if we would look for health, it must be in the humble habitation of the labouring

ing man, or industrious artificer, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, and usually live to a good old age with a great degree of strength and vigour.

The refreshment of the body by sleep is another great happiness of the meaner sort. Their rest is not disturbed by the fear of thieves and robbers, nor is it interrupted by surfeits of intemperance. Labour and plain food supply the want of quieting draughts; and the wise man telleth us, that the sleep of the labouring man is sweet. As to children, which are certainly accounted of as a blessing, even to the poor, where industry is not wanting; they are an assistance to their honest parents, instead of being a burden; they are healthy and strong, and fit for labour; neither is the father in fear, lest his heir should be ruined by an unequal match; nor is he solicitous about his rising in the world, further than to be able to get his bread.

The poorer sort are not the objects of general hatred or envy; they have no twinges of ambition, nor trouble themselves with party-quarrels, or state-divisions. The idle rabble, who follow their ambitious leaders in such cases, do not fall within my description of the poorer sort; for, it is plain, I mean only the honest industrious poor in town or country, who are safest in times of public disturbance, in perilous seasons, and public revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their own business: For artificers and husbandmen are necessary in all governments: But in such seasons, the rich are the public mark, because they are oftentimes of no use, but to be plundered; like some sort of birds, who are good for nothing but their feathers; and so fall a prey to the strongest side.

Let us proceed on the other side to examine the disadvantages that the rich and the great lie under, with respect to the happiness of the present life.

First then: While health, as we have said, is the

the general portion of the lower sort, the gout, the dropsy, the stone, the cholic, and all other diseases are continually haunting the palaces of the rich and the great, as the natural attendants upon laziness and luxury. Neither does the rich man eat his sumptuous fare with half the appetite and relish, that even the beggars do the crumbs which fall from his table: But, on the contrary, he is full of loathing and disgust, or at best of indifference, in the midst of plenty. Thus their intemperance shortens their lives, without pleasing their appetites.

Business, fear, guilt, design, anguish, and vexation are continually buzzing about the curtains of the rich and the powerful, and will hardly suffer them to close their eyes, unless when they are dozed with the fumes of strong liquors.

It is a great mistake to imagine, that the rich want but few things, their wants are more numerous, more craving, and urgent, than those of poorer men: For these endeavour only at the necessaries of life, which make them happy, and they think no farther: But the desire of power and wealth is endless, and therefore impossible to be satisfied with any acquisitions.

If riches were so great a blessing as they are commonly thought, they would at least have this advantage, to give their owners cheerful hearts and countenances; they would often stir them up to express their thankfulness to God, and discover their satisfaction to the world. But, in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or more ingratitude to their great benefactor, than among those who abound in wealth? And, indeed, it is natural that it should be so, because those men, who covet things that are hard to be got, must be hard to please; whereas a small thing maketh a

poor man happy; and great losses cannot befall him.

It is likewise worth considering, how few among the rich have procured their wealth by just measures; how many owe their fortunes to the sins of their parents, how many more to their own? If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conscience, where false swearing, and a thousand vile artifices, (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human courts of justice) would avail nothing; how many would be ejected with infamy and disgrace? How many grow considerable by breach of trust, by bribery and corruption? How many have sold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themselves and others, for power and employments?

And, it is a mistake to think, that the most hardened sinner, who oweth his professions or titles to any such wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conscience, and amidst the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor, except the power of doing good to others: But this is an advantage which God hath not given wicked men the grace to make use of. The wealth acquired by evil means was never employed to good ends; for that would be to divide the kingdom of Satan against itself. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppression, and the like, must be preserved and increased by the same methods.

I shall add but one thing more upon this head, which I hope will convince you, that God (whose thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be necessary for the happiness of mankind in this life; because it is certain, that there is not one single good quality of the mind absolutely necessary to obtain them, where men
are

are resolved to be rich at any rate; neither honour, justice, temperance, wisdom, religion, truth, or learning; for a slight acquaintance with the world will inform us, that there have been many instances of men in all ages, who have arrived at great possessions and great dignities, by cunning, fraud, or flattery, without any of these, or any other virtues that can be named. Now, if richness and greatness were such blessings, that good men without them could have their share of happiness in this life; how cometh it to pass, that God should suffer them to be often dealt to the worst, and most profligate of mankind? that they should be generally procured by the most abominable means, and applied to the basest and most wicked uses? This ought not to be conceived of a just, a merciful, a wise, and Almighty Being. We must therefore conclude, that wealth and power are in their own nature, at best, but things indifferent, and that a good man may be equally happy without them, provided that he hath a sufficiency of the common blessings of human life to answer all the reasonable and virtuous demands of nature, which his industry will provide, and sobriety will prevent his wanting. *Augur's* prayer, with the reasons of his wish, are full to this purpose: "Give me neither poverty nor riches. Feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? Or, lest I be poor, and steal, and take the Name of my God in vain."

From what hath been said, I shall, in the second place, offer some considerations, that may be useful for your practice.

And here I shall apply myself chiefly to those of the lower sort, for whose comfort and satisfaction this discourse is principally intended. For, having observed the great sin of those, who do not abound in wealth, to be that of murmuring and repining,

that God hath dealt his blessings unequally to the sons of men, I thought it would be of great use to remove out of your minds so false and wicked an opinion, by shewing that your condition is really happier than most of you imagine.

First, Therefore; it hath been always agreed in the world, that the present happiness of mankind consisted in the ease of our body and the quiet of our mind; but, from what hath been already said, it plainly appears, that neither wealth nor power do in any sort contribute to either of these two blessings. If, on the contrary, by multiplying our desires, they increase our discontents; if they destroy our health, gall us with painful diseases, and shorten our life; if they expose us to hatred, to envy, to censure, to a thousand temptations, it is not easy to see why a wise man should make them his choice, for their own sake, although it were in his power. Would any of you, who are in health and strength of body, with moderate food and raiment earned by your own labour, rather chuse to be in the rich man's bed, under the torture of the gout, unable to take your natural rest, or natural nourishment, with the additional load of a guilty conscience, reproaching you for injustice, oppressions, covetousness, and fraud? No; but you would take the riches and power, and leave behind the inconveniencies that attend them; and so would every man living. But that is more than our share, and God never intended this world for such a place of rest as we would make it; for the Scripture assureth us, that it was only designed a place of trial. Nothing is more frequent than a man to wish himself in another's condition; yet he seldom doth it without some reserve: He would not be so old; he would not be so sickly; he would not be so cruel; he would not be so insolent; he would not be so vicious; he would not be so oppressive; so griping; and so on. From whence it

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is plain, that, in their own judgement, men are not so unequally dealt with, as they would at first sight imagine: For, if I would not change my condition with another man, without any exception or reservation at all, I am in reality more happy than he.

Secondly, You of the meaner sort are subject to fewer temptations than the rich; and therefore your vices are more unpardonable. Labour subdueth your appetites to be satisfied with common things; the business of your several callings filleth up your whole time; so that idleness, which is the bane and destruction of virtue, doth not lead you into the neighbourhood of sin: Your passions are cooler, by not being inflamed with excess, and therefore the gate and the way that lead to life are not so strait or so narrow to you, as to those who live among all the allurements to wickedness. To serve God with the best of your care and understanding, and to be just and true in your dealings, is the short sum of your duty, and will be the more strictly required of you, because nothing lieth in the way to divert you from it.

Thirdly, It is plain from what I have said, that you of the lower rank have no just reason to complain of your condition; because, as you plainly see, it affordeth you so many advantages, and freeth you from so many vexations, so many distempers both of body and mind, which pursue and torment the rich and powerful.

Fourthly, You are to remember and apply, that the poorest person is not excused from doing to others, and even relieving the wants of his distressed neighbour, according to his abilities; and if you perform your duty in this point, you far outdo the greatest liberalities of the rich, and will accordingly be accepted of by God, and get your reward: For, it is our Saviour's own doctrine, when the widow gave her two mites. The rich gave out
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of their abundance; that is to say, what they give, they do not feel it in their way of living: But the poor man, who giveth out of his little stock, must spare it from the necessary food and raiment of himself and his family, And, therefore our Saviour adds, "That the widow gave more than all who went before her; for she gave all she had, even all her living;" and so went home utterly unprovided to supply her necessities.

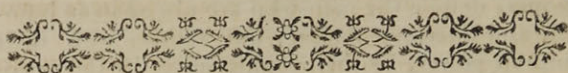
Lastly, As it appeareth from what hath been said, that you of the lower rank have, in reality, a greater share of happiness, your work of salvation is easier, by your being liable to fewer temptations; and as your reward in heaven is much more certain, than it is to the rich, if you seriously perform your duty, for yours is the kingdom of heaven; so your neglect of it will be less excuseable, will meet with fewer allowances from God, and will be punished with double stripes. For, the most unknowing among you cannot plead ignorance in what you have been so early taught, I hope so often instructed in, and which is so easy to be understood, I mean the art of leading a life agreeable to the plain and positive laws of God. Perhaps you may think you ly under one disadvantage, which the great and rich have not; that idleness will certainly reduce you to beggary; whereas those who abound in wealth ly under no necessity either of labour or temperance, to keep enough to live on. But this is indeed one part of your happiness, that the lowness of your condition, in a manner, forceth you to what is pleasing to God, and necessary for your daily support. Thus your duty and interest are always the same.

To conclude; since our blessed Lord, who, instead of a rich and honourable station in this world, was pleased to chuse his lot among men of the lower condition; let not those, on whom the bounty of providence hath bestowed wealth and honours,

nours, despise the men who are placed in an humble and inferiour station; but rather, with their utmost power, by their countenance, by their protection, by just payment for their honest labour, encourage their daily endeavours for the virtuous support of themselves and their families. On the other hand, let the poor labour to provide things honest in the sight of all men, and so, with diligence in their several employments, live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, that they may obtain that glorious reward promised in the gospel to the poor, I mean, the kingdom of heaven.

Now to God the Father, &c.





A

S E R M O N

O N T H E

C A U S E S

O F T H E

Wretched Condition of Ireland.

PSALM CXLIV. Part of the 13th and 14th Ver.

*That there be no complaining in our streets. Happy
is the People that is in such a Case.*

IT is a very melancholy reflection, that such a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things necessary, and most things convenient for life, sufficient for the support of four times the number of its inhabitants, should yet ly under the heaviest load of misery and want, our streets crowded with beggars, so many of our lower sort of tradesmen, labourers, and artificers not able to find cloaths and food for their families.

I think it may therefore be of some use to lay before you the chief causes of this wretched condition we are in, and then it will be easier to assign
what

what remedies are in our power towards removing, at least, some part of these evils.

For it is ever to be lamented, that we lie under many disadvantages, not by our own faults, which are peculiar to ourselves, and which no other nation under heaven hath any reason to complain of.

I shall, therefore, first mention some causes of our miseries, which I doubt are not to be remedied, until God shall put it in the hearts of those who are the stronger, to allow us the common rights and privileges of brethren, fellow-subjects, and even of mankind.

The first cause of our misery is the intollerable hardships we lie under in every branch of our trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to our rigorous neighbours.

The second cause of our miserable state is the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of those vast numbers, who think themselves too good to live in the country which gave them birth, and still gives them bread; and rather chuse to pass their days, and consume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their mother-kingdom, among those who heartily despise them.

These I have but lightly touched on, because I fear they are not to be redressed, and, besides, I am very sensible how ready some people are to take offence at the honest truth; and, for that reason, I shall omit several other grievances, under which we are long likely to groan.

I shall therefore go on to relate some other causes of this nation's poverty, by which, if they continue much longer, it must infallibly sink to utter ruin.

The first is, that monstrous pride and vanity in both sexes, especially the weaker sex, who, in the midst of poverty, are suffered to run into all kind of

expende and extravagance in dress, and particularly priding themselves to wear nothing but what cometh from abroad, disdain the growth or manufacture of their own country, in those articles where they can be better served at home with half the expence; and this is grown to such a height, that they will carry the whole yearly rent of a good estate at once on their body. And, as there is in that sex a spirit of envy, by which they cannot endure to see others in a better habit than themselves, so those, whose fortunes can hardly support their families in the necessaries of life, will needs vye with the richest and greatest amongst us, to the ruin of themselves and their posterity.

Neither are the men less guilty of this pernicious folly, who in imitation of a gaudiness and foppery of dress, introduced of late years into our neighbouring kingdom, (as fools are apt to imitate only the defects of their betters) cannot find materials in their own country worthy to adorn their bodies of clay, while their minds are naked of every valuable quality.

Thus our tradesmen and shopkeepers, who deal in home-goods, are left in a starving condition, and only those encouraged who ruin the kingdom by importing amongst us foreign vanities.

Another cause of our low condition, is our great luxury, the chief support of which is the materials of it brought to the nation in exchange for the few valuable things left us, whereby so many thousand families want the very necessaries of life.

Thirdly, In most parts of this kingdom the natives are from their infancy so given up to idleness and sloth, that they often chuse to beg or steal, rather than support themselves with their own labour; they marry without the least view or thought of being able to make any provision for their families; and whereas, in all industrious nations, children are looked on as a help to their parents,
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with us, for want of being early trained to work, they are an intollerable burden at home, and a grievous charge upon the public, as appeareth from the vast number of ragged and naked children in town and country, led about by strolling women, trained up in ignorance and all manner of vice.

Lastly, A great cause of this nation's misery, is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live under them should make bricks without straw, who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people are broken, and made for slavery; the farmers and cottagers, almost through the whole kingdom, being, to all intents and purposes, as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling their kingdom, by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth, against common reason and justice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations; by which numberless families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or strole about, and increase the number of our thieves and beggars.

Such, and much worse, is our condition at present, if I had leisure or liberty to lay it before you; and, therefore, the next thing which might be considered is, Whether there may be any probable remedy found, at the least against some part of these evils; for most of them are wholly desperate.

But this being too large a subject to be now handled, and the intent of my discourse confining me to give some directions concerning the poor of this city, I shall keep myself within those limits. It is indeed in the power of the lawgivers to found a school in every parish of the kingdom, for teach-

ing the meaner and poorer sort of children to speak and read the English tongue, and to provide a reasonable maintenance for the teachers. This would, in time, abolish that part of barbarity and ignorance, for which our natives are so despised by all foreigners; this would bring them to think and act according to the rules of reason, by which a spirit of industry and thrift, and honesty would be introduced among them. And, indeed, considering how small a tax would suffice for such a work, it is a public scandal that such a thing should never have been endeavoured, or, perhaps, so much as thought on.

To supply the want of such a law, several pious persons, in many parts of this kingdom, have been prevailed on, by the great endeavours and good example set them by the clergy, to erect charity-schools in several parishes, to which very often the richest parishioners contribute the least. In these schools, children are, or ought to be, trained up to read and write, and cast accompts; and these children should, if possible, be of honest parents, gone to decay through age, sickness, or other unavoidable calamity, by the hand of God; not the brood of wicked strolers: for, it is by no means reasonable, that the charity of well-inclined people should be applied to encourage the lewdness of those profligate, abandoned women, who crowd our streets with their borrowed or spurious issue.

In those hospitals which have good foundations and rents to support them, whereof, to the scandal of christianity, there are very few in this kingdom; I say, in such hospitals, the children maintained ought to be only of decayed citizens, and freemen, and be bred up to good trades. But in these small parish charity schools which have no support, but the casual good-will of charitable people, I do altogether disapprove the custom of putting the children apprentices, except to the very meanest trades; otherwise

otherwise the poor honest citizen, who is just able to bring up his child, and pay a small sum of money with him to a good master, is wholly defeated, and the bastard issue, perhaps, of some beggar, preferred before him. And hence we come to be so overstocked with apprentices and journeymen, more than our discouraged country can employ; and, I fear, the greatest part of our thieves, pick-pockets, and other vagabonds are of this number.

Therefore, in order to make these parish charity-schools, of great and universal use, I agree with the opinion of many wise persons, that a new turn should be given to this whole matter.

I think there is no complaint more just than what we find in almost every family, of the folly and ignorance, the fraud and knavery, the idleness and viciousness, the wasteful squandering temper of servants, who are, indeed, become one of the many public grievances of the kingdom; whereof, I believe, there are few masters that now hear me who are not convinced by their own experience. And I am very confident, that more families, of all degrees, have been ruined by the corruptions of servants, than by all other causes put together. Neither is this to be wondered at, when we consider from what nurseries so many of them are received into our houses. The first is the tribe of wicked boys, wherewith most corners of this town are pestered, who haunt public doors. These, having been born of beggars, and bred to pilfer as soon as they can go or speak, as years come on, are employed in the lowest offices to get themselves bread, are practised in all manner of villany; and when they are grown up, if they are not entertained in a gang of thieves, are forced to seek for a service. The other nursery is the barbarous and desert part of the country, from whence such lads come up hither to seek their fortunes, who are bred up from the dunghill in idleness, ignorance, lying,

lying, and thieving. From these two nurseries, I say, a great number of our servants come to us, sufficient to corrupt all the rest. Thus, the whole race of servants in this kingdom have gotten so ill a reputation, that some persons from England, come over hither into great stations, are said to have absolutely refused admitting any servant born among us into their families. Neither can they be justly blamed; for although it is not impossible to find an honest native fit for a good service, yet the inquiry is too troublesome, and the hazard too great for a stranger to attempt.

If we consider the many misfortunes that befall private families, it will be found that servants are the causes and instruments of them all: Are our goods embezzled, wasted, and destroyed? Is our house burnt down to the ground? It is by the sloth, the drunkenness, or the villany of servants. Are we robbed and murdered in our beds? It is by confederacy with our servants. Are we engaged in quarrels and misunderstandings with our neighbours? These were all begun and inflamed by the false, malicious tongues of our servants. Are the secrets of our family betrayed, and evil repute spread of us? Our servants were the authors. Do false accusers rise up against us? (an evil too frequent in this country) they have been tampering with our servants. Do our children discover folly, malice, pride, cruelty, revenge, undutifulness in their words and actions? Are they seduced to lewdness or scandalous marriages? It is all by our servants. Nay, the very mistakes, follies, blunders, and absurdities of those in our service, are able to ruffle and discompose the mildest nature, and are often of such consequence, as to put whole families into confusion.

Since therefore not only our domestic peace and quiet, and the welfare of our children, but even the very safety of our lives, reputations, and fortunes,

tunes, have so great a dependence upon the choice of our servants, I think it would well become the wisdom of the nation to make some provision in so important an affair. But in the mean time, and, perhaps, to better purpose, it were to be wished, that the children of both sexes, entertained in the parish charity-schools, were bred up in such a manner as would give them a teachable disposition, and qualify them to learn whatever is required in any sort of service. For instance, they should be taught to read and write, to know somewhat in casting accompts, to understand the principles of religion, to practise cleanliness, to get a spirit of honesty, industry, and thrift, and be severely punished for every neglect in any of these particulars. For it is the misfortune of mankind, that if they are not used to be taught in their early childhood, whereby to acquire what I call a teachable disposition, they cannot, without great difficulty, learn the easiest thing in the course of their lives, but are always awkward and unhandy; their minds as well as bodies, for want of early practice, growing stiff and unmanageable, as we observe in the sort of gentlemen, who, kept from school by the indulgence of their parents but a few years, are never able to recover the time they have lost, and grow up in ignorance and all manner of vice, whereof we have too many examples all over the nation. But, to return to what I was saying: If these charity-children were trained up in the manner I mentioned, and then bound apprentices in the families of gentlemen and citizens, (for which a late law giveth great encouragement) being accustomed from their first entrance to be always learning some useful thing, would learn, in a month, more than another, without those advantages, can do in a year; and, in the mean time, be very useful in a family, as far as their age and strength would allow. And when
such

such children come to years of discretion, they will probably be a useful example to their fellow-servants, at least they will prove a strong check upon upon the rest; for, I suppose, every body allow, that one good, honest, diligent servant in a house may prevent abundance of mischief in the family.

These are the reasons for which I urge this matter so strongly, and I hope those who listen to me will consider them.

I shall now say something about the great number of poor, who, under the name of common beggars, infest our streets, and fill our ears with their continual cries, and craving importunity. This I shall venture to call an unnecessary evil, brought upon us for the gross neglect, and want of proper management in those whose duty it is to prevent it. But, before I proceed farther, let me humbly presume to vindicate the justice and mercy of God, and his dealings with mankind. Upon this particular he hath not dealt so hardly with his creatures as some would imagine, when they see so many miserable objects ready to perish for want: for it would infallibly be found, upon strict inquiry, that there is hardly one in twenty of those miserable objects, who do not owe their present poverty to their own faults, to their present sloth and negligence, to their indiscreet marriage, without the least prospect of supporting a family, to their foolish expensiveness, to their drunkenness, and other vices, by which they have squandered their gettings, and contracted diseases in their old age. And, to speak freely, is it any way reasonable or just, that those who have denied themselves many lawful satisfactions and conveniencies of life, from a principle of conscience, as well as prudence, that they might not be a burden to the public, should be charged with supporting others, who have brought themselves to less than a morsel of bread
by

by their idleness, extravagance, and vice? Yet such, and no other, are far the greatest number, not only in those who beg in our streets, but even of what we call poor decayed house-keepers, whom we are apt to pity as real objects of charity, and distinguish them from common beggars, although, in truth, they both owe their undoing to the same causes; only the former is either too nicely bred to endure walking half-naked in the streets, or too proud to own their wants. For the artificer or other tradesman, who pleadeth he is grown too old to work or look after business, and therefore expecteth assistance as a decayed housekeeper, may we not ask him, why he did not take care, in his youth and strength of days, to make some provision against old age, when he saw so many examples before him of people undone by their idleness and vicious extravagance? and to go a little higher; whence cometh it that so many citizens and shopkeepers, of the most creditable trade, who once made a good figure, go to decay by their expensive pride and vanity, affecting to educate and dress their children above their abilities, or the state of life they ought to expect?

However, since the best of us have too many infirmities to answer for, we ought not to be severe upon those of others; and therefore, if our brother, through grief, or sickness, or other incapacity, is not in a condition to preserve his being, we ought to support him to the best of our power, without reflecting over-seriously on the causes that brought him to his misery. But in order to this, and to turn out charity into its proper channel, we ought to consider who and where those objects are, whom it is chiefly incumbent upon us to support.

By the ancient law of this realm, still in force, every parish is obliged to maintain its own poor; which although some may think to be not very e-

qual, because many parishes are very rich, and have few poor among them, and others the contrary, yet, I think, may be justly defended: For as to remote country parishes in the desert part of the kingdom, the necessaries of life are there so cheap, that the infirm poor may be provided for with little burden to the inhabitants. But in what I am going to say, I shall confine myself only to this city, where we are over-run not only with our own poor, but with a far greater number from every part of the nation. Now, I say, this evil of being incumbered with so many foreign beggars, who have not the least title to our charity, and whom it is impossible for us to support, may be easily remedied, if the government of this city, in conjunction with the clergy and parish-officers, would think it worth their care; and I am sure few things deserve it better. For, if every parish would take a list of those begging poor which properly belong to it, and compel each of them to wear a badge, marked and numbered, so as to be seen and known by all they meet, and confine them to beg within the limits of their own parish, severely punishing them when they offend, and driving out all interlopers from other parishes, we could then make a computation of their numbers; and the strolers from the country being driven away, the remainder would not be too many for the charity of those who pass by to maintain; neither would any beggar, although confined to his own parish, be hindered from receiving the charity of the whole town; because, in this case, those well-disposed persons who walk the streets will give their charity to such whom they think proper objects, wherever they meet them, provided they are found in their own parishes, and wearing their badges of distinction. And, as to those parishes which border upon the skirts and suburbs of the
TOWN,

town, where country-frolders are used to harbour themselves, they must be forced to go back to their homes, when they find no body to relieve them, because they want that mark which only gives them licence to beg. Upon this point, it were to be wished, that inferior parish officers had better encouragement given them to perform their duty in driving away all beggars who do not belong to the parish, instead of conniving at them, as it is said they do, for some small contribution; for the whole city would save much more by ridding themselves of many hundred beggars, than they would lose by giving parish-officers a reasonable support.

It should seem a strange, unaccountable thing, that those who have probably been reduced to want by riot, lewdness, and idleness, although they have assurance enough to beg alms publicly from all they meet, should yet be too proud to wear the parish-badge, which would turn so much to their own advantage, by ridding them of such great numbers, who now intercept the greatest part of what belongeth to them: Yet it is certain, that there are very many, who publicly declare they will never wear these badges, and many others who either hide or throw them away: But the remedy for this is very short, easy, and just, by treating them like vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and forcibly driving them out of the town.

Therefore, as soon as this expedient of wearing badges shall be put in practice, I do earnestly exhort all those who hear me, never to give their alms to any public beggar who doth not fully comply with this order, by which our number of poor will be so reduced, that it will be much easier to provide for the rest. Our shop-doors will be no longer crowded with so many thieves and pick-

pockets, in beggars habits, nor our streets so dangerous to those who are forced to walk in the night.

Thus I have, with great freedom, delivered my thoughts upon this subject, which so nearly concerneth us. It is certainly a bad scheme, to any Christian country which God hath blessed with fruitfulness, and where the people enjoy the just rights and privileges of mankind, that there should be any beggars at all. But, alas! among us, where the whole nation itself is almost reduced to beggary by the disadvantages we lie under, and the hardships we are forced to bear; the laziness, ignorance, thoughtlessness, squandering temper, slavish nature, and uncleanly manner of living in the poor Popish natives, together with the cruel oppressions of their landlords, who delight to see their vassals in the dust; I say, that in such a nation, how can we otherwise expect than to be over-run with objects of misery and want? Therefore, there can be no other method to free this city from so intollerable a grievance, than by endeavouring, as far as in us lies, that the burden may be more equally divided, by contributing to maintain our own poor, and forcing the strolers and vagabonds to return to their several homes in the country, there to smite the consciences of those oppressors, who first stripped them of all their substance.

I might here, if the time would permit, offer many arguments to persuade to works of charity; but you hear them so often from the pulpit, that I am willing to hope you may not want them. Besides, my present design was only to shew where your alms would be best bestowed, to the honour of God, your own ease and advantage, the service of your country, and the benefit of the poor, I
desire

desire you will all weigh and consider what I have spoken, and, according to your several stations and abilities, endeavour to put it in practice; and God give you good success, to whom with the Son and Holy Ghost, be all honour, &c.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.





A

S E R M O N

U P O N

SLEEPING IN CHURCH.

ACTS, Chap. xx. Ver. 9.

And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep; and while Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.

I Have chosen these words with design, if possible, to disturb some part in this audience of half an hour's sleep, for the convenience and exercise whereof this place, at this season of the day, is very much celebrated.

There is indeed one mortal disadvantage to which all preaching is subject; that those who, by the wickedness of their lives, stand in greatest need, have usually the smallest share; for either they are absent upon the account of idleness, or spleen, or hatred to religion, or in order to dose away the intemperance of the week; or, if they do come, they are sure to employ their minds rather any other

ther way, than regarding or attending to the business of the place.

The accident which happened to this young man in the text, hath not been sufficient to discourage his successors: But, because the preachers now in the world, however they may exceed St. Paul in the art of setting men to sleep, do extremely fall short of him in the working of miracles; therefore men are become so cautious as to chuse more safe and convenient stations and postures for taking their repose, without hazard of their persons; and, upon the whole matter, chuse rather to trust their destruction to a miracle, than their safety. However, this being not the only way by which the lukewarm Christians and scorers of the age discover their neglect and contempt of preaching, I shall enter expressly into consideration of this matter, and order my discourse in the following method:

First, I shall produce several instances to shew the great neglect of preaching now among us.

Secondly, I shall reckon up some of the usual quarrels men have against preaching.

Thirdly, I shall set forth the great evil of this neglect and contempt of preaching, and discover the real causes from whence it proceedeth.

Lastly, I shall offer some remedies against this great and spreading evil.

First, I shall produce certain instances to shew the great neglect of preaching now among us.

These may be reduced under two heads. First, men's absence from the service of the church; and secondly, their misbehaviour when they are here.

The first instance of men's neglect, is in their frequent absence from the church.

There

There is no excuse so trivial, that will not pass upon some men's consciences to excuse their attendance at the public worship of God. Some are so unfortunate as to be always indisposed on the Lord's day, and think nothing so unwholesome as the air of a church. Others have their affairs so odly contrived, as to be always unluckily prevented by business. With some it is a great mark of wit, and deep understanding, to stay at home on Sundays. Others again discover strange fits of laziness, that seize them, particularly on that day, and confine them to their beds. Others are absent out of mere contempt of religion. And, lastly, there are not a few who look upon it as a day of rest, and therefore claim the privilege of their castle, to keep the Sabbath by eating, drinking, and sleeping, after the toil and labour of the week. Now in all this the worst circumstance is, that these persons are such whose companies are most required, and who stand most in need of a physician.

Secondly, Men's great neglect and contempt of preaching, appear by their misbehaviour when at church.

If the audience were to be ranked under several heads, according to their behaviour, when the word of God is delivered, how small a number would appear of those who receive it as they ought? How much of the seed then sown would be found to fall by the way-side, upon stony ground or among thorns? and how little good ground would there be to take it? A preacher cannot look round from the pulpit, without observing, that some are in a perpetual whisper, and, by their air and gesture, give occasion to suspect, that they are in those very minutes defaming their neighbour. Others have their eyes and imagination constantly engaged in such a circle of objects, perhaps to gratify the most unwarrantable desires, that they never once attend

attend to the business of the place; the sound of the preacher's words doth not so much as once interrupt them. Some have their minds wandering among idle, wordly, or vicious thoughts. Some ly at catch to ridicule whatever they hear, and with much wit and humour provide a stock of laughter, by furnishing themselves from the pulpit. But, of all misbehaviour, none is comparable to that of those who come here to sleep; opium is not so stupifying to many persons as an afternoon-sermon. Perpetual custom hath so brought it about that the words, of whatever preacher, become only a sort of uniform sound at a distance, than which nothing is more effectual to lull the senses. For, that it is the very sound of the sermon which bindeth up their faculties, is manifest from hence, because they all awake so very regularly as soon as it ceaseth, and with much devotion receive the blessing, dozed and befotted with indecencies I am ashamed to repeat.

I proceed, *Secondly*, to reckon up some of the usual quarrels men have against preaching, and to shew the unreasonableness of them.

Such unwarrantable demeanor, as I have described, among Christians, in the house of God, in a solemn assembly, while their faith and duty are explained and delivered, have put those who are guilty upon inventing some excuses to extenuate their fault: This they do by turning the blame either upon the particular preacher, or upon preaching in general. First, they object against the particular preacher; his manner, his delivery, his voice, are disagreeable; his style and expression are flat and low; sometimes improper and absurd; the matter is heavy, trivial and insipid; sometimes despicable, and perfectly ridiculous; or else, on the other side, he runs up into unintelligible speculation, empty

notions, and abstracted flights, all clad in words above usual understandings.

Secondly, They object against preaching in general; it is a perfect road of talk; they know already whatever can be said; they have heard the same an hundred times over. They quarrel that preachers do not relieve an old beaten subject with wit and invention; and that now the art is lost of moving men's passions, so common among the ancient orators of Greece and Rome. These and the like objections, are frequently in the mouths of men who despise the foolishness of preaching. But let us examine the reasonableness of them.

The doctrine delivered by all preachers is the same: *So we preach, and so ye believe*: But the manner of delivering is suited to the skill and abilities of each, which differ in preachers just as in the rest of mankind. However, in personal dislikes of a particular preacher, are these men sure they are always in the right? Do they consider how mixed a thing is every audience, whose taste and judgement differ, perhaps, every day, not only from each other, but themselves? And how to calculate a discourse, that shall exactly suit them all, is beyond the force and reach of human reason, knowledge or invention. Wit and eloquence are shining qualities, that God hath imparted, in great degrees, to very few, nor any more to be expected, in the generality of any rank among men, than riches and honour. But further: If preaching in general be all old and beaten, and that they are already so well acquainted with it, more shame and guilt to them who so little edify by it. But, these men whose ears are so delicate as not to endure a plain discourse of religion, who expect a constant supply of wit and eloquence on a subject handled so many thousand times; what will they say when we turn the objection upon themselves, who with all the lewd and profane liberty of discourse

course they take, upon so many thousand subjects, are so dull as to furnish nothing but tedious repetitions, and little pauvery, nauseous common-places, so vulgar, so worn, or so obvious, as, upon any other occasion, but that of advancing vice, would be hooted off the stage? Nor, lastly, are preachers justly blamed for neglecting human oratory to move the passions, which is not the business of a Christian orator, whose office it is only to work upon faith and reason. All other eloquence hath been a perfect cheat, to stir up men's passions against truth and justice, for the service of a faction, to put false colours upon things, and by an amusement of agreeable words, make the worse reason appear to be the better. This is certainly not to be allowed in Christian eloquence, and, therefore, St. Paul took quite the other course; *he came not with excellency of words, or enticing speech of men's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the spirit and power.* And perhaps it was for that reason the young man Eutychus, used to the Grecian eloquence, grew tired and fell so fast asleep.

I go on, *Thirdly*, to set forth the great evil of this neglect and scorn of preaching, and to discover the real causes from whence it proceedeth.

I think it is obvious to believe, that this neglect of preaching hath very much occasioned the great decay of religion among us. To this may be imputed no small part of that contempt some men bestow on the clergy; for, whoever talketh without being regarded, is sure to be despised. To this we owe, in a great measure, the spreading of atheism and infidelity among us; for religion, like all other things, is soonest put out of countenance by being ridiculed. The scorn of preaching might perhaps have been at first introduced by men of nice ears and refined taste; but, it is now become

a spreading evil, through all degrees, and both sexes; for, since sleeping, talking, and laughing are qualities sufficient to furnish out a critic, the meanest and most ignorant have set up a title, and succeeded in it as well as their betters. Thus are the last efforts of reforming mankind rendered wholly useless: *How shall they hear, saith the Apostle, without a preacher?* But, if they have a preacher, and make it a point of wit or breeding not to hear him, what remedy is left? To this neglect of preaching, we may also entirely impute that gross ignorance among us in the very principles of religion, which it is amazing to find in persons who very much value their own knowledge and understanding in other things; yet, it is a visible, inexcusable ignorance, even in the meanest among us, considering the many advantages they have of learning their duty. And, it hath been the great encouragement to all manner of vice: For, in vain we preach down sin to a people, *whose hearts are waxed gross, whose ears are dull of hearing, and whose eyes are closed.* Therefore Christ himself, in his discourses, frequently rouseth up the attention of the multitude, and of his disciples themselves, with this expression, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.* But, among all neglects of preaching, none is so fatal as that of sleeping in the house of God; a scorner may listen to truth and reason, and in time grow serious; an unbeliever may feel the pangs of a guilty conscience; one whose thoughts or eyes wander among other objects, may, by a lucky word, be called back to attention: But the sleeper shuts up all avenues to his soul: He is *like the deaf adder, that hearkeneth not to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.* And, we may preach with as good success to the grave that is under his feet.

But the great evil of this neglect will further yet appear,

appear, from considering the real causes whence it proceedeth; whereof the first, I take to be an evil conscience. Many men come to church to save or gain a reputation; or because they will not be singular, but comply with an established custom; yet, all the while, they are loaded with the guilt of old rooted sins. These men can expect to hear of nothing but terrors and threatenings, their sins laid open in true colours, and eternal misery the reward of them; therefore, no wonder, they stop their ears, and divert their thoughts, and seek any amusement, rather than stir the hell within them.

Another cause of this neglect is, a heart set upon worldly things. Men whose minds are much enslaved to earthly affairs all the week, cannot disengage or break the chain of their thoughts so suddenly, as to apply to a discourse that is wholly foreign to what they have most at heart. Tell a usurer of charity, and mercy, and restitution, you talk to the deaf; his heart and soul, with all his senses, are got among his bags, or he is gravely asleep, and dreaming of a mortgage. Tell a man of business, that the cares of the world choak the good seed; that we must not encumber ourselves with much serving; that the salvation of his soul is the one thing necessary: You see, indeed, the shape of a man before you, but his faculties are all gone off among clients and papers, thinking how to defend a bad cause, or find flaws in a good one; or, he weareth out the time in drowsy nods.

A third cause of the great neglect and scorn of preaching, ariseth from the practice of men who set up to decry and disparage religion; these, being zealous to promote infidelity and vice, learn a rote of buffoonry that serveth all occasions, and refutes the strongest arguments for piety and good manners. These have a set of ridicule calculated for
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all sermons, and all preachers, and can be extreme witty as often as they please upon the same fund.

Let me now, in the last place, offer some remedies against this great evil.

It will be one remedy against the contempt of preaching, rightly to consider the end for which it was designed. There are many who place abundance of merit in going to church, although it be with no other prospect but that of being well entertained, wherein if they happen to fail, they return wholly disappointed. Hence it is become an impertinent vein among people of all sorts to hunt after what they call a good sermon, as if it were a matter of pastime and diversion. Our business, alas! is quite another thing, either to learn, or, at least, be reminded of our duty, to apply the doctrines delivered, compare the rules we hear with our lives and actions, and find wherein we have transgressed. These are the dispositions men should bring into the house of God, and then they will be little concerned about the preacher's wit or eloquence, nor be curious to inquire out his faults or infirmities, but consider how to correct their own.

Another remedy against the contempt of preaching, is, that men would consider, whether it be not reasonable to give more allowances for the different abilities of preachers than they usually do; refinements of stile, and flights of wit, as they are not properly the business of any preacher, so they cannot possibly be the talents of all. In most other discourses, men are satisfied with sober sense and plain reason; and, as understandings usually go, even that is not over-frequent. Then why they should be so over-nice and expecting for sense, where it is neither necessary nor convenient, is hard to imagine.

Lastly,


Lastly, The scornors of preaching would do well to consider, that this talent of ridicule, they value so much, is a perfection very easily acquired, and applied to all things whatsoever; neither is it any thing at all the worse, because it is capable of being perverted to burlesque: Perhaps it may the more perfect upon that score; since we know, the most celebrated pieces have been thus treated with greatest success. It is in any man's power to suppose a fool's cap on the wisest head, and then laugh at his own supposition. I think there are not many things cheaper than supposing and laughing; and if the uniting these two talents can bring a thing into contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.

To conclude. These considerations may, perhaps, have some effect while men are awake; but what arguments shall we use to the sleeper? What methods shall we take to hold open his eyes? Will he be moved by considerations of common civility? We know it is reckoned a point of very bad manners to sleep in private company, when, perhaps, the tedious impertinence of many talkers would render it at least as excusable as at the dullest sermon. Do they think it a small thing to watch four hours at a play, where all virtue and religion are openly reviled; and can they not watch one half hour to hear them defended? Is this to deal like a judge, (I mean like a good judge) to listen on one side of the cause, and sleep on the other? I shall add but one word more: That this indecent sloth is very much owing to that luxury and excess men usually practise upon this day, by which half the service thereof is turned to sin; men dividing the time between God and their bellies, when, after a gluttonous meal, their senses dozed and stupified, they retire to God's house to sleep out the afternoon.

noon. Surely, brethren, these things ought not
to be.

*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And God
give us all grace to hear and receive his holy word
to the salvation of our own souls.*





REMARKS

UPON A

BOOK,

INTITULED,

The Rights of the Christian Church, &c.

Written in the Year 1708, but left unfinished.

BEFORE I enter upon a particular examination of this treatise, it will be convenient to do two things :

First, To give some account of the author, together with the motives, that might probably engage him in such a work. And,

Secondly, To discover the nature and tendency in general, of the work itself.

The first of these, although it hath been objected against, seems highly reasonable, especially in books that instil pernicious principles. For, although a book is not intrinsically much better or worse, according to the stature or complexion of the author, yet when it happens to make a noise, we are apt, and curious, as in other noises, to look about from whence it cometh. But, however, there is something more in the matter.

If a theological subject be well handled by a layman, it is better received than if it came from a divine; and that for reasons obvious enough, which, although of little weight in themselves, will ever have a great deal with mankind.

But, when books are written with ill intentions, to advance dangerous opinions, or destroy foundations; it may be then of real use to know from what quarter they come, and go a good way towards their confutation. For instance, if any man should write a book against the lawfulness of punishing felony with death; and upon inquiry, the author should be found in Newgate under condemnation for robbing a house; his arguments would not very unjustly lose much of their force, from the circumstances he lay under. So when Milton wrote his book of divorces, it was presently rejected as an occasional treatise; because every body knew, he had a shrew for his wife. Neither can there be any reason imagined, why he might not, after he was blind, have writ another upon the danger and inconvenience of eyes. But, it is a piece of logic which will hardly pass on the world; that because one man hath a fore nose, therefore all the town should put plaisters upon theirs. So, if this treatise about the rights of the church, should prove to be the work of a man steady in his principles, of exact morals, and profound learning, a true lover of his country, and a hater of Christianity, as what he really believes to be a cheat upon mankind, whom he would undeceive purely for their good; it might be apt to check unwary men, even of good dispositions towards religion. But, if it be found the productions of a man soured with age and misfortunes, together with the consciousness of past miscarriages; of one, who, in hopes of preferment, was reconciled to the Popish religion; of one wholly prostitute in life and principles, and only an enemy to religion, because it condemns them:

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In this case, and this last I find is the universal opinion, he is like to have few profelytes, beside those, who, from a sense of their vicious lives, require to be perpetually supplied by such amusements as this; which serve to flatter their wishes, and debase their understandings.

I know there are some who would fain have it, that this discourse was written by a club of free-thinkers, among whom the supposed author only came in for a share. But, sure, we cannot judge so meanly of any party, without affronting the dignity of mankind. If this be so, and if here be the product of all their quotas and contributions, we must needs allow, that freethinking is a most confined and limited talent. It is true indeed, the whole discourse seemeth to be a motly, inconsistent composition, made up of various shreds of equal fineness, although of different colours. It is a bundle of incoherent maxims and assertions, that frequently destroy one another. But, still there is the same flatness of thought and style; the same weak advances towards wit and raillery; the same petulancy and pertness of spirit; the same train of superficial reading; the same thread of thread-bare quotations; the same affectation of forming general rules upon false and scanty premises; and lastly, the same rapid venom sprinkled over the whole, which, like the dying impotent bite of a trodden benumbed snake, may be nauseous and offensive, but cannot be very dangerous.

And, indeed, I am so far from thinking this libel to be born of several fathers, that it hath been the wonder of several others as well as myself, how it was possible for any man who appeareth to have gone the common circle of academical education; who hath taken so universal a liberty, and hath so entirely laid aside all regards, not only of christianity, but common truth and justice; one who is dead to all sense of shame, and seemeth to be past

the getting or losing a reputation, should, with so many advantages, and upon so unlimited a subject, come out with so poor, so jejune a production. Should we pity or be amazed at so perverse a talent, which, instead of qualifying an author to give a new turn to old matter, disposeth him quite contrary to talk in an old beaten trivial manner upon topics wholly new. To make so many fallies into pedantry, without a call, upon a subject the most alien, and in the very moments he is declaiming against it, and in an age too, where it is so violently exploded, especially among those readers he proposeth to entertain.

I know it will be said, that this is only to talk in the common stile of an answerer; but I have not so little policy. If there were any hope of reputation or merit from such victory, I should be apt like others to cry up the courage and conduct of an enemy. Whereas to detect the weakness, the malice, the sophistry, the falsehood, the ignorance of such a writer, requireth little more than to rank his perfections, in such an order, and place them in such a light, that the commonest reader may form a judgement of them.

It may still be a wonder how so heavy a book, written upon a subject in appearance so little instructive or diverting, should survive to three editions, and consequently find a better reception than is usual with such bulky spiritless volumes; and this, in an age that pretendeth so soon to be nauseated with what is tedious and dull. To which I can only return, that as burning a book by the common hangman, is a known expedient to make it sell; so, to write a book that deserveth such treatment, is another: And a third, perhaps, as effectual as either, is to ply an insipid, worthless tract with grave and learned answers, as Dr. Hicks, Dr. Potter, and Mr. Wotton have done. Design and performances, however commendable,
have

have glanced a reputation upon the piece, which oweth its life to the strength of those hands and weapons that were raised to destroy it; like flinging a mountain upon a worm, which, instead of being bruised, by the advantage of its littleness, lodgeth under it unhurt.

But, neither is this all. For the subject, as unpromising as it seems at first view, is no less than that of Lucretius, to free men's minds from the bondage of religion; and this not by little hints and by piece-meal, after the manner of those little atheistical tracts that steal into the world, but in a thorough wholesale manner; by making religion, church, Christianity, with all their concomitants, a perfect contrivance of the civil power. It is an imputation often charged on these sort of men, that, by their invectives against religion, they can possibly propose no other end than that of fortifying themselves and others against the reproaches of a vicious life; it being necessary for men of libertine practices to embrace libertine principles, or else they cannot act in consistence with any reason, or preserve any peace of mind. Whether such authors have this design (whereof I think they have never gone about to acquit themselves) thus much is certain, that no other use is made of such writings: Neither did I ever hear this author's book justified by any person, either Whig or Tory, except such who are of that profligate character. And, I believe, whoever examineth it, will be of the same opinion; although indeed such wretches are so numerous, that it seemeth rather surprising, why the book hath had no more editions, than why it should have so many.

Having thus endeavoured to satisfy the curious with some account of this author's character, let us examine what might probably be the motives to engage him in such a work. I shall say nothing of the principal, which is a sum of money; because that

that is not a mark to distinguish him from any other trader with the press. I will say nothing of revenge and malice, from resentment of the indignities and contempt he hath undergone for his crime of apostacy. To this passion he has thought fit to sacrifice order, propriety, discretion, and common sense, as may be seen in every page of his book: But, I am deceived, if there were not a third motive as powerful as the other two; and that is, vanity. About the latter end of King James's reign he had almost finished a learned discourse in defence of the Church of Rome, and to justify his conversion: All which, upon the revolution, was quite out of season. Having thus prostituted his reputation, and at once ruined his hopes, he had no course left, but to shew his spite against religion in general; the false pretensions to which, had proved so destructive to his credit and fortune: And, at the same time, loth to employ the speculations of so many years to no purpose; by an easy turn, the same arguments he had made use of to advance Popery, were full as properly levelled by him against Christianity itself; like the image, which, while it was new and handsome, was worshiped for a saint, and when it came to be old and broken, was still good enough to make a tolerable devil. And, therefore, every reader will observe, that the arguments for Popery are much the strongest of any in his book, as I shall further remark when I find them in my way.

There is one circumstance in his title-page, which I take to be not amiss, where he calleth his book, *Part the First*. This is a project to fright away answerers, and make the poor advocates for religion believe, he still keepeth further vengeance in *petto*. It must be allowed, he hath not wholly lost time, while he was of the Romish communion. This very trick he learned from his old father, the Pope; whose custom it is to lift up his hand, and threaten

threaten to fulminate, when he never meant to shoot his bolts; because the Princes of Christendom had learned the secret to avoid or despise them. Dr. Hicks knew this very well, and therefore in his Answer to this *Book of the Rights*, where a *second Part* is threatened, like a rash person he desperately crieth, *Let it come*. But I, who have not too much flame to provoke angry wits of his standard, must tell the author, that the doctor plays the wag, as if he were sure it were all grimace. For my part, I declare, if he writeth a second part, I will not write another answer; or, if I do, it shall be published before the other part cometh out.

There may have been another motive, although it be hardly credible, both for publishing this work, and threatening a *second part*: It is not soon conceived how far the sense of a man's vanity will transport him. This man must have somewhere heard, that dangerous enemies have been often bribed to silence with money or preferment: And, therefore, to shew how formidable he is, he hath published his first essay; and, in hopes of hire, to be quiet, hath frightened us with his design of another. What must the clergy do in these unhappy circumstances? If they should bestow on this man bread enough to stop his mouth, it will but open those of a hundred more, who are every whit as well qualified to rail as he. And truly, when I compare the former enemies to Christianity, such as Socinus, Hobbes, and Spinoza, with such of their successors as Toland, Afigil, Coward, Gildon, this author of the *Rights*, and some others; the church appeareth to me like the sick old lion in the fable, who, after having his person outraged by the bull, the elephant, the horse, and the bear, took nothing so much to heart, as to find himself at last insulted by the spurn of an ass.

I will now add a few words to give the reader
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some general notion of the nature and tendency of the work itself.

I think I may assert, without the least partiality, that it is a treatise wholly devoid of wit or learning, under the most violent and weak endeavours and pretences to both. That it is replenished throughout with bold, rude, improbable falsehoods, and gross misinterpretations; and supported by the most impudent sophistry and false logic I have any where observed. To this he hath added a paultry, traditional cant of *priest-rid*, and *priest-craft*, without reason or pretext as he applieth it. And when he railleth at those doctrines in Popery (which no Protestant was ever supposed to believe) he leads the reader, however, by the hand, to make applications against the English clergy, and then he never faileth to triumph, as if he had made a very shrewd and notable stroke. And because the court and kingdom seem disposed to moderation with regard to dissenters, more perhaps than is agreeable to the hot unreasonable temper of some mistaken men among us; therefore, under the shelter of that popular opinion, he ridiculeth all that is found in religion, even Christianity itself, under the names of *Jacobite*, *Tacker*, *High-Church*, and other terms of *factious jargon*. All which, if it were to be first razed from his book (as just so much of nothing to the purpose) how little would remain to give the trouble of an answer! To which let me add, that the spirit or genius which animates the whole, is plainly perceived to be nothing else but the abortive malice of an old neglected man, who hath long lain under the extremes of obloquy, poverty, and contempt, that have soured his temper, and made him fearless. But, where is the merit of being bold, to a man that is secure of impunity to his person, and is past apprehension of any thing else. He that has neither reputation nor bread, hath very little to lose, and has

has therefore as little to fear. And, as it is usually said, *Whoever values not his own life, is master of another man's*; so there is something like it in reputation: He that is wholly lost to all regards of truth or modesty, may scatter so much calumny and scandal, that some part may perhaps be taken up before it fall to the ground; because the ill talent of the world is such, that those who will be at pains enough to inform themselves in a malicious story, will take none at all to be undeceived, nay, will be apt with some reluctance to admit a favourable truth.

To expostulate, therefore, with this author for doing mischief to religion, is to strew his bed with roses; he will reply in triumph, that this was his design; and I am loth to mortify him, by asserting he hath done none at all. For I never yet saw so poor an atheistical scribble, which would not serve as a twig for sinking libertines to catch at. It must be allowed in their behalf, that the faith of Christians is but as a grain of mustard seed in comparison of theirs, which can remove such mountains of absurdities, and submit with so entire a resignation to such apostles. If these men had any share of that reason they pretend to, they would retire into Christianity, merely to give it ease. And therefore men can never be confirmed in such doctrines, until they are confirmed in their vices; which last, as we have already observed, is the principal design of this and all other writers against revealed religion.

I am now opening the book which I propose to examine. An employment, as it is entirely new to me, so it is that to which, of all others, I have the greatest antipathy. And, indeed, who can dwell upon a tedious piece of insipid thinking, and false reasoning, so long as I am likely to do, without sharing the infection?

But, before I plunge into the depths of the

book itself, I must be forced to wade through the shallows of a long preface.

This preface, large as we see it, is only made up of such supernumerary arguments against an independent power in the church, as he could not, without nauseous repetition, scatter into the body of his book: And, it is detached, like a forlorn hope, to blunt the enemy's sword that intendeth to attack him. Now, I think, it will be easy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the sense he chargeth it upon the clergy of England, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain; and, that their universal sentiment in this matter, is such as few Protestants did ever dispute. But, if the author of the *Regale*, or two or three more obscure writers, have carried any points further than scripture and reason will allow, (which is more than I know, or shall trouble myself to inquire), the clergy of England is no more answerable for those, than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this treatise. And, therefore, that people may not be amused, or think this man is somewhat, that he hath advanced or defended any oppressed truths, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will set in as clear a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the established clergy, and all reasonable Protestants in this matter.

Every body knoweth and allows, that in all government there is an absolute, unlimited, legislative power, which is originally in the body of the people, although by custom, conquest, usurpation, or other accidents, sometimes fallen into the hands of one or a few. This in England is placed in the three estates (otherwise called the two houses of parliament) in conjunction with the king. And whatever they please to enact or to repeal in the settled forms, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, immediately becometh law or nullity. Their decrees

erces may be against equity, truth, reason and religion, but they are not against law; because law is the will of the supreme legislature, and that is, themselves. And there is no manner of doubt, but the same authority, whenever it pleaseth, may abolish Christianity, and set up the Jewish, Mahometan, or Heathen religion. In short, they may do any thing within the compass of human power. And, therefore, who will dispute, that the same law, which deprived the church not only of lands, misapplied to superstitious uses, but even the tithes and glebes, (the ancient and necessary support of parish-priests) may take away all the rest, whenever the lawgivers please, and make the priesthood as primitive, as this writer, or others of his stamp can desire.

But, as the supreme power can certainly do ten thousand things more than it ought, so there are several things which some people may think it can do, although it really cannot. For, it unfortunately happens, that edicts which cannot be executed, will not alter the nature of things. So, if a king and parliament should please to enact, that a woman who hath been a month married, is *virgo intacta*, would that actually restore her to her primitive state! If the Supreme Power should resolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or physic, few, I believe, would trust their souls, fortunes, or bodies, to his direction; because that power is neither fit to judge or teach those qualifications which are absolutely necessary to the several professions. Put the case, that walking on the slack rope were the only talent required by act of parliament for making a man a bishop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might sit in the house of Lords, put on his robes and his rotchet, go down to his palace, receive and spend his rents; but it requireth very little Christianity to believe this tumbler to be

one whit more a bishop than he was before, because the law of God hath otherwise decreed; which law, although a nation may refuse to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the mistake of this superficial man, who is not able to distinguish between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. *If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them, since no greater power is required for the one than the other.* See pref, p. 8. This consequence he repeateth above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affecteth to form a few words into the shape and size of a maxim; then trieth it by his ear, and, according as he liketh the sound or cadence, pronounceth it true. Cannot I stand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make one myself. If I have strength enough to knock a man on the head, doth it follow I can raise him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the Greek and Roman authors; can it therefore create now ones in their stead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and ecclesiastical laws, and oblige all men to observe them under pain of high treason. And to may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the last resort, take a turnip, then tie a string to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my servants, if they refuse to call it to too.

For my own part, I must confess that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiseth such a dust, is what I never imagined to be of any consequence, never once heard disputed among divines, nor remember to have read, otherwise than as a scheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe, there is hardly one divine in ten that ever
 once

once thought of this matter. Yet to see a large swelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think less than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the press and the pulpit with nothing else!

I remember some years ago, a virtuoso writ a small tract about worms, proved them to be in more places than was generally observed, and made some discoveries by glasses. This having met with some reception, presently the poor man's head was full of nothing but worms; all we eat and drink, all the whole consistence of human bodies, and those of every other animal, the very air we breathed; in short, all nature throughout was nothing but worms: And, by that system, he solved all difficulties, and from thence all causes in philosophy. Thus it hath fared with our author, and his independent power. The tack against occasional conformity, the scarcity of coffee, the invasion of Scotland, the loss of kerseys and narrow cloths, the death of King William, the author's turning papist for preferment, the loss of the battle of Almanza, with ten thousand other misfortunes, are all owing to this *imperium in imperio*.

It will be therefore necessary to set this matter in a clear light, by inquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the Christian religion was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magistrates and senates were fully instructed in the rudiments of it. Besides, the Christians were so numerous, and their worship so open before the conversion of princes, that their discipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a secret: They saw plainly a subordination of ecclesiastics, bishops, priests, and deacons: That these had certain powers and employments different from the laity: That the bishops were consecrated, and set apart
for

for that office by those of their own order : That the presbyters and deacons were differently set apart, always by the bishops : That none but the ecclesiastics presumed to pray or preach in places set apart for God's worship, or to administer the Lord's supper : That all questions relating either to discipline or doctrine, were determined in ecclesiastical conventions. These and the like doctrines and practices, being most of them directly proved, and the rest by very fair consequences deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apostles, were certainly received as a divine law by every prince or state which admitted the Christian religion : And consequently what they could not justly alter afterwards, any more than the common laws of nature. And, therefore, although the supreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old ; from consecrating bishops, or refuse those that they do consecrate ; or, in short, from performing any ecclesiastical office, as they may from eating, drinking and sleeping ; yet they cannot themselves perform those offices, which are assigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apostles ; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine institution, and consequently, null and void. Our Saviour telleth us, *His kingdom is not of this world* ; and therefore, to be sure, the world is not of his kingdom, nor can ever please him by interfering in the administration of it, since he hath appointed ministers of his own, and hath impowered and instructed them for that purpose : so that, I believe, the clergy, who, as he saith, *are good at distinguishing*, would think it reasonable to distinguish between their power and the liberty of exercising this power. The former they claim immediately from Christ, and the latter from the permission, connivance, or authority of the civil government ; with which the clergy's power, according to the solution I have given, cannot possibly interfere.

But

But this writer, setting up to form a system upon stale, scanty topics, and a narrow circle of thought, falleth into a thousand absurdities. And for a further help, he hath a talent of rattling out phrases which seem to have sense, but have none at all: The usual fate of those who are ignorant of the force and compass of words, without which it is impossible for a man to write either pertinently or intelligibly upon the most obvious subjects.

So, in the beginning of his preface, page 4th, he says, *The church of England being established by acts of parliament, is a perfect creature of the civil power; I mean the polity and discipline of it, and it is that which maketh all the contention; for as to the doctrines expressed in the articles, I do not find high church to be in any manner of pain; but they who lay claim to most orthodoxy can distinguish themselves out of them.* It is observable in this author, that his stile is naturally harsh and ungrateful to the ear, and his expressions mean and trivial; but whenever he goeth about to polish a period, you may be certain of some gross defect in propriety or meaning: So the lines just quoted seem to run easily over the tongue; and, upon examination, they are perfect nonsense and blunder. To speak in his own borrowed phrase, what is contained in the idea of *established*? Surely, not existence. Doth *establishment* give *being* to a thing! He might have said the same thing of christianity in general, or the existence of God, since both are confirmed by acts of parliament. But, the best is behind: For, in the next line, having named the church half a dozen times before, he now says, he meaneth only *the polity and discipline of it*: As if, having spoke in praise of the art of physic, a man should explain himself, that he meant only the institution of a college of physicians into a president and fellows. And it will appear, that this author, however

however versed in the practice, hath grossly transgressed the rules of nonsense, (whose property it is neither to affirm nor deny) since every visible assertion gathered from those few lines is absolutely false: For where was the necessity of excepting the doctrines expressed in the articles, since these are equally creatures of the civil power, having been established by acts of parliament as well as the others. But the church of England is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Christ and his apostles, and the instructions of the purest and earliest ages, and were received as such by those princes or states who embraced christianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be justly altered or annulled by them.

What I have already said, would, I think, be a sufficient answer to his whole preface, and indeed to the greatest part of his book, which is wholly turned upon battering down a sort of independent power in the clergy; which few or none of them ever claimed or defended. But there being certain peculiarities in this preface, that very much set off the wit, the learning, the raillery, reasoning and sincerity of the author; I shall take notice of some of them, as I pass,—

But here, I hope, it will not be expected, that I should bestow remarks upon every passage in this book, that is liable to exception for ignorance, falsehood, dulness, or malice. Where he is so insipid, that nothing can be struck out for the reader's entertainment, I shall observe Horace's rule:

Quae desperes tractata nitescere posse, relinques.

Upon which account, I shall say nothing of that great instance of his candour and judgement in relation

lation to Dr. Stillingfleet, who (happening to lie under his displeasure upon the fatal test of *imperium in imperio*) is High-church and Jacobite, took the oaths of allegiance to save him from the gallows *, and subscribed the articles only to keep his preferment : Whereas the character of that prelate is universally known to have been directly the reverse of what this writer gives him.

But before he can attempt to ruin this damnable opinion of two independent powers, he telleth us, page 6th, *It will be necessary to shew what is contained in the idea of government.* Now, it is to be understood, that this refined way of speaking was introduced by Mr. Locke ; after whom the author limpeth as fast as he is able. All the former philosophers in the world, from the age of Socrates to ours, would have ignorantly put the question, *Quid est imperium?* But now it seemeth we must vary our phrase ; and, since our modern improvement of human understanding, instead of desiring a philosopher to describe or define a mouse-trap, or tell me what it is ; I must gravely ask, what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap ? But then to observe how deeply this new way of putting questions to a man's self, maketh him enter into the nature of things ; his present business is to shew us, what is contained in the idea of government. The company knoweth nothing of the matter, and would gladly be instructed : which he doth in the following words, p. 6.

* Page 5. He quotes Bp. Stillingfleet's vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, where the Bishop says, that a man might be very right in the belief of an article, though mistaken in the explication of it. Upon which Tindal observes ; *These men treat the articles, as they do the oath of allegiance, which they say obliges them not actually to assist the government, but to do nothing against it ; that is, nothing that would bring him to the gallows.*

It would be in vain for one intelligent being to pretend to set rules to the actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the compliance with, or punish the deviations from, his rules by some good, or evil, which is not the natural consequence of those actions; since the forbidding men to do or forbear an action on the account of that convenience or inconvenience which attendeth it, whether he who forbids it will or no, can be no more than advice.

I shall not often draw such long quotations as this, which I could not forbear to offer as a specimen of the propriety and perspicuity of this author's style. And, indeed, what a light breaketh out upon us all, as soon as we have read these words! How thoroughly are we instructed in the whole nature of government? What mighty truths are here discovered; and how clearly conveyed to our understandings? And therefore let us melt this refined jargon into the Old Style, for the improvement of such who are not enough conversant in the New.

If the author were one who used to talk like one of us, he would have spoke in this manner: I think it necessary to give a full and perfect definition of government, such as will shew the nature and all the properties of it; and my definition is thus: One man will never cure another of stealing horses, merely by minding him of the pains he hath taken, the cold he hath got, and the shoe-leather he hath lost in stealing that horse; nay, to warn him, that the horse may kick or fling him, or cost him more than he is worth in hay and oats, can be no more than advice. For the gallows is not the natural effect of robbing on the highway, as heat is of fire: and therefore, if you will govern a man, you must find out some other way of punishment, than what he will inflict upon himself.

Or, if this will not do, let us try it in another case, (which I instanced before) and in his own terms.

terms. Suppose he had thought it necessary (and I think it was as much so as the other) to shew us what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap, he must have proceeded in these terms. It would be in vain for an intelligent being, to set rules for hindering a mouse from eating his cheese, unless he can inflict upon that mouse some punishment, which is not the natural consequence of eating the cheese. For, to tell her, it may ly heavy on her stomach; that she will grow too big to get back into her hole, and the like, can be no more than advice: therefore, we must find out some way of punishing her, which hath more inconveniencies than she will ever suffer by the mere eating of cheese. After this, who is so slow of understanding, as not to have in his mind a full and complete idea of a mouse-trap? Well — The Freethinkers may talk what they please of pedantry, and cant, and jargon of school-men, and insignificant terms in the writings of the clergy, if ever the most perplexed and perplexing follower of Aristotle, from Scotus to Suarez, could be a match for this author.

But the strength of his arguments is equal to the clearness of his definitions. For, having most ignorantly divided government into three parts, whereof the first contains the other two; he attempteth to prove that the clergy possess none of these by a divine right. And he argueth thus, p. vii. *As to a legislative power, if that belongs to the clergy by divine right, it must be when they are assembled in convocation: but the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. is a bar to any such divine right; because that act makes it no less than a præmunire for them, so much as to meet without the king's writ, &c.* So that the force of his arguments lieth here; if the clergy had a divine right, it is taken away by the 25th of Henry the VIII. And, as ridiculous as this argu-

ment is, the preface and book are founded upon it.

Another argument against the legislative power in the clergy of England is, p. viii. that Tacitus telleth us, that, in great affairs, the Germans consulted the whole body of the people. *De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes: Ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertreantur.* Tacitus de moribus et populis Germaniae. Upon which, Tindall observeth thus: *De majoribus omnes*, was a fundamental among our ancestors long before they arrived in Great Britain, and matters of religion were ever reckoned among their *Majora*. (See Pref. p. viii. and ix.) Now it is plain, that our ancestors, the Saxons, came from Germany: It is likewise plain, that religion was always reckoned by the heathens among their *Majora*: And it is plain, the whole body of the people could not be the clergy, and therefore, the clergy of England have no legislative power.

Thirdly, p. ix. They have no legislative power, because Mr. Washington, in his *Observations on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kings of England*, sheweth from undeniable authorities, that in the time of William the Conqueror, and several of his successors, there were no laws enacted concerning religion, but by the great Council of the kingdom. I hope likewise, Mr. Washington observeth, that this great council of the kingdom, as appeareth by undeniable authorities, was sometimes entirely composed of bishops and clergy, and called the parliament, and often consulted upon affairs of state, as well as church, as it is agreed by twenty writers of three ages; and if Mr. Washington says otherwise, he is an author just fit to be quoted by Beaux.

Fourthly, — But it is endless to pursue this matter any further; in that, it is plain, the clergy have no divine right to make laws; because Henry

VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, with their parliaments, will not allow it them. Now, without examining what divine right the clergy have, or how far it extendeth; is it any sort of proof that I have no right, because a stronger power will not let me exercise it? Or, doth all that this author says through his preface, or book itself, offer any other sort of argument but this, or what he deduces the same way?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more supportable than the grossness of historical remarks, which are scattered so plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to shew the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here just in my way; and, the rather, because I design for the future, to let hundreds of them pass without farther notice. *When, he says, p. x. by the abolishing of the Pope's power, things were brought back to their ancient channel, the parliament's right in making ecclesiastical laws revived of course.* What can possibly be meant by this *ancient channel*? Why, the channel that things ran in before the Pope had any power in England: That is to say, before Austin the monk converted England; before which time, it seems, the parliament had a right to make ecclesiastical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons met at Westminster.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of some lawyers, whose opinions this poor creature blindly followeth, and rendereth yet more absurd by his comments. The knowledge of our constitution can be only attained by consulting the earliest English histories, of which those gentlemen seem utterly ignorant, further than a quotation or an index. They would fain derive our government, as now constituted, from antiquity: And, because they have seen Tacitus quoted for his

Majoribus

Majoribus omnes; and have read of the Goths military institution in their progresses and conquests, they presently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached so far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from Aristotle and Polybius, who both distinctly name the composition of *Rex, Seniores, et populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the highest approbation. The princes in the Saxon heptarchy, did indeed call their nobles sometimes together upon weighty affairs, as most other princes of the world have done in all ages. But they made war and peace, and raised money by their own authority: They gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raised armies by their tenures. Besides, some of those kingdoms fell in by conquest, before England was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend no rights, but by the concessions of the conqueror.

Further, which is more material, upon the admission of christianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, so that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a considerable part. But, our present constitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond Henry I. Since which time it hath, in every age, admitted several alterations; and differeth now as much, even from what it was then, as almost any two species of government described by Aristotle. And, it would be much more reasonable to affirm, that the government of Rome continued the same under Justinian, as it was in the time of Scipio; because the senate and consuls still remained, although the power of both had been several hundred years transferred to the emperors.

REMARKS ON THE PREFACE.

Page iv, v. *If men of opposite sentiments can subscribe the same articles, they are as much at liberty as if there were none.* May not a man subscribe the whole articles, because he differs from another in the explication of one? How many oaths are prescribed, that men may differ in the explication of some part of them? Instance, &c.

Page vi. *Idea of government.* A canting pedantic way, learned from Locke; and how prettily he sheweth it. Instance, &c.

Page vii. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. *is a bar to any such divine Right [of a legislative power in the clergy.]* Absurd to argue against the clergy's divine right, because of the statute of Henry VIII. How doth that destroy divine right? The sottish way of arguing; from what the parliament can do; from their power, &c.

Page viii. *If the parliament did not think they had a plenitude of power in this matter, they would not have damned all the canons of 1640.* What doth he mean? A grave divine could not answer all his play-house and Alsatia cant, &c. He hath read Hudibras, and many plays.

Ibid. *If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them.* Distinguish and shew the silliness, &c.

Ibid. All that he saith against the discipline, he might say the same against the doctrine, nay, against the belief of a God, viz. That the legislature might forbid it. The church formeth and contriveth canons; and the civil power, which is compulsive, confirms them.

Page ix. *There were no laws enacted, but by the great council of the kingdom. And that was very often, chiefly only bishops.*

Ibid. Laws settled by parliament to punish the clergy. What laws were those?

Page x. *The people are bound to no laws but of their own choosing. It is fraudulent; for they may consent to what others chuse, and so people often do.*

Page xiv. paragraph 6. *The clergy are not supposed to have any divine legislature, because that must be superiour to all worldly power; and then the clergy might as well forbid the parliament to meet, but when and where they please, &c. No such consequence at all. They have a power exclusive from all others. Ordained to act as clergy, but not govern in civil affairs; nor act without leave of the civil power.*

Page xxv. *The parliament suspected the love of power natural to churchmen. Truly, so is the love of pudding, and most other things desirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And, therefore, they are held not in esteem for what they are like in, but for their virtues. The true way to abuse them with effect, is to tell us some faults of their's, that other men have not, or not so much of as they, &c. Might not any man speak full as bad of senates, dyets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he doth of bishops?*

Page xxxi. *They might as well have made cardinals Campegi and de Chinuchii, bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, as have enacted that their several sees and bishopricks were utterly void. No. The legislature might determine he should not be a bishop there, but not make a bishop.*

Ibid. Were not a great number deprived by parliament, upon the restoration? Does he mean presbyters? What signifies that?

Ibid. *Have they not trusted this power with our princes? Why, aye. But that argueth not right, but power. Have they not cut off a king's head, &c. The church must do the best they can, if not what they would.*

Page xxxvi. *If tythes and first-fruits are paid to spiritual persons as such, the King or Queen is the most spiritual person, &c. As if the first-fruits, &c. were paid to the king, as tythes to a spiritual person.*

Page xliii. *King Charles II. thought fit that the bishops in Scotland should hold their bishopricks, during will and pleasure; I do not find that high church complained of this as an encroachment, &c. No; but as a pernicious counsel of Lord Loch.*

Page xlv. *The common law judges have a power to determine, whether a man has a legal right to the sacrament. They pretend it, but what we complain of as a most abominable hardness, &c.*

Page xlv. *Giving men thus blindly to the devil, is an extraordinary piece of complaisance to a lay-chancellor. He is something in the right; and therefore it is a pity there are any; and I hope the church will provide against it. But if the sentence be just, it is not the person, but the contempt. And, if the author attacketh a man on the highway, and taketh but twopence, he shall be sent to the gallows, more terrible to him than the devil, for his contempt of the law, &c. Therefore he need not complain of being sent to hell.*

Page lxiv. *Mr. Lesly may carry things too far, as it is natural, because the other extreme is so great. But what he says of the king's losses, since the church-lands were given away, is too great a truth, &c.*

Page lxxvi. *To which I have nothing to plead, except the zeal I have for the church of England. You will see some pages further, what he meaneth by the church; but it is not fair not to begin with*

telling us what is contained in the idea of a church, &c.

Page lxxxiii. *They will not be angry with me for thinking better of the church than they do, &c.* No, but they will differ from you; because the worse the queen is pleased, you think her better. I believe the church will not concern themselves much about your opinion of them, &c.

Page lxxxiv. *But the Popish, Eastern, Presbyterian and Jacobite Clergy, &c.* This is like a general pardon, with such exceptions as make it useless, if we compute it, &c.

Page lxxxvii. *Misapplying of the word church, &c.* This is cavilling. No doubt his project is for exempting the people: But that is not what in common speech we usually mean by the church. Besides, who doth not know that distinction?

Ibid. *Constantly apply the same ideas to them.* This is, in old English, meaning the same thing.

Page lxxxix. *Demonstrates I could have no design but the promoting of truth, &c.* Yes, several designs, as money, spleen, atheism, &c. What? will any man think truth was his design, and not money and malice? Doth he expect the house will go into a committee for a bill to bring things to his scheme, to confound every thing, &c.

Some deny Tindall to be the author, and produce stories of his dulness and stupidity. But what is there in all this book, that the dullest man in England, might not write, if he were angry and bold enough, and had no regard to truth?

REMARKS upon the BOOK, &c.

Page 4. *Whether Louis XIV. has such a power over Philip V? He speaketh here of the unlimited, uncontrollable authority of fathers.*

A very foolish question; and his discourse hitherto of government, weak and trivial, and liable to objections.

Ibid. *Whom he is to consider not as his own, but the Almighty's workmanship.* A very likely consideration for the ideas of the state of nature. A very wrong deduction of paternal government; but that is nothing to the dispute, *etc.*

Page 12. *And as such might justly be punished by every one in the state of nature.* False; he doth not seem to understand the state of nature, altho' he hath borrowed it from Hobbes, *etc.*

Page 14. *Merely speculative points, and other indifferent things.* &c. And why are speculative opinions so insignificant? Do not men proceed in their practice according to their speculations? So, if the author were a chancellor, and one of his speculations were, that the poorer the clergy the better; would not that be of great use, if a cause came before him of tithes or church-lands.

Ibid. *Which can only be known by examining whether men had any power in the state of nature over their own, or others actions in these matters.* No, that is a wrong method, unless where religion hath not been revealed, in natural religion.

Ibid. *Nothing at first sight, can be more obvious, than that in all religious matters, none could make over the right of judging for himself, since that would cause his religion to be absolutely at the disposal of another.* At his rate of arguing (I think I do not misrepresent him, and I believe he will not deny the consequence) a man may profess Heathenism, Mahometanism, *etc.* and gain as many profelytes as he can; and they may have their assemblies, and the magistrates ought to protect them, provided they do not disturb the state: And they may enjoy all secular preferments, be lords-chancellors, judges, &c. But there are some opinions in several religions, which, although they do not directly

make men rebel, yet lead to it. Instance some. Nay we might have temples for idols, &c. A thousand such absurdities follow from his general notions, and ill-digested schemes. And we see in the Old Testament, that kings were reckoned good or ill, as they suffered or hindered image-worship and idolatry, &c. which was limiting conscience.

Page 15. *Men may form what clubs, companies, or meetings they think fit, &c. which the magistrates, as long as the public sustains no damage, cannot hinder, &c.* This is false; although the public sustain no damage, they will forbid clubs, where they think danger may happen.

Page 16. *The magistrate is as much obliged to protect them in the way they chuse of worshipping him, as in any other indifferent matter.*—Page 17. *The magistrate to treat all his subjects alike, how much soever they differ from him or one another in these matters.* This shews, that although they be Turks, Jews, or Heathens, it is so. But we are sure Christianity is the only true religion, &c. and therefore it should be the magistrate's chief care to propagate it; and that God should be worshipped in that form, that those who are the teachers think most proper, &c.

Page 18. *So that persecution is the most comprehensive of all crimes, &c.* But he hath not told us what is included in the idea of persecution. State it right.

Ibid. But here it may be demanded, if a man's conscience make him do such acts, &c. This doth not answer the above objection: For, if the public be not disturbed with atheistical principles preached, nor immoralities, all is well. So that still, men may be Jews, Turks, &c.

Page 22. *The same reason which obliges them to make statutes of mortmain, and other laws, against the people's giving estates to the clergy, will equally hold*

hold for their taking them away when given. A great security for property! Will this hold to any other society in a state, as merchants, &c. or only to ecclesiastics? A pretty project: Forming general schemes requires a deeper head than this man's.

Ibid. *But the good of the society being the only reason of the magistrate's having any power over men's properties, I cannot see why he should deprive his subjects of any part thereof, for the maintenance of such opinions as have no tendency that way, &c.* Here is a paragraph (*vide also infra*) which has a great deal in it. The meaning is, that no man ought to pay tythes, who doth not believe what the minister preacheth. But how came they by this property? When they purchased the land, they paid only for so much; and the tithes were exempted. It is an older title than any mans estate is, and if it were taken away to morrow, it could not, without a new law, belong to the owners of the other nine parts, any more than impropriations do.

Ibid. *For the maintenance of such opinions, as no-ways contribute to the public good. By such opinions as the public receive no advantage by, he must mean Christianity.*

Page 23. *Who, by reason of such articles, are divided into different sects. A pretty cause of sects, &c.*

Page 24. *So the same reason, as often as it occurs, will oblige him to leave that church. This is an excuse for his turning papist.*

Ibid. *Unless you suppose churches like traps, easy to admit one; but when once he is in, there he must always stick, either for the pleasure or profit of the trap setters. Remark his wit.*

Page 29. *Nothing can be more absurd than maintaining, there must be two independent powers in the same society, &c. This is abominably absurd; shew it.*

Page 33. *The whole hierarchy as built on it, must necessarily fall to the ground, and great will be the fall of this spiritual Babylon. I will do him justice, and take notice when he is witty, etc.*

Page 36. *For if there may be too such [independent powers] in every society on earth, why may there not be more than one in heaven? A delicate consequence.*

Page 37. *Without having the less, he could not have the greater, in which that is contained. Sophistical; instance wherein.*

Page 42. *Some since, subtler than the Jews, have managed commutations more to their own advantage, by enriching themselves, and beggaring, if Fame be not a liar, many an honest dissenter. It is fair to produce witnesses, is she a liar or not? The report is almost impossible. Commutations were contrived for roguish registers and proctors, and lay-chancellors, but not for the clergy.*

Page 43. *Kings and people, who (as the Indians do the Devil) adored the Pope out of fear. I am in doubt, whether I shall allow that for wit or no, &c. Look you, in these cases, preface it thus: If one may use an old saying.*

Page 44. *One reason why the clergy make what they call schism, to be so heinous a sin. There it is now; because he hath changed churches, he ridiculeth schism; as Milton wrote for divorces, because he had an ill wife. For ten pages on, we must give the true answer, that makes all these arguments of no use.*

Page 60. *It possibly will be said, I have all this while been doing these gentlemen a great deal of wrong. To do him justice, he sets forth the objections of his adversaries with great strength, and much to their advantage. No doubt those are the very objections we would offer.*

Page 60. *Their executioner. He is fond of this word in many places, yet there is nothing in it further*

further than that it is the name for the hangman, &c.

Page 69. *Since they exclude both from having any thing in the ordering of church matters.* Another part of his scheme: For by this the people ought to execute ecclesiastical offices without distinction, for he brings the other opinion as an absurd one.

Page 72. *They claim a judicial power, and, by virtue of it, the government of the church, and thereby (pardon the expression) become traitors both to God and Man.* Who doth he desire to pardon him? or is this meant of the English clergy? so it seemeth. Doth he desire them to pardon him? they do it as Christians. Doth he desire the government to do it? but then how can they make examples? He says, the clergy do so, &c. so he means all.

Page 74. *I would gladly know what they mean by giving the Holy Ghost.* Explain what is really meant by giving the Holy Ghost, like a king empowering an ambassador*.

Page 76. *The Popish clergy make very bold with the three persons of the Trinity.* Why then, do not mix them, but we see whom this glanceth on most. As to the *Conge d'lire*, and *Nolo episcopari*, not so absurd; and, if omitted, why changed.

Page 78. *But not to digress*—Pray, doth he call scurrility upon the clergy, a digression? The apology needles, &c.

Ibid. *A clergyman, it is said, is God's ambassador.* But you know an ambassador may leave a secretary, &c.

Ibid. *Call their pulpit speeches, the word of God.* That is a mistake.

Page 79. *Such persons to represent him.* Are not they that own his power, fitter to represent him

[* See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book v. Sect. 77.]

than others? Would the author be a fitter person?

Ibid. *Puft up with intolerable pride and insolence.* Not at all; for where is the pride to be employed by a Prince, whom so few own, and whose being is disputed by such as this author?

Ibid. *Perhaps from a poor fervitor, &c. to be a prime minister in God's kingdom.* That is right. God taketh notice of the difference between poor fervitors, &c. Extremely foolish—shew it. The argument lieth strongly against the apostles, poor fishermen, and St. Paul, a tent-maker. So gross and idle!

Page 80. *The formality of laying hand over head on a man.* A pun; but an old one. I remember, when Swan made that pun first, he was severely checked for it.

Ibid. *What is more required to give one a right, &c.* Here shew, what power is in the church, and what in the state, to make priests.

Page 85. *To bring men into, and not turn them out of the ordinary way of salvation.* Yes; but as one rotten sheep doth mischief—and do you think it reasonable, that such a one as this author, should converse with Christians, and weak ones.

Page 86. See his fine account of spiritual punishment.

Page 87. *The clergy affirm, that if they had not the power to exclude men from the church, its unity could not be preserved.* So to expel an ill member from a college, would be the way to divide the college; as in *All souls*, &c. Apply it to him.

Page 88. *I cannot see but it is contrary to the rules of charity, to exclude men from the church, &c.* All this turns upon the falsest reasoning in the world. So, if a man be imprisoned for stealing a horse, he is hindered from other duties: And, you might argue, that a man who doth ill, ought to be more diligent in minding other duties, and

not to be debarred from them. It is for contumacy and rebellion against that power in the church, which the law hath confirmed. So a man is outlawed for a trifle, upon contumacy.

Page 92. *Obliging all by penal laws to receive the Sacrament.* This is false.

Page 93. *The want of which means can only harden a man in his impenitence.* It is for his being hardened that he is excluded. Suppose a son robbeth his father in the high-way, and his father will not see him till he restoreth the money and owneth his fault. It is hard to deny him paying his duty in other things, &c. How absurd this!

Page 95. *And that only they had a right to give it.* Another part of his scheme, that the people have a right to give the sacrament. See more of it. p. 135 and 137.

Page 96. *Made familiar to such practices by the Heathen priests.* Well; and this shews the necessity of it for peace's sake, A silly objection of this and other enemies to religion, to think to disgrace it by applying Heathenism, which only concerns the political part wherein they were as wise as others, and might give rules. Instance in some, &c.

Page 98. *How differently from this do the great pretenders to primitive practice act, &c.* This is a remarkable passage. Doth he condemn or allow this mysterious way? It seems the first—and therefore these words are a little turned, but infallibly stood in the first draught as a great argument for popery.

Page 100. *They dress them up in a San-benito.* So now we are to answer for the Inquisition. One thing is, that he makes the fathers guilty of asserting most of the corruptions about the power of priests.

Page 104. *Some priests assume to themselves an arbitrary power of excluding men from the Lord's Sup-*

per. His scheme; that any body may administer the sacraments, women or children, *etc.*

Page 108. *One no more than another can be reckoned a priest.* See his scheme. Here he disgraces what the law enacts about the manner of consecrating, *etc.*

Page 118. *Churches serve to worse purposes than bear-gardens.* This from Hudibras.

Page 119. *In the time of that wise Heathen Ammianus Marcellinus.* Here he runs down all Christianity in general.

Page 120. *I shall, in the following part of my discourse, shew that this doctrine is so far from serving the ends of religion, that, 1st, It prevents the spreading of the gospel, &c.* This independent power in the church is like the worms; being the cause of all diseases.

124. *How easily could the Roman Emperors have destroyed the church?* Just as if he had said; how easily could Herod kill Christ whilst a child, *etc.*

Page 125. *The people were set against bishops by reason of their tyranny.* Wrong. For the bishops were no tyrants: Their power was swallowed up by the Popes, and the people desired they should have more. It were the Regulars that tyrannized and formed priestcraft. He is ignorant.

Page 139. *He is not bound by the laws of Christ to leave his friends, in order to be baptized, &c.* This directly against the Gospel.—One would think him an emissary, by his preaching schism.

Page 142. *Then will the communion of saints be practicable, to which the principles of all parties, the occasional Conformists only excepted, stand in direct opposition, &c.* So that all are wrong but they. The scripture is fully against schism. Tindall promoteth it, and placeth in it all the present and future happiness of man.

Page 144. All he has hitherto said on this matter, with a very little turn, were arguments for Popery:

Popery: For, it is certain, that religion had share in very few wars for many hundred years before the reformation, because they were all of a mind. It is the ambition of rebels, preaching upon the discontents of sectaries, that they are not supreme, which hath caused wars for religion. He is mistaken altogether. His little narrow understanding and want of learning.

Page 145. *Though some say the high-flyers lives might serve for a very good rule, if men would not quite contrary to them.* Is he one of those some? Besides the new turn of wit, etc. all the clergy in England come under his notion of high-flyers, as he states it.

Page 147. *None of them (Churchmen) could be brought to acknowledge it lawful upon any account whatever, to exclude the Duke of York.* This account false in fact.

Ibid. *And the body politic, whether ecclesiastical or civil, must be dealt with after the same manner, as the body natural.* What, because it is called a body, and is a simile, must it hold in all circumstances?

Page 148. *We find all wise legislators have had regard to the tempers, inclinations, and prejudices, &c.* This paragraph false.—It was directly contrary in several, as Lycurgus, etc.

Page 152. *All the skill of the prelatists is not able to discover the least distinction between bishop and presbyter.* Yet, God knows, this hath been done many a time.

Page 158. *The epistle to the Philippians is directed to the bishops and deacons, I mean in due order after the people, viz. to the saints with their bishops and deacons.* I hope he would argue from another place, that the people precede the king, because of these words. *Ye shall be destroyed both you and your king.*

Page 167. *The Pope and other great church dons.*

I suppose, he meaneth bishops: But I wish, he would explain himself, and not be so very witty in the midst of an argument; it is like two mediums; not fair in disputing.

Page 168. *Clemens Romanus blames the people not for assuming a power, but for making a wrong use of it, &c.* His great error all along is, that he doth not distinguish between a power, and a liberty of exercising that power, *etc.* I would appeal to any man, whether the clergy have not too little power, since a book like his, that unsettleth foundations and would destroy all, goes unpunished, *etc.*

Page 171. *By this, or some such method, the bishops obtained their power over their fellow presbyters, and both over the people. The whole tenor of the gospel directly contrary to it.* Then it is not an allowable means: This carries it so far as to spoil his own system; it is a sin to have bishops as we have them.

Page 172. *The preservation of peace and unity, and not any divine right, was the reason of establishing a superiority of one of the presbyters over the rest. Otherwise there would, as they say, have been as many schismatics as presbyters. No great compliment to the clergy of those days. Why so? It is the natural effect of a worse independency, which he keepeth such a clatter about; an independency of churches on each other, which must naturally create schism.*

Page 183. *How could the christians have asserted the disinterestedness of those who first preached the gospel, particularly their having a right to the tenth part? Yes, that would have passed easy enough; for they could not imagine teachers could live on air; and their heathen priests were much more unreasonable.*

Page 184. *Mens suffering for such opinions is not sufficient to support the weight of them. This is a glance against Christianity. State the case of converting*

verting infidels; the converters are supposed few; the bulk of the priests must be of the converted country. It is their own people therefore they maintain. What project or end can a few converters propose? they can leave no power to their families, *etc.* State this, I say, at length, and give it a true turn. Princes give corporations power to purchase lands.

Page 187. *That it became an easy prey to the barbarous nations.* Ignorance in Tindal! The empire long declined before christianity was introduced. This a wrong cause, if ever there was one.

Page 190. *It is the clergy's interest to have religion corrupted,* Quite the contrary; prove it. How is it the interest of the English clergy to corrupt religion? The more justice and piety the people have, the better it is for them; for that would prevent the penury of farmers, and the oppression of exacting covetous landlords, *etc.* That which hath corrupted religion, is the liberty unlimited of professing all opinions. Do not lawyers render law intricate by their speculations, *etc.* and physicians, *etc.*

Page 209. *The spirit and temper of the clergy, &c.* What does this man think the clergy are made of? Answer generally to what he says against councils in the ten pages before. Suppose I should bring quotations in their praise.

Page 211. *As the clergy, though few in comparison of the laity, were the inventors of corruptions.* His scheme is, that the fewer and poorer the better, and the contrary among the laity. A noble principle; and delicate consequences from it!

Page 207. *Men are not always condemned for the sake of opinions, but opinions sometimes for the sake of men.* And so, he hopes, that, if his opinions are condemned, people will think it is a spite against him, as having been always scandalous.

Page 210. *The meanest layman as good a judge as the greatest priest; for the meanest man is as much interested in the truth of religion as the greatest priest.* As if one should say, the meanest sick man hath as much interest in health as a physician, therefore he is as good a judge of phyfic as a physician, &c.

Ibid. *Had synods been composed of laymen, none of those corruptions which tend to advance the interest of the clergy, &c.* True. But the part the laity had in reforming, was little more than plundering. He should understand, that the nature of things is this, that the clergy are made of men, and, without some encouragement, they will not have the best, but the worst.

Page 215. *They who gave estates to, rather than they who took them from the clergy, were guilty of sacrilege.* Then the people are the church, and the clergy not; another part of his scheme.

Page 219. *The clergy as they subsisted by the alms of the people, &c.* This he would have still. Shew the folly of it. Not possible to shew any civilized nation ever did it. Who would be clergymen then? The absurdity appears by putting the case, that none were to be statesmen, lawyers, or physicians, but who were to subsist by alms.

Page 222. *These subtille clergymen work their designs, who lately cut out such a tacking job for them, &c.* He is mistaken—Every body was for the bill almost, though not for the tack. The Bishop of Sarum was for it, as appears by his speech against it. But it seems, the tacking is owing to metaphysical speculations. I wonder whether is most perplexed, this author in his stile, or the writings of our divines. In the judgment of all people, our divines have carried practical preaching and writing to the greatest perfection it ever arrived to; which shews, that we may affirm in general, our
clergy

clergy is excellent, although this or that man be faulty. As if an army be constantly victorious, regular, *etc.* we may say, it is an excellent victorious army: But Tindal, to disparage it, would say, such a serjeant ran away; such an ensign hid himself in a ditch; nay, one colonel turned his back, therefore, it is a corrupt, cowardly army, *etc.*

Page 224. *They were as apprehensive of the works of Aristotle, as some men are of the works of a late philosopher, which they are afraid, will let too much light into the world.* Yet just such another; only a commentator on Aristotle. People are likely to improve their understanding much with Locke: It is not his human understanding, but other works that people dislike, although in that there are some dangerous tenets, as that of [no] innate ideas.

Page 226. *Could they, like the popish priests, add to this a restraint on the press, their business would be done.* So it ought: For example, to hinder his book, because it is written to justify the vices and infidelity of the age. There can be no other design in it. For, is this a way or manner to do good? Railing doth but provoke. The opinion of the whole parliament is, the clergy are too poor.

Ibid. *When some nations could be no longer kept from prying into learning, this miserable gibberish of the schools was contrived.* We have exploded schoolmen as much as he; and in some peoples opinion too much, since the liberty of embracing any opinion is allowed. They following Aristotle, who is doubtless the greatest master of arguing in the world: But it hath been a fashion of late years to explode Aristotle, and therefore this man hath fallen into it like others, for that reason, without understanding him. Aristotle's poetry, rhetoric, and politics, are admirable; and therefore, it is likely, so are his logics.

Page 230. *In these freer countries, as the clergy have less power, so religion is better understood, and more useful and excellent discourses are made on that subject, &c.* Not generally. Holland not very famous; Spain hath been; and France is. But it requireth more knowledge than his, to form general rules, which people strain (when ignorant) to false deductions to make them out.

Page 232. Chap. VII. *That this hypothesis of an independent power in any set of clergymen, makes all reformation unlawful, except where those who have this power, do consent.* The title of this chapter, *A Truism.*

Page 234. *If God has not placed mankind, in respect to civil matters, under an absolute power, but has permitted them in every society to act as they judge best for their own safety, &c.* Bad parallels; bad politics; want of due distinction between teaching and government. The people may know when they are govered well, but not be wiser than their instructors. Shew the difference.

Ibid. *If God has allowed the civil society these privileges, can we suppose he hath less kindness for his church, &c.* Here they are distinguished then; here it makes for him. It is a sort of turn of expression, which is scarce with him, and he contradicts himself to follow it.

Page 235. *This cursed hypothesis had, perhaps, never been thought on with relation to civils, had not the clergy (who have inexhaustible magazine of oppressive doctrines) contrived first in ecclesiasticals, &c.* The seventh paragraph furious and false. Were there no tyrants before the clergy, etc.

Page 236. *Therefore, in order to serve them, though I expect little thanks, &c.* And why so? Will they not, as you say, follow their interest? I thought you said so. He has three or four sprightly turns of this kind, that look, as if he thought he had done

done wonders, and had put all the clergy in a ferment. Whereas, I do assure him, there are but two things wonderful in his book: First, how any man in a christian country could have the boldness or wickedness to write it: And, how any government would neglect punishing the author of it, if not as an enemy of religion, yet as a profligate trumpeter of sedition. These are hard words, got by reading his book.

Ibid. *The light of nature as well as the gospel, obliges people to judge of themselves, &c. to avoid false prophets, seducers, &c.* The legislature can turn out a priest, and appoint another ready made, but not make one; as you discharge a physician, and may take a farrier; but he is no physician, unless made as he ought to be.

Ibid. *Since no more power is required for the one than the other.* That is, I dislike my physician, and can turn him off, therefore I can make any man a physician, &c. *Cujus est destruere.* &c. Jest on it: Therefore, because he lays schemes for destroying the church, we must employ him to raise it again. See, what danger lies in applying maxims at random. So, because it is the soldiers business to knock men on the head, it is theirs likewise to raise them to life, etc.

Page 237. *It can belong only to the people to appoint their own ecclesiastical officers.* This word *people* is so delicious in him, that I cannot tell what is included in the idea of the *people*. Doth he mean the rabble or the legislature, etc.? In this sense it may be true, that the legislature giveth leave to the bishops to appoint, and they appoint themselves; I mean the executive power appoints, etc. He sheweth his ignorance in government. As to *High Church* he carrieth it a prodigious way, and includeth, in the idea of it, more than others will allow.

Page 230. *Though it be customary to admit none to the ministry who are not approved by the bishops or priests, &c. One of his principles to expose.*

Ibid. If every one has not an inherent right to chuse his own guide, then a man must be either of the religion of his guide; or, &c. That would make delicate work in a nation: what would become of all our churches? They must dwindle into conventicles. Shew what would be the consequence of this scheme in several points. This great reformer, if his projects were reduced to practice, how many thousand sects, and consequently tumults, &c. Men must be governed in speculations, at least not suffered to vent them; because opinions tend to actions, which are most governed by opinions, &c. If those who write for the church writ no better they would succeed but scurvily. But to see whether he be a good writer, let us see when he hath published his second part.

Page 253. *An excellent author in his preface to the account of Denmark. This man judgeth and writeth much of a level. Molefworth's preface, full of stale profligate topics. That author wrote his book in spite to a nation, as this doth to religion, and both perhaps on poor personal piques.*

Ibid. By which means, and not by any difference in speculative matters, they are more rich and populous. As if ever any body thought that a difference in speculative opinions made men richer or poorer; for example, &c.

Page 258. *Play the devil for God's sake. If this is meant for wit, I would be glad to observe it; but in such cases I first look whether there be common sense, &c.*

Page 261. *Christendom has been the scene of perpetual wars, massacres, &c. He doth not consider that most religious wars have been caused by schisms, when the dissenting parties were ready to join with any ambitious, discontented men. The
national*

national religion always desireth peace, even in her notions, for its interests.

Page 270. *Some have taken the liberty to compare a high church priest in Politics to a monkey in a glass-shop, where, as he can do no good, so he never fails of doing mischief enough.* That is his modesty, it is his own simile, and it rather fits a man that does so and so, (meaning himself.) Besides, the comparison is foolish. So it is with men, as with stags.

Page 276. *Their interest obliges them directly to promote tyranny.* The matter is, that Christianity is the fault which spoils the priests, for they were like other men before they were priests. Among the Romans, priests did not do so, for they had the greatest power during the republic. I wonder he did not prove, they spoiled Nero.

Page 277. *No princes have been more insupportable and done greater violence to the commonwealth than those the clergy have honoured for saints and martyrs.* For example, in our country, the princes most celebrated by our clergy are, *etc. etc. etc.* And the quarrels since the conquest were nothing at all of the clergy, but purely of families, &c. wherein the clergy only joined like other men.

Page 279. *After the reformation, I desire to know whether the conduct of the clergy was any ways altered for the better, &c.* Monstrous misrepresentation! Does this man's spirit of declaiming let him forget all truth of fact, as here, &c.? Shew it. Or doth he flatter himself, a time will come, in future ages, that men will believe it on his word? In short, between declaiming, between misrepresenting, and falseness, and charging Popish things, and independency huddled together, his whole book is employed.

Set forth at large the necessity of union in religion, and the disadvantage of the contrary, and answer the contrary in Holland, where they have no religion, and are the worst constituted govern-

ment in the world to last. It is ignorance of causes and appearances which makes shallow people judge so much to their advantage. They are governed by the administration and almost legislature of Holland, through advantage of property; nor are they fit to be set in balance with a noble kingdom, &c. like a man that gets a hundred pounds a-year by hard labour, and one that has it in land.

Page 280. *It may be worth enquiring, whether the difference between the several sects in England, &c. A noble notion started, that union in the church must enslave the kingdom: reflect on it. This man hath somewhere heard, that it is a point of wit to advance paradoxes, and the bolder the better. But the wit lies in maintaining them, which he neglecteth, and formeth imaginary conclusions from them, as if they were true and uncontested.*

He adds, *That in the best constituted church, the greatest good which can be expected of the ecclesiastics is from their divisions.* This is a maxim deduced from a gradation of false suppositions. If a man should turn the tables, and argue that all the debauchery, atheism, licentiousness, &c. of the times, were owing to the poverty of the clergy, &c. what would he say? There have been more wars of religion since the ruin of the clergy, than before in England. All the civil wars before were from other causes.

Page 283. *Prayers are made in the loyal university of Oxford, to continue the throne free from the contagion of schism. See Mather's Sermon on the 29th of May, 1700.* Thus he ridicules the university, while he is eating their bread. The whole university comes with the most loyal addresses, yet that goes for nothing. If one indiscreet man drops an indiscreet word, all must answer for it.

Page 286. *By allowing all, who hold no opinions prejudicial to the state, and contribute equally with their fellow-*

fellow-subjects to its support, equal privileges in it. But who denies that of the dissenters? The Calvinist scheme, one would not think, proper for monarchy. Therefore, they fall in with the Scotch, Geneva, and Holland; and when they had strength here, they pulled down the monarchy. But I will tell an opinion they hold prejudicial to the state in his opinion; and that is, that they are against toleration; of which, if I do not shew him ten times more instances from their greatest writers, than he can do of passive obedience among the clergy, I have done.

Does not justice demand, that they who alike contribute to the burden, should alike receive the advantage? Here is another of his maxims closely put, without considering what exceptions may be made. The Papists have contributed doubly (being so taxed; therefore, by this rule, they ought to have double advantage. Protection in property, leave to trade and purchase, *etc.* are enough for a government to give. Employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it, *etc.* For example, a man, who, upon all occasions, declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a capacity of reducing it to practice, *etc.*

Page 287. *There can be no alteration in the established mode of church discipline, which is not made in a legal way.* Oh, but there are several methods to compass this legal way, by cunning, faction, industry. The common people, he knows, may be wrought upon by priests; these may influence the faction, and so compass a very pernicious law, and in a legal way ruin the state; as King Charles I. began to be ruined in a legal way, by passing bills, *etc.*

Page 288. *As every thing is persecution, which puts a man in a worse condition than his neighbours.* It is hard

hard to think sometimes whether this man is hired to write for or against dissenters and the sects. This is their opinion, although they will not own it so roundly. Let this be brought to practice: Make a Quaker lord chancellor, who thinketh paying tythes unlawful. And bring other instances to shew that several employments affect the church.

Ibid. Great advantage which both church and state have got by the kindness already shown to dissenters. Let them then be thankful for that. We humour children for their good sometimes, but too much may hurt. Observe, that this 64th paragraph just contradicts the former. For, if we have advantage by kindness shewn dissenters, then there is no necessity of banishment, or death.

290. *Christ never designed the holy Sacrament should be prostituted to serve a party. And then people should be bribed by a place to receive unworthily.* Why, the business is, to be sure, that those who are employed are of the national church; and the way to know it is, by receiving the sacrament, which all men ought to do in their own church; and if not, are hardly fit for an office; and if they have those moral qualifications he mentioneth, joined to religion, no fear of receiving unworthily. And for this there might be a remedy: To take an oath, that they are of the same principles, *etc.* for that is the end of receiving; and that it might be no bribe, the bill against occasional conformity would prevent entirely.

Ibid. Preferring men not for their capacity, but their zeal to the church. The misfortune is, that if we prefer dissenters to great posts, they will have an inclination to make themselves the national church, and so there will be perpetual struggling; which case may be dangerous to the state: For men are naturally wishing to get over others to their own opinion: Witness this writer, who hath published

blished as singular and absurd notions as possible, yet hath a mighty zeal to bring us over to them, etc.

Page 292. Here are two pages of scurrilous faction, with a deal of reflections on great persons. Under the notion of high-churchmen, he runs down all uniformity and church-government. Here is the whole lower house of convocation, which represents the body of the clergy and both universities, treated with rudeness by an obscure, corrupt member, while he is eating their bread.

Page 294. *The reason why the middle sort of people retain so much of their ancient virtue, &c. is because no such pernicious notions are the ingredients of their education; which it is a sign are infinitely absurd, when so many of the gentry and nobility can, notwithstanding their prepossession, get clear of them.* Now, the very same argument lies against religion, morality, honour, and honesty, which are, it seems, but prejudices of education, and too many get clear of them. The middle sort of people have other things to mind than the factions of the age. He always assigneth many causes, and sometimes with reason, since he maketh imaginary effects. He quarrels at power being lodged in the clergy: When there is no reasonable protestant, clergy or laity, who will not readily own the inconveniencies by too great power and wealth, in any one body of men, ecclesiastics, or seculars: But on that account to weed up the wheat with the tares; to banish all religion, because it is capable of being corrupted; to give unbounded licence to all sects, etc.—And if heresies had not been used with some violence in the primitive age, we should have had, instead of true religion, the most corrupt one in the world.

Page 316. *The Dutch, and the rest of our presbyterian allies, &c.* The Dutch will hardly thank him for this appellation. The French huguenots,
and

and Geneva protestants themselves, and others, have lamented the want of episcopacy, and approved ours, &c. In this and the next paragraph, the author introduceth the arguments he formerly used, when he turned papist in King James's time; and loth to lose them, he gives them a new turn; and they are the strongest in his book, at least have most artifice.

Page 333. *It is plain, all the power the bishops have is derived from the people, &c.* In general the distinction lies here. The permissive power of exercising jurisdiction, lies in the people, or legislature, or administrator of a kingdom; but not of making him a bishop. As a physician that commenceth abroad, may be suffered to practise in London or be hindered; but they have not the power of creating him a doctor, which is peculiar to an university. This is some allusion; but the thing is plain, as it seemeth to me, and wanteth no subterfuge, *etc.*

Page 338. *A journeyman bishop to ordain for him.* Doth any man think, that writing at this rate, does the author's cause any service? Is it his wit or his spleen that he cannot govern?

Page 364. *Can any have a right to an office without having a right to do those things in which the office consists?* I answer, the ordination is valid. But a man may prudentially forbid to do some things. As a clergyman may marry without licence or banns; the marriage is good; yet he is punishable for it.

Page 368. *A choice made by persons who have no right to chuse, is an error of the first concoction.* That battered simile again; this is hard. I wish the physicians had kept that a secret, it lieth so ready for him to be witty with.

Page 370. *If prescription can make mere nullities to become good and valid, the laity may be capable of all manner*

manner of ecclesiastical power, &c. There is a difference; for here the same way is kept, although there might be breaches; but it is quite otherwise, if you alter the whole method from what it was at first. We see bishops: There always were bishops: It is the old way still. So a family is still held the same, although we are not sure of the purity of every one of the race.

Page 380. *It is said, That every nation is not a complete body politic within itself as to ecclesiasticals. But the whole church, say they, composes such a body, and Christ is the head of it. But Christ's headship makes Christians no more one body politic with respect to ecclesiasticals than to civils.* Here we must shew the reason and necessity of the church being a corporation all over the world: To avoid heresies, and preserve fundamentals, and hinder corrupting of scripture, &c. But there are no such necessities in government, to be the same every where, &c. It is something like the colleges in an university; they all are independent, yet joined, are one body. So a general council consisteth of many persons independent of one another, &c.

However, there is such a thing as *Jus gentium*, &c. And he that is doctor of physic, or law, is so in any university in Europe, like the *respublica literaria*. Nor to me does there seem any thing contradicting, or improper in this notion of the catholic church; and for want of such a communion, religion is so much corrupted, and would be more, if there were [not] more communion in this than in civils. It is of no import to mankind how nations are governed; but the preserving the purity of religion is best held up by endeavouring to make it one body over the world. Something like as there is in trade. So to be able to communicate with all Christians we come among,

is at least to be wisfred and aimed at as much as we can.

Page 384. *In a word, if the bishops are not supreme, &c.* Here he reassumeth his arguments for Popery, that there cannot be a body-politic of the church through the whole world, without a visible head to have recourse to. These were formerly writ to advance popery, and now to put an absurdity upon the hypothesis of a catholic church. As they say in Ireland, in King James's time, they built mafs-houses which we make very good barns of.

Page 388. *Bishops are, under a premonire, obliged to confirm and consecrate the person named in the Conge d'elire.* This perhaps is complained of. He is permitted to do it. We all allow the legislature may hinder, if they please; as they may turn out Christianity, if they think fit.

Page 389. *It is the magistrate who impowers them to do more for other bishops than they can for themselves, since they cannot appoint their own successors.* Yes they could, if the magistrate would let them. Here is an endless splutter, and a parcel of perplexed distinctions upon no occasion. All that the clergy pretend to, is a right of qualifying men for the ministry, something like what an university doth with degrees. This power they claim from God, and that the civil power cannot do it as pleasing to God without them; but they may chuse whether they will suffer it or no. A religion cannot be crammed down a nation's throat against their will; but when they receive a religion, it is supposed they receive it as their converters give it; and, upon that foot, they cannot justly mingle their own methods, that contradict that religion, &c.

Page 390. *With us the bishops act only ministerially and by virtue of the regal commission, by which the prince firmly enjoins and commands them to proceed in*
chusing

chusing, confirming, and consecrating, &c. Suppose we held it unlawful to do so: How can we help it? But does that make it rightful, if it be not so? Suppose the author lived in a heathen country, where a law would be made to call Christianity idolatrous; would that be a topic for him to prove it so by, &c. And why do the clergy incur a pre-munire;—To frighten them.—Because the law understandeth, that, if they refuse, the chosen cannot be a bishop: But, if the clergy had an order to do it otherwise than they have prescribed, they ought and would incur an hundred rather.

Page 402. *I believe the catholic church, &c.* Here he ridicules the Apostles creed.—Another part of his scheme. By what he says in these pages, it is certain, his design is either to run down Christianity, or set up Popery; the latter it is more charitable to think, and, from his past life, highly probable.

Page 405. *That which gave the Papists so great advantage was, clergymens talking so very inconsistent with themselves, &c.* State the difference here between our separation from Rome, and the dissenters from us, and shew the falseness of what he saith. I wish he would tell us what he leaveth for a clergyman to do, if he may not instruct the people in religion, and if they should not receive his instructions.

Page 411. *The restraint of the press a badge of Popery.* Why is that a badge of Popery? Why not restrain the press to those who would confound religion, as in civil matters. But this toucheth himself. He would starve perhaps, &c. Let him get some honest livelihood then. It is plain, all his arguments against constraint, &c. favour the Papists as much as dissenters; for both have opinions that may affect the peace of the state.

Page 413. *Since this discourse, &c.* And must we have another volume on this one subject of independency? Or, is it to fright us? I am not of Dr. Hickes's mind, *Qu'il venge.* I pity the readers, and the clergy that must answer it, be it ever so insipid. Reflect on his sarcastic conclusion, &c.





A N

A N S W E R

T O T H E

C R A F T S M A N

Of Dec. 12, 1730,

On a very interesting Subject, relative to
I R E L A N D.

To which is prefixed,

The C R A F T S M A N itself.

The C R A F T S M A N.

N^o. 232

SAT. Dec. 12. 1730.

THE following article, which hath lately appeared in the news-papers, deserveth our immediate consideration, *viz.*

“ They write from Dublin, that an officer from
“ every regiment in the French service is arrived
“ there,

“ there, in order to raise recruits for their respective corps; which is not to be done in a clandestine manner, as formerly (when several persons suffered death for it) but publicly. These gentlemen are to disperse themselves into the several counties, where they have the best interest; and a field-officer is to reside constantly at Dublin to hear all complaints, which may be made by any of the recruits against their officers; and also to prepare for sending them off.— Count BROGLIO hath been soliciting an order to this purpose, these two years.”

When I first read this account in the public prints, I looked upon it as a common piece of false intelligence, and was in full expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next day's papers, according to frequent custom; but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true, (although I can hardly yet believe it; especially, as to every part) the duty which I owe my country, and my zeal for the present establishment, oblige me to take some notice of an affair, which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be necessary, in the first place, to give the reader a short account of the nature of these troops, as they are now established in France.

They consist, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horse, and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered; so that they are of themselves a very considerable body of men.

But their number is the least point to be considered in this affair. There are other circumstances, which render these troops infinitely more formidable to Great Britain. They are not only all Roman Catholics, but the most dangerous of that communion, with respect to us, I mean Roman Catholic subjects of our own dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country

on account of rebellions and conspiracies, in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted by inclination; by interest, by conscience, by every motive human and divine, to the service of the Pretender, in opposition to the Protestant succession in his Majesty's royal family.

To this we may add, that they are generally esteemed the best forces in the French service, that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late wars; and are commanded by officers of approved courage, as well as great skill and experience in military affairs.

It is said likewise, that the serjeants, corporals, and private men are so well-seasoned to danger, and expert in their duty, that, by a gradual promotion, they could furnish officers for a very formidable army, in case of any sudden invasion or insurrection.

In the next place, it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony, by act of parliament in Ireland, for any subject of that kingdom to enlist himself, or to enlist others, in the service of any foreign state; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have suffered death upon that account.

We know it may be said, that a power is reserved to his Majesty, by a clause in that act, to dispense with it, by granting any foreign prince a licence to raise forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his subjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to dispute any of his Majesty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wisdom of the legislature in question, yet I must take the liberty to observe, that such powers have been sometimes granted out of complaisance to the crown, that the prince's hands may not be absolutely tyed up, and in full confidence that they will never

ver be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or possibly of some protestant ally, upon great emergencies of state. The exercise of the prerogative, in these cases, is therefore merely a prudential part, which is left to the discretion of the prince and his ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best judges of these affairs; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the attorney-general for his opinion in such a case, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the affair be actionable or not; but ministers ought to regulate their conduct, in these respects, according to the situation of affairs, and the exigencies of government.

I must therefore beg leave to consider the present subject of the Irish forces, in this light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a licence to recruit Roman Catholic regiments of English subjects, in foreign service, and in the interest of a pretender to the crown, (which is death by the law, without his Majesty's permission) is a favour of a very extraordinary nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary circumstances at present; unless it should be said that this favour was granted, in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of Dunkirk; but I hope they have more generosity than to insist upon such hard terms for the effectual performance of that, which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am sure, such conditions seem unreasonable on our part, after we have made them so many other concessions; particularly with relation to the flag and Santa Lucia; which, I think, are sufficient to make them comply with all our demands, without expecting any farther favours, and even supererogations of friendship.

Perhaps my adversaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for
writing

writing in this strain ; but as it sometimes serveth their turn to make me a great man, and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so ; and, methinks, if I had the honour of being but half an hour in that station, I could reason against such an order, for the good of my king and my country, in the following manner :

1. These troops have always been made use of, whenever there hath been any attempt in favour of the pretender ; and indeed they are, upon many accounts, the fittest for this purpose. They are our fellow-subjects ; they speak our language ; are acquainted with our manners ; and do not raise that aversion in the people, which they naturally conceive against other foreign troops, who understand neither. I am afraid, I may add, that they are kept up, for this purpose, in entire regiments, without suffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known, at least, that they supplied the late King James with a nursery of soldiers, who were always ready for his service, whenever any opportunity offered itself for his restoration ; and that, at this time, the Pretender is always the bait made use of by their officers to raise recruits. They never mention the King of France, or the King of Spain, upon these occasions ; but list the poor wretches under an assurance, that they are entered into the service of him, whom they call their natural and rightful king. I will not suspect the present fidelity of France, and their cordiality to the Protestant establishment ; yet methinks we might easily excuse ourselves from furnishing them with instruments, which they may employ against us, whenever ambition, or reasons of state, shall dissolve their present engagements, and induce them to espouse the cause of the Pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his Catholic Majesty (who hath likewise several regiments of this kind

in his service) will expect the same favour of recruiting them in Ireland; and that he may, in case of refusal, make it a pretence, at any time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and disturbing us again in the possession of Gibraltar. And here it is proper just to take notice, that these troops did his Catholic Majesty the most eminent service in the last siege of that important place. He may complain, perhaps, of our partiality to France, and alledge, that we do not treat Spain in the same manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of Ireland seemeth, at this time, in a very ill condition to admit of any such draughts out of her dominions. She hath been already so much exhausted by the voluntary transportation of multitudes of her inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to seek their bread in other parts of the world) that the interposition of parliament was found necessary to put a stop to it; and shall we suffer any foreign power to drain her still farther under such circumstances; especially in this manner, and for this purpose? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above two thousand men to complete their corps; and who knoweth but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own; or even to form some new regiments of these troops? But supposing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that Ireland were in a capacity to spare them; it is well known how easily such limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous controversy, concerning Mr. * Wood's

* See the Drapier's Letters,

patent for supplying Ireland with a particular sum of copper-halfpence; and the arguments upon that subject may be applied to this, with some allowances for the difference between the two cases. It may, perhaps, be said likewise, that all the vigilance of the ministry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the French from clandestinely recruiting these regiments with Irish catholics; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our interest to let them purge Ireland of her Popish inhabitants as much as they please; but I deny this for several reasons, which I shall mention presently; and if it were really the case, that the French can at any time recruit these troops clandestinely, I cannot see any reason why they should solicit an order so pressing, for two years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other design. Ought not even this consideration to put us a little upon our guard; and is it not a tacit confession, that these troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wish? Besides, are we to licence and authorise a mischievous practice, because we cannot totally prevent it? Every one justly applauded his Majesty's singular firmness and resolution in supporting the rights of his German subjects, when an attempt was made to seduce some of them into the King of Prussia's service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the inlisting a miller's son, and a few other ordinary peasants, occasioned such a misunderstanding between the two crowns, as proceeded almost to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the English parliament backward on this occasion; but, on this consideration, amongst others, resolved to keep up a body of 12,000 Hessian troops in our pay, which have already cost us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the same paternal care will

always influence his Majesty to guard and protect his British subjects in the same manner; and, if any measure should be taken, which favours too much of the French interest, and seemeth of dangerous consequence to the interest of his family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful representations of those, who lie under such particular obligations to the court of France, that they can refuse them nothing.

Such a licence seemeth to give encouragement to the people of Ireland to continue Roman Catholics, since they are sure to meet with a provision both in the French and Spanish service; whereas, we always reject them in our troops, and absolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in Ireland. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the least encouragement to their entering into foreign service; especially into such compact bodies as these regiments. And here it will not be amiss to relate a story much more to the honour of an English nobleman, who hath also one of the largest estates in Ireland of any man in the kingdom. When he went to visit the invalids in France, a place in the nature of our Chelsea college here, all the Irish officers and soldiers of that hospital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no question that their chief view was to have some present from his lordship; but though he hath an heart as well disposed to generous charity as any man, and a purse well able to answer the dictates of it; yet out of regard to his country, for which he hath likewise the most disinterested zeal, his answer to them was only this: "Gentlemen, I am very
" sensible of the honour you have done me, and
" heartily pity your misfortunes; but as you have
" drawn them upon yourselves, by serving against
" your country, you must not expect any relief
" or

“ or reward for me, for having suffered in a service, in which I wish you had never engaged.”

5. Is there not some reason to apprehend, that this licence may, at one time or other, prove a snare to that country, and draw many people into their destruction; for, unless it is made perpetual, can it be supposed that all the poor ignorant wretches in the kingdom should be apprized how long this licence is to be in force? or when they may list with impunity, and when they may not? Besides, as it may be presumed that these officers will never go, for the future, upon such errands, without some pretended orders, when the real one is expired; so they will find it no difficult matter to impose such a counterfeit upon illiterate people, who may thus incur the penalties of the law, without knowing any thing of the matter. Such a method of providing for persons, whose principles render them unserviceable in our army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late * project for preventing Irish children from being starved, by fattening them up, and selling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that these troops have been made use of, in parliament; as an argument for keeping up a standing army in England; and I think we need not take any measures to render that argument stronger. God knows, there are too many arguments always ready upon such occasions.

I might insist upon some other points, which this affair naturally suggesteth to a considering mind; particularly, the danger of suffering several bigotted Irish papists in foreign service, to disperse themselves into those counties where they have the best interest, and to strolc about Ireland amongst their relations and old acquaintance, of the same principles with themselves. Are we sure that they

* See Vol. III. of the author's works.

will not make a bad use of this liberty by inquiring into the strength of their party, by giving them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert measures for the advantage of their cause? Have we no reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise seamen as well as soldiers, under colour of this order? or engage great numbers of their countrymen to transport themselves over to the French colonies and plantations in the West Indies, which are already grown formidable to the trading interest of Great Britain in those parts?

But whatever may be the motives to such an extraordinary favour, or the consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest mark of our confidence in France, and such an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon any occasion, I will illustrate this by a parallel case.

The French Protestants, who fled over hither from a persecution on account of religion, never discovered any principles, which were incompatible with the civil government of France, nor ever set up any pretender to the present Royal Family of that kingdom; and yet, if we should think fit to form any considerable number of them into complete distinct regiments, to be composed of French Protestants only, and commanded by French officers, without any incorporation of British soldiers, I fancy it would give our good allies some umbrage. But I am almost confident, that they would never permit us to send over a Protestant French officer from every regiment to recruit their respective corps, by dispersing themselves into those provinces where they have the best interest; or suffer a field-officer, in English pay, to reside constantly in Paris, and exercise a sort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I say, they would hardly suffer this, even though our ambassadour should solicit such an order, with the utmost application, for twenty years together.

And

And yet the case of the Irish forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion, but hold principles absolutely destructive of our civil government; and are generally looked upon abroad as a standing army, kept on foot to serve the Pretender upon any occasion.

I must ask a question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this place.

What power is this field-officer to exercise during his residence in Dublin? Is the French martial law to take place, if any of these recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

Troops are generally armed as soon as they are enlisted. Is this rule to be observed in the present case? If so, another question occurreth. It hath been found necessary, for the security of Ireland, to restrain all Roman Catholics from wearing, or keeping any arms in their houses. I ask, therefore, whether the authority of this licence is to supersede the laws of the land? I may go farther.

The garrison of Dublin seldom consisteth of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Supposing double that number of Popish recruits should be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their field-officer, will it be said that there is no just apprehension of danger? but as these suggestions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of France (a case not to be supposed at present) I press them no farther.

I must however repeat it, that this order is the fullest demonstration of the confidence we repose in them: and I hope they will scorn to make any bad use of it: But if it were possible to suspect that they could have any design to play the knave with us, they could not wish for a better opportunity to promote it, than by such a power as is now said to be put into their hands.

I hope, my remark on this article of news will not be construed in a Jacobite sense, even by the most prostitute scribblers of the present times; but I must beg leave to expostulate a little with the public on that mean, infamous practice, which these writers have lately used, in explaining some of my papers into treasonable libels; taking an occasion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down, as a point granted, that there is an actual, concerted design of setting aside the present establishment. This is a practice which may be of great service to the real enemies of the present government; and every Jacobite in the kingdom may make use of it to publish the most explicit invectives on the King and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit design of other writings. It is a practice which was never allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the secret meaning of any author, such explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds, and are punishable by the laws without any extraordinary methods of construction. These writers ought to remember the case of Sir Richard Steele, who published the Pretender's declaration at the beginning of the late reign, with an answer annexed; and although he did it with a very good design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to law; and, if his principles of loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe prosecution. I shall make no reflexions on those, who encouraged such explanations; and those who are hired to do it are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common places of servile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by such nauseous, dishonest adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most offence to those persons, to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they please.

Let

Let them charge me with designs, which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knoweth my heart, I am as zealous for the welfare of the present Royal Family as the most sordid of these sycophants. I am sensible, that our happiness dependeth on the security of his Majesty's title, and the preservation of the present government, upon those principles, which established them at the late glorious revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the conduct of Britons to the latest generations. These have always been my principles; and whoever will give himself the trouble of looking over the course of these papers, will be convinced that they have been my guide: But I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old man, who am not afraid to speak the truth; and as I have no relish for flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just praise, nor slipt any seasonable opportunity to distinguish the royal virtues of their present Majesties*. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the climate of a court; but they flowed purely from the sincerity of my heart; and the freedom of my writings hath proceeded from my zeal for the interest of my king and country.

With regard to my adversaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge, whether, even in private life, that man is not most to be depended upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend, never loadeth him with fulsome flatteries, but takes the honest liberty of warning him against the measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The case is much

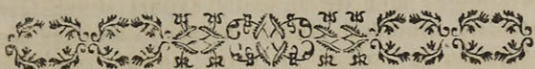
* King George II. and Queen Caroline his Consort.

stronger in public life ; and a crown is beset with so many difficulties, that even a Prince of the most consummate wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the dangers which surround him, from the stratagems of artful ministers, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad ministers, and pursue the same methods of supporting themselves, by flattering him into measures which tend to his destruction.

But it is time to draw to a conclusion ; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged, in any design, contrary to the interest of the present establishment, I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the affair, which occasioned this paper, instead of giving myself and the reader so much trouble.

C. D.





THE
 A N S W E R
 TO THE
 C R A F T S M A N.

S I R,

I Detest reading your papers because I am not of your principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruse your *Craftsman* of December the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an enemy of this country, as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a project I proposed of making the children of Irish parents to be useful to the public instead of being burthensome; and you venture to assert, that your own scheme is more charitable, of not permitting our Popish natives to be listed in the service of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, Sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a sort of goods, of no intrinsic value, which costeth us above forty thousand pounds a-year to dress, scour, and polish, which altogether do not yield one penny

advantage; and we annually export above seven hundred thousand pounds a-year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one single farthing in return: Even the money paid for letters sent in transacting this commerce being all returned to England. But now, when there is a most lucky opportunity offered to begin a trade, whereby this nation will save many thousand pounds a-year, and England be a prodigious gainer, you are pleased, without a call, officiously, and maliciously, to interpose with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known, that, about sixty years ago, the exportation of live cattle from hence to England was of great benefit to both kingdoms, until that branch of traffic was stopt by an act of parliament on your side, whereof you have sufficient reason to repent. Upon which account, when another act passed your parliament, forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were so wise as to put in a clause, allowing it to be done by his Majesty's permission, under his sign-manual, for which, among other great benefits granted to Ireland, we are infinitely obliged to the British legislature. Yet this very grace and favour you, Mr. D'Anver, whom we never disoblige, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to say, is a manifest mark of your disaffection to his Majesty, a want of duty to the ministry, and a wicked design of oppressing this kingdom, and a traiterous attempt to lessen the trade and manufactures of England.

Our truest and best ally the Most Christian King hath obtained his Majesty's licence, pursuant to law, to export from hence some thousand bodies of healthy, young living men, to supply his Irish regiments. The King of Spain, as you assert yourself, hath desired the same civility, and seemeth to have at least as good a claim; supposing then that these two potentates will only desire leave to carry

off six thousand men between them to France and Spain, then by computing the maintenance of a tall, hungry Irishman, in food and cloaths, to be only at five pounds a-head, here will be 30,000 pounds *per annum* saved clear to the nation, for they can find no other employment at home besides begging, robbing, or stealing. But, if thirty, forty, or fifty thousand, (which we could gladly spare) were sent on the same errand, what an immense benefit must it be to us? And, if the two princes, in whose service they were, should happen to be at war with each other, how soon would those recruits be destroyed, then what a number of friends would the Pretender lose, and what a number of Popish enemies all true Protestants get rid of? Add to this, that then by such a practice the lands of Ireland, that want hands for tillage, must be employed in grazing, which would sink the price of wool, raw hides, butter and tallow, so that the English might have them at their own rates; and in return send us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horses, without any labour of our own.

Upon this occasion, I desire humbly to offer a scheme, which, in my opinion, would best answer the true interests of both kingdoms: For, although I bear a most tender filial affection for England, my dear native country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble island hath a great share in my love and esteem, nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in trade and opulence, even beyond its present happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, usually computed at seventeen millions of acres, all which I propose to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage two thousand acres. Thus, sixteen millions eight hundred thousand acres may be managed by eight thousand four hundred

hundred families, and the fraction of two hundred thousand acres will be more than sufficient for cabins, out-houses, and potatoe gardens; because it is to be understood, that corn of all sorts must be sent to us from England.

These eight thousand four hundred families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houses in each province; and, making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to 67 thousand two hundred souls; to these we are to add a standing army of twenty thousand English, which, together with their trulls, their bastards, and their horse-boys, will, by a gross computation, very near double the count, and be very sufficient for the defence and grazing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the Pretender. And lest the army should be at a loss for business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the public taxes for paying themselves and the civil list.

I advise, that all our owners of these lands should live constantly in England, in order to learn politeness, and qualify themselves for employments: But, for fear of increasing the natives in this island, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever prince will bear the carriage; or transplanted to the English dominions on the American continent, as a screen between his Majesty's English subjects and the savage Indians.

I advise likewise, that no commodity whatsoever, of this nation's growth, should be sent to any other country, except England, under the penalty of high treason; and that all the said commodities shall be sent in their natural state, the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the stub, excepting only fish, butter, tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the carriage. On the

contrary,

contrary, that no goods whatsoever shall be imported hither, except from England, under the same penalty: That England should be forced, at their own rates, to send us over cloaths ready made, as well as shirts and smocks to the soldiers and their trulls: all iron, wooden, and earthen ware; and whatever furniture may be necessary for the cabbins of graziers, with a sufficient quantity of gin, and other spirits, for those who can afford to get drunk on holidays.

As to the civil and ecclesiastical administration, which I have not yet fully considered, I can say little; only with regard to the latter, it is plain, that the article of paying tythe for supporting speculative opinions in religion, which is so insupportable a burthen to all true protestants, and to most churchmen, will be very much lessened by this expedient; because dry cattle pay nothing to the spiritual hireling, any more than imported corn; so that the industrious shepherd and cowherd may sit, every man under his own blackberry bush, and on his own potatoe-bed, where this happy island will become a new Arcadia.

I do likewise propose, that no money shall be used in Ireland, except what is made of leather, which likewise shall be coined in England, and imported; and that the taxes shall be levied out of the commodities we export for England, and there turned into money for his Majesty's use; and the rents to landlords discharged in the same manner. This will be no manner of grievance, for we already see it very practicable to live without money, and shall be more convinced of it every day. But whether paper shall continue to supply that defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the trade of bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to) must be left to the consideration of wiser politicians.

That

That which maketh me more zealously bent upon this scheme is, my desire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tried all other means, without effect, to that blessed end; And, by the course of measures taken for some years past, it should seem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon several accounts: For, as to England, they have a just claim to the balance of trade on their side with the whole world; and therefore our ancestors and we, who conquered this kingdom for them, ought in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conquest to themselves; especially, when the conquest was amicably made, without bloodshed, by stipulation between the Irish princes and Henry II. by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of Germany do to the emperor, but very near the same that he did to the king of France for his French dominions.

In consequence of this claim from England, that kingdom may very reasonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a sufficient quantity of them for our use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

This, on the other side, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers, when time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, shearing their sheep, and sending over their oxen fit for slaughter; to which employments they are turned by nature, as descended from the Scythians, whose diet they are still so fond of. So Virgil describeth it:

Et lac concretum eum sanguine bibit equino.

Which

Which, in English, is Bonnyclabber *, mingled with the blood of horses, as they formerly did, until about the beginning of the last century, when luxury, under the form of politeness, began to creep in, they exchanged the blood of horses for that of their black cattle; and, by consequence, became less warlike than their ancestors.

Although I proposed that the army should be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those taxes should be paid in gold or silver; but in kind, as all other rent. For the custom of tenants making their payments in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practised in any nation at present, except this island, and the southern parts of Britain. But, to my great satisfaction, I foresee better times; the ancient manner beginneth to be now practised in many parts of Connaught, as well as in the county of Corke, where the squires turn tenants themselves, divide so many cattle to their slaves, who are to provide such a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, still keeping up their number of cattle; and carry the goods to Corke, or other port towns, and then sell them to merchants. By which invention there is no such thing as a ruined farmer to be seen; but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

* Thick, four-milk.

Which, in English, is Donnyballybrannigan, and with the blood of horses, as they formerly did, and about the beginning of the last century, when lawyers, under the form of petitions, began to creep in, they exchanged the blood of horses for that of their black cards; and, by consequence, became less terrible than their ancestors.

Although I protest that the army should be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those taxes should be paid in gold or silver, but in kind, as all other rents. For the custom of tithes, which their paymasters in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, and generally practised in very narrow provinces, except that which was the custom of the church, but, as my great grandfather, I protest herein against the ancient manner beginning to be now practised in many parts of Connaught, as well as in the county of Cork, where the farmers now want their tithes, and to many of them to their harvest, who are to provide such a quantity of butter, blin, or tallow, till keeping up their number of cattle; and carry the goods to Cork, or other port towns, and then sell them to merchants, by which inventors there is no such thing as a right tithes to be; but the people live with content on potatoes and donnyballybrannigan, which are the only commodities which

THE

VOL II

THE
MEMOIRS

OF

CAPT. JOHN CREICHTON;

From his own MATERIALS;

Drawn up and digested by

Dr. J. SWIFT, D. S. P. D.

First printed in the Year 1731.

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THE
P R I N T E R ' S
A D V E R T I S E M E N T .

WHEN Dr. Swift was at Sir Arthur Achefon's at Markethill in the county of Armagh, an old gentleman was recommended to him, as being a remarkable cavalier in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and William III. who had behaved with great loyalty and bravery in Scotland during the troubles of those reigns, but was neglected by the government, although he deserved great rewards from it. As he was reduced in his circumstances, Dr. Swift made him a handsome present; but said at the same time, "Sir, this trifle cannot support you long, and your friends may grow tired of you; therefore I would have you contrive some honest means of getting a sum of money, sufficient to put you into a way of life of supporting yourself with independency in your old age." To which Captain Creichton (for that was the gentleman's name) answered, "I have tired all my friends, and cannot expect any such extraordinary favours." Then Dr. Swift replied, "Sir, I have heard much of your adventures; that they are fresh in your memory; that you can tell them with great humour; and that you have taken memorandums of them in writing," To which

which the Captain said, " I have ; but no one can understand them but myself." Then, Dr Swift rejoined, " Sir, get your manuscripts, read them to me, and tell me none but genuine stories, and then I will place them in order for you, prepare them for the press, and endeavour to get you a subscription among my friends, as you may do among your own." The Captain, soon after, waited on the Dean with his papers, and related many adventures to him ; which the Dean was so kind as to put in order of time, to correct the style, and make a small book of, intituled, *THE MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN JOHN CREIGHTON*. A subscription was immediately set on foot, by the Dean's interest and recommendation, which raised for the Captain above two hundred pounds, and made the remaining part of his life very happy and easy.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE author of these Memoirs, Captain John Creighton, is still alive, and resides in the northern part of this kingdom. He is a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp; and, it is probable, that some of his principles will not relish very well in the present disposition of the world. His Memoirs are therefore to be received like a posthumous work, and as containing facts, which very few alive, except himself, can remember: Upon which account, none of his generous subscribers are, in the least, answerable for many opinions relating to the public, both in church and state, which he seems to justify; and, in the vindication of which, to the hazard of his life, and the loss of his fortune, he spent the most useful part of his days. Principles, as the world goes, are little more than fashion, and the apostle tells us, that *the Fashion of this world passeth away*. We read with pleasure the memoirs of several authors, whose party we disapprove, if they be written with nature and truth. Curious men are desirous to see what can be said on both sides; and even the virulent flat relation of Ludlow, though written in the spirit of rage, prejudice, and vanity, doth not want its advocates. This inclines me to think, that the Memoirs of Captain Creighton may not be unacceptable to the curious of every party; because, from my knowledge of the man, and the testimony of several considerable persons, of different political denominations, I am confident, that he hath
not

not inserted one passage or circumstance, which he did not know, or, from the best intelligence he could get, believed to be true.

These Memoirs are therefore offered to the world in their native simplicity. And it was not with little difficulty, that the author was persuaded by his friends to recollect and put them in order, chiefly for his own justification, and partly by the importunity of several eminent gentlemen, who had a mind that they should turn to some profit to the author.

The Captain having made over all his little estate to a beloved daughter, upon her marriage, on the condition of being entertained in her house for the small remainder of his life, hath put it out of his own power, either to supply his incidental wants, to pay some long-contracted debts, or to gratify his generous nature in being further useful to his family; on which accounts, he desires to return his most humble thanks to his worthy subscribers; and hopes, they will consider him no further than as an honest, well-meaning man, who, by his own personal courage and conduct, was able to distinguish himself, under many disadvantages, to a degree, that few private lives have been attended with so many singular and extraordinary events.

Besides the great simplicity in the style and manner of the author, it is a very valuable circumstance, that his plain relation corrects many mistaken passages in other historians, which have too long passed for truths; and whoever impartially compares both, will probably decide in the Captain's favour: For the memory of old men is seldom deceived, in what passed in their youth and vigour of age: And, if he hath, at any time, happened to be mistaken in circumstances of time or place, (with neither of which I can charge him) it was certainly against his will. Some of his own personal distresses and actions,

tions, which he hath related, might be almost the subject of a tragedy

Upon the whole, comparing great things to small, I know not any memoirs that more resemble those of Philip de Comines (which have received so universal approbation) than these of Captain Creichton, which are told in a manner equally natural, and with equal appearance of truth, altho', I confess, upon affairs in a more obscure scene, and of less importance,

J. S.





MEMOIRS

O F

Capt. JOHN CREICHTON.

THE former part of my life having been attended with some passages and events, not very common to men of my private and obscure condition, I have (perhaps induced by the talkativeness of old age) very freely and frequently communicated them to several worthy gentlemen, who were pleased to be my friends, and some of them my benefactors. These persons professed themselves to be so well entertained with my story, that they often wished it could be digested into order, and published to the world, believing that such a treatise, by the variety of incidents, written in a plain unaffected style, might be, at least, some *amusement* to indifferent readers; of some *example* to those who desire strictly to adhere to their duty and principles; and might serve to vindicate *my reputation* in Scotland, where I am well known; that kingdom having been the chief scene of my acting, and where I have been represented by a fanatic rebellious party, as a *persecutor of the saints*, and a *man of blood*.

Having lost the benefit of a thorough school-education by a most indiscreet marriage, in all *worldly views*, although to a very good woman; and, in consequence thereof, being forced to seek my fortune

fortune in Scotland as a soldier, where I forgot all the little I had learned, the reader cannot reasonably expect to be much pleased with my style, or method, or manner of relating: It is enough, if I never wilfully fail in point of truth, nor offend by *malice* or *partiality*. My memory, I thank God, is yet very perfect as to things long past, although, like an old man, I retain but little of what hath happened since I grew into years.

I am likewise very sensible of an infirmity in many authors, who write their own memoirs, and are apt to lay too much weight upon trifles, which they are vain enough to conceive the world to be as much concerned in as themselves; yet I remember that Plutarch, in his lives of great men, (which I have read in the English translation) says, that the nature and disposition of a man's mind may be often better discovered by a *small circumstance*, than by an action or event of the *greatest importance*. And, besides, it is not improbable that grey hairs may have brought upon me a *vanity*, to desire that posterity may know what manner of man I was.

I ly under another disadvantage, and indeed a very great one, from the wonderful *change of opinions*, since I first made any appearance in the world. I was bred under the principles of the strictest *loyalty* to my prince, and in an exact conformity in *discipline*, as well as *doctrine*, to the church of England; which are neither altered nor shaken to this very day; and I am now too old to mend. However, my different sentiments, since my last troubles after the revolution, have never had the least influence either upon my actions or discourse. I have submitted myself with entire resignation, according to St. Paul's precept, *to the powers that be*. I converse equally with all parties, and am equally favoured by all; and, God knows, it is now of little consequence what my opinions are, under such a weight of age and infirmities,

with a very scanty subsistence, which, instead of *comforting*, will hardly *support* me.

But there is another point, which requires a better *apology* than I am able to give: A judicious reader will be apt to censure me, and, I confess, with reason enough, as guilty of a very foolish *superstition* in relating my dreams, and how I was guided by them with success, in discovering one or two principal *Covenanters*. I shall not easily allow myself to be, either by *nature* or *education*, more *superstitious* than other men; but I take the truth to be this: Being then full of *zeal* against *enthusiastical Rebels*, and better informed of their lurking-holes than most officers in the army, this made so strong an impression on my mind, that it affected my dreams, when I was directed to the most probable places, almost as well as if I had been *awake*, being guided in the night by the same *conjectures* I had made in the day. There could possibly be no more in the matter; and God forbid I should pretend to a spirit of *divination*, which would make me resemble those very *hypocritical Saints*, whom it was both my *duty*, and *inclination*, to bring to justice, for their many horrid *blasphemies* against *God*, *rebellions* against their *Prince*, and *barbarities* towards their *Countrymen* and *fellow-christians*.

My great grandfather, Alexander Creighton, of the house of Dumfries in Scotland, in a feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstons, (the chief of the Johnstons being the Lord Johnston, ancestor of the present Marquis of Annandale) siding with the latter, and having killed some of the former, was forced to fly into Ireland, where he settled near Kinard, then a woody country, and now called *Calidon*: But within a year or two, some friends and relations of those Maxwells who had been killed in the feud, coming over to Ireland, to pursue their revenge, lay in wait for my grandfather in the wood, and shot him dead, as he was going

going to church. This accident happened about the time that James VI. of Scotland came to the crown of England.

Alexander, my great grandfather, left two sons, and as many daughters; his eldest son John, lived till a year or two after the rebellion in 1641. His house was the first in Ulster set upon by the Irish, who took and imprisoned him at Dungannon; but, fortunately making his escape, he went to Sir Robert Stuart, who was then in arms for the king, and died in the service.

This John, who was my grandfather, left two sons, Alexander my father, and a younger son, likewise named *John*, who being a child but two or three years old at his father's death, was invited to Scotland by the Lady Drumfries, there educated by her, and sent to sea: He made several voyages to and from Barbadoes, then settled in Scotland, where he died some time after the Restoration, leaving, beside a daughter, one son, who, at my charges, was bred up a physician, and proved so famous in his profession, that he was sent by her late Majesty Queen Anne, to cure the king of Portugal of the venereal disease. He had a thousand pounds paid him in hand, before he began his journey; but when he arrived at Lisbon, the Portugueze council and physicians dissuaded that king from trusting his person with a foreigner. However, his majesty of Portugal shewed him several marks of his esteem; and, at parting, presented him with a very rich jewel, which he sold afterwards for five hundred guineas. He stayed there not above six weeks; during which time, he got considerable practice. After living many years in London, where he grew very rich, he died November 1726, and, as it is believed, without making a will, which is very probable; because, although he had no children, he left me no legacy, who was his cousin-german, and had been his greatest

greatest benefactor, by the care and expence of his education. Upon this matter, I must add one circumstance more, how little significant soever it may be to others. Mr. Archdeacon Maurice being at London, in order to his journey to France, on account of his health, went to visit the doctor, and put him in mind of me, urging the obligations I had laid upon him. The doctor agreed to send me whatever sum of money the Archdeacon should think *reasonable*, and deliver it to him on his return from his travels; but unfortunately the doctor died two or three days before the Archdeacon came back.

Alexander, my father, was about eighteen years old in 1641, The Irish rebellion then breaking out, he went to Captain Gerard Irvin, his relation, who was then captain of horse, and afterwards knighted by King Charles II. This gentleman having a party for the king, soon after joined with Sir Robert Stuart in the county of Donegal; where, in the course of those troubles, they continued skirmishing, sometimes with the Irish rebels, and sometimes with those of the English parliament, after the rebellion in England began; till at length Captain Irvin, and one Mr. Stuart, were taken prisoners, and put in goal in Derry; which city was kept for the parliament against the king, by Sir Charles Coote. Here my father performed a very memorable and gallant action, in rescuing his relation Captain Irvin, and Mr. Stuart. I will relate this fact in all its particulars, not only because it will do some honour to my father's memory, but likewise because, for its boldness and success, it seems to me very well to deserve recording.

My father having received information, that Sir Charles Coote, governour of Derry, had publicly declared, that Captain Irvin and his companion, should be put to death within two or three days,
communicated

communicated this intelligence to seven trusty friends, who all engaged to assist him, with the hazard of their lives, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them. They all agreed that my father, and three more, at the hour of six in the morning, when the west-gate stood open, and the draw-bridge was let down for the governor's horses to go out to water, should ride in, one by one, after a manner as if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themselves in a friend's house till night; at which time my father was to acquaint Captain Irvin, and his fellow-prisoner with their design, which was to this purpose: That, after concerting measures at the prison, my father should repair to a certain place on the city-wall, and give instructions to the four without, at twelve at night: Accordingly, next morning, as soon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town, and the same night having settled matters with the two gentlemen, that they should be ready at six next morning, at which hour, he and his three friends should call upon them; he then went to the wall, and directed the four, who were without, that as soon as they should see the gate open and the bridge drawn, one of them should walk up to the centry, and secure him from making any noise, by holding a pistol to his breast; after which, the other three should ride up, and secure the room where the by-guard lay, to prevent them from coming out: Most of the garrison were in their beds, which encouraged my father, and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprise: Therefore precisely at six o'clock, when the by-guard and centry at the western-gate were secured by the four without, my father and the other three within being mounted on horseback, with one spare horse, in the habit of town's-people, with cudgels in their hands, called at the goal-door, on pretence to speak to Cap-
tain

tain Irvin and Mr. Stuart. They were both walking in a large room in the goal, with the goaler and three soldiers attending them; but these not suspecting the persons on horseback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town, my father asked Capt. Irvin, whether he had any commands to a certain place, where he pretended to be going? the Captain made some answer, but said they should not go before they had drank with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the soldiers, to buy a bottle of sack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewise some errand for another soldier, sent him also out of the way; there being none now left to guard the prisoners but the goaler and the third soldier, Capt. Irvin leapt over the hatch-door, and as the goaler leapt after, my father knocked him down with his cudgel. While this was doing, Mr. Stuart tript up the soldier's heels, and immediately leapt over the hatch. They both mounted, Stuart on the horse behind my father, and Irvin on the spare one, and in a few minutes came up with their companions at the gate, before the main-guard could arrive, although it was kept within twenty yards of the goal door.

I should have observed, that as soon as Captain Irvin and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broad swords into their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and at the same time drawing their own, were all six determined to force their way against any who offered to obstruct them in their passage; but the dispatch was so sudden, that they got clear out of the gate before the least *opposition* could be made. They were no sooner gone than the town was alarmed: Coote, the Governor, got out of his bed, and ran into the streets in his shirt, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in a great rage at the *accident*. The *adventurers* met the

The Governor's groom, coming back with his master's horses from watering; they seized the horses, and got safe to Sir Robert Stuart's, about four miles off, without losing one drop of blood in this *hazardous enterprise*.

This *gallant person* (if I may so presume to call my father) had above *twenty children* by his wife Anne Maxwell, of the family of the Earl of Niddisdale, of whom I was the eldest; they all died young except myself, three other boys, and two girls; who lived to be men and women. My second brother I took care to have educated at Glasgow, but he was drowned at two-and-twenty years old, in a storm, on his return to Ireland. The other two died Captains abroad, in the service of King William.

I was born on the 8th day of May 1648, at Castlefin, in the county of Donegal. I made some small progress in learning at the school of Dunganannon; but when I was eighteen years old, I very inconsiderately married Mrs. Elizabeth Dalgarno, my schoolmaster's daughter, by whom I have had *thirteen children*, who all died young except two daughters, married to two brothers, James and Charles Young of the county of Tyrone.

Having been so very young when I married, I could think of no other course to advance my fortune, than by getting into the army. Captain Irwin, often mentioned already, had a brother who was a physician at Edinburgh, to whom he wrote in my favour, desiring he would recommend me to the Marquis of Atholl and others, then at the head of affairs in Scotland; this was in the year 1674. There were then but one troop of horse-guards, (whereof the Marquis was Colonel) and one regiment of foot-guards, commanded by the Earl of Linlithgow, in that kingdom; and they consisted chiefly of gentlemen.

Dr. Irwin, physician to the horse guards, accordingly

dingly presented me to the Marquis of Atholl, requesting that I might be received into his troop. His Lordship pretending there was no vacancy, was, by the doctor, threatened, in a free jesting manner, with a dose of poison, instead of physic, the first time he should want his skill; *Weel, weel, then*, quoth the Marquis, what is your friend's name? *Deel tak' me*, answered the doctor, *gin I ken*; whereupon I was called in, to write my name in the roll. I was then ordered to repair to the troop at Stirling, with directions to Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, the commanding officer, to put me into which of the four squadrons, whereof the troops consisted, he thought fit. He thereupon placed me in his own, and appointed me my quarters.

Soon after this, the conventicles growing numerous in the west, several parties were drawn out to suppress them; among whom I never failed to make one, in hopes thereby to be taken notice of by my commanders, for I had nothing to recommend me, except my *activity, diligence, and courage*, being a stranger, and born out of that kingdom.

My first action, after having been taken into the guards, was, with a dozen gentlemen more, to go in quest of Mas David Williamson, a noted *cove-nanter*; since made more famous in the book called the *Scotch Presbyterian eloquence*. I had been assured, that this Williamson did much frequent the house of my Lady Cherrytree, within ten miles of Edinburgh; but when I arrived first with my party about the house, the lady well knowing our errand, put Williamson to bed to her daughter, disguised in a *woman's night-dress*. When the troopers went to search in the young lady's room, her mother pretended that she was not well; and Williamson so managed the matter, that when the daughter raised herself a little in the bed, to let the

troopers

troopers see her, they did not discover him, and so went off disappointed. But the young lady proved with child; and Williamson, to take off the scandal, married her in some time after. This Williamson married five or six wives successively, and was alive in the reign of Queen Anne; at which time I saw him preaching in one of the kirks at Edinburgh. It is said that King Charles the Second, hearing of Williamson's behaviour in Lady Cherytree's house, wished to see the man that discovered so much vigour while his troopers were in search of him: And, in a merry way, declared, that when he was in the Royal-Oak, he could not have kissed the *bonniest lass in Christendom*.

Some time after this, Thomas Dalziel, General of the forces in Scotland, an excellent soldier, who had been taken prisoner at the famous battle of Worcester, and sent prisoner to the tower, escaping from thence into Muscovy, was made General to the Czar; and returning home, after the Restoration, was preferred by the King, to be General of the forces in Scotland, in which post he continued till his death, which happened a little before the Revolution. This General commanded fifty of the foot-guards, with an Ensign, to accompany me, and to follow my directions, in the pursuit of a *notorious rebel*, one Adam Stobow, a farmer in Fife, near Culrofs. This fellow had gone through the west, endeavouring to stir up sedition in the people, by his great skill in *canting* and *praying*. There had been several parties sent out after him, before I and my men undertook the business, but they could never discover him. We reached Culrofs at night, where I directed the Ensign and all the men, to secure three or four rebels who were in the place, while I, with two or three of the soldiers to assist me, went to Stobow's house, about a mile and a half from Culrofs, by break of day, for fear some of his friends might give him notice.

Before I got to the house, I observed a kiln in the way, which I ordered to be searched, because I found there an heap of straw in the passage, up to the kiln-pot. There I found Stobow lurking, and carried him to Culrofs, although his daughter offered me an hundred dollars to let him go. We returned immediately to the General at Edinburgh, with Stobow and the prisoners taken by the Ensign at Culrofs. They continued a while in confinement, but Stobow, at his trial, found friends enough to save his life, and was only banished; yet he returned home a year after, and proved as troublesome and seditious as ever, till, at the fight of Bothwel Bridge, it was thought he was killed, for he was never heard of afterwards.

During the time I was in the guards, about two years after the affair of Mas David Williamson, at the Lady Cherrytree's, I was quartered with a party at Bathgate, which is a small village, twelve miles from Edinburgh. One Sunday morning, by break of day, I and my comerade, a gallant Highland gentleman of the name of Grant, went out disguised in *grey coats* and *bonnets*, in search after some *conventicle*. We travelled on foot eight or ten miles into the wild mountains, where we spied three fellows on the top of an hill, whom we conjectured to stand there as spies, to give intelligence to a *conventicle*, when any of the king's troopers should happen to come that way. There they stood, with long poles in their hands, till I and my friend came pretty near, and then they turned to go down the hill. When we observed this, we took a little compass, and came up with them on the other side; whereupon they stood still, leaning on their poles. Then I bounced forward upon one of them, and suddenly snatching the pole out of his hand, asked him why he carried such a pole on the Lord's day? and at the same time, knocked him down with it. My comerade immediately seized

on the second and laid him flat, by a grip of his hair; but the third took to his heels, and ran down the hill. However, having left my friend to guard the two former, I overtook the last, and felled him likewise; but the place being steep, the violence with which I ran, carried me a good way down the hill before I could recover myself, after the stroke I had given; and by the time I could get up again to the place where he lay, the rogue had got on his feet, and was fumbling for a side-pistol that hung at his belt, under his upper coat; which as soon as I observed, I fetched him to the ground a second time with the pole, and seized on his pistol; then leading him up to the other two, I desired my friend to examine their pockets, and see whether they carried any powder or ball, but we found none.

We then led our prisoners down the hill, at the foot of which there was a bog, and on the other side a man sitting on a rock; when we advanced near him, leaving our prisoners in the keeping of my friend, I ran up towards the man, who fled down on the other side. As soon as I had reached the top of the rock, there appeared a great number of people, assembled in a plain, to hear the preaching of Mas John King, as I understood afterward, whose voice was so loud, that it reached the ears of those who were at the greatest distance, which could not, I think, be less than a quarter of a mile; they all standing before him, and the wind favouring the strength of his lungs. When my friend had brought the three prisoners to the top of the rock, where I waited for him, they all broke loose, and ran down to the *conventicle*: But my friend advancing within about forty yards of that rabble, commanded them in his Majesty's name to depart to their own homes. Whereupon, about forty of their number, with poles in their hands, drew out from the rest, and advanced against us

two, who had the *courage*, or rather the *temerity*, to face so great a company, which could not be fewer than a thousand. As this party of theirs was preparing with their long poles to attack me and my friend, it happened very luckily, that a fine gelding, saddled and bridled, with a pillion likewise upon him, came up near us, in search for better grass; I caught the horse, and immediately mounted him, which the rest of the *conventiclers* observing, they broke up and followed as fast as they could, some on horseback, and the rest on foot, to prevent me from going off with the horse; but I put him to the gallop, and suffering him to chuse his own way through the mountain, which was full of *bogs* and *bags*, got out of reach. My friend kept up with me as long as he could, but having run a mile through such difficult places, he was quite spent, and the *conventiclers* hard at his heels; whereupon he called to me for assistance, and I alighting, put him upon the horse, bidding him to make the best of his way to the laird of Podishaw's, about two miles off. By this time we saw twelve *covenanters* on horseback, who advanced towards us by a shorter cut, and blocked up a gap, through which we were, of necessity, to pass. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and running towards the rogues, with my broad sword and pistol, soon forced them to open to the right and left: My comerade got through, and was pursued a good way; but he so laid about him with his broad sword, that the pursuers, being unarmed, durst nor seize him. In the mean time I, who was left on foot, kept the *covenanters*, who followed me at a proper distance; but they pelted me with clods, which I sometimes returned, till at last, after chasing me about a mile, they saw a party of troopers in red, passing by, at some distance; and then they gave over their pursuit.

The troopers, observing my friend galloping and pursued,

pursued, imagined he was some *fanatic preacher*, till they came to an old woman on a hill, whom my friend had desired to deny his being gone that way; upon which they went off to their quarters, and he got safe to Poddishaw's, whether I soon after arrived. The laird of Poddishaw had been that day at church; from whence, returning with the laird of Pocammock, who lived about a mile off, they both wondered how the horse got thither, for Pocammock was the owner of the horse, and his lady had rode on it that day to the *conventicle*, without her husband's knowledge, having been seduced thither by some fanatic neighbours, for she had never been at their meetings before. My friend and I acquainted the two lairds with the whole adventure of that day: And, after dinner, Pocammock requested to let him have the horse home, thereby to stifle any reflexion his lady might bring upon him, or herself, by going to a *conventicle*; he likewise invited us to dine next day at his house, where the horse should again be delivered to me, as justly forfeited by the folly of his wife. We went accordingly with the laird of Poddishaw, and dined at Pocammock's, where the horse was ordered to be led out into the court, in the same accoutrements as I found him the day before: But observing the lady in tears, I told her, that if she would give me her promise, never to go to a *conventicle* again, I would bestow her the horse, and conceal what had passed; she readily complied, and so the matter was made up. However, the laird her husband assured me, that no horse in Scotland should be better paid for; and, being a leading man in the country, and his lady discovering the names of those who had been at the *conventicle*; he sent for them, and persuaded them, as they valued their quiet, to make up a purse for me and my friend, which they accordingly did; and we

both

both lived plentifully a twelvemonth after, on the price of that horse.

This adventure, making much noise at Edinburgh, was the occasion of my being sent for up thither, by the Marquis of Atholl, my Colonel, who, in a very friendly manner, expostulated with me upon my rashness; as indeed he had too much reason to do; neither was I able to say any thing in my own justification. However, since what I had done, discovered my loyalty for my Prince, my zeal for the church, and my detestation of all rebellious principles; his lordship ever after gave me many marks of his friendship.

Accordingly, these services gave me so much credit with the General, that he promised to apply to the government, in my favour, for some preferment in the army, upon the first opportunity, which happened about a year afterwards. For the seditious humours in the west still increasing, it was thought proper, that three independent troops of horse, and as many dragoons, should be raised to suppress the rebels. Whereupon Mr. Francis Stuart, grandson to the Earl of Bothwell, a private gentleman in the horse-guards, like myself, and my intimate acquaintance, was sent for in haste, by the General; because the council of Scotland was then writing to the King; that his Majesty would please to grant commissions to those persons, whose names were to be sent up to London that very night, Mr. Stuart gave me notice of this: Whereupon, although I was not sent for, I resolved to go up with him to Edinburgh, and solicit for myself. When I arrived there, and attended the General, his first question was in a humorous manner, *What the Deil sent for you up?* I answered, that I hoped his Excellency would now make good his promise of preferring me, since so fair an opportunity offered at present. On this occasion the General stood my firm friend, and although the sons and
brothers

brothers of lords and baronets, and other persons of quality solicited to be made lieutenants and cornets, in these new raised troops, yet the general, in regard to my services, prevailed with the council, that I might be appointed Lieutenant to Mr. Stuart, who was then made captain of dragoons.

Soon after this, the archbishop of St. Andrews was murdered by the laird of Hackston and Balfour, assisted by four poor weavers. Hackston, before this horrid action, was reputed an honest and gallant man; but his friendship for his brother-in-law Balfour, drew him in to commit this inhuman murder. Balfour, who had been the Archbishop's chamberlain (for so in Scotland we call a great man's steward) whether by negligence or dishonesty, was short in his payments to his lord; and the fear of being called to an account, was a principal motive to assassinate his master: However, he pretended likewise a great zeal for the kirk, whereof he looked upon the archbishop as the greatest oppressor. It is certain, that the lower people mortally hated the archbishop, on pretence that his Grace had deserted their communion: And the weavers who were accomplices of Balfour, believed they did God service in destroying an enemy of the kirk; and accordingly all the murderers were esteemed and stiled *Saints*, by that rebellious faction.

After the murder of the archbishop, several parties in the west took up arms, under the leading of Robert Hamilton, second son to Sir Willim Hamilton of Preston, the unworthy son of a most worthy father: Whereupon the council met, and sent for Graham, then laird of Clavers, afterwards created Viscount Dundee, by King James VII. This noble person was, at that time, captain of one of those independent troops of horse, which, as I have already mentioned, were raised before the murder of the archbishop. The council therefore

ordered him to march with a detachment of one hundred and twenty dragoons, and a lieutenant, with his own troop, in pursuit of the rebels. Clavers was obliged not to open his commission, until he came in sight of them. In his march he took Mas John King, one of their principal preachers. Clavers carried King along until he came in sight of the enemy, at Drumclog, eight miles from Hamilton. There the preacher was guarded by a dragoon-centry, at a little cabin, on the top of the hill, while Clavers, opening his commission, found himself commanded to fight the rebels, let their number be ever so great, with those *hundred and twenty dragoons*.

But before I proceed to tell the issue of this affair, I must digress a little upon the subject of Mas John King, above-mentioned. When I was in the guards, sometime after I had missed Williamson, at lady Cherrytree's house; the government hearing that this John King was beginning to hold his *conventicles* not far from Sterling, where the troop of horse then lay, ordered the commanding officer there, to send a party out to take him, and bring him up to the council. I was pitched upon, with a small detachment, to perform this service. I went to my Lord Cardross's house, to whose lady King was chaplain; there I took him, and delivered him to the council. This preacher had gotten the lady's woman with child, about four or five months before, and, it is supposed, had promised her marriage, provided the lady would stand his friend in his present distress; whereupon she was so far his friend, as to get him bailed, on her engaging he should hold no more *conventicles*: However he went to the hills, and there preached the people to arms; and in several towns, as Kirkubry, Lanerick, and Sanchar in particular, in company with Cameron, set up *declarations* on the market-crosses against the King, whom he *excommunicated*, with all his *adherents*. Thus he continued till Claver

vers took him at Drumclog, as is above-mentioned, where he got off again, until I took him a third time, after the battle of Bothwell-Bridge, which shall be related in its proper place.

The Rebels at Drumclog were eight or nine thousand strong: Their leader, as I have said before, was Robert Hamilton, second brother to the loyal house of Preston, but a *profligate*, who had spent all his *patrimony*. There were likewise among them the lairds of Knockgray and Fruah, with many other gentlemen of fortune, whose names I have forgot, Clavers's men, with the addition of some few that came in to him, did not exceed one hundred and eighty; yet, pursuant to his orders, he was forced to fight the enemy; but being so vastly out numbered, was soon defeated, with the loss of cornet Robert Graham, and about eight or ten private troopers. The Rebels finding the cornet's body, and supposing it to be that of Clavers, because the name of Graham was wrought in the shirt-neck, treated it with the utmost inhumanity, cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing it through in an hundred places.

Clavers, in his flight towards Hamilton and Glasgow, rode an horse that trailed his guts for two miles, from the place where the engagement happened, but then overtaking his groom with some led horses, he mounted one of them; and, with the remains of his small army, escaped to Glasgow. The rebels, pursuing as far as Hamilton, advanced that evening within a mile of Glasgow, where they encamped all night. As Clavers was marching after his men up the hill, where he had left Mas John King, under the guard of a dragoon, (who ran off with the first that fled) King, in a sneering way, desired him to stay, and take his prisoner with him.

The rebels being thus encamped within a mile of Glasgow, Clavers commanded his men in the town,

to stand to their arms all night; and having barricadoed the four streets, to prevent the rebels horse from breaking in, ordered me, at sun-rise, to march with six dragoons, and discover which way the rebels intended to come into the town. I must here observe, that I, with Captain Stuart's troop of dragoons, and a battalion of the foot-guards, remained in Glasgow, while Clavers marched to Drumclog, where he was defeated. But, to return; I followed the directions which were given me, and having discovered the enemy from a little eminence, I was ordered by Clavers, who came to me there, to watch at a small house, where the way divided, and see which of the roads they would take, or whether they separated, and each party took a different way. I staid until I saw them take two different roads; some by that from whence I came from the town, which was over the Galligate bridge, and the rest by the High Church and College, which was more than twice as far as the first party had to come, and consequently could not both meet at the same time within the town. This was a great advantage to Clavers, and his little army. That party of the rebels, which took Galligate bridge road, followed me close at the heels, as I returned to inform Clavers what course they took.

The broad street was immediately full of them, but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows, who followed the other road, could arrive to their assistance, were valiantly received by Clavers and his men, who firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts and cars, that composed the barricade, chased them out of the town; but were quickly forced to return, and receive the other party; which, by that time, was marching down by the High-church and college; but, when they came within pistol-shot, were likewise fired upon, and driven out of the town. In this action many

many of the rebels fell, but the king's party lost not so much as one man.

The town's-men being too well affected to the rebels, concealed many of them in their houses; the rest who escaped, met and drew up in a field behind the High-church, where they staid until five in the afternoon, it being in the month of May, and from thence marched in a body to the same place where they were in the morning, about a mile off the town. Clavers and his men expecting they would make a second attack, and discovering by his spies, whether they were gone, marched after them; but upon sight of our forces, the rebels retired with a strong rear-guard of horse to Hamilton; whereupon Clavers returned, and quartered that night in Glasgow.

Next morning, the government sent orders to Clavers to leave Glasgow, and march to Sterling, eighteen miles further; and three days after, he was commanded to bring up his party to Edinburgh. As soon as he quitted Glasgow, the rebels returned, and having staid in that town eight or ten days, encamped on Hamilton Moor, within a mile of Bothwell Bridge, where it was said, that their numbers were increased to fourteen thousand; although Bishop Burnet, in his *History of his own Times*, most falsely and partially affirms, that they were not more than four thousand, or thereabouts.

The council, finding the rebels daily increasing in their numbers, gave information thereof to the king; whereupon his Majesty sent down the Duke of Monmouth, with a commission to be commander in chief, and to take with him four troops of English dragoons, which were quartered on the borders: But these, with the forces in Scotland, amounted not to above three thousand. Upon the Duke's being made commander in chief, General Dalziel refused to serve under him, and remained

at

at his lodgings in Edinburgh, till his Grace was superseded, which happened about a fortnight after.

The army was about four miles forward, on the road towards Hamilton, when the Duke of Montmouth came up with his English dragoons, on Saturday the 21st of June: From whence the whole forces marched to the Kirk of Shots, within four miles of the rebels, where they lay that night. The next morning he marched the army up an eminence, opposite to the main body of the enemy, who were encamped on the Moor.

The general officers, the Earl of Linlithgow, colonel of the foot guards, the Earl of Mar, colonel of a regiment of foot, Clavers, the Earl of Hume, and the Earl of Airlie, all captains of horse, the Marquis of Montrose, colonel of the horse guards, (Atholl having been discarded) Dalhousie, with many other noblemen, and gentlemen volunteers, attending the duke together, desired his grace to let them know which way he designed to take to come at the enemy, the duke answered, it must be by Bothwell bridge. Now the bridge lay a short mile to the right of the king's army, was narrow, and guarded with three thousand of the rebels, and strongly barricadoed with great stones; but although the officers were desirous to have passed the river, by easy fords, directly between them and the rebels, and to march to their main body on the moor, before those three thousand, who guarded the bridge, could come to assist them; yet the duke was obstinate, and would pass no other way, than that of the bridge.

Pursuant to this preposterous and absurd resolution, he commanded Captain Stuart, (whose lieutenant I was) with his troop of dragoons, and eighty musqueteers, together with four small field-pieces, under cover of the dragoons, to beat off the party at the bridge: The duke himself, with

David

David Lesly and Melvil, accompanied us, and ordered the field-pieces to be left at the village of Bothwell, within a musket shot of the bridge. When the Duke and his men came near the bridges the rebels beat a parley, and sent over a laird, accompanied with a kirk preacher. The duke asking what they came for? Was answered, 'That they would have the *kirk established* in the same manner, as it stood at the king's restoration, and that every subject should be obliged to take the *solemn league and covenant.*' The duke told them, their demand could not be granted; but sent them back to tell their party, that if they would lay down their arms, and submit to the king's mercy, he would interceed for their pardon.

While this parley lasted, the field-pieces were brought down, and planted over against the bridge, without being perceived by the rebels. The messengers returned in a short time, with this answer; *That they would not lay down their arms, unless their conditions were granted them:* Whereupon the dragoons and musqueteers fired all at once upon those who guarded the bridge, and the field-pieces played so warmly, that some hundreds of the rebels were slain; the rest flying to the main body, on the moor.

The duke, as soon as he had commanded to fire, retired into a hollow, from the enemies shot; some say by the persuasion of Lesly and Melvil, and continued there till the action was over. Then captain Stuart ordered the musqueteers to make way for the horse, to pass the bridge, by casting the stones into the river, which had been placed there to obstruct the passage over it; but the army could not pass in less than five hours; and then marched up in order of battle towards the enemy, who waited for them on the moor, confiding in the great superiority of their number. Clavers commanded the horse on the right, and Captain Stuart

Stuart the dragoons on the left. The field-pieces were carried in the centre of the foot-guards, while the rest of the officers commanded at the head of their men; and the duke, after the enemy was beaten from the bridge, rode at the head of the army.

Upon the first fire, the rebels horse turned about, and fled upon the right and left; and although the duke ordered his men not to stir out of their ranks to pursue them, yet the army, not regarding his commands, followed the flying rebels, killing between seven and eight hundred, and taking fifteen hundred prisoners. Sir John Bell, provost of Glasgow, as soon as he saw the rebels fly, rode into the town; from whence, in a few hours, he sent all the bread he could find, together with an hogshhead of drink to each troop and company in the army, out of the cellars of such townsmen as were found to be abettors or protectors of the rebels.

The cruelty and presumption of that wicked and perverse generation, will appear evident from a single instance. These rebels had set up a very large gallows, in the middle of their camp, and prepared a cartful of new ropes at the foot of it, in order to hang up the king's soldiers, whom they already looked upon as vanquished, and at mercy; and it happened, that the pursuers in the royal army, returning back with their prisoners, chose the place where the gallows stood, to guard them at, without offering to hang one of them, which they justly deserved, and had so much reason to expect. The pursuers were no sooner returned, and the whole action over, than General Dalziel arrived at the camp from Edinburgh, with a commission received to be commander in chief, which he received that very morning by an express. This commander having learned how the duke had conducted the war, told him publicly, and with great plainness,

plainness, that he had *betrayed the king*; that he heartily wished his commission had come a day sooner; for then, said he, *these rogues should never have troubled his majesty, or the kingdom any more.*

Thus the duke was at the same time superseded, and publicly rebuked before all the army; yet his grace forgot his dignity so far, as to sneak among them at the town of Bothwell, (where the forces encamped) until the Saturday following; then all the troops marched back to Glasgow, from whence, in two or three days, they were sent to their several quarters; after which the duke of Monmouth passed by Sterling to Fife to visit the Duke of Rothes.

The same evening, after the rout on the moor, the prisoners were sent with a strong guard towards Edinburgh. On Saturday morning, when the army was to march to Glasgow, I desired the general's leave to go with twelve dragoons, in search of some of the rebels, who might probably pass the Clyde about Dunbarton, to shelter themselves in the Highlands. With these dragoons, clad in grey coats and bonnets, I made haste down the side of the river; and about midnight, after travelling twenty-four miles, I came to a church, and while the soldiers stayed to refresh their horses in the church-yard, I spied a country-fellow going by, and asked him in his own dialect, *Whither gang ye this time of night?* He answered, *Wha are ye that speers?* I replied, *We are your ane fo'ke:* Upon this the fellow came up, and told me, there were eighteen friends, with horses, at an old castle, waiting for a boat to pass over into the isle of Arran. I mounted the man behind one of my dragoons, and went towards the place: But the rebels not finding a boat, were gone off, and the guide dismissed. There was a great dew on the grass, which directed me and my party to follow the track of their horses for three or four miles, till the dew

was gone off. I then enquired of a cow-herd on a hill, whether he saw any of our *poor foke* travelling that way? he answered, that they had separated on that hill, and gone three several ways, six in a party; adding, that in one party there was a *bra muckle kerl*, with a *white hat on him*, and a *great bob of ribbons on the cock o' it*. Whereupon I sent four of my dragoons after one party, four more after another; and myself, with the remaining four, went in pursuit of him with the *white hat*. As I went forward, I met another cowherd, who told me, that the fellow with the *hat*, and one more, (for as the rogues advanced further into the west, they still divided into smaller parties) were just gone down the hill, to his master's house. The good man of the house returning from putting the horses to grafs in the garden, was going to shut the door; whereupon myself and two of the dragoons commanded him, with our pistols at his breast, to lead us to the room where the man lay who wore a *white hat*. We entered the room, and before he awaked, I took away his arms, and commanded him to dress immediately: Then finding his companion asleep in the barn, I forced him likewise to arise, and mounting them both on their own horses, came at nine o'clock in the morning, with my two prisoners, to the other dragoons, at the place where we appointed to meet. From thence we rode straight to Glasgow, and arrived thither about eight in the evening, after a journey of fifty miles, since we left the army at Bothwell the day before.

This was upon a Sunday, and although we met with many hundreds of people on the road, yet we travelled on to Glasgow without any opposition. I must here inform the reader, that although I had once before taken this very man, who wore the white hat, yet I did not know him to be Mas John King already mentioned, until I was told so by the
man

man of the house where I found him. I likewise forgot to mention, that King, who knew me well enough, as soon as he was taken in the house, entreated me to shew him some favour, because he had married a woman of my name; I answered, *That is true, but first you got her with bairn, and shall therefore now pay for disgracing one of my name.*

When we arrived near Glasgow, I sent a dragoon to inform the general, that Mas John King was coming to kiss his hand; whereupon his excellency, accompanied with all the noblemen and officers, advanced as far as the bridge, to welcome me and my prisoners; where it is very observable, that Graham, laird of Clavers, who came among the rest, made not the least reproach to Mas John, in return of his insolent behaviour, when that commander fled from Drumclog. Mas John was sent to Edinburgh next morning, under a guard, and hanged soon after. From hence I went to my quarters in Lanerk, sixteen miles from Glasgow; and, about a month after, (I hope the reader will excuse my weakness) I happened to dream that I found one Wilson, a captain among the rebels at Bothwell-bridge, in a bank of wood, upon the river Clyde. This accident made so strong an impression on my mind, that, as soon as I awaked, I took six and thirty dragoons, and got to the place by break of day; then I caused some of them to alight, and go into the wood, and set him up as hounds do a hare, while the rest were ordered to stand centry to prevent his escape. It seems I dreamed fortunately, for Wilson was actually in the wood, with five more of his company, as we afterwards learned; who all seeing me and my party advancing, hid themselves in a little island on the river, among the broom that grew upon it. Wilson had not the good fortune to escape; for, as he was trying to get out of one copse into another, I

met him, and guessing by his cloaths, and the description I had received of him before, that he was the man I looked for; I seized and brought him to my quartars; and from thence immediately conveyed him to Edinburgh, where he was hanged; but might have preserved his life, if he would have condescended only to say, *God save the King*. This he utterly refused to do, and thereby lost not only his life, but likewise an estate, worth twenty-nine thousand merks Scots.

For this service, the duke of Queensberry, then High Commissioner of Scotland, recommended me to the king, who rewarded me with the gift of Wilson's estate: But although the grant passed the seals, and the sheriff put me in possession, yet I could neither sell it nor lett it; no body daring, for fear of the rebels who had escaped at Bothwell-bridge, either to purchase or farm it; by which means I never got a penny by the grant; and at the Revolution the land was taken from me, and restored to Wilson's heirs.

The winter following, General Dalziel, with a battalion of the Earl of Linlithgow's guards, the Earl of Ayrly's troop of horse, and Captain Stuart's troop of dragoons, quartered at Kilmarnock, in the West, fifty miles from Edinburgh. Here the general, one day happening to look on, while I was exercising the troop of dragoons, asked me, when I had done, whether I knew any of my men, who was skilful in praying well in the stile and tone of the *Covenanters*? I immediately thought upon one James Gibb, who had been born in Ireland, and whom I made a dragoon. This man I brought to the general, assuring his excellency, that it I had raked hell. I could not find his match for his skill in mimicking the *Covenanters*. Whereupon the general gave him five pounds, to buy him a great coat and a bonnet, and commanded him to find out the rebels, but to be sure to take

take care of himself among them. The dragoon went eight miles off that very night, and got admittance into the house of a notorious rebel, pretending he came from Ireland out of zeal for the cause, to assist at the fight of Bothwell-bridge, and could not find an opportunity since, of returning to Ireland with safety; he said he durst not be seen in the day time, and therefore, after bewitching the family with his gifts of praying, he was conveyed in the dusk of the evening with a guide, to the house of the next adjoining rebel; and thus, in the same manner, from one to another, till, in a month's time, he got through the principal of them in the West; telling the general, at his return, that, wherever he came, he made the old wives, in their devout fits, *tear off their biggonets and mutches*. He likewise gave the general a list of their names and places of their abodes, and, into the bargain, brought back a good purse of money in his pocket. The general desired to know how he had prayed amongst them; he answered, that it was his custom in his prayers, to send the King, the Ministers of State, the Officers of the Army, with all their soldiers, and the Episcopal Clergy, all broadside to hell; but particularly the General himself: What, said the general, did you send me to hell, Sir! Yea, replied the dragoon, you at the head of them as their leader.

And here I do solemnly aver, upon my veracity and knowledge, that Bishop Burnet, in the *History of his own Times*, hath in a most false and scandalous manner, misrepresented the action at Bothwell bridge, and the behaviour of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland: For, as to the former, I was present in that engagement, which was performed in the manner I have related; and, as to the latter, having travelled through most parts of that kingdom, particularly the North and West; I was well acquainted with them, and will take it to my death, that the reverse of this character,
 which

which Burnet gives of both, is the truth. And, because that author is so unjust to the Episcopal Clergy, and so partial to the Covenanters, and their teachers, I do affirm, that I have known several among the latter sort guilty of those very vices, wherewith this Bishop brands the Episcopal Clergy. Among many others, I will produce one instance, rather to divert the reader, than from any obloquy. One of these eight fanatic teachers, who were permitted at the Restoration to keep their livings, came to Sir John Carmichael's house, within a mile of Lanerick, where I was then upon a visit to Sir John. We drank hard till it was late and all the company retired, except Sir John and myself. The teacher would needs give us prayers, but fell asleep before he had half done; whereupon Sir John and I, setting a bottle and glass at his nose, left him upon his knees. The poor man sneaked off early the next morning; being, in all appearance, ashamed of his hypocrisy.

To return from this digression. The general sent out several parties, and me with a party among the rest; where, during the winter, and the following spring, I secured many of those, whose names and abodes the canting dragoon had given a list of.

In July following, the general, by order of council, commanded me to go with a detachment of thirty horse, and fifty dragoons, in pursuit of about one hundred and fifty rebels, who had escaped at Bothwell-bridge, and ever since kept together in a body, up and down in Galloway. I followed them for five or six days, from one place to another; after which, on the 22d of July, they stayed for me at Airs-moss, situate in the shire of Air, near the town of Cumlock. the moss is four miles long from east to west, and two broad. The rebels drew up at the east end, and consisted of thirty horse, and one hundred and twenty foot.

I faced them upon a rising ground with my thirty horse and fifty dragoons. The reason why the rebels chose this place to fight on, rather than a plain field, was for fear their horse might desert the foot, as they did in Hamilton-muir, near Bothwell-bridge: And likewise, that in case they lost the day, they might save themselves by retreating into the mofs.

I placed myself on the left, as judging, that the best officer the rebels had would command on the right. The action began about five in the afternoon, but lasted not long; for I ordered my men first to receive the enemy's fire, then to ride down the hill upon them, and use their broad swords. They did so, and before the enemy had time to draw theirs, cut many of them down in an instant; whereupon they wheeled about, and Capt. Fowler, who commanded the rebels on the right, being then in the rear, advancing up to me, I gave him such a blow over the head with my broad sword, as would have cleaved his skull, had it not been defended by a steel-cap. Fowler turning about, aimed a blow at me, but I warded it off, and with a back-stroke, cut the upper part his head clean off, from the nose upwards.

By this time, the rebels leaving their horses, fled to the mofs; but the Royalists pursuing them, killed about sixty, and took fourteen prisoners. Here Cameron the famous covenanter, lost his life; and Haxton was taken prisoner, infamous for embruuing his hands in the blood of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as I have already mentioned; for which parricide, both his hands were afterwards cut off, and he was hanged at Edinburgh.

But this victory cost me very dear; for being then in the rear, I rode into the mofs after the rebels, where I overtook a dozen of them, hacking and hewing one of my men, whose horse was bogged; his name was Elliot, a stout soldier; and
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one of Clavers's troop. He had received several wounds, and was at the point of being killed, when I came to his relief. I shot one of the rogues dead with my carbine, which obliged the rest to let the poor man and his horse creep out of the hole; but at the same time drew all their fury upon myself; for Elliot made a shift to crawl out of the moss, leading his horse in his hand, but was wholly disabled from assisting his deliverer, and was not regarded by his enemies, who probably thought he was mortally wounded, or indeed rather that they had no time to mind him; for I laid about me so fast, that they judged it best to keep off, and not to venture within my reach; till it unfortunately happened, that my horse slipped in the same hole, out of which Elliot and his had just got. When they had me at this advantage, they began to shew their courage, and manfully dealt their blows with their broad-swords, from some of which, the carbine that hung down my back defended me a little. As I was *paddling in the hole*, the horse not able to get out, one of the rebels ran me through the small of the back with his broad-sword, and at the same instant, two more wounded me under the ribs with their small ones. Then I threw myself over the head of my horse, taking the far pistol out of the holster in my left hand, and holding my broad sword in my right; and as one of the villains was coming hastily up to me, his foot slipped, and before he could recover himself, I struck my sword into his skull; but the fellow being big and heavy, snapped it asunder as he fell, within a span of the hilt. The rebels had me now at a great advantage: One of them made a stroke at me, which I warded off with the hilt of the sword that was left in my hand; but the force with which he struck the blow, and I kept it off, brought us both to the ground. However, I got up before him, clapped my pistol to his side, and shot

shot him dead. As soon as this was done, another came behind me, and with some weapon or other, struck me such a blow on the head, as laid me flat on my back; in which posture I remained a good while insensible. The rogues taking it for granted that I was dead, scoured off, fearing that by this time, some of my men were returning back from the pursuit.

After some time, I a little recovered my senses, and strove to lift myself up, which one of the rogues happening to see at some distance, immediately returned, and said in my hearing, *God, the dog is no dead yet.* Then coming up to me, took his sword, and putting its hilt to his breast, and guiding it with both his hands, made a thrust at my belly; but my senses were now so far recovered, that I parried the thrust with a piece of the sword which remained still in my hand. The fellow, when he missed his aim, almost fell on his face; for the sword ran up to the hilt in the moss; and as he was recovering himself, I gave him a dab in the mouth with my broken sword, which very much hurt him; but he aiming a second thrust, which I had likewise the good fortune to put by, and having as before given him another dab in the mouth, he immediately went off, for fear of the pursuers, whereof many were now returning.

In this distress, I made a shift with much difficulty and pain, to get upon my feet, but my right leg being disabled by the wound I received from the broad-sword, I was forced to limp by the help of the carbine, which I made use of as a staff. I had lost my horse; for one of the rogues, when I had quitted him in the hole, led him away through the moss. I recovered him about a year after from the man to whom the rebel had sold him; and the said rebel, when he was at the gallows, confessed himself to be the same man who took away the horse at Aird-moss.

There was a Lancashire gentleman, one Mr. Parker, who came volunteer to Aird-moss, with intent, as he expressed himself, *to the see sport*. This gentleman, riding on my right hand, at the time when we received the enemies fire, in the beginning of the action, was shot with a blunderbuss under the left shoulder; the wound was so large, that a man might thrust his fist into it: Yet, when I desired him to fall back and take care of his wound, he answered me, that he would first have his *penny-worth* out of the rogues; and accordingly followed us on horseback into the moss, as far as the horse could go without bogging. But, by that time, his wound so grievously pained him, with some other cuts he got in the pursuit, that he was forced to alight, and sit on a dry spot of ground, which he found in the moss, from whence he saw all that happened to me, without being able to come to my assistance, any more than Elliot; who having gotten to a rising ground, saw likewise all that had passed. However Mr. Parker, as I came limping towards him, could not forbear laughing, and said, *What a plague, have you got your bones well paid too?* Then both of us made a shift to get up to Elliot on the rising ground.

The trumpeter being by this time returned with some others from the pursuit, was ordered to sound a call, which brought all the rest back, with the fourteen prisoners, and Haxton among the rest, who was that day Commander in Chief among the rebels. Of the King's party, but two were killed, Mr. Andrew Ker, a gentleman of Clavers' own troop, and one MacKabe, a dragoon in Capt. Stuart's troop, where I was Lieutenant. The wounded were about eight or nine, besides Parker and Elliot. Elliot died the next day: He, Ker, and MacKabe, were honourably buried by Mr. Brown, a gentleman who lived hard by, to whose house their bodies were carried after the fight, at the moss.

An English lady, living about eight miles off, took care of Mr. Parker, but he died at her house a year after, of his wounds, very much lamented on account of his loyalty and valour.

When the fight was over, night coming on, I ordered all my men, except twelve dragoons, whom I kept to attend myself, to march with the prisoners, and those who were wounded, to Douglafs, fourteen miles off, and to carry along with them Cameron's head. In the mean time, I and my party of dragoons went, that night, sixteen long miles to Lanerick, where the General and all the foot quartered; as well to acquaint him with what had been done, as to have my own wounds taken care of. I sent one of my dragoons before me with my message: Whereupon the General himself, although it was after midnight, accompanied with the Earls of Linlithgow, Mar, Ross, Hume, and the Lord Dalhousie, came out to meet me at the gate: Dalhousie forced me to lodge in his own chamber, to which I was accordingly carried by two of my dragoons. After my wounds had been dressed in the presence of this noble company, who stood round about me, being very thirsty through the loss of blood, I drank the King's health, and the company's, in a large glass of wine and water; and then was laid in Dalhousie's own bed.

Next day, the General leaving Lanerick, with the forces under his command, ordered a troop of horse, and another of dragoons to attend me, till I should be able to travel up to Edinburgh, for the better conveniency of physicians and surgeons. My wounds did not confine me to my bed; and in a month's time I went to Edinburgh on horseback by easy stages, where I continued till Candlemas following, lingering of the wound I had received by the broad-sword. My surgeon was the son of the same Dr. Irvin, who first got me into the guards; but having unfortunately neglected to tie a

string to the tent of green cloth, which he used for the wound; the tent slipped into my body, where it lay under my navel seven months and five days, and exceedingly pained me, not suffering me to sleep, otherwise than by taking soporiferous pills. When the tent was first missing, neither the surgeon, nor any body else ever imagined that it was lodged in my body: but supposed it to have slipped out of the wound while I slept, and carried away by some rat, or other vermin: The tent lying thus in my body, made it impossible that the wound could heal: Wherefore, after lingering seven months, by the advice of a gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, I got leave to go for Ireland, with my surgeon, and there try whether my native air would contribute any thing to my cure.

However insignificant this relation may be to the generality of readers; yet I cannot omit a lucky accident to which I owe my cure. While I continued at Edinburgh, I ordered some pipes of lead to be made in a mold, through which the thin corruption, which continually issued out of the wound, caused by the tent remaining in my body, might be conveyed as through a fossét. These pipes I cut shorter by degrees, in proportion as I imagined the wound was healing at the bottom; till at last, by mistaking the true cause, the tent continuing still where it did, the pipes became too short for the use intended; wherefore, when I was in Ireland, I made a coarse pipe myself, which was long enough: This pipe, after the wound was washed with brandy, always remained in my body till the next dressing; but being made without art, and somewhat jagged at the end, it happened one morning, when the pipe was drawn out as usual, in order to have the wound washed, the tent followed, to the great surprize of my father, who, at that time, was going to dress the wound; my surgeon being then at Castle Irvin, where I had left

left him with his brother Dr. Irvin, at St. Gerard Irvin's house; the same gentleman who was delivered out of Derry goal by my father, as I have related in the beginning of these memoirs.

The night before the tent was drawn out of my body, having not slept a wink, I thought myself in the morning somewhat feverish, and therefore desired my father to send for Dr. Lindsey, to let me blood. In the mean time, slumbering a little, I dreamed that the covenanters were coming to cut my throat; under this apprehension I awaked, and found my neighbour, Capt. Saunderfon in my chamber, who was come to visit me. I then called for my father to dress my wound; when the tent followed the pipe, as I have already said, to my great joy, for then I knew I should soon be well. I therefore ordered my horse to be got ready, and rode out with Capt. Saunderfon and my father, to meet Dr. Lindsey, who, hearing the joyful news, carried us to a gentleman's house, where we drank very heartily: Then I returned home, and slept almost twenty-four hours. Two days after, Dr. Irvin and his brother, the surgeon, came to my father's house, where the Doctor being informed in the circumstances of my cure, severely chid his brother for his neglect, swearing he had a mind to shoot him; and that, if I had died, my blood would have been charged on his head. He then ordered me a remedy, which would then heal up the wound in twenty days. This fell out in the beginning of May, at which time, taking leave of my father and other friends in Ireland, I returned to Edinburgh, where, before the end of that month, my wound was perfectly healed up; but I was never afterwards so able to bear fatigues as I had hitherto been.

The Duke of York was arrived at Edinburgh the Michaelmas before, where the General, from the time he left Lanerick in July, continued with
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the guards; the rest of the forces quartering up and down in other places. The General, after my arrival, coming every day to see me, in his way, as he went to the Duke's court, did me the honour to mention me and my services to his Royal Highness, who was desirous to see me; I was admitted to kiss his hand, and ordered to sit down, in regard to my honourable wounds, which would not suffer me to stand, without great pain. I cannot conceal this mark of favour and distinction, shewn me by a great Prince, although I am very sensible it will be imputed to vanity. I must remember likewise, that upon my return to Edinburgh, happening to overtake the General in the street, and gently touching him, his Excellency turning in a great surprize, cried but, *O God, man, are you living?* I answered that I was, and hoped to do the King and his Excellency further service.

After I had continued a month with my friends in Edinburgh, who all congratulated with me upon my recovery, I repaired to the troop at Lanerick, where I often ranged with a party through the West, to find out the straggling remains of the covenanting rebels, but for some time without success, till a week before Christmas, after the Duke of York succeeded to the crown, and a year and a half after I was cured. Having drank hard one night, I dreamed that I had found Capt. David Steele, a notorious rebel, in one of the five farmers houses on a mountain in the shire of Clivedale, and parish of Lismahago, within eight miles of Hamilton, a place that I was well acquainted with. This man was head of the rebels, since the affair of Airs-moss, having succeeded to Haxton, who had been there taken, and afterwards hanged, as the reader has already heard: For, as to *Robert Hamilton*, who was their Commander in Chief at Bothwell-bridge, he appeared no more among them, but fled, as it was believed, to Holland.

Steele,

Steele, and his father before him, held a farm in the estate of Hamilton, within two or three miles of that town. When he betook himself to arms, the farm lay waste, and the Duke could find no other person who would venture to take it; whereupon his Grace, sent several messengers to Steele, to know the reason why he kept the farm waste. The Duke received no other answer, than that he would keep it waste in spite of him and the King too; whereupon his Grace, at whose table I had always the honour to be a welcome guest, desired I would use my endeavours to destroy that rogue, and I would oblige him for ever.

I must here take leave to inform the reader, that the Duke of Hamilton's friendship for me, was founded upon the many services he knew I had done the public, as well as upon the relation I bore to Sir Gerard Irvin, the person whom, of all the world, his Grace most loved and esteemed, ever since the time they had served in arms together for the King in the Highlands, with my Lord Glencairn and Sir Arthur Forbes, (father to the present Earl of Granard) after the King's defeat at Worcester, during the time of the usurpation.

To return therefore to my story; when I awoke out of my dream, as I had done before in the affair of Wilson, (and I desire the same apology I made in the introduction to these Memoirs, may serve for both) I presently rose, and ordered thirty-six dragoons to be at the place appointed by break of day. When we arrived thither, I sent a party to each of the five farmers houses. This villain Steele had murdered above forty of the King's subjects in cold blood; and, as I was informed, had often laid snares to entrap me; but it happened, that although he usually kept a gang to attend him, yet at this time he had none, when he stood in the greatest need. One of my party found him in one of the farmer's houses, just as I happened to dream. The dragoons first searched all the rooms

rooms below, without success, till two of them hearing somebody stirring over their heads, went up a pair of turnpike stairs. Steele had put on his cloaths, while the search was making below: The chamber where he lay was called the chamber of Deefe, which is the name given to a room where the laird lies when he comes to a tenant's house. Steele, suddenly opening the door, fired a blunderbuss down at the two dragoons, as they were coming up the stairs; but the bullets, grazing against the side of the turnpike, only wounded and did not kill them. Then Steele violently threw himself down the stairs among them, and made towards the door to save his life, but lost it upon the spot; for the dragoons who guarded the house dispatched him with their broad-swords. I was not with the party when he was killed, being at that time employed in searching at one of the other four houses, but I soon found what had happened, by hearing the noise of the shot made with the blunderbuss. From hence I returned straight to Lanerick, and immediately sent one of the dragoons express to General Drummond at Edinburgh.

General Dalziel died about Michaelmas this year, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Drummond, who was likewise my very good friend,

But I cannot here let pass the death of so brave and loyal a Commander as General Dalziel, without giving the reader some account of him, as far as my knowledge or inquiry can reach.

Thomas Dalziel, among many other officers, was taken prisoner at the unfortunate defeat at Worcester, and sent to the tower; from whence, I know not by what means, he made his escape, and went to Muscovy; where the Czar then reigning, made him his General: But some time after the restoration of the Royal Family, he gave up his commission, and repairing to King Charles the Second, was, in consideration of his eminent ser-

vices, constituted Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland; in which post he continued till his death, excepting only one fortnight, when he was superseded by the Duke of Monmouth, some days before the action at Bothwell-bridge, as I have already related. He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and cloathing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey-coats. He never wore a peruke; nor did he shave his beard since the murder of King Charles the First. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice in a-year and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to court, or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go in to the King; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again, and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalziel in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, shewing their admiration at his beard and dress, so that the King could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his Majesty bid the Devil take Dalziel, for bringing such a rabble of boys together to have their guts squeezed out, whilst they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requesting him at the same time, (as Dalziel used to express it) *to shave and dress like other Christians,*

tians, to keep the *poor bairns* out of danger: All this could never prevail on him to part with his beard; but yet, in compliance to his Majesty, he went once to court in the very height of the fashion; but as soon as the King, and those about him, had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress.

When the Duke of York succeeded to the crown, General Dalziel was resolved still to retain his loyalty, although, at the same time, he often told his friends, that all things were going wrong at court; but death came very seasonably to rescue him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of *duty to his Prince* on one side, and *true zeal for his religion* on the other.

I must now resume a little my discourse upon Capt. Steele. Some time before the action, in which he was killed, General Drummond, who was then newly made Commander in Chief, sent for me in haste, to attend him in Edinburgh: My way lay through a very strong pass hard by *Airs-moss*, and within a mile of *Cumlock*: As I was going thro' *Cumlock*, a friend there told me that Steele, with a party, waited for me at the pass. I had with me only one dragoon and a drummer: I ordered the latter to gallop on strait to the pass, and when he got thither, to beat a dragoon-march, while I, with the dragoon, should ride along the bye-path on the edge of the moss. When Steele and his men heard the drum, they scoured cross the bye-path into the moss, apprehending that a strong party was coming in search of them: But either I, or the dragoon, (I forgot which) shot one of the rebels dead, as he crossed us to get into the moss. To put an end to this business of Steele: When the dragoon, whom I sent express, had delivered his message to General Drummond, he was just setting out for his country-

country-house at Dumblain, but returned to his lodgings, and wrote me a letter, that he would send for me up after the holidays, and recommend me to the government to reward me for my services. He faithfully kept his word, but I received nothing more than promises.

Steele was buried in the church-yard of Lismahego, by some of his friends; who, after the revolution, erected a *fair monument*, on *pillars*, over his grave, and caused an epitaph to be engraved on the stone, in words to this effect.

*Here lieth the body of Captain David Steele, a saint,
who was murdered by John Creichton (with the
date underneath.)*

Some of my friends burlesqued this epitaph, in the following manner:

*Here lies the body of Saint Steele,
Murdered by John Creichton, that dee'l.*

Duke Hamilton, in Queen Anne's time, informed me of this honour done to that infamous rebel; and when I had said to his Grace, that I wished he had ordered his *footmen to demolish the monument*, the Duke answered, he would not have done so for *five hundred pounds*, because it would be an honour to me as long as it lasted.

The last summer, about the end of May, if I remember right, (and I desire to be excused for not always relating things in the order when they happened) the Marquis of Argyle, after having escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh into Holland, returned to invade Scotland, to support the Duke of Monmouth's pretensions to the crown, as was generally believed. He landed in his own country, in the Highlands, with a party of Dutch, and some Scottish gentlemen who had fled for treason, among whom Sir John Cogheran was of the greatest note: Whereupon the government ordered the

Marquis of Athol, and Mr. Owen Cameron, laird of Logheel, to raise their clans, and march with their party against Argyle. They did so, and, in the evening, pitched their camp close by him. Here, in the night, Cameron *patrolling with a party*, met another of his own men, and taking them for enemies, because they had lost the word in their cups, killed eight or nine; among whom two or three happened to be persons of note; the friends of those who were killed resolving, if possible, to have him hanged; he was obliged to ride post to the king. He went to his Majesty in the dress he had travelled; and the king, being already informed how the accident happened, instead of suffering him to tell his story, commanded him to draw his broad sword, intending to knight him therewith: But Cameron could not draw it, because the scabbard had got wet on the way. The king observing the confusion he was in, said, he knew the reason that kept the sword in the sheath; adding that he never failed to draw it in the service of his father, his brother, and himself; whereupon he was knighted with another sword, with the title of Sir Owen Cameron. He returned to Edinburgh, and from thence went as a volunteer to serve in the standing army, which was then moving towards the coast of Galloway, to prevent Argyle from landing. For, upon the opposition he found from the Marquis of Atholl, and his men; with their assistance in the Highlands, he shipped his forces, and sailed round to the west, hoping to land there. But the army moving along the coast, always in sight of him, compelled him to return the way he came, until he landed in his own country again. From thence, after gathering what supplies of men he could, he marched, and encamped in the evening within two or three miles of Glasgow. But the king's army having sent out scouts to discover what way he took, encamped o-

ver againſt him the ſame evening on an eminence, there being a bog between both armies.

The king's forces conſiſted of the Earl of Linlithgow's regiment of foot-guards, the Earl of Mar's of foot, Clavers's of horſe, Dunmore's of dragoons, Buchan's of foot, and Livingſton's of horſe-guards, with ſome gentlemen of quality, volunteers; among whom the Earl of Dunbarton was of the greateſt note.

Here the two armies lay in fight of each other; but, before morning, Argyle was gone, his Highlanders having deſerted him; and then the king's army went to reſreſh themſelves at Glaſgow, waiting till it could be known which way Argyle had fled. It was ſoon underſtood that he had croſſed the Clyde at Kilpatrick; and that Sir John Cogheran lay with a party, in a ſtone-dyke park, about ten miles off. The Lord Roſs was therefore diſpatched, with a party of horſe, and Captain Cleland, who was now my captain, (my friend Stuart being dead) with another of dragoons, to find them out: When they came up to the park where Sir John Cogheran lay with his Dutch, they fired at one another, and ſome of the king's ſoldiers fell, among whom Captain Cleland was one; whereupon the troop was given to Sir Adam Blare (who was likewiſe wounded in that raſh engagement) although, upon Duke Hamilton's application to the king, *I had been promiſed to ſucceed Cleland.* But Sir Adam, and Secretary Melford, being brothers-in-law, that intereſt prevailed.

I muſt deſire the Reader's pardon, for ſo frequently interſperſing my own private affairs with thoſe of the public; but what I chiefly propoſed, was, to write my *own memoirs*, and not a *hiſtory of the times*, further than I was concerned in them.

Night coming on, the king's party withdrew, leaving Sir John Cogheran in the park, who, notwithstanding this little ſucceſs, deſired his follower,

to shift for themselves, and left them before morning. Argyle next evening was found alone, a mile above Greenknock at the water-side, endeavouring to get into a little boat, and grappling with the owner thereof, (a poor weaver.) It seems he wanted presence of mind to engage the man with a piece of money, to set him on the other side. In the mean time Sir John Shaw riding with some gentlemen to Greenknock, and seeing the struggle, seized the Earl, and carried him to Glasgow, from whence he was sent with a strong guard to Edinburgh, and sometime after beheaded.

The next day, the army marched towards the borders against the Duke of Monmouth, but, an express arriving of his defeat, the troops were commanded to repair to their several quarters.

I shall here occasionally relate an unfortunate accident which happened this summer in Scotland.

MacDonnel laird of Cappagh in the Highlands, within eight miles of Inverlochy, was unjustly possessed, as most men believed, for many years, of an estate which in right belonged to the laird of Mackintosh. Both these gentlemen were well-affected to the king. The laird of Cappagh, after sowing time was over, had gone that summer, as it was his custom, to make merry with his clans on the mountains, till the time of harvest should call him home. But in his absence, Mackintosh, and his clans, assisted with a party of the army by order from the government, possessed himself of Cappagh's estate; whereupon MacDonnel and his clans, returning from the mountains, set upon the enemy, killed several gentlemen among them, and took Mackintosh himself prisoner. MacDonnel had given strict orders to his men, not to kill any of the army. But Captain MacKenzy, who commanded on the other side, making a shot at one of MacDonnel's men, who was pursuing his adversary,

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the man discharging his pistol at the captain, shot him in the knee, who, after having been carried fifty miles to Inverness to a surgeon, died of his wound.

Soon after, the government ordered me to detach sixty dragoons, with a lieutenant, cornet and standard, and to march with Captain Streighton, and two hundred of the foot-guards, against the MacDonnells; to destroy man, woman, and child, pertaining to the laird of Cappagh, and to burn his houses and corn. Upon the approach of our party, MacDonnell laird of Cappagh dismissing his prisoners, retired farther into the mountains; whereupon we, who were sent against him, continued to destroy all the houses and corn, from the time of Lammas to the tenth of September; and then we advanced towards the borders to join the Scotch army, which at that time was marching towards England against the prince of Orange, who then intended an invasion. We arrived thither the first of October, after a march of two hundred miles.

General Drummond being then dead, James Douglass, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, succeeded him as commander in chief: And Graham laird of Clavers (about this time created Lord Dundee) was Major-general. On the first of October, the army passed the Tweed, and drew up on the banks on the English side, where the general gave a strict charge to the officers, that they should keep their men from offering the least injury in their march; adding, that if he heard any of the English complain, the officers should answer for the faults of their men; and so they arrived at Carlisle that night.

Next day, General Douglass, by order from the king, marched the foot by Chester towards London; and Dundee the horse by York; to which city he arrived in four or five days. The army did

did not reach London till about the five and twentieth of October, being ordered, by the contrivance of Douglass the General, to march slow, on purpose that the Prince of Orange might land before the king's forces should grow strong enough to oppose him.

The Scotch army, at this time, consisted of four regiments of foot, one of horse, one of dragoons, one troop of horse-guards; and it was computed, that the Earl of Feversham, who was then general of all the king's forces, had under his command, of English, Scotch, and Irish, an army of near thirty thousand men. Soon after the prince's landing, the king went to Salisbury, with a guard of two hundred horse, commanded by the old Earl of Airly, two days before the body of the army came up to him. The Earl of Airly, when he was Lord Ogleby, had attended the great Marquis of Montrose in all his actions for King Charles I. and II. But at this time being old, it was reported that he was dead, before the Scotch forces went into England to oppose the prince of Orange; whereupon the king, believing the report, had given his troop in Dundee's regiment to the Earl of Annandale: But the Earl having overtook the army at Cambridge in their march, went on to London; and there presenting himself before the king, his Majesty was so just and gracious, that he immediately restored his Lordship to the troop, ordering him, at the same time, to command those two hundred men who attended him down to Salisbury.

When all the forces were arrived at Salisbury, the Earl of Dunmore, with his regiment of dragoons (wherein I served) was ordered to a pass three miles below the city, where I commanded the guard that night.

The same morning that the army arrived, the great men about the king, as the Lord Churchill,

&c.

&c. to the number of thirty, advised his Majesty to take the air on horseback, intending as the Earl of Dunmore was informed, to give up their master to the prince; but the king, probably suspecting the design, returned in haste to the city. Next night, at a council of war called to consult what was fittest to be done in the present juncture of affairs, the very same great men swore to stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes; and, as soon as he was gone to rest, mounting on horseback, they all went over to the prince, except the Earl of Feversham, Dunbarton, and a very few more: For the Earl of Dunbarton going to his Majesty for orders, at four of the clock in the morning, found they were all departed.

Those few who staid with the king, advised his majesty to return immediately to London; and the Lord Dundee was ordered to bring up the Scotch horse and dragoons, with the Duke of Berwick's regiment of horse, to Reading, where he joined Dunbarton with his forces, and continued there nine or ten days. They were in all about ten thousand strong. General Douglass, with his regiment of foot-guards, passing by Reading, lay at Maidenhead; from whence, one of his battalions revolted to the prince under the conduct only of a corporal, whose name was *Kemp*. However, Douglass assured the king, that this defection happened against his will; and yet, when the officers were ready to fire upon the deserters, his compassion was such, that he would not permit them.

After this the Earl of Dunbarton and the Lord Dundee, with all the officers who adhered to the king, were ordered to meet his Majesty at Uxbridge, where he designed to fight the prince. The Earl of Feversham got thither before the king and the army arrived. When the forces drew together, every party sent an officer to the Earl of Feversham, to receive his commands. I attended his

Lordship from my Lord Dundee, and was ordered with the rest to wait till the king came to dinner, his Majesty being expected within half an hour; but it fell out otherwise: For the Earl, to his great surprize, received a letter from the king, signifying that his Majesty was gone off, and had no further service for the army. When I carried this news to my Lord Dundee, neither his Lordship, nor the Lords Linlithgow and Dunmore, could forbear falling into tears: After which, being at a loss what course to take, I said to my Lord Dundee, that as he had brought us out of Scotland, he should convey us thither back again in a body; adding, that the forces might ly that night at Watford, six miles off: My advice was followed, and I went before to get billets where to quarter the men. My Lord Dundee ordered all to be ready at sound of trumpet, and to unbridle their horses no longer than while they were eating their oats. The townsmen contrived to give out a report before day, that the Prince of Orange was approaching, hoping to affright us away with a false alarm: Whereupon we marched out, but, at the same time, drew up in a strong inclosure at the town's end; resolving to fight the prince, if he should advance towards us. My Lord Dundee dispatched me immediately, to discover whether the report of the prince's approach were true; but I only met a messenger with a letter from his Highness, to my Lord Dundee, which I received and delivered to his Lordship. The contents of it, as far as I am able to recollect, were as follow:

“ My Lord Dundee,

“ I understand you are now at Watford, and
 “ that you keep your men together; I desire you
 “ may stay there till farther orders, and, upon
 “ my

“ my honour, none in my army shall touch
 “ you.”

W. H. Prince of Orange.

Upon the receipt of this letter, our forces returned into the town, set up their horses, and refreshed themselves. About three in the afternoon, there came intelligence, that the king would be at Whitehall that night, having returned from Feversham, whether he had fled in disguise, and was ill-treated by the rabble before they discovered him. Upon this incident, the Lords Dundee, Dunmore, Lidlithgow, and myself, who desired leave to go with my colonel, took horse; and, arriving at Whitehall a little after the king, had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

The next morning the Earl of Feversham was sent by the king, with some proposals to the Prince of Orange, who was then at Windsor, where his Lordship was put in arrest by the prince's command, who sent the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamair (if I rightly remember) to the King, with his Highness's order, that his Majesty should remove from Whitehall next day, before twelve o' clock. This order was given about one in the morning: At the same time, a barge was brought to Whitehall-stairs, and a Dutch guard set about the King, without his knowledge, but with directions to see him safe, if he had a mind to go on board any ship, in order to his escape. A ship, it seems, was likewise prepared, and his majesty, attended by the Lords Dunmore, Arran, and Middleton, went on board; and then the three Lords returned to London. The Prince arrived at St. James's about two hours after his majesty's departure; and the Earl of Arran went, among the rest, to attend his Highness, to whom being introduced, he told the Prince, that the

King, his master, had commanded him, upon his departure, to wait upon his Highness, and receive his commands. The Prince replied, he was glad to see him, and had an esteem for him and all men of honour. Then turning aside to some other persons who were making their court, Dr. Burnet, soon after made Bishop Salisbury, who had been the Earl of Arran's governour, coming up to his Lordship, cried, *Ay, my Lord Arran, you are now come in, and think to make a merit when the work is done.* To this insult the Earl, in the hearing of many, replied only, *Come, Doctor, we ken one another weel enough.* And the Earl's own father told the Prince, that if this young fellow were not secured, he would perhaps give his Highness some trouble. Whereupon this noble young Lord was sent to the tower, where he continued about a year, and then returned to Scotland: And soon after, the young Lord Forbes, now Earl of Granard, was likewise imprisoned in the same place. King William had made several advances to his Lordship, as he did to many other persons of quality, to engage him in his service: and sending for him one day, asked him, why he did not take care of his regiment? My Lord Forbes, not being provided on a sudden with a better answer, told the King, that, having been born in Ireland, he had, not credit enough, he believed, to raise men, to fill up the places of the papists in his regiment. King William thereupon said, he would take that charge upon himself. Lord Forbes having now recollected himself, said, he had likewise another reason why he found it necessary to decline his service, but was unwilling to mention it, not having the least intention to disoblige his Highness. The Prince desired that he might do it freely, and it should not disoblige him; whereupon my Lord said, that having sworn to retain his loyalty to King James, he could not, in honour and conscience,

ence, without his master's permission, enter into the service of another prince, during his majesty's life. Whereupon King William, soon after, thought it proper to send him to the Tower; but, however, was so generous, as, in the time of his confinement, to send one of the clerks of the treasury, with an order to pay him two hundred pounds, as very reasonably thinking, that, under the loss of his regiment, as well as of his rents in Ireland, he might want money to support himself. My Lord Forbes having asked the clerk, by whose direction he brought that sum? And the other answering, that he was only ordered to pay the money to his lordship, and to take his receipt, conjectured this present to have proceeded from King William; and therefore desired the clerk to present his most humble thanks to his Highness, and to let him know that, as he had never done him any service, he could not, in honour, receive any marks of his bounty.

Upon this subject I must add one more particular, that when my Lord Forbes arrived with his regiment out of Ireland, and attended on King James, he advised his Majesty to fight the prince upon the first opportunity after his landing, before his party should grow strong: But those about the King, who had already engaged in the other interest, would not suffer that advice to be followed.

I now return to my Lord Dundee, and my Lord Dunmore. Their lordships acted no longer as colonels, when they understood that the Prince intended to place himself on the throne during his Majesty's life: But the first, with the twenty-four troopers, who followed him up from Watford, left London, and repaired with the utmost expedition, to his own castle; and the second, some time after to Edinburgh, lying both quiet, until the convention of the states of Scotland was called.

After

After their lordships were gone to Scotland, I went to Watford, where my Lord Kilsythe, as lieutenant-colonel, commanded the Lord Dunmore's regiment of dragoons; the rest of the army, which had been there, being gone to other places. Then Major-general MacCoy ordered the Lord Kilsythe to march the regiment from place to place, until they should come to Congerton, a town in Cheshire. Here they quartered, when the Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed King and Queen of England, &c. by the sheriff and three or four bailiffs. It happened to be a very stormy day; and when the sheriff had done his office, a crack-brain'd fellow, at the head of a great rabble, proclaimed the Duke of Monmouth king, to the great diversion of the regiment, not believing he had been beheaded.

When my Lord Dundee refused to serve the Prince of Orange, Sir Thomas Levington, of my Lord Kilsythe's family, got the regiment. This gentleman was born in Holland, and often used to raise recruits in Scotland; upon which account he was well known to the regiment. He came down post to Congerton, and, at supper, told the officers that he was sent to know which of them would serve King William, and which would not? Now, the oath of allegiance to that prince, having not been offered to that regiment, one of the company answered, that we having sworn allegiance to King James, could not, in conscience and honour, draw our swords against him: Whereupon Sir Thomas, drinking an health to King James, upon his knees, answered, That he wished he might be damned, whenever he should command them to break that oath; and, in order to ingratiate himself further with the regiment, added, that he would return to Lond on next day, for a command to march them straight to Scotland, where their wives and friends were; and likewise procure a captain's commission for me, since Sir Adam

Blair,

Blair, who commanded the troop, in which I was lieutenant, had refused to serve King William; both which he accordingly obtained.

When he returned from London, he marched with the regiment directly through Berwick into Scotland; and as they passed by Edinburgh, (the castle whereof was kept for K. James by the Duke of Gordon) Sir Thomas, and my Lord Kilsythe went into the town to receive Duke Hamilton's commands, who was then High-commissioner; and some other officers went in at the same time, to see their wives and friends.

The Duke asked Sir Thomas where I was? And, being informed that I was gone to Sterling, desired I might be sent for. Upon my attending his Grace, he was pleased to say, that he had been always my friend; and that now he had it in his power to provide for me, if I would be true to my trust, (for he supposed I had taken the oath to King William); and, upon my answer, that I would be true to what I had sworn, the Duke replied, it was very well.

Upon this occasion, and before I proceed further, I think it will be proper to make some apology for my future conduct; because I am conscious, that many people, who are in another interest, may be apt to think and speak hardly of me: But I desire they would please to consider, that the revolution was then an event altogether new, and had put many men much wiser than myself at a loss how to proceed. I had taken the oath of allegiance to King James; and having been bred up under the strictest principles of loyalty, could not force my conscience to dispense with that oath during his Majesty's life. All those persons of quality in Scotland, to whom I had been most obliged, and on whom I had chiefly depended, did still adhere to that prince. Those people, whom, from my youth, I had been
taught

taught to abhor; whom, by the commands of my superiors, I had constantly treated as rebels, and who, consequently, conceived an irreconcilable animosity against me, were upon this great change, the highest in favour and employments. - And lastly, the established religion in Scotland, which was episcopal, under which I had been educated, and to which I had always borne the highest veneration, was utterly destroyed in that kingdom, (although preserved in the other two); and the Presbyterian kirk, which had ever been my greatest aversion, exalted in its stead.

Upon all these considerations, I hope every candid reader will be so just to believe, that, supposing me in an error, I acted at least sincerely, and according to the dictates of my conscience; and, as it is manifest, without any worldly view: For I had then considerable offers made me, and, in all probability should have been greatly advanced, if I could have persuaded myself to accept them.

Having said thus much to excuse my conduct from that time forward, I shall now proceed to relate facts and passages, just as they happened; and avoid, as much as possible, giving any offence.

My Lord Dunmore being then at Edinburgh, I thought it my duty to pay my respects to his Lordship, who had been also my colonel. He was pleased to invite me to dine with him that day at a tavern; where he said, Lieutenant-general Douglas, (who had left England, a little before, on some pretence or other) the Lord Kilsythe, Captain Murray, (all his ain lads, as his Lordship expressed himself) were to meet him. I objected against Douglas, that he was not to be trusted; (this was the same man, who afterwards was Lieutenant-general of King William's army in Ireland against King James; and whose name will never be forgot in that kingdom, on account of his many ravages and barbarities committed there; but his

Lordship

Lordship answered, that he would pawn his life for his honesty; because my Lord Dundee had assured him, that the Lieutenant-general had given him his faith and honour, to be with him in five days, if he marched to the hills, to declare for King James. Whereupon I submitted my scruples to my colonel's judgment and accordingly we all met together at the tavern.

Dinner was no sooner done, than we heard the news that King James was landed in Ireland; then Douglas took a beer glass, and looking round him, said, Gentlemen, we have all eat of his bread, and here is his health; which he drank off, on his knees; and all the company did the same; Then filling another bumper, he drank damnation to all who would ever draw a sword against him.

I then returned to Sterling, and soon after, the states of Scotland met, To this convention my Lord Dundee went *incognito*, lest the rabble, who had threatened his person, should assault him in the streets. He made a speech to the house, to the following purpose: "That he came thither as a Peer of the realm, to serve his Majesty; and that if the King had no service for him, he hoped, that honourable assembly would protect him as a peaceable subject, from the rage of his enemies."

Upon receiving an answer from the states, that they could not possibly do it, he slipped out of the house, and privately withdrew from the town, followed by the twenty-four troopers, who had attended him thither: And, as he rode by the castle, seeing the Duke of Gordon, who commanded it, walking on the walls; he charged his Grace to keep the place for King James, till he should hear further from him, who was then going, he said, to appear in the field for his Majesty.

His Lordship had no sooner left the town, than one Major Bunting, with a party, (by order from

the convention) followed, with directions to seize him; whereupon my Lord Dundee, commanding his attendants to march on gently, stopped to speak with the Major; and, understanding his errand, advised him to return; or he would send him back to his masters in a pair of blankets, as he expressed himself. The Major (who perhaps was no enemy to his Lordship) returned accordingly; and my Lord arrived at his castle; where he stayed only that night: For in the morning, taking four thousand pounds with him, he went into the Highlands, to Sir Owen Cameron; where he was soon joined by the Laird of Cappach, who, sometimes before, had been driven out of his estate by order of King James; (as I have already related) and by many other gentlemen of quality.

Major-Gen. MacCoy, coming to Edinburgh at this juncture, was ordered to march the forces, which he brought with him, against my Lord Dundee. These forces consisted of three or four regiments of foot, and one of horse; besides Sir Thomas Levingston's of dragoons. They stopped in their march a night or two at Dundee. The first night, I got privately into the castle, (as it had been agreed between my Lord Killythe and me), and there assured my Lady Dundee, that the regiment of dragoons, in which I served, should be at her Lord's service, whenever he pleased to command; whereof her ladyship gave notice next day to her husband; who sent me a note, by a ragged Highlander, which I received as we were upon our march from the town of Dundee towards the Highlands. The contents of my Lord's note were, "That he had written to the King to send him
" two thousand foot, and one thousand horse out
" of Ireland; and that, as soon as those forces
" were arrived, he would expect me with a regi-
" ment of dragoons."

When Major-General MacCoy came within
fight

fight of my Lord Dundee, night coming on, obliged him to halt; which gave opportunity to his Lordship to retreat in the morning; but MacCoy followed him all day; whereupon, facing about, my Lord advanced towards him, which caused the Major-General to retreat in his turn. Thus we spent about three weeks, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes pursued; our leader, MacCoy, still writing every post for new supplies; till at last, one regiment of dragoons, and another of foot, came to his assistance, on the 5th day of June 1689. When this reinforcement came, he got intelligence of my Lord Kilsythe's intention and mine, of going over with the regiment to my Lord Dundee.

All people agreed, that Lieut. General Douglass, who had made so many solemn professions of his loyalty to King James, and whose health he had drank on his knees, was the very person, who had given this intelligence to MacCoy; because he alone knew what had passed at the tavern where we dined; and because, instead of going with Dundee, as he had promised him, upon his faith and honour, he had rid post for London.

From this period my troubles began; for I was then sent up to Edinburgh, and there imprisoned in the tolbooth, together with my Lord Kilsythe, Captain Livingston, Captain Murray, and Lieutenant Murray; each of us in a separate dungeon, with orders, that none should be permitted to speak to us, except through the key-hole: And in this miserable condition we lay for two months.

My Lord Kilsythe's friends were under great apprehensions that I would betray his Lordship. But my Lord did me the justice to assure them, that I would suffer the worst extremity, rather than be guilty of so infamous an action; which, he said, they should find upon any temptation that might offer. When we had been close confined in our dungeons for two months, we were brought before

the council, one by one, to be examined concerning our knowledge of my Lord Kilsythe's intention to carry off the regiment. Livingstone and the two Murrays, having not been privy to that design, were able to discover nothing to his Lordship's prejudice; and were likewise gentlemen of too much honour to purchase their liberty with a lie; whereupon they were remanded back to their several dungeons. It was my turn to be next examined, and I was strongly suspected. But, notwithstanding my liberty was promised me if I would discover all I knew of the matter, the Lord Advocate at the same time also urging I must have certainly been privy to it; I positively denied any knowledge of that affair, adding, that I believed my Lord Kilsythe had never entertained such a design; or, if he had, that it was altogether improbable his Lordship should impart it to me, a poor stranger, born in Ireland, and yet keep it a secret from gentlemen of the kingdom, in whom he might much better confide. This I still repeated, and stood to with great firmness, even after I saw the hangman, with the torturing boots, standing at my back; whereupon I was likewise returned to my dungeon.

The council, although they could force no confession from me or my companions, that might affect my Lord Kilsythe, on whose estate their hearts were much set, yet resolved to make a sacrifice of some one among us. But the other gentlemen being of their own kindred and country, and I a stranger, as well as much hated for prosecuting the covenanters, (who, by the change of the times, measures, and opinions, were now grown into high favour with the government, as I have before mentioned) the lot fell on me, and they gave out a report that I should be hanged within a few days. But, a gentleman then in town, one Mr. Buchanan, who held a secret correspondence with my Lord
Dundee,

Dundee, sent his Lordship intelligence of this their resolution concerning me.

That Lord was then at the castle of Blair of Atholl; and, having notice of the danger I was in, wrote a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, President of the council, desiring his Grace to inform the board, "That if they hanged Captain Creichton, or, (to use his own homely expression) if they touched an hair of his tail, he would cut the laird of Blair, and the laird of Pollock, joint by joint, and would sent their limbs in hampers to the council."

These two gentlemen having been taken prisoners at St. Johnstown by my Lord Dundee, were still kept in confinement. Whereupon the Duke, though it was night, called the council, which met immediately, supposing that the business which pressed so much might relate to some express from court. But when the clerk read my Lord Dundee's letter, they appeared in great confusion: Whereupon the Duke said, "I fear we dare not touch an hair of Creichton; for ye all know Dundee too well, to doubt whether he will be punctual to his word; and the two gentlemen in his hands are too nearly allied to some here, that their lives should be endangered on this occasion." What his Grace said was very true; for, if I remember right, the laird of Blair had married a daughter of a former Duke of Hamilton. The issue of the matter was, that under this perplexity they all cried out, "Let the fellow live a while longer."

Not long after this happened the battle of Gillcranky, near the castle of the Blair of Atholl; where the forces of the Lord Dundee, consisting of no more than seventeen hundred foot, (all Highlanders, except three hundred sent him from Ireland, under the command of Colonel Cannon, when he expected three thousand, as I have mentioned)

tioned), and forty-five horse, routed an army of five thousand men, with Major-General MacCoy at their head; took fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed a great number, among whom Colonel Balfour was one. MacCoy escaped, and fled that night twenty-five miles end-ways, to the castle of Drummond.

But my Lord Dundee did not live to see himself victorious: For, as he was wheeling about a rock, over the enemies heads, and making down the brae to attack them, (they making a running fire), he was killed by a random shot at the beginning of the action: Yet his men discovered not his fall, till they had obtained the victory. The next day, though victorious, they suffered their prisoners to depart, on parole, that they would never take up arms against King James, Colonel Fergusson only excepted, on account of his more than ordinary zeal for the new establishment.

King William having heard of this defeat, said, "He knew the Lord Dundee so well, that he must have been either killed or mortally wounded, otherwise, before that time, he would have been master of Edinburgh."

I now desire leave to return to my own affairs. About four months after my examination, I was advised in plain words, by the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry, who were then going up to London; that I should bribe Melvil, then Secretary of Scotland; with whom their Graces likewise would use their interest to get an order from King William for my liberty. But I was so far from having money to bribe a courtier of the Secretary's rank, that I had hardly enough to support myself; whereupon my noble friend, the Lord Killislythe, who thought himself indebted to my fidelity for his life and fortune, was so extremely generous, as to make me a present of five hundred pounds, which I immediately sent to Melvil; who thereupon,

on,

on, joining his interest with the good offices of the two Dukes before mentioned, prevailed with King William to send down an order; upon the receipt of which, I was to be set at liberty by the council. But they would not obey it, alledging that the King was misinformed; and, out of the abundance of their zeal, wrote to him, that if Captain Creighton should obtain his liberty, he would murder all Scotland in one night.

Thus my hope of liberty vanished: For, King William soon after going to Flanders, and not thinking it prudent to discredit the representation which the council had made of me, as so very dangerous a person, left me in the tolbooth; tho' the two Dukes, out of their great friendship, (which I should be most ungrateful ever to forget) had both offered to answer, body for body, for my peaceable demeanour. But notwithstanding all this, King William, for the reason before mentioned, left me prisoner in the tolbooth, as I said; where I continued two years and a half longer, without one penny of money, though not without many friends, whose charity and generosity supported me under this heavy affliction.

My wife and two boys, with as many daughters, were in town, all the time of my confinement. The boys died young, but the mother and the two girls lived to endure many hardships; having been twice plundered by the rabble, of the little substance they had left; however, they and myself were still providentially relieved by some friend or other; and particularly once by the lady Carnwath, (mother of the present Earl); who, when we had not one penny left to buy bread, sent us up a sack of meal and a basket of fowl, sixty miles from Edinburgh.

My fellow-prisoners and I, after the time of our examination by the council, were allowed, for four or five hours every day to converse with each other,
and

and with our friends: And, when we had been three years in the tolbooth, my companions being related to the best families in the kingdom, were at last permitted on bail, to lodge in the city, with a centry at each of their doors. But I was not allowed the same favour till two months after, when Duke Hamilton, still my friend, with much difficulty and strong application to the council, obtained it for me: And, when the order was at last granted, I was at a great loss to find such a person for my bail, whom the council would approve of; till the laird of Pittencrief, a gentleman whom I had never seen before, sent up his name (without any application from me) to the clerk, and was accordingly accepted.

I had not been two months discharged out of the tolbooth, and removed to a private lodging in the town, with a centry upon me, when the government, upon some pretence or other, filled the castle with a great number of persons of quality; among whom were the Lords Kilfythe, Hume, and several others; and the tolbooth again, with as many of inferiour note as it could hold.

In a week after I had been permitted to live in the city with my family, I found the centry had orders to keep me close, without allowing me to stir from my lodgings upon any pretence whatsoever: But when another regiment came to relieve that which was before upon duty, I bribed him who had been my keeper, at his going off, that he should tell the first who came in his place, that his orders were to *walk with me to any part of the town I pleased*. This was accordingly done, and thenceforward, I used to take my centry along with me, and visit my old fellow prisoners, the Gillicrankymen, and sometimes stay with them all night; at other times, my friends would do the same at my lodgings; among whom the Lord William Douglas often did me that honour. Nay sometimes, in company

pany of some gentlemen, I would leave the centry drinking with the footmen in an ale-house at the back of the town-wall, while we rambled nine or ten miles into the country to visit some acquaintance or other: still taking care to return before two in the afternoon, which was the hour of parade, to save the centry from danger.

Thus I spent above two months, till the day the government had filled the castle and the tolbooth again, as I have mentioned already. As soon as I was told of my Lord Kilsythe's imprisonment, I knew the danger I was in, and had just time to run with the centry to a cellar, where I found twelve officers got together for shelter likewise from the storm a little before me. We stayed there close till night, and then dispatched my centry, with Captain Mair's footman, to the Lady Lockhart's, (who was married to the Captain) four miles out of town, to let her know that her husband would be at home that night, with twelve other cavaliers, (for so in those days we affected to stile ourselves), to avoid being imprisoned in the tolbooth.

When the message was delivered, the lady ordered three or four of her servants to take up the centry four pair of stairs, and to ply him well with drink. Accordingly they kept him drunk for twelve days and nights together, so that he neither saw me, nor I him, in all that time. Two days after we came to Lady Lockhart's, I determined, against her and her friends advice, to return privately to Edinburgh, to discourse with the laird of Pittencrief, my bail: Resolving at all adventures, that so generous a person should not be a sufferer on my account. I accordingly repaired in the night to the same ale-house at the back of the town-wall, and thence sent the footman who attended me, to bring the laird thither. He presently came, with two other gentlemen in his company; and, after

drinking together for half an hour, "He bid me go whether I pleased, and God's blessing along with me;" whereupon, thrusting me out at the door, in a friendly manner, added, that he would pay the hundred pounds he was bound in to the council, next morning, if demanded of him, which they accordingly did, and the money was paid.

I then returned to the company, at my Lady Lockhart's, and thence wrote to the Dukes before mentioned for their advice, what course to take: Their answer was, "That, in regard to my poor family, I should make my escape to my own country, and there set potatoes till I saw better times." At the end of twelve days, Captain Mair and his eleven friends got over seas to St. Germans; when I likewise took my leave of them and the Lady, to make the best of my way for Ireland. But I bethought me of the poor centry, (to whom the twelve days we stayed there, seemed no longer than two or three, so well was he plied with drink) and calling for him, asked whether he would chuse to share with me and my fortunes, or go back to the regiment, perhaps to be shot for neglect of his duty? He readily answered, that he would go with me whither ever I went; and not long after we came into Ireland, I had the good luck to get him made a serjeant of grenadiers, in the regiment formerly commanded by my Lord Dumbarton, by a Captain, who was then gone thither for recruits; in which regiment he died a Lieutenant some years after.

The lady at parting, made me a present of a good horse, with ten dollars, to bear my charges on the way; and moreover hired a tenant's horse to carry the centry to the borders. I durst not be seen to pass through Galloway, and therefore went by Carlisle to Whitehaven. Here I found an acquaintance, who was minister of the town, of the name of Marr; a gentleman of great worth and learning.

learning. Before the Revolution, he had been minister of a parish in Scotland, near the borders : But about the time of that event, the rabble, as he told me the story, came to his house in the night to rob and murder him ; having treated others of his brethren, the Episcopal Clergy, before, in that inhuman manner. He was a single man, and had but one man-servant, whose business was to dress his meat, and make his bed ; and while the villains were breaking into the house, he had just time to put on his breeches, stockings, and shoes, and no more ; for by that time they were got in ; when he thought it better to leap out at the window, but half clothed as he was, than to expose his life to the fury of such, whose very mercies might be cruel. Thus he saved his life, and made his escape to the English side, with only four dollars in his pocket ; leaving his goods, house, and parish, as plunder to those saints, who, doubtless, looked on such as he was, as no other than an usurper of what, of right, pertained to them : pursuant to the maxim, *That dominion is founded in grace.*

And here I beg leave to relate the treatment which another Episcopal clergyman received from that tribe, about the same time : His name was Kirkwood, whom I likewise knew, before the Revolution, minister of a parish in Galloway in Scotland, and afterwards rector in the county of Fermanah in Ireland. Among other good qualities, this gentleman was a very facetious person ; and by his presence of mind, in making use of this talent, he had the good fortune to save both his life and goods from the fury of those godly men, who then thought all things their own. When they broke into the house, he was in bed ; and sitting up in his shirt, desired leave to speak a few words before he died ; which (I cannot tell how it happened) they granted, and he spoke to this effect ; *That he had always prayed to God, he might die in*

his bed; adding, that he had in his house, as good ale and brandy, as was in all Scotland; and therefore hoped the worthy gentlemen would do him the honour to drink with him, before they did any thing rashly.

This facetious speech, which they little expected from him, in the article of so much danger as then threatened him, had the luck to divert them from their bloody purpose, and to make them comply with his request: So that, after drinking plentifully, they said he was an hearty cheel; and left him in quiet possession of his house and goods. But he durst not trust his talent to another trial, lest the next company might not be influenced as this first had been; and therefore, as soon as it was day, made off with his family and effects in the best manner he could; and rested not until he was safe in Ireland.

I could not forbear relating these stories from the gentlemen's own mouths, as I might do others of the same kind, upon my own knowledge; although they are contradictory to what the preachers of the new established kirk have so confidently given out. They would fain have the world believe, that they shewed great indulgence to the Episcopal clergy at the Revolution, and for several years after. But they must grant me and others leave not to believe them: Nor ought they to be angry, if I give the reader a further idea of them, and of the spirit that reigned in the synods, conventions, or general assemblies of their kirk.

During my confinement in the tolbooth, a general assembly was called; to which my Lord Lothian, as I was informed afterwards, was sent commissioner from King William. His Lordship's instructions were, to signify to them the King's desire, that as many of the Episcopal clergy, as would take the oath of allegiance to him, might keep possession of their several parishes. To this the
members

members answered in a disdainful manner, *What! shall we suffer any scabbed sheep among us? Na, na, not one*; and thereupon sent two of their brethren to King William, who was then in Flanders, to move him for more favours to the kirk, and power further to oppress the Episcopal clergy. But that Prince told them in plain terms, that he had been imposed upon in granting to the kirk, the favours she had already got; and withal commanded them, to let the general assembly know, that it was his will and pleasure, that they should live peaceably with those who were willing to live so with them; otherwise he would make them know that he was their master.

With this unwelcome answer from King William, the two spiritual envoys returned to those who sent them; and at the same time, or soon after, the Prince dispatched an order to the commissioner to dissolve the assembly, if he found them persisting in their severity towards the Episcopal clergy.

As soon as the legates delivered the message, all in the assembly began to speak out with the greatest boldness imaginable, saying, "That the King durst not have sent them such an answer, if he had not an army at his back." Whereupon the commissioner dissolved the synod; and, in the King's name, commanded all the members to depart to their several homes.

But, instead of obeying that order, they all went in a body, with that poor weak creature, the Lord Crawford, at their head, to the market-cross; and there published a protestation declaring, that the King had no authority in church-affairs, nor any right to dissolve their general assembly.

I relate this story as it was told me, not only to give the reader an idea of the spirit that reigned in that kirk, established now in Scotland as I have said, but likewise to do justice to the memory of

King

King William, (which may be the more acceptable, as coming from one who was in a contrary interest). And, indeed, I have so good an opinion of that Prince, as to believe he would have acted much better than he did, with regard to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution in Scotland, if he had been permitted to govern by his own opinions.

But now to come to the conclusion of my story. The * Hollantide, after I arriv'd in Ireland, my wife and two daughters followed me; and we settled in the county of Tyrone with my father, (who died two years afterwards) on a small freehold; where I have made an hard shift to maintain them with industry, and even manual labour, for about twelve years, till my wife died, and my daughters were married, which happened not very long after I became a widower.

I am at present in the 83d year of my age, still hated by those people, who affirm the old covenanters to have been unjustly dealt with; and therefore believe a great number of improbable stories concerning me; as that I was a common murderer of them and their preachers, with many other false and improbable stories. But the reader, I hope, from whom I have not concealed any one transaction or adventure that happened to me among those rebellious people, or misrepresented the least circumstance, as far as my memory could serve me; will judge whether he hath reason to believe me to have been such a person as they represented me, and to hate me as they do upon that account. And my comfort is, that I can appeal from their unjust tribunal to the mercy of God; before whom, by the course of nature, I must soon appear, who knows the integrity of my heart, and that my actions (condemned by them) were, as far as my understanding could

* The feast of All-Saints,

direct me, meant for the good of the church, and the service of my King and country.

And, although such people hate me because they give credit to the false reports raised concerning me, another comfort left me in my old age is, that I have constantly preserved (and still do so) the love and esteem of all honest and good men, to whom I have had the happiness at any time to be known.

JOHN CREIGHTON.



HINTS



H I N T S

T O W A R D S

A N E S S A Y

O N

C O N V E R S A T I O N .

I HAVE observed few obvious subjects to have been so seldom, or at least so slightly handled as this; and, indeed, I know few so difficult to be treated as it ought, nor yet upon which there seemeth so much to be said.

Most things pursued by men for the happiness of public or private life, our wit or folly have so refined, that they seldom subsist but in idea; a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with some others, require so many ingredients, so good in their several kinds, and so much niceness in mixing them, that for some thousands of years men have despaired of reducing their schemes to perfection: But, in conversation, it is or might be otherwise; for here we are only to avoid a multitude of errors, which, although a matter of some difficulty, may be in every man's power,
for

for want of which it remaineth as mere an idea as the other. Therefore it seemeth to me, that the truest way to understand conversation, is to know the faults and errors to which it is subject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himself whereby it may be regulated; because it requireth few talents to which most men are not born, or at least may not acquire without any great genius or study. For nature hath left every man a capacity of being agreeable, though not of shining in company; and there are an hundred men sufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults that they might correct in half an hour, are not so much as tolerable.

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this subject by mere indignation, to reflect that so useful and innocent a pleasure, so fitted for every period and condition of life, and so much in all men's power, should be so much neglected and abused.

And in this discourse it will be necessary to note those errors that are obvious, as well as others which are seldomer observed, since there are few so obvious or acknowledged, into which most men, some time or other, are not apt to run.

For instance: Nothing is more generally exploded than the folly of talking too much; yet I rarely remember to have seen five people together, where some one among them hath not been predominant in that kind, to the great constraint and disgust of all the rest. But among such as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable to the sober deliberate talker, who proceedeth with much thought and caution, maketh his preface, brancheth out into several digressions, findeth a hint that putteth him in mind of another story, which he promiseth to tell you when this is done; cometh back regularly to his subject, cannot readily call to mind some person's name, holdeth his head, com-
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plaineth of his memory; the whole company all this while in suspense; at length, says he, it is no matter, and so goes on. And, to crown the business, it perhaps proveth at last a story the company hath heard fifty times before; or, at best, some insipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in conversation is, that of those who affect to talk of themselves: Some, without any ceremony, will run over the history of their lives; will relate the annals of their diseases, with the several symptoms and circumstances of them; will enumerate the hardships and injustice they have suffered in court, in parliament, in love, or in law. Others are more dexterous, and with great art will ly on the watch to hook in their own praise: They will call a witness to remember they always foretold what would happen in such a case, but none would believe them; they advised such a man from the beginning, and told him the consequences just as they happened; but he would have his own way. Others make a vanity of telling their faults: They are the strangest men in the world; they cannot dissemble; they own it is a folly; they have lost abundance of advantages by it; but, if you would give them the world, they cannot help it; there is something in their nature that abhors insincerity and constraint; with many other unsufferable topics of the same altitude.

Of such mighty importance every man is to himself, and ready to think he is so to others; without once making this easy and obvious reflexion, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than their's have with him; and how little that is, he is sensible enough.

Where company hath met, I often have observed two persons discover by some accident, that they were bred together at the same school or university, after which the rest are condemned to silence, and to listen while these two are refreshing each other's

ther's memory with the arch tricks and passages of themselves and their comrades.

I know a great officer of the army, who will sit for some time with a supercilious and impatient silence, full of anger and contempt for those who are talking; at length of a sudden demand audience; decide the matter in a short dogmatical way; then withdraw within himself again, and vouchsafe to talk no more, until his spirits circulate again to the same point.

There are some faults in conversation, which none are so subject to as the men of wit, nor ever so much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths, without endeavouring to say a witty thing, they think it is so many words lost: It is a torment to the hearers, as much as to themselves, to see them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual constraint, with so little success. They must do something extraordinary, in order to acquit themselves, and answer their character, else the standers-by may be disappointed and be apt to think them only like the rest of mortals. I have known two men of wit industriously brought together, in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all the mirth at their own expence.

I know a man of wit, who is never easy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preside; he neither expecteth to be informed or entertained, but to display his own talents. His business is to be good company, and not good conversation; and, therefore, he chuseth to frequent those who are content to listen, and profess themselves his admirers. And, indeed, the worst conversation I ever remember to have heard in my life, was that at Will's coffeehouse, where the wits (as they were called) used formerly to assemble; that is to say, five or six men who had writ plays, or at least pro-

logues, or had share in a miscellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling composures in so important an air, as if they had been the noblest efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them; and they were usually attended with an humble audience of young students from the inns of courts, or the universities, who, at due distance, listened to these oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philosophy, their heads filled with trash, under the name of politeness, criticism, and belles lettres.

By these means the poets, for many years past, were all over-run with pedantry. For, as I take it, the word is not properly used; because pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own knowledge in common discourse, and placing too great a value upon it; by which definition, men of the court or the army may be as guilty of pedantry as a philosopher or a divine; and it is the same vice in women, when they are over copious upon the subject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china. For which reason, although it be a piece of prudence, as well as good manners, to put men upon talking on subjects they are best versed in, yet that is a liberty a wise man could hardly take; because, beside the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by.

This great town is usually provided with some player, mimick, or buffoon, who hath a general reception at the good tables; familiar and domestic with persons of the first quality, and usually sent for at every meeting to divert the company; against which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppet-show; your business is only to laugh in season, either out of inclination or civility, while this merry companion is acting his part. It is a business he hath undertaken, and we are to suppose he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel,

quarrel, when in select and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to pass an evening, this jester should be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for any other conversation, besides the indignity of confounding mens talents at so shameful a rate.

Raillery is the finest part of conversation ; but, as it is our usual custom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us, so we have done with this, and turned it all into what is generally called repartee, or being smart ; just as when an expensive fashion cometh up, those who are not able to reach it content themselves with some paltry imitation. It now passeth for raillery to run a man down in discourse, to put him out of countenance, and make him ridiculous, sometime to expose the defects of his person or understanding ; on all which occasions he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation of not being able to take a jest. It is admirable to observe one, who is dexterous at this art, singling out a weak adversary, getting the laugh on his side, and then carrying all before him. The French, from whom we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and so had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery was to say something that at first appeared a reproach or reflection, but, by some turn of wit unexpected and surprizing, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the person it was addressed to. And surely one of the best rules in conversation is, never to say a thing which any of the company can reasonably wish we had rather left unsaid ; nor can there any thing be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unsatisfied with each other or themselves.

There are two faults in conversation which appear very different, yet arise from the same root,
and

and are equally blameable ; I mean, an impatiencē to interrupt others, and the uneasiness of being interrupted ourselves. The two chief ends of conversation are, to entertain and improve those we are among, or to receive those benefits ourselves ; which whoever will consider, cannot easily run into either of these two errors ; because when any man speaketh in company, it is to be supposed he doth it for his hearer's sake, and not his own ; so that common discretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it ; nor, on the other side, to interrupt him who is in possession, because that is in the grossest manner to give the preference to our own good sense.

There are some people, whose good manners will not suffer them to interrupt you ; but, what is almost as bad, will discover abundance of impatience, and ly upon the watch until you have done, because they have started something in their own thoughts which they long to be delivered of. Mean time, they are so far from regarding what passeth, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reserve, for fear it should slip out of their memory ; and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwise range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced.

There is a sort of rude familiarity, which some people, by practising among their intimates, have introduced into their general conversation, and would have it pass for innocent freedom or humour, which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeness we have are purely forced by art, and are so ready to lapse into barbarity. This, among the Romans, was the raillery of slaves, of which we have many instances in Plautus. It seemeth to have been introduced among us by Cromwell, who, by preferring the scum of the people, made it a
court-

court-entertainment, of which I have heard many particulars; and, considering all things were turned upside down, it was reasonable and judicious: Although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the smallest word misplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel.

There are some men excellent at telling a story, and provided with a plentiful stock of them, which they can draw out upon occasion in all companies; and, considering how low conversation runs now among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent; however, it is subject to two unavoidable defects; frequent repetition, and being soon exhausted; so that whoever valueth this gift in himself, hath need of a good memory, and ought frequently to shift his company, that he may not discover the weakness of his fund; for those who are thus endowed have seldom any other revenue but live upon the main stock.

Great speakers in public, are seldom agreeable in private conversation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice and often venturing. Natural elocution, although it may seem a paradox, usually springeth from a barrenness of invention and of words, by which men who have only one stock of notions upon every subject, and one set of phrases to express them in, they swim upon the superficies, and offer themselves on every occasion; therefore, men of much learning, and who know the compass of a language, are generally the worst talkers on a sudden, until much practice hath inured and emboldened them; because they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions, and of words, which they cannot readily chuse, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice, which is no disadvantage in private conversation; where, on the other side, the talent

lent of haranguing is, of all others, most insupportable.

Nothing hath spoiled men more for conversation, than the character of being wits; to support which, they never fail of encouraging a number of followers and admirers, who lift themselves in their service, wherein they find their accounts on both sides by pleasing their mutual vanity. This hath given the former such an air of superiority, and made the latter so pragmatistical, that neither of them are well to be endured. I say nothing here of the itch of dispute and contradiction, telling of lies, or of those who are troubled with the disease called *the wandering of the thoughts*, that they are never present in mind at what passeth in discourse; for whoever labours under any of these possessions, is as unfit for conversation as mad-men in Bedlam.

I think I have gone over most of the errors in conversation that have fallen under my notice or memory, except some that are merely personal, and others too gross to need exploding; such as lewd or prophane talk; but, I pretend only to treat the errors of conversation in general, and not the several subjects of discourse, which would be infinite. Thus we see how human nature is most debased, by the abuse of that faculty, which is held the great distinction between men and brutes; and how little advantage we make of that which might be the greatest, the most lasting, and the most innocent, as well as useful pleasure of life: In default of which, we are forced to take up with those poor amusements of dress and visiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours, whereby the nobility and gentry of both sexes are entirely corrupted both in body and mind, and have lost all notions of love, honour, friendship and generosity; which, under the name of fopperies, have been for some time laughed out of doors.

This

This degeneracy of conversation, with the pernicious consequences thereof upon our humours and dispositions, hath been owing, among other causes, to the custom arisen, for some time past, of excluding women from any share in our society, further than in parties at play, or dancing, or in the pursuit of an amour. I take the highest period of politeness in England (and it is of the same date in France) to have been the peaceable part of King Charles I.'s reign; and from what we read of those times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from some who lived in that court, the methods then used for raising and cultivating conversation, were altogether different from ours: Several ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had assemblies at their houses, where persons of the best understanding, and of both sexes, met to pass the evenings in discoursing upon whatever agreeable subjects were occasionally started; and although we are apt to ridicule the sublime Platonic notions they had, or personated in love and friendship, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reason, and that a little grain of the romance is no ill ingredient to preserve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into every thing that is fordid, vicious and low. If there were no other use in the conversation of ladies, it is sufficient that it would lay a restraint upon those odious topics of immodesty and indecencies, into which the rudeness of our northern genius is so apt to fall. And, therefore, it is observable in those sprightly gentlemen about the town, who are so very dextrous at entertaining a vizard-mask in the park or the playhouse, that, in the company of ladies of virtue and honour, they are silent and disconcerted, and out of their element.

There are some people who think they sufficiently acquit themselves and entertain their company

with relating of facts of no consequence, nor at all out of the road of such common incidents as happen every day; and this I have observed more frequently among the Scots than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minutest circumstances of time or place; which kind of discourse, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and phrases, as well as accent and gesture peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much; but to continue it long is certainly one; for, if the majority of those who are got together be naturally silent or cautious, the conversation will flag, unless it be often renewed by one among them, who can start new subjects, provided he doth not dwell upon them, but leaveth room for answers and replies.



A SHORT

CHARACTER

Of His Excellency

THOMAS Earl of WHARTON,

Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND.

With an Account of some smaller Facts during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

London, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of the several governors: But the affairs and events of that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turneth all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relateth to politics, or the art of government,

ment, is inconsiderable to the last degree; however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those in which a man would least chuse to live; such as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one; and lastly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppressing governours. In the war, Ireland hath no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which, at present, are but imperfect transcripts of ours: But the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power, and oppression; as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her * Majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, although, I hope, it will be incredible to the next: And, because this account may be judged rather an history of his Excellency than of his government, I must here declare, that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his Lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach: Which is not a humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and

* Queen Anne.

therefore

therefore. a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his Excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine, (for I have the honour of his visits) and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that he is damnably mauled; and then, with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather or time of the day: So that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because, I am sure, neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security, to which his Excellency hath arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance by first giving a character of his Excellency, and then relating some facts during his government, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well, that mens characters are best known from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath passed some years, his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and, in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walketh, or whistleth, or sweareth, or talketh bawdy, or calleth names,

names, he acquitteth himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same stile, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the street, where he is Governor of the kingdom; and, all this is without consequence, because it is in his character; and what every body expecteth. He seemeth to be but an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he most practiseth, and most valueth himself upon. The ends he hath gained by lying, appeared to be more owing to the frequency than the art of them. His lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of those who hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He sweareth solemnly he loveth and will serve you: and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him you are a dog and a rascal. He goeth constantly to prayers in the the forms of his place and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel-door. He is a Presbyterian in politics, and an Atheist in religion; but he chuseth at present to whore with a Papist. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understanding, for which he hath but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths: And this he applieth indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy-counsellor; by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused, and either way he gaineth his point. He will openly take away your employment to day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendship on your shoulders, and, with the greatest ease and familiarity, tell you that the faction are driving at something in the house; that you must be sure to attend,

tend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, although he knoweth at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentioneth : And however absurd, ridiculous, and gross this may appear, he hath often found it successful, some men having such an aukward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden, and every man having something to hope or fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom *, and hath raised it by going far in the ruin of another †, With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world ; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness, and business fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he maketh use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passeth in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turneth upon intrigue, and he seemeth to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will chuse to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day ; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms,

* England.

† Ireland.

or would follow of course whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoic, and thinks them well recompenced by a return of children to support his family without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: These are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together: Since he went into Ireland, he seemeth most disposed to the second, and hath met with great success, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his Excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was Governour of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his Excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me just as he recollected them; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq; chirurgion-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I
have

have formerly seen here, had built a country-house, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas Earl of Pembroke, then Lord-lieutenant, and to the Commissioners of the Revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the Lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the Lord-treasurer struck off some part of the rent: He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent; the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His Excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and, by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the same time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he doth it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his Excellency's being declared Lord-lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr. Lloyd, Fellow of Trinity-college, Dublin, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom Broderick, so far ingratiated him with his Excellency, that being provided of a proper chaplain already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: The Doctor attended his Excel-

lency to Ireland, and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour; and walking one day with his mistress after my Lord and Lady in the Castle-garden, my Lady said to his Excellency, "What do you think? We are going to lose poor Foydy, (a name of fondness they usually gave her.)" "How do you mean, (said my Lord!) Why, the Doctor be- hind us, is resolv'd to take her from us." "Is he, by G——? Why then (G—d d——n me) he shall have the first bishopric that falls*."

The Doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his Excellency for England, and soon after, the bishopric of Corke falling void, to shew he meant fair, he married his damsel publickly here in London; and his Excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishopric; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the archbishops here, especially his Grace of York, interposed with the Queen, to hinder so great a scandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, Provost of Dublin college, being then in town, her Majesty was pleas'd to nominate him; so that Dr. Lloyd was forced to sit down with a moderate deanry in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion, than a couple of olive branches for his table, though she herself hardly knoweth by what hand they were planted.

The Queen reserveth all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often, by the recommendation of the chief governor, accor-

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his Excellency, that talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his W——e a B——p.

ding to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. Brown; Dr. Benjamin Pratt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the House of Commons of that kingdom, at well as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the Duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: He is a person of wit and learning, hath travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance! But he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependent on the Duke of Ormond; however, he had many friends among the bishops and other nobility, to recommend him to the Queen; at the same time, there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had much the advantage of Pratt in point of seniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense: He had been recommended from Ireland by several persons; and his Excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college, by recommending persons from this side, at last set up Hall, with all imaginable zeal, against Pratt. I tell this story the more fully, because it is affirmed by his Excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court-skill than at this time, to stop Dr. Pratt's promotion, not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially that of his chaplain Dr. Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices

he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his Excellency to at his levees, who sometimes could not conceal his surprize, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other; these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his Excellency, and a few additional oaths, that he would never oppose him more, his Excellency went immediately to the bishop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the Queen from him, and let her Majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr Pratt should be Provost, which the Bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message; though at the same time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his Excellency, and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his Excellency owned he did not oppose him *directly*, but confessed he did it *collaterally*. The Doctor a little warmed, said, "No, my Lord, you mean *directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the Queen named the doctor to the place; and as a further mortification, just upon the day of his Excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his Excellency's merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his Excellency's life.

THE Earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for his Majesty's service abroad, on the 27th of August 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of Lieutenant-General Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded by the Duke of Ormond; on which occasion the Duke had her Majesty's orders only for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment, as other regiments. But that which was to supply the Earl of Rochfort's had not a commission granted till the 29th of April 1710, and all the pay, from the 27th of August to that time (being above 5,700 l.) was taken, under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always produced out of the funds for providing, cloathing, and the Duke of Ormond did so: As for horses wanting, they are very few, and the Captains have orders to provide them another way; the keeping the horses did not amount to 700 l. by the accounts laid before the Committee of Parliament: So there was at least 5,000 l. charged to the nation more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs. Lloyd, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200 l. but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance: Accordingly his Excellency had it brought to him every night;
and

and to make it worth his receiving, my Lady gave great encouragement to play; so that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000 l. of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his Excellency. For Mrs. Lloyd having an husband, and a bishopric promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met Lieutenant-General Langston in the court of Requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells me, he is a Lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The Lieutenant-General answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell." With this the gentleman was mightily well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his Excellency said immediately, "I was forced to speak for him, as a great many of his friends have votes at elections; but damn him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one M——y to the Duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him; which his Grace promised. So M——y withdrew. As soon as he was gone, his Lordship immediately said to the Duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Colonel Coward having received pay, for some time, in two or three regiments, as Captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz, under the Duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his Excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he got above

500 l. as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10 s. *per* day; but he reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the Queen for a further addition of 10 s. a-day; which being referred to his Excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped his merit will be still farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As for the business of the Arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building it; till, upon inquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his Excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: Upon this occasion many projects were proposed, all which at last gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good, which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: This was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use; as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterwards he shewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of to have it pass; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without

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one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his Excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge to the public, and appointed his second secretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: Then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a-week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a-week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a-week: And these were, for the greater part, persons who had no knowledge of such business, and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it hath since appeared, by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them; insomuch, that the work they have overseen, which, with their salary, hath cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate. And this is all a certainty, because all that hath been done was only removing earth, which hath been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, Esq; as Chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees off the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business, and shewed them for it some precedents; but they not being well satisfied with them wrote to Mr. South, one of the commissioners, then in London, to inquire the practice there. He sent them word, upon inquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like

like cases; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it must ly at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his Excellency knew so well how to chuse an attorney and sollicitor-general, that, when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds per annum; but never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald, father to the present Earl of Kildare, had a grant from King Charles II. of the office of Comptroller of the musters, during the lives of Captain Charles Brabazon, now Earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald, elder brother to the present Earl of Kildare; which the said Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed with a salary of three hundred pounds per annum; and, after his death, his son George enjoyed it, till my Lord Galway did, by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds per annum, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present Earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of said patent, which should have come to him, the Earl of Meath being still living: Therefore, in order to right himself, did petition her Majesty; which petition, as usual, was referred to the Earl of Wharton, then Lord Lieutenant, who, being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the Lord chancellor and Lieutenant-general Ingolsby, the then Lords justices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to inquire whether the Earl of Kildare had any legal title to said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had: And they referred it

to the deputy vice-treasurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful or necessary for her Majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said he thought it both useful and necessary; and, with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: First; that the muster-master general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200,000 l. per annum; so, having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: And, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The Lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary: But Colonel P——r, the muster-master-general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her Majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his Excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords-justices report as ever she had done against the Tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he comptrolled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: Although since it hath been plainly made appear, that, for want of some controul on that office, her Majesty hath been wronged of many hundred pounds
by

by the roguery of a clerk; and that, during the time of his Excellency's government, of which there hath been but a small part refunded, and the rest hath not been inquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His Excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and, of course, all pretensions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: A captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him; and, accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who, at the same time, applied to his Excellency for leave for another Captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her Majesty's service in Spain, and absent by her Majesty's licence: His Excellency hearing that, said, they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of this here; and so, notwithstanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentlemen who had paid his money for that which was surrendered. Talking one morning as he was dressing (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council, about the affairs of Trim, he said the lord-chief justice Dalbin had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: Yet, some days after, sent Dr. Lloyd to assure his Lordship he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he used his utmost efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: And when

he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to lord chief justice Dalbin, that perhaps some officious persons might spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but on the contrary would always, without distinction, shew his regard according to merit; which the Lord-chief-justice Dalbin was pleased to approve of, by saying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; although he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themselves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and, as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, "*D——n me, how easily he is bit!*" When the Duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderson Saunders the government of Wicklow castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land, worth about 12 l. per annum, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-school of the town; but his Excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremony, or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to J——s the horse-courser, who lieth under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining. Some time after, his Excellency landing the second time, he sent for Mr. Saunders, among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. Saunders would not take aim at his giving that place to J——s, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him, which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without inquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. Saunders answered him,
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“ He was very glad to find what was done was not out of any particular displeasure to him ; because Mr. Whitshed had said at Wicklow, by way of apology for what his Excellency had done, that it was occasioned by Mr. Saunders having it ; and seeing his Excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his Excellency it was not legally given away, for he had a custodium for the land out of the court of Exchequer ; so his Excellency’s commission could do him no prejudice.”

Lieutenant-General Echlin had pay on this establishment as brigadier, until the middle of October 1708, when he was removed from it by his Excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and Lieutenant-General Gorge was put in his room. Some time after, Major-General Rook, considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded, that Gorge could not come on, until some time in February after, because his regiment was also out of the kingdom until that time ; and therefore, he being the eldest General-officer, that had no pay as such, was intitled to the brigadier’s pay, from the time Echlin was removed until Gorge was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His Excellency, upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to Gorge he should have it, so bid him go see ; which he did, and found it was : Then his Excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour ; and, upon that ground, he would find a way to do him right ; yet when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rook.

When the prosecution against the dissenting ministers in Drogheda was depending, one Stevens, a lawyer in this town of Dublin, sent his Excellency,

cy, then in London, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting ministers, in behalf of himself and others who lay under any such prosecution; and, in about a fortnight's time, his Excellency sent over a letter to the then Lords-justices, to give the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals orders to enter a *noli prosequi* to all such suits; which was done accordingly, although he never so much as enquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be never so light. He said he had her Majesty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his Excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance: There were 850 l. ordered by her Majesty to buy new liveries for the state-trumpets, messengers, &c. but, with great industry, he got them made cheaper by 200 l. which he saved out of that sum: and it is reported, that his steward got a handsome consideration beside from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a Lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which service pleased his Excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleasure was know, the former was disposed of.

The Lord-Lieutenant hath no power to move or put in a Solicitor-General without the Queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet, because Sir Richard Levinge disobliged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. Forster *, although he had no Queen's letter for so

* Afterwards Recorder of the city of Dublin, and Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas.

doing;

doing; only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle, that her Majesty designed to remove him.

The Privy-council in Ireland have a great share of the administration, all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief Governor. But his Excellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself: And when matters were debated in council, otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, *Come, my Lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes*; and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his Excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his Excellency and his cabal. His Excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the Bishops, with the following recommendation; "My Lord, M—— is a very honest fellow, and hath no fault but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment; although he had been so infamous, that a Bishop in England refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, until the Patron forced him to it by law.

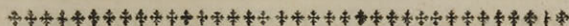
His Excellency recommended the Earl of Inchiquin to be one of the Lords Justices in his absence, and was much mortified, when he found Lieutenant-general Ingoldsbey appointed, without any regard to his recommendation; particularly, because the usual salary of a Lord Justice, in the Lord Lieutenant's absence, is 100 *l.* per month. and he had bargained with the Earl for 40 *l.*

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his Excellency's usage of the convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. Coninsby, an
account

account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magistrate in Trim, his barbarous injustice to Dean Jephson and poor Will Crow: his deciding a case at hazard to get my Lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper should be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on Sunday in my Lady's closet; the *partie quarree* between her Ladyship and Mrs Lloyd and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney-coach; and his Excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge-tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages which, I hope, you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedy as you can.

Note, Mr. Savage, besides the persecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a case where his Excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, until they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his Excellency. *The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a second part.*





T H E
R E S O L U T I O N
O F T H E
Inhabitants of St. PATRICK.

Mr. B—sw—, serjeant at law, and member of parliament, a professed enemy to the clergy, having been reflected on by the Dean, in a humorous poem, intituled, *Brother Protestants*, &c. and thinking himself highly injured thereby, resolved to be revenged on Dr Swift, as the author of the said poem. With this design he engaged his footman and two ruffians to attend him, in order to secure the Dean wherever they met him, until he had gratified his resentment either by maiming or stabbing him. Accordingly he went directly to the Deanry, and hearing the Dean was at a friend's house *, followed him thither, charged him with writing the said verses, but had not courage enough to put his bloody design in execution. However, as he had the assurance to relate this affair to several noblemen and gentlemen, the inhabitants of the liberty of St. Patrick swaited upon the Dean in form, and presented the following paper, signed by above thirty of them, in the name of themselves, and the rest of their neighbourhood. *viz.*

* The Rev. Mr. John Worrall's in Big Ship-street.

WE the inhabitants of the liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the neighbourhood of the same, having been informed, by universal report, that a certain man of this city hath openly threatened, and sworn before many hundred people, as well persons of quality as others, that he resolves upon the first opportunity, by the help of several ruffians, to murder or maim the Reverend the Dean of St. Patrick, our neighbour, benefactor, and head of the liberty of St. Patrick, upon a frivolous unproved suspision, of the said Dean's having written some † lines in verse reflecting on the said man.

Therefore we, the said inhabitants of the said liberty, and in the neighbourhood thereof, from our great love and respect to the said Dean, to whom the whole kingdom hath so many obligations, as well as we of the liberty, do unanimously declare, that we will endeavour to defend the life and limbs of the said Dean against the said man, and all his ruffians and murderers, as far as the law will allow, if he or any of them presume to come into the said liberty with any wicked malicious intent against the house or family, or person, or goods of the said Dean. To which we have cheerfully, sincerely, and heartily set our hands.

† On the words *Brother-protestants* and *fellow-christians*. See that poem, vol. V.

THE

T H E

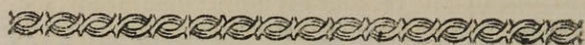
D E A N ' s A N S W E E R .

The Dean being in bed, very much indisposed, and not able to receive the said persons, dictated the following answer :

GENTLEMEN,

I Receive, with great thankfulness, these many kind expressions of your concern for my safety, as well as your declared resolution to defend me (as far as the laws of God and man will allow) against all murderers and ruffians who shall attempt to enter into the liberty, with any bloody or wicked designs upon my life, my limbs, my house, or my goods. Gentlemen, my life is in the hands of God, and whether it may be cut off by treachery or open violence, or by the common way of other men; as long as it continueth, I shall ever bear a grateful memory for this favour you have shewn, beyond my expectation, and almost exceeding my wishes.

The inhabitants of the liberty, as well as those of the neighbourhood, have lived with me in great amity for near twenty years; which I am confident will never diminish during my life. I am chiefly sorry, that, by two cruel disorders of deafness and giddiness, which have pursued me for four months, I am not in condition either to hear, or receive you, much less to return my most sincere acknowledgments, which in justice and gratitude I ought to do. May God bless you and your families in this world, and make you for ever happy in the next.



A N
A C C O U N T
O F A
M O N U M E N T

ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
Dr. SWIFT IN IRELAND.

TO Mr. GEORGE FAULKNER.

Neale, Feb. 14. 1750.

S I R,

I Have at last finished, what you have often heard me wish I might be able to do, a monument for the greatest genius of our age, the late Dean of St. Patrick's. The thing in itself is but a trifle; but, it is more than I should ever have attempted, had I not with indignation seen a country, (so honoured by the birth of so great a man, and so faithfully served by him all his life) so long and so shamefully negligent in erecting some monument of gratitude to his memory. Countries are not wise in such neglect; for they hurt themselves. Men of genius are encouraged to apply their talents to the service of their country, when they see in it gratitude to the memory of those who have deserved well of them. The ingenious Pere Castelle told me

at Paris, that he reckoned it the greatest misfortune to him that he was not born an Englishman; and, when he explained himself, it was only for this, that after two hundred years they had erected a monument to Shakespear; and, another to a modern, but to the greatest of them, Sir Isaac Newton. Great souls are very disinterested in the affairs of life: They look for fame and immortality, scorning the mean paths of interest and lucre: and surely, in an age so mercenary as ours, men should not be so sparing to give public marks of their gratitude to men of such virtue, dead, however they may treat them living; since, in so doing, they bespeak, and almost insure to themselves a succession of such useful persons in society. It was with this view that I have determined to throw in my mite.

In a fine lawn below my house, I have planted an hippodrome. It is a circular plantation, consisting of five walks; the central of which is a horse-course, and three rounds make exactly a mile. All the lines are so laid out, that, from the centre, the six rows of trees appear but one, and form a hundred arches round the field; in the centre of which I have erected a mount, and placed a marble column on its proper pedestal, with all the decorations of the order; on the summit of which I have placed a *Pegasus*, just seeming to take flight to the heavens; and on the dye of the pedestal, I have engraved the following inscription, written by an ingenious friend.

In memoriam JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
viri sine pari.

Aonidum fontes aperis, divine poeta,
Arte nova: æthereas propriis, ut Pegasus, alis
Scande domos: æternum addet tua fama columnæ
Huic memori decus. Hic, tanti quam possumus
umbraam

Nominis

Nominis in mentem, sacro revocare quotannis
 Ludorum ritu juvat; hic tibi parvus honorum
 Offertur cumulus: laudum quo sine tuarum
 Copia claudatur qui quærit, gentis Iernæ
 Pectora scrutetur, latumque interroget orbem.

I 7 5 0.

I have also appointed a small fund for annual premiums to be distributed in the celebration of games at the monument yearly. The ceremony is to last three days, beginning the first of May, yearly. On this day, young maids and men in the neighbourhood are to assemble in the hippodrome, with their garlands and chaplets of flowers, and to dance round the monument singing the praises of this ingenious patriot, and strowing with flowers all the place: after which they are to dance for a prize; the best dancer among the maids is to be presented with a cap and ribbands; and, after the dance, the young men are to run for a hat and gloves.

The second day, there is to be a large market upon the ground: and the most regular reel and count, is to have a guinea premium; and the person who buys the greatest quantity of yarn, is to have a premium of two guineas.

The third day, the farmer who produces the best yearling calf of his own breed, is to have two guineas premium; and he that produces the fairest colt or filly, of his own breed likewise, not over two years old, shall receive a premium of two guineas also.— Thus the whole will not exceed ten pounds; and all these useful branches of our growth and manufacture will be encouraged, in remembering the patron who, with so much care and tenderness, recommended them to others, and cherished them himself.

I am, Dear Sir,
 Your humble Servant,

J. B.



L E T T E R S

O F

D R . S W I F T

Relative to Mr. FAULKNER.

Some people through ignorance, and others from envy, having been imposed on, it hath been reported, and even published, that the Editor of SWIFT's works had not any acquaintance with the author; and particularly Dr. Hawksworth, a gentleman of genius and merit, was also led into this mistake by some London Book-feller: Mr. Faulkner is therefore obliged, in vindication of his character, to publish some of the Dean's letters to him, to convince * the world of the favourable opinion he had of him, and the friendship and confidence he was pleased to honour him with. The originals of which, and many other letters, may be seen with him.

L E T T E R

* That this conviction might extend to England as well as Ireland, we have printed most of those letters omitting only two or three which contained nothing material in them. The rest we have retained, as they are characteristic of the Dean and others, and display that life and humour, which give an agreeable colour to all his connections. *English Editors.*

LETTER I.

To the EARL of OXFORD †.

Dublin, Feb. 16. 1733.

MY LORD,

THE bearer, Mr. Faulkner, the Prince of Dublin Printers, will have the honour to deliver you this. He tells me, your Lordship was so gracious as to admit him into your presence, and receive him with great condescension, which encouraged him to hope for the same favour again, by my mediation, which I could not refuse. Although, for his own profit, he is engaged in a work that very much discontents me, yet I would rather have it fall into his hands, than any others on this side.

I am just recovered, in some degree, of two cruel indispositions of giddiness and deafness, after seven months. I have got my hearing, but the other evil hangs still about me, and I doubt will never quite leave me, until I leave it.

I hope your Lordship, and Lady Oxford *, and Lady Margaret †, continue in perfect health. I pray God preserve you all, for the good of your friends, and your country.

I am, with entire respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most obliged Servant,

J. SWIFT.

† This nobleman, Edward Harley, was only son to Robert Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, who died May 21, 1724.

* Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only daughter and heir of his Grace John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, was married to his Lordship the 31st of October 1713.

† This lady was married to William Bentinck Duke of Portland, July 11. 1734.

LETTER

LETTER II.

MR. FAULKNER.

WITHOUT the least regard to your wager, I do assure you, upon my word and reputation, that I am not author of one single line or syllable of that pamphlet, called, *An infallible Scheme to pay the Debts of the Nation*; and, as it is a very unjust, so it is equally an imprudent and fallible proceeding, to pronounce determinately, on our taste and knowledge of style or manner of writing, where very good judges are often deceived; and in this case, few men have suffered so much as myself, who have borne the reproach of many hundred printed papers which I never saw. I do likewise protest in the same manner, that I did not write the epigram upon Taylor *, nor heard of it until Mr. Pilkington shewed it me in manuscript. Therefore, pray desire your wagerer from me, to be more cautious in determining on such matters, and not to venture the loss of his money and credit with so much odds against him.

I am,

Your affectionate servant,

Deanry-house,
March 29, 1732.

J. SWIFT.

If this fancy should hold of taxing me with all papers that come out, and at the same time I should take a fancy to be a writer, I shall be discovered when I have no mind, for it will be only to catechise me whenever I am suspected.

* The famous Oculist.

L E T T E R III.

MR. FAULKNER,

I Desire Mrs. Pilkington will deliver you the papers relating to Gulliver, which I left with her husband. For, since you intend to print a new edition of that book, I must tell you, that the English printer made several alterations which I much disapprove of, and cannot set them right without those papers.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Pilkington hath an edition of Gulliver, where the true original copy is interleaved in manuscript: I desire I may also see that book.

I am,

Your humble servant,

June 29, 1733.

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R IV.

To his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Cashell *.

Dublin, August 14, 1735.

MY LORD,

THE bearer, Mr. Faulkner, our famous printer, goes in an hour to see Kilkenny and Cashell, to gather up his country-debts. Ten to one your Grace may owe him a dozen shillings, and your town-coffeehouse (if you have one) a dozen more. But, his pretences to me for writing, are the honour of being admitted to your Grace by a line in my hand. I am not in fear of his shaming me as others have done; however, I would not have you

* Dr. Theophilus Bolton.

leave

leave your manuscripts about your room, for he would be terribly tempted to beg them, and return them back next winter in four volumes, as he served me; although I never let him touch or see one. He has the name of an honest man, and hath good sense and behaviour. I have ordered him to mark narrowly whatever you are doing, as a prelate, an architect, a country gentleman, a politician, and an improver; and to bring me a faithful account when he returns; but chiefly about your health, and what exercise you make use of to increase or preserve it. But he is in haste to be gone, and I am forced to conclude.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most obedient humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R V.

To the Right Honourable Lord Howth.

Dublin, August 14, 1735.

MY LORD,

THE bearer, Mr. Faulkner, came to me just an hour before he was taking a journey to Kilkenny and Cashell, and desired I would write by him to your Lordship, and the Archbishop, only to let your Lordship know, that he is an honest man, and the chief printer, and that I know him and treat him with indulgence, because I cannot help it. For although he printed what I never would have done, yet he got the consent of my

H h 2

friends,

friends, and so I shall get nothing by being angry with him. He hopeth, as a citizen, to be admitted to you Lords and Ladies in the country, and I am contented you shall make him welcome; but take care you put no manuscripts in his hands; otherwise, perhaps there will be the works of the Right Hon. &c. and of my Lady, and the Giant *, neatly bound next winter. My Lady Acheson hath not been well since she left the town; but her mother is almost perfectly cured, except the loss of her eye. I owe my Lady Howth a letter I believe. I desire my most humbe service to her and the Giant. I have time to say no more, but, that I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R VI.

MR. FAULKNER,

I Am answering a letter I had from Mr. Pope, when I was at Cavan. My absence and sickness since I retired, have hindered me from writing to him. He complains of his unluckiness that you could never find him at home, which, he says, since his mother's death, he is often absent from. I here will transcribe a paragraph which relates to you, and I desire you will return an answer to it, time enough for me to send a letter to-night, and I will insert the sum of it.

“As to his (Mr. Faulkner's) design about my works, I beg you will desire him to postpone it, until he sees the duodecimo edition of them here, with the first volume published by Lintot: for, that joined to the rest by Gilliver †, will make

* A very tall young Lady, nearly related to Lord Howth.

† Lawton Gilliver, a bookseller.

the completest hitherto extant, and is revised by me. I guess they will be out about Christmas."

Pray let me know what answer I shall make to Mr. Pope; write it down and send it by any messenger, the sooner the better, for I am an ill writer at night.

I am, yours, &c.

Jan. 8, 1735-6.

J. SWIFT.

I think you may send your answer by the bearer, for it need not take above two lines.

L E T T E R VII.

To Mr. Benjamin Motte, Bookseller in London.

Dublin, May 25, 1736.

SIR,

I Lately received a long letter from Mr. Faulkner, grievously complaining upon several articles of the ill treatment * he hath met with from you, and of the many advantageous offers he hath made you, with none of which you thought fit to comply. I am not qualified to judge in the fact, having heard but one side; only one thing I know, that the cruel oppressions of this kingdom by England are not to be borne. You send what books you please hither, and the booksellers here can send nothing to you that is written here. As this is absolute oppression, if I were a bookseller in this town, I would use all the safe means to reprint London books, and run them to any town in England that I could; because, whoever neither of-

* Motte filed a bill in Chancery in England, against Faulkner, for printing Swift's Works, to stop the sale of them there, which made the author write this letter.

send

fends the laws of God, nor the country he liveth in, committeth no sin. It was the fault of you and other booksellers, who printed any thing supposed to be mine, that you did not agree with each other to print them together, if you thought they would sell to any advantage. I believe I told you long ago, that Mr. Faulkner came to me, and told me his intention to print every thing that my friends told him they thought to be mine, and that I was discontented at it; but when he urged, that some other bookseller would do it, and that he would take the advice of my friends, and leave out what I pleased to order him, I said no more, but that I was sorry it should be done here.——But, I am so incens'd against the oppressions from England, and have so little regard to the laws they make, that I do, as a clergyman, encourage the merchants both to export wool and woollen manufactures, to any country in Europe, or any where else; and conceal it from the customhouse-officers, as I would hide my purse from a highwayman, if he came to rob me on the road, although England hath made a law to the contrary*: and so I would encourage our booksellers here to sell your authors books printed here, and send them to all the towns in England, if I could do it with safety and profit; because, (I repeat it) it is no offence against God, or the laws of the country I live in. Mr. Faulkner hath dealt so fairly with me, that I have a great opinion of his honesty, although I never dealt with him as a printer or a bookseller, but since my friends told me, those things, called mine, would certainly be printed by some hedge-bookseller, I was forced to be passive

* This we apprehend is better patriotism than good casuistry; but perhaps we too are prejudiced in our turns, by the Dean's own principle. *The English bookellers.*

in the matter. I have * some things which I shall leave my executors to publish after my decease, and have directed that they shall be printed in London. For, except small papers, and some treatises writ for the use of this kingdom, I always had those of importance to be published in London, as you wells know. For my own part, although I have no power any where, I will do the best offices I can to countenance Mr. Faulkner. For, although I was not at all pleased to have that collection printed here, yet none of my friends advised me to be angry with him, although, if they had been printed in London by you and your partners, perhaps I might have pretended to some little profit. Whoever may have the hazard or advantage of what I shall leave to be printed in London after my decease, I will leave no other copies of them here; but, if Mr. Faulkner should get the first printed copy, and reprint it here, and send his copies to England, I think he would do as right as your London bookfellers who load us with yours. If I live but a few years, I believe I shall publish some things that I think are important; but, they shall be printed in London, although Mr. Faulkner were my brother. I have been very tedious in telling you my thoughts on this matter, and so I remain,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

* Directions to servants; and the history of the last session of Queen Anne; and the peace of Utrecht, both since printed by G. Faulkner.

L E T T E R VIII.

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen,
Sheriffs, and Common council of the city of
Corke.

Deanry-house, Dublin, Aug. 15, 1737.

G N N T L E M E N,

I Received from you some weeks ago, the honour
of my freedom in a silver box, by the hand of
Mr. Standard *; but it was not delivered to me in
as many weeks more; because I supposed he was
too full of more important business. Since that
time, I have been wholly confined by sickness, so
that I was not able to return you my acknowledge-
ment; and it is with much difficulty I do it now,
my head continuing in great disorder. Mr. Faulk-
ner will be the bearer of my letter, who sets out
this morning for Corke.

I could have wished, as I am a private man, that
in the instrument of my freedom, you had pleased
to assign your reasons for making choice of me. I
know it is an usual compliment to bestow the free-
dom of the city on an Archbishop or Lord-Chan-
cellor, and other persons of great titles, merely up-
on account of their stations or power; but a pri-
vate man, and a perfect stranger, without power
or grandeur, may justly expect to find the motives
assigned in the instrument of his freedom, on what
account he is thus distinguished. And yet I can-
not discover in the whole parchment scrip any one

* Eaton Standard, Esq; then Recorder of Dublin, and afterwards
made his Majesty's prime serjeant at law, in the room of Anthony
Malone, Esq; since promoted to the Chancellorship of the exche-
quer.

reason

reason offered. Next, as to the silver * box, there is not so much as my name upon it, nor any one syllable to shew it was a present from your city. Therefore, I have, by the advice of my friends, agreeing with my own opinion, sent back the box, and instrument of freedom by Mr. Faulkner, to be returned to you; leaving to your choice, whether to insert the reasons for which you were pleased to give me my freedom, or bestow the box upon some more worthy person, whom you may have an intention to honour, because it will equally fit every body.

I am, with true esteem

And gratitude, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

Obliged servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R IX.

To Mr. FAULKNER.

Deanry-house, Dublin, Jan. 6, 1738.

SIR,

I Have often mentioned to you an earnest desire I had, and still have, to record the merit and services of the Lord Mayor, Humphrey French, whom I often desired, after his mayoralty, to give me an account of many passages that happened in his mayoralty, and which he as often put off on the pretence of his forgetfulness, but in reality, of his modesty: I take him to be a hero in his kind,

* In consequence of this letter there was an inscription, and the city arms of Corke engraved on the box, and reasons in the parchment scrip for presenting him with the freedom of that city.

and that he ought to be imitated by all his successors, as far as their genius can reach; I desire you therefore to inquire among all his friends whom you are acquainted with, to press them to give you the particulars of what they can remember, not only during the general conduct of his life, wherever he had any power or authority in the city; but, particularly, from Mr. Maple, who was his intimate friend, who knew him best, and could give the most just character of himself and his actions.

When I shall have got a sufficient information of all these particulars, I will, although I am oppressed with age and infirmities, stir up all the little spirit I can raise, to give the public an account of that great patriot; and propose him as an example to all future magistrates, in order to recommend his virtues to this miserable kingdom.

I am,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Mrs. Cæsar, wife of Charles Cæsar, Esq; member of parliament for the borough of Hertford, who was committed to the tower of London, Dec. 19, 1705, for some reflections in the house of commons, on the Earl of Godolphin, then Lord High Treasurer of England. In 1711, Mr. Cæsar was appointed treasurer of the navy in the room of Robert Walpole, Esq; afterwards a Knight of the Garter, who was created Earl of Oxford in February 9, 1741. This Lady was also mother to Julius Cæsar, a brave soldier, now a general in the service of his Britannic Majesty

Majesty in Germany, April 1762 The Dean corresponded with this lady, who was remarkable for her good sense, friendship, and politeness, and much esteemed by the nobility and gentry, and all people of taste, genius and learning, and therefore imagine the following letters will be acceptable.

LETTER X.

To Mrs. CÆSAR.

MADAM,

A MONG a few little vexations, such as beggary, slavery, corruption, ignorance, want of friends, faction, oppression, and some other trifles of the like nature, that we philosophers ought to despise; two or three ladies of long acquaintance, and at a great distance, are still so kind as to remember me, and I was always proud and pleased to a great degree, that you happened to be one, since constancy is, I think, at least, as seldom found in friendship as in love. Mrs. Barber, when I see her, is always telling me wonders of the continual favours you have conferred on her, and that without your interposition, the success of her errand would have hardly been worth the journey; and I must bear the load of this obligation, without the least possibility of ever returning it, otherwise than by my best wishes for the prosperity and health of you and your family: For, in spite of all your good words, I am the most insignificant man of this most insignificant country. I have been tied by the leg (without being married) for ten months past, by an unlucky strain, which prevented the honour and happiness I proposed to myself of waiting on you oftener during this last summer: And another year at my period of life is like an inch in a man's nose; yet, I flatter myself, that next spring, I may take one voyage more, when you

will see me altered in every disposition of body and mind, except in my respects for you, and all that belong to you. There is one part of Mr. Pope's compliment which I cannot make you, for I could not with the strictest search find one letter too many in any of your words, although I found a thousand words too few in your letter; therefore, I accepted and understood it only as a billet just writ while Mrs. Barber stood by in her hood and scarf just ready to take her leave and begin her journey: And, what is worse, I suspect that she was forced to sollicite you long, because she wanted a certificate under your hand to convince me that she was not an impostor.

I will not say one word in Mrs. Barber's behalf, for she will always continue to deserve your protection; and therefore she may be sure you will always continue to give it her.

I hope Mr. Cæsar is in good health, and desire he will accept the offer of my most humble service, with my hearty wishes for your whole family.

I am, with true respect,

Madam,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

L E T T E R X I.

To Mrs. CÆSAR.

Dublin, July 30, 1733.

MADAM,

I Could not let Mrs. Barber leave us for good and all without honouring her with the carriage of a letter

letter from your old humble servant and constant lover : She hath been afflicted with so many repetitions of the gout, that her limbs are much weakened, and her spirits sunk ; neither can I well blame her, considering her grand affair of subscriptions must needs have slackened in her absence. Neither could she be in much disposition to increase her volumes, for health and good humour are too ingredients absolutely necessary in the poetical trade ; but I hope your countenance and protection will recover her spirits, and her hopes, and her genius. I imagine she looks on you as her chief patroness ; because, although she be abundantly grateful to all her protectors ; yet, I observe your name most often in her mouth. I wish it were in my power to take the same journey ; but neither my health, nor the bad state of my private affairs will give me power or leave : I cannot make shift, nor bear fatigues as I used to do. To live in England, half as tollerably as I do here, would ruin me. I must have two servants and three horses, and dare drink nothing but wine ; and my ragged church-rents would never be paid in my absence. My Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pope press me with many kind invitations, but the former is too much a philosopher ; he dines at six in the evening ; after studying all the morning until the afternoon ; and, when he hath dined, to his studies again. Mr. Pope can neither eat nor drink, loves to be alone, and hath always some poetical scheme in his head. Thus, the two best companions and friends I ever had, have utterly disqualified themselves for my conversation, and my way of living. Mr. Pope, who had often promised to pass a summer-season with me here, if he outlived his mother, soon after her death, waved the fairest opportunity of performing his promise two months ago, of coming over with ease, and in company of
Dean

Dean Cotterel * and his sister ; he said we should kill him with eating and drinking. I had a very convenient apartment for him in the Deanry-house : He would have all the civilities of this town ; and Mrs. Barber will tell you that we never want a dozen or more of very valuable persons, and of both sexes, with whom to converse ; I chid him soundly in my last letter for his want of friendship or resolution. You see, Madam, I am full of talk ; but you are to blame, for I imagine myself in your company, which is indeed no great compliment ; and upon second thoughts it is not true, for I should be much better pleased to be your hearer. However, I should certainly ask you a thousand questions concerning yourself, and Mr. Cæsar, and your whole family. I have received so much friendship and so many civilities from you both, that I shall ever own my obligations ; which are ever increased by Mrs. Barber's feeding my vanity, with telling me, that you did not receive her worse for her being recommended by me ; yet I confess, her expressions were in somewhat stronger terms. Pray God bless you and your whole family. I desire you will present my most humble service to Mr. Cæsar.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Madam,

Your most obedient, and

Most obliged, humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

The following letter to the Provost and Fellows of the university of Dublin, plainly shews the au-

* Afterwards bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.

thor's friendship to gentlemen of genius and learning, although unacquainted with them; but soon after this, Mr. Dunkin was introduced to the Dean, who did him further services by recommending him to Dr. Bolton Archbishop of Cashell, who ordained him for holy orders.

L E T T E R XII.

To the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity-College, Dublin.

July 5, 1736.

Rev. and Worthy SIRs,

AS I had the honour of receiving some part of my education in your university, and the good fortune to be of some service to it, while I had a share of credit at court, as well as since, when I had very little or none, I may hope to be excused for laying a case before you, and offering my opinion upon it.

Mr. Dunkin, whom you all know, sent me some time ago a memorial intended to be laid before you, which, perhaps, he hath already done. His request is, that you would be pleased to enlarge his annuity at present, and that he may have the same right in his turn, to the first church-preferment, vacant in your gift, as if he had been made a fellow, according to the scheme of his aunt's will; because the absurdity of the condition in it, ought to be imputed to the old woman's ignorance, although her intention be very manifest, and the intention of the testator in all wills is chiefly regarded by the law. What I would therefore humbly propose is this, that you would increase his pension to one hundred pound a-year, and make him a firm promise of the first church-living in your disposal, to the value of two hundred pounds a-year, or somewhat more, This I take to be a reasonable

reasonable medium between what he hath proposed in his memorial, and what you allow him at present.

I am almost a perfect stranger to Mr. Dunkin, having never seen him above twice, and then in mixed company, nor should I now know his person if I met him in the streets. But I know he is a man of wit and parts; which, if applied properly to the business of his function, instead of poetry, (wherein it must be owned he sometimes excels), might be of great use and service to him.

I hope you will please to remember, that since your body hath received no inconsiderable benefaction from the aunt, it will much increase your reputation, rather to err on the generous side, towards the nephew.

These are my thoughts after frequently reflecting on the case under all its circumstances. and so I leave it to your wiser judgements.

I am, with true respect and esteem,

Reverend and worthy Sirs,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

*Deanry-house,
July 5, 1736.*

J. SWIFT.



L E T T E R S

FROM

DR. S W I F T

TO

DR. NARCISSUS MARSH,

Lord PRIMATE and ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN.

L E T T E R I.

London, Nov. 4, 1710,

My LORD,

I AM most unhappily engaged this night, where I cannot write to your Grace so long a letter as I intended; but I will make it up in a post or two. I have only now to tell you, that Mr. Harley hath given me leave to acquaint my Lord Primate and your Grace, that the Queen hath granted the first fruits and twentieth parts to the clergy of Ireland. It was done above a fortnight ago; but I was then obliged to keep it a secret, as I hinted to your Grace in my last letter. He hath now given me leave to let your Grace and my Lord Primate know it, only desires you will say nothing of it until a letter cometh to you from my Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state. All I know yet is, that the

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bishops

bishops are to be made a corporation for the disposal of the first-fruits, and that the twentieth parts are to be remitted. I will write to your Grace the particulars of my negotiation, and some other amusements, very soon. I humbly beg your Grace to acquaint my Lord Primate with this. I had your Grace's letter last post, and you will now see, that your letters to the archbishop here are unnecessary. I was a little in pain about the Duke of Ormond, who, I feared might interpose in this matter, and be angry it was done without him: but Mr. Harley hath very kindly taken this matter upon himself. It was yesterday I dined with him, and he told me all this; and to-morrow I dine with him again, where I may hear more. I shall obey your Grace's directions whether my stay here be further necessary, after you have had the letter from the secretary's office. I know not what it will be; but, if any forms remain to finish, I shall be ready to assist in it as I have hitherto done. I have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with Mr. Harley's conduct in this whole affair. In three days he spoke of it to the Queen, and gave her my memorial, and so continued until he got her grant. I am now in much company, and steal this time to write to your Grace. The Queen was resolved to have the whole merit of this affair to herself. Mr. Harley advised her to it, and next to her Majesty, he is the only person to be thanked. I suppose it will not be many days before you have the letter from my Lord Dartmouth, and your Grace will afterwards signify your commands, if you have any for me. I shall go to the office, and see that a dispatch be made as soon as possible. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful, and
Most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

LET-

L E T T E R II.

London, Nov. 23. 1710.

MY LORD,

I Had your Grace's letter not until this day: whether it lay in the secretary's office, or was kept by the wind I cannot tell; but I would have exposed it immediately whenever it had come. Mr. Southwell told me two days ago of the letter your Grace mentions, which surpris'd me a good deal, when I remembered I had writ to your Grace three weeks ago, that the Queen had absolutely granted the first-fruits and twentieths, and that Mr. Harley had permitted me to signify the same to the Primate and your Grace. Perhaps that letter might not have reached your Grace before that resolution of sending the Duke of Ormond; but, however, I gave you such an account of my reception from Mr. Harley, and his readiness to undertake this affair, and what steps he had already made in it, as I thought would have given you some sight in what way the business was; but Mr. Harley charged me to tell no body alive, what the Queen had resolv'd on, till he gave me leave; and, by the conclusion of a former letter, your Grace might see you were to expect some further intelligence very soon. Your Grace may remember, that upon your telling me how backward the bishops were in giving me a power, I was very unwilling to go at all, and sent the Dean of St. Patrick's * to tell you so; but you thought I could not handsomely put it off, when things were gone so far. Your objection then about the disadvantage I lay under in point of party, I know well

* Dr. Sterne, afterwards bishop of Clogher.

enough how to answer, otherwise nothing should have prevailed on me to come hither; and if my Lords the Bishops doubt whether I have any credit with the present ministry, I will, if they please, undo this matter in as little time as I have done it. I did reckon your Grace understood and believed me in what I said; and I reckon so still, but I will not be at the pains of undeceiving so many. I never proposed to myself either credit or profit by my labour, but the satisfaction of doing good, without valuing whether I had the merit of it or no. But the method now taken was the likeliest way to set all things backward if it were not past danger. It shall be my business (until my Lords the bishops forbid me to engage further) to prevent any misunderstanding with Mr. Harley by this sudden step. The thing was all done before the Duke of Ormond was named for Lord-lieutenant, so there was no affront at all to him; and Mr. Harley told me more than once, that such an interest was the properest, because he thought the Queen herself should have the doing of it: But I said a great deal of this in former letters. If your Grace hath any commands for me of your own, I shall obey them with all cheerfulness, being with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER III.

London, November 28. 1710.

MY LORD,

A Day or two after I received your Grace's letter of the 2d instant, I dined with Mr. Southwell, who shewed me the letter of the bishops to the

the Duke of Ormond, and another letter from the Bishop of Kildare to Mr. Southwell, to desire him to get the papers from me, which I shall send him as soon as I have looked them out. Mr. Southwell said, that a month or two hence, when the Duke began to think of this journey, it would be time enough to solicit this affair. Upon this I told him frankly, that the Queen had already granted the first-fruits, and that I had writ to your Grace by Mr. Harley's directions, but that my letter did not reach you until yours was sent to the Duke and him; and that therefore I thought it would be a very odd step to begin again. He said, he was glad it was done, and that he did not design to take any of the credit from me, &c. I told him sincerely it was what I did not regard at all, and, provided the church had the benefit, it was indifferent to me how it came about, and so we parted. I had told the Duke of Ormond at first, that I would apply myself to Mr. Harley, if his Grace advised it, which he did; and I afterwards told Mr. Southwell, that Mr. Harley had been very kind in promising his good offices: Further I durst not speak, being under an engagement of secrecy to Mr. Harley, and the whole thing was done before the Duke was declared Lord-lieutenant. If your Grace considers the time you sent me the paper, you will judge what dispatch was made; in two days after, I delivered a memorial I drew up to Mr. Harley, and in less than a fortnight he had treated the matter four times with the queen, and then told me she had granted it absolutely as my memorial desired, but charged me to tell no man alive, and your Grace may remember, that one of my letters ended with something as if I were limited, and would say more in a short time. In about a week after I had leave to inform the of Prim and your Grace, as I did in my letter the 4th instant. It is to be considered, that the
Queen

Queen was all this while at Hampton-court or Windsor, so that I think the dispatch was very great. But, indeed, I expected a letter would have been sent from the secretary's office, to signify this matter in due form; and so it will. But Mr. Harley had a mind first to bring me to the Queen, for that and some other matters; and she came to town not a week ago, and was out of order one day when it was designed I should attend her; and, since the parliament's beginning hath taken her up; but, in a few days, Mr. Harley tells me he will introduce me. This I tell your Grace in confidence, only to satisfy you in particular why the Queen hath not yet sent a letter in form. Upon that dispatch to Mr. Southwell, I was perplexed to the last degree. I did not value the slighting manner of the Bishop of Kildare's * letter, barely desiring Mr. Southwell † to call on me for the papers, without any thing further, as if I had been wholly insignificant; but I was at a loss how to behave myself with the Duke and Mr. Harley. I met the latter yesterday in the court of requests, and he whispered me to dine with him. At dinner I told him of the dispatch to Mr. Southwell, and rallied him for putting me under difficulties with his secrets; that I was running my head against a wall; that he reckoned he had done the church and me a favour; that I should disoblige the Duke of Ormond; and that the Bishops in Ireland thought I had done nothing, and had therefore taken away my commission. He told me your Lordship had taken it away in good time, for the thing was done; and that as for the Duke of Ormond, I need not be uneasy; for he would let his Grace know it as soon as he saw him, which would

* Dr WELBORE ELLIS.

† Right Hon. EDWARD SOUTHWELL, Esq; secretary of state for Ireland.

be in a day or two at the Treasury ; and then promised again to carry me to the Queen with the first opportunity. Your Grace now sees how the affair stands, and whether I deserve such treatment from the bishops, from every part whereof I wholly exclude your Grace, and could only, with my first letter, about the progress I had made, had found so much credit with you, as to have delayed that dispatch until you had heard once more from me. I had at least so much discretion, not to pretend I had done more than I really did, but rather less : And, if I had consulted my own interest, I should have employed my credit with the present ministry another way. The bishops are mistaken in me ; it is well known here, that I could have made my markets with the last ministry if I had pleased ; and the present men in power are very well apprised of it, as your Grace may, if I live to see you again ; which I certainly never would in Ireland, if I did not flatter myself that I can upon a better foot with your Grace, than with some other of their Lordships. Your Grace is pleased to command me to continue my solicitations ; but as now there will be no need of them, so I think my commission is at an end, ever since I had notice of that dispatch to Mr. Southwell. However, in obedience to your Grace, if there be any thing to be done about expediting the forms, wherein my service can be of use, I will readily perform as far as I am able : But I must tell your Grace what gives me the greatest displeasure, that I had hopes to prevail that the Queen should in some months be brought to remit the crown-rents, which I named in my memorial, but in an article by itself ; and Mr. Harley had given me some hopes of, and I have some private reasons to think, might have been brought about. I mentioned it in the memorial, only as from myself ; and therefore, if I have an opportunity I shall venture to mention it to the Queen,

OR

or at least repeat it to Mr. Harley. This I do as a private man, whom the bishops no longer own. It is certainly right to pay all civilities, and make applications to a Lord lieutenant, but without some other means a business may hang long enough, as this of the first-fruits did for four years under the Duke of Ormond's last government, although no man loves the church of Ireland better than his Grace; but such things are forgot and neglected between the Governor and his secretaries, unless solicited by some body who has the business at heart. But I have done, and shall trouble your Grace no farther upon this affair; and on other occasions while I am here, will endeavour to entertain you with what is like to pass in this busy scene, where all things are taking a new, and, I think, a good turn; and where, if you please, I will write to you, with that freedom I formerly did; and I beg your Grace to employ me in any commands you may have here, which I shall be prouder to obey, than to have ever so much merit with some others; being, with perfect respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful, and

Most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Your Grace will please direct for me at St. James's coffee-house in St. James's-street.

Two hundred members supped last night at the Fountain-tavern, where they went to determine about a chairman for elections. Medicott and Manly were the two candidates; but the company could not agree, and parted in an ill humour. It is a matter of some moment, and I
hope

hope it will be amicably made up ; but the great rock we are afraid of, is a diffention among the majority, because the weakest part, when they grow discontented, know where to retire, and be received.

*****A*****

L E T T E R I V.

London, Dec. 30. 1710.

My LORD,

I Have just received your Grace's letter of the 16th, and I was going however to write again to your Grace, not upon business, but to amuse you with something from hence, which no man wants more than your Grace, considering the variety of other people's affairs you have always on your hands, as well as the church's and your own, which are the same thing. The Duke of Ormond told me the other day, that the † Primate declined very fast, and was hardly able to sign a paper. I said, I wondred they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonth past. I hope, for the church's good, that your Grace's friends will do their duty in representing you as the person the kingdom wisheth to succeed him. I know not how your dispositions stand that way. I know my Lord President hath great credit at present, and I have understood him to be a friend to your Grace. I can only say, I have no regard to your interest in this, but that of the church ; and therefore should be very glad to drop in a word where it lieth in my way, if I thought it would not be disagreeable to you. I dread their sending a person from hence, which I shall venture to prevent with all the little

† Dr. MARSH.

credit I have, and should be glad to see a Primate of our own kingdom and university; and that is all I shall venture to say on this subject.

Marshal Staremberg * hath certainly got to Saragossa with 7000 men, and the Duke of Vendosme † hath sent him his equipage. Mr. Stanhope ‡ was positive to part forces with Staremberg, which occasioned this loss; and when the battle was, they were several miles asunder. The Duke of Marlborough was yesterday an hour with the queen; it was set him at twelve at noon, when it was likely his visit should be shortest. Mr. St. John was with her just before, and Mr. Harley just after. The Duke's behaviour was with the most abject submission; that he was the meanest of her Majesty's instruments; her humble creature; a poor worm, &c. This I had from a lord to whom the Queen told it: for the ministers never tell any thing; and it is only by picking out and comparing, that one can ever be the wiser for them. I took leave yesterday of Lord Peterborow, who is going in a day or two to Vienna: I said, I wished he were going to Spain; he told me, he hoped his present journey would be to more purpose; and, by what I can gather, they will use all means to make as speedy a peace as possible, with safety and honour. Lord Rivers § tells me he will not set out for Hanover this month: I asked him about his late reception there, because the town was full of stories about it: he assured me he could not desire a better; and, if it were otherwise, I believe he would hardly be pitched upon to be sent again. The young people in parliament are very

* General and commander of the imperial forces in Spain.

† Commander of the French.

‡ General Stanhope, commander of the English. He was created an Earl by GEORGE I.

§ RICHARD SAVAGE, Earl of Rivers, her Majesty's minister, and Plenipotentiary to Hanover.

eager to have some inquiries made into past managements, and are a little angry with the slackness of the ministry upon that article; they say, they have told those who sent them, that the Queen's calling a new parliament was to correct and look into former abuses; and if something of the latter be not done, they know not how to answer it. I am not altogether satisfied how the ministry is disposed in this point. Your Grace hath heard there was much talk lately of Sir Richard Levings's * design to impeach Lord Wharton, and several persons of great consideration in the house assured me, they would give him all encouragement; and I have reason to know, it would be acceptable to the court: but Sir Richard is the most timorous man alive, and they all begin to look upon him in that character, and to hope nothing from him: however, they talk of some other inquiries when the parliament meets after this recess: and it is often in people's mouths, that February will be a warm month; but this I can affirm nothing of, and I hope your Grace will distinguish between what I affirm, and what I report: as to the first you may securely count upon it; the other you will please take as it is sent.

Since the letter from the bishops to the Duke of Ormond, I have been a much cooler solicitor; for I look upon myself no longer a deputed person. Your Grace may be fully satisfied, that the thing is granted, because I had order to report it to you from the prime minister; the rest is form, and may be done at any time: as for bringing the letter over myself, I must again profess to your Grace, that I do not regard the reputation of it at all; perhaps I might if I were in Ireland; but, when I am on this side, a certain pride seizeth me from very different usage I meet with, which ma-

* Speaker of the House of Commons, and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

keth me look on things in another light: but, besides, I beg to tell your Grace in confidence, that the ministry have desired me to continue some time longer, for certain reasons, that I may some time have the honour to tell you. As for every body's knowing what is done in the first-fruits, it was I that told it; for, after I saw the bishops letter, I let every one know it in perfect spight, and told Mr. Harley and Mr. Secretary St. John so. However, in humble deference to your Grace's opinion, and not to appear sullen, I did yesterday complain to Mr. Secretary St. John, that Mr. Harley had not yet got the letter from the Queen to confirm the grant of the first-fruits; that I had lost reputation by it; and that I took it very ill of them both; and that their excuses of parliament-business, and grief for the loss in Spain, were what I would bear no longer. He took all I said very well, and desired I would call on him to-morrow morning, and he would engage, if Mr. Harley had not done it, he himself would in a day or two. As soon as there is any issue of this I shall inform your Grace; and I have reason to think it is a trifle they will not refuse me.

I have had from other hands some accounts of that ridiculous plot your Grace mentions, but it is not yet talked of here, neither have any of the ministry mentioned a word of it to me, although they are well apprized of some affairs in Ireland; for, I had two papers given me by a great man, one about the sentence of the defacers of the statue, and the other about a trial before the Lord Justice Broderick, for some words in the north, spoke by a clergyman against the Queen. I suppose your Grace reckons upon a new parliament in Ireland, and some alterations in the council, the law, and the revenue. Your Grace is the most exact correspondent I ever had, and the Dean of
St.

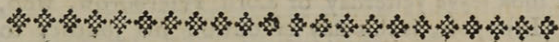
To Dr. NARCISSUS MARSH. 269

St. Patrick's directly contrary, which I hope you will remember to say to him upon the occasion.

I am, with the greatest respect,
My Lord, your Grace's most dutiful,
And most humble servant,

J. S W I F T.

I have read over this letter, and find several things relating to affairs here, that are said in perfect confidence to your Grace; if they are told again I only desire it may not be known from what hand they came.



L E T T E R V.

London, Jan. 4, 1710-11.

My LORD,

HAVING writ to your Grace so lately, I only now make bold to let you know, that on Tuesday I was to wait on Mr. Secretary St. John, who told me from Mr. Harley, that I need not be in pain about the first-fruits, for the warrant was drawn in order towards a patent; but must pass two several forms, and take up some time, for the Queen designeth to make a grant by her letters patent. I shall take all due methods to hasten it as far as I am able; but in these cases they are generally pretty tedious. Mr. Harley likewise sent me the same day by another person the same message. I dined with him about four days ago, but there being much company, and he going away in haste pretty soon after dinner, he had not time to tell me so himself. Indeed he hath been so ready to do every thing in this matter as I would have him, that he never needed pressing, which, considering both the weight and difficulty of affairs, at present on his shoulders, is very extraordinary, and what I never met from a great minister before.

I had

I had thought, and so Mr. Harley told me, that the Queen would have sent a letter to the bishops; but this is a shorter way, and I hope your Grace will like it.

I am, with the greatest respect,
My Lord, your Grace's most dutiful,
And most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

I am told from a good hand, that in a short time the House of Commons will fall upon some inquiries into the late management.

I took leave yesterday of Lord Peterborow, who, I suppose, is this day set out on his journey to Vienna; he is a little discouraged, and told me he did not hope for any great success in what he went upon. He is one of those many who are mightily bent upon having some such inquiries made as I have mentioned.



LETTER VI.

London, March 8, 1710-11.

My LORD,

I Write to your Grace under the greatest disturbance of mind for the public and myself. A gentleman came in where I dined this afternoon, and told us Mr. Harley was stabbed, and some confused particulars. I immediately ran to Secretary St. John's hard by, but no body was at home; I met Mrs. St. John in her chair, who could not satisfy me, but was in pain about the Secretary, who, as she heard had killed the murderer. I went straight to Mr. Harley's, where abundance of people were to inquire. I got young Mr. Harley to me; he said his father was asleep, and they hoped in no danger, and then told me the fact, as

I shall

I shall relate it to your Grace. This day the Marquis de Guiscard was taken up for high-treason, by a warrant of Mr. St. John, and examined before a committee of counsel in Mr. St. John's office, where were present, the Dukes of Ormond, Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Earl Powlet, Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, and others. During examination, Mr. Harley observed Guiscard, who stood behind him, but on one side, swearing and looking disrespectfully. He told him he ought to behave himself better, while he was examined for such a crime. Guiscard immediately drew a penknife out of his pocket, which he had picked out of some of the offices, and reaching round stabbed him just under the breast, a little to the right side; but it pleased God that the point stopped at one of the ribs, and broke short half an inch. Immediately Mr. St. John rose, drew his sword, and ran it into Guiscard's breast. Five or six more of the counsel drew and stabbed Guiscard in several places: but the Earl Powlet called out for God's sake, to spare Guiscard's life, that he might be made an example, and Mr. St. John's sword was taken from him and broke, and the footmen without ran in and bound Guiscard, who begged he might be killed immediately; and, they say, called out three or four times, my Lord Ormond, my Lord Ormond. They say Guiscard resisted them a while, until the footmen came in. Immediately Bucier the surgeon was sent for, who dressed Mr. Harley and he was sent home. The wound bled fresh, and they do not apprehend him in danger: He said when he came, he thought himself in none; and when I was there he was asleep, and they did not find him at all feverish. He hath been ill this week, and told me last Saturday, he found himself much out of order, and hath been abroad but twice since, so that the only danger is, lest his being

ing out of order, should with the wound put him in a fever, and I shall be in mighty pain 'till to morrow morning. I went back to poor Mrs. St. John, who told me her husband was with my Lord Keeper *, at Mr. Attorney's, and she said something to me very remarkable: that, going to day to pay her duty to the Queen, when all the men and ladies were dressed to make their appearance, this being the day of the Queen's accession, the lady of the bedchamber in waiting told her the Queen had not been at church, and saw no company; yet, when she inquired her health, they said she was very well, only had a little cold. We conceive, the Queen's reason for not going out, might be something about the seizing of Guiscard for high treason, and that perhaps there was some plot, or something extraordinary. Your Grace must have heard of this Guiscard: he fled from France for villainies there, and was thought on to head an invasion of that kingdom, but was not liked. I know him well, but think him a fellow of little consequence, although of some cunning and much villainy. We passed by one another this day in the Mall, at two o'clock, an hour before he was taken up, and I wondered he did not speak to me.

I write all this to your Grace, because I believe you would desire to know a true account of so important an accident; and besides, I know you will have a thousand false ones; and I believe every material circumstance here is true, having it from young Mr. Harley. I met Sir Thomas Mansel, (it was then after six this evening) and he and Mr. Prior told me, they had just seen Guiscard carried by in a chair, with a strong guard, to Newgate or the

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards created Lord Baron of Stanton Harcourt.

Prefs-Yard. Time, perhaps, will shew who was at the bottom of all this; but nothing could happen so unluckily to England at this juncture as Mr. Harley's death, when he hath all the schemes for the greatest part of the supplies in his head, and the parliament cannot stir a step without him. Neither can I altogether forget myself, who in him, should lose a person I have more obligations to, than any other in this kingdom, who hath always treated me with the tenderness of a parent, and never refused me any favour I asked for a friend; therefore, I hope your Grace will excuse the disorder of this letter. I was intending this night, to have writ one of another sort—I must needs say, one great reason for writing these particulars to your Grace, was, that you might be able to give a true account of the fact, which will be some sort of service to Mr. Harley.

I am, with the greatest respect,

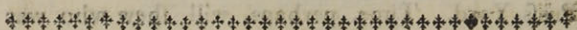
My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

And most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT:

I have read over what I write, and find it very confused and incorrect, which your Grace must impute to the violent pain of mind I am in greater than ever I felt in my life. — It must have been the utmost height of desperate guilt, which could have spirited that wretch to such an action I have not heard whether his wounds are dangerous, but I pray God he may recover to receive his reward, and that we may learn the bottom of his villainy. It is not above ten days ago that I was interceding with the secretary, in his behalf, because I heard he was just starving; but the secretary assured me he had 400 l. a year pension.



L E T T E R VII.

London, April 10, 1711.

My Lord,

I Had lately the honour of a letter from your Grace, and waited to acknowledge it until something material should happen, that might recompence the trouble. My occasion of writing to you at present is truly personal to your Grace. A report was beginning to run here, by some letters from Ireland, that your Grace had applied the passage you mention of Rufus, in a speech you made to your clergy, which I ventured to contradict as an impossibility, and inconsistent with your general opinion, and what was in your letter. Mr. Southwell and Mr. Dopping were of the same mind, and the former says he hath writ to your Grace about it. I should have thought no more of the matter, but let it spread like an idle story below notice; only dining last Sunday with one of the principal secretaries of state, he gave me a letter to read, which he had just received from the printer of the newspaper called the Post-Boy, in which was a transcript of a letter from Dublin, and the secretary being mentioned in that transcript, the man would not publish it without his advice. It contained an account how the news of Mr. Harley's being stabbed had been received by the Whigs in Dublin; of which he produced some instances. Then he mentions the passage out of Tacitus, and concludes thus: *The first that mentioned it was the Archbishop of Dublin, who took notice of it first at a meeting of his clergy; and afterwards, in the hearing of several persons, was reprimanded for it in a civil, though sharp manner, by one of the chief ministers there, well known for his steady loyalty to her Majesty, and his zealous service to the church of England,*

land, under her late perilous trial. I immediately told the secretary, that I knew this must be false and misrepresented, and that he must give me leave to scratch out that passage, which I accordingly did; and for fear of any mistake, I made him give me afterwards the whole letter, that I might have it in my power. The next day, I sent for the printer, and told him what I had done, and upon further thoughts, I sifted the whole letter, and the secretary approved of it. I likewise told the printer, that when he had any thing relating to Ireland, I had the secretary's order (which was true) to send it me, that he might not do injury to men's reputations, by what was represented to him from ignorant or malicious hands in that kingdom. The letter was to have been printed this day in the Post-Boy, with that conclusion reflecting on your Grace, which is happily prevented; for although your character and station place you above the malice of little people, yet your friends would be extremely concerned to see your name made so bold with in a common news-paper.

I humbly hope your Grace will not disapprove of what I have done; at least I have gratified my own inclination, in the desire of serving you, and besides, had the opportunity of giving Mr. Secretary some part of your character.

I dare lay a wager, that all this happened by the gross understandings of some people, who misunderstood and misapplied something very innocent that came from your Grace. I must be so bold to say, that people in that kingdom do very ill understand raillery. I can raillery much safer here with a great minister of state, or a dutchess, than I durst do there with an attorney or his wife. And I can venture to raillery with your Grace, although I could not do it with many of your clergy. I myself have been a witness, when want of common sense hath made people offended with your Grace,

it. I went immediately to Mr. Secretary St. John, and read most of it to him; he was extremely satisfied, and very glad that scandalous account, designed to be printed in the Post boy, was suppressed. Mr. Harley was not then quite well enough; so I ventured (and hope your Grace will not disapprove it) to shew your letter to a gentleman who hath a great respect for your Grace, and who told me several others of Ireland were possessed of that report. I trusted the letter with him, and gave him leave to read it to them, which he told me he did, and that they were all entirely convinced: and indeed, as far as I can find, the report is quite blown over, and hath left no impression. While your Grace's letter was out of my hands, dining with Mr. Harley, he said to me almost as soon as he saw me, *How came the Archbishop of Dublin and I to fall out?* I told him I knew what he meant; but your Grace was altogether misrepresented, and it must come from some infamous rascals, of which there never wants a set in that kingdom, who make it their business to find wrong characters here, &c. He answered, that he believed and knew it was as I said. I added, that I had the honour to be long known to your Grace, and that you were the last man in the kingdom upon whom such a report could be fixed with any probability; and that since he was pleased to mention this matter first, he must give me leave, the next time I saw him, to read a letter I had from your Grace in answer to one of mine, wherein I had told you of such a report; he said there was no need, for he firmly believed me. I answered smiling, that should not do, for I would never suffer a person for whom I had so great an esteem, to lie under the least suspicion of any thing wrong. Last Saturday, after dinner, I was again to wait on him. On that day of the week my Lord Keeper, my Lord Rivers, and Mr. Secretary St. John, always
 used

used to dine with him before this accident, and sometimes they used to let me be of the company. This was the first Saturday they had met since his recovery; and I was in such joy to see the old club met again, that it affecteth me still, as your Grace sees by my impertinence in mixing it with an account that only relates to yourself. I read those parts of your letter to him, which I thought proper, and both he and the company did very frankly acquit your Grace; and Mr. Harley in particular spoke a good deal of his respect and esteem for you; and then he repeated, that it was no new thing to receive lies from Ireland; which I doubt is so true, that no man of distinction in that kingdom is safe; and I wish it were possible to take some course to prevent the evil.

As for libels upon your Grace, bating my concern for the souls of the writers, I should give you joy of them. You would less deserve your station, if knaves and fools did not hate you; and whilst these sects continue, may your Grace and all good men be the object of their aversion.

My Lord Keeper, Mr. Harley, and one or two more, are immediately to be made peers: The town hath been expecting it for some time, altho' the court make it yet a secret; but I can assure your Grace of the truth, for the preambles to their patents are now drawing, and I saw a very handsome one for Mr. Harley. You will please not to mention this particular, although it will be soon public, but it is yet kept mighty private. Mr. Harley is to be Lord Treasurer. Perhaps before the post leaves this town, all this will be openly told, and then I may be laughed at for being so mysterious; but so capricious are great men in their secrets. The first authentic assurances I had of these promotions was last Sunday, though the expectation hath been strong for above a month. We suppose likewise, that many changes will be
made

made in the employments as soon as the session endeth, which will be, I believe, in less than a fortnight.

Poor Sir Cholmondely Deering, of Kent, was yesterday in a duel shot through the body, by one Mr. Thornhill, in Tothilfield, and died in some hours.

I never mention any thing of the first-fruits either to Mr. Harley or the Duke of Ormond. If it be done before his Grace goes over, it is well, and there is an end: If not, I shall have the best opportunity of doing it in his absence; if I should speak of it now, perhaps it would be so contrived to hinder me from soliciting it afterwards; but as soon as the Duke is gone, I shall learn at the treasury what he hath done in it.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful, and

Obliged humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

I have been at this town this fortnight for my health, and to be under a necessity of walking to and from London every day. But your Grace will please still to direct your letter under cover to Mr. Lewis.

L E T T E R IX.

London, July 12, 1711.

My LORD,

I Now conceive your Grace begins to be a busy person in council, and parliament, and convocation, and perhaps may be content to be diverted
now

now and then by an idle letter from hence. We have an empty town, the Queen being settled at Windsor, and the ministers often there. We are so weary with expecting further removals, that we begin to drop the discourse: Neither am I sure, whether those in power may not differ a little in opinion as to that matter. However, it seemeth generally agreed, that there will be many changes before next session, and that it is necessary there should be so. My Lord Peterborow hath been some time returned, and I have had a good deal of talk with him; or rather, he hath talked a good deal to me. He is mightily discontented with what I writ to him, and which he findeth to be true, that there seemeth a general disposition among us towards a peace. He thinketh his successful negotiations with the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy have put us in a better condition than ever to continue the war, and will engage to convince me, that Spain is yet to be had if we take proper measures. Your Grace knoweth he is a person of great talents, but dashed with something restless and capricious in his nature. He told me he came over without being recalled, and without one servant, having scattered them in several parts of Germany, I doubt he will not have credit enough with the ministry to make them follow his plans; and he is such a sort of person as may give good advice, which wise men may reasonably refuse to follow. It seemeth to me, that the ministry lie under a grievous dilemma from the difficulty of continuing the war. and the danger of an ill peace, which I doubt whether all their credit with the Queen and country would support them under: But my Lord Treasurer is a stranger to fear, and hath all that courage which innocence and good sense can give a man, and the most free from avarice of any one living; both which are absolutely necessary for his station in this juncture. He was saying a thing to
me

me some days ago, which I believe is the great maxim he proceedeth by, that wisdom in public affairs was not what is commonly believed the forming of schemes with remote views; but the making use of such incidents as happen. It was thought my Lord Marr * would have succeeded as secretary upon the Duke of Queensbery's death; but the court seemeth now disposed to have no third secretary, which was a useles charge. The Queen hath been extremely ill, so as for four-and-twenty hours people were in great pain; but she hath been since much better, and voided abundance of gravel, &c. Our expedition under Mr. Hill is said to be towards the south seas, but nothing is known: I told a great man who is deepest in the project of it, that I had no good opinion of these expeditions, which hitherto never succeeded with us. He said he would venture ten to one on the success of it, provided no ill accident happened by storms; and that it was concerted with three or four great Princes abroad.

As to the first-fruits, I must inform your Grace, that the whole affair lieth exactly as it did for some months past. The Duke and his people never thought, or at least never meddle in it, until some days before they went, and then they were told it was not already done; and my Lord Treasurer directed that it should be an instruction to the Lord Lieutenant to mention in his speech to parliament, that the Queen had done it, &c. But they took no sort of care to finish the matter, and carry the instrument over with them, which they might have done, had they begun timely, and applied themselves; and as the Bishops superseded me, I did not presume to meddle further in it; But I think this may be a lesson, that in all such cases as these

† This Earl of Marr was one of the first that entered into the rebellion in Scotland in favour of the Pretender in the year 1715.

it is necessary to have some good solicitor, and not leave things wholly to great men: Nay, so little did the Duke engage in this matter, that my Lord Treasurer told me yesterday (although that is a secret) that the very draught they had made upon my application was some way or other mislaid between the Queen and himself, and could not be found; but, however, that another should soon be drawn: And his Lordship commanded me to inform your Grace and my Lords the Bishops, that, with the first convenience the instrument should be prepared and sent over, which your Grace will please to let them know. I was of opinion with my Lord Treasurer, that it should be done by a deed from the Queen, without an act of parliament, and that the Bishops should be made a corporation for the management of it. Your Grace sees I write with much freedom, because I am sure I can do it safely.

I have been engaging my Lord Treasurer and the other great men in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, especially his Lordship. He is to erect some kind of society or academy under the patronage of the ministers, and protection of the Queen, for correcting, enlarging, polishing, and fixing our language. The methods must be left to the society; only I am writing a letter to my Lord Treasurer by way of proposal and some general hints, which I design to publish, and he expecteth from me. All this may come to nothing, although I find the ingenious and learned men of all my acquaintance fall readily in with it; and so I hope will your Grace, if the design can be well executed. I would desire at leisure some of your Grace's thoughts on this matter.

I hope your Grace will take advantage of the times, and see whether your violent house of commons will fall in with some good law for the benefit of the church, as their much betters have done it
here:

here: And I think the convocation could not be better employed than in considering what good law is wanting for the church, and endeavour to have it pass'd, rather than in brangling upon trifles. The church hath so few happy occasions, that we ought to let none of them slip. I take up too much of your Grace's time, and therefore, begging your prayers and blessing. I remain, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's
Most dutiful, humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R X.

London, August 15. 1711.

My LORD,

I Have been at Windsor a fortnight, from whence I returned two days ago, and met a letter at my lodging from your Grace, dated July 25, I was told it was sent to Mr. Manly's house (your post-master's son) and by him to me; so that I suppose your Grace did not direct to Mr. Lewis as formerly, otherwise I should have had it at Windsor. The ministers go usually down to Windsor on Saturday, and return on Monday or Tuesday following. I had little opportunity of talking with my Lord Treasurer, seeing him only at court, or at suppers at third places, or in much company at his own lodgings. Yesterday I went to visit him after dinner, but did not stay above an hour, because business called him out. I read to him that part of your Grace's letter which expresseth your Grace's respect, to him and he received them perfectly well. He told me he had lately received a letter from the bishops of Ireland, subscribed (as I remember) by seventeen, acknowledging his favour about the

first-fruits. I told his Lordship that some people in Ireland doubted whether the Queen had granted them before the Duke of Ormond was declared lieutenant; yes, he said, sure I remembered it was immediately upon my application. I said, I heard the Duke himself took no merit on that account. He answered, No, he was sure he did not, he was the honestest gentleman alive: But, said he, it is the Queen that did it, and she alone shall have the merit; and I must be so free as to tell your Grace that the grudging, ungrateful manner of some people, which, upon several occasions, I could not but give him hints of for my justification, hath not been prudent. I am sure it hath hindered me from any thoughts of pursuing another affair of yet greater consequence, which I had good hopes of compassing. What can be the matter with these people? Do I ask either money or thanks of them? Have I done any hurt to the business? My Lord Treasurer told me, he had sent the letter over about the first-fruits. I never inquired into the particulars: He says, he will very soon answer the Bishops letter to himself, and will shew me both letter and answer; but I shall not put him in mind, unless he remembers it of his own accord. Nor, with great submission to your Grace, can I prevail on my own pride to desire he would make any mention of me in his answer. Your Grace is convinced, that unless I write a heap of lies, the Queen had granted that affair before my Lord Duke was named. I desire to convince no body else; and, since the thing is done, it is not of any consequence who were instrumental in it. I could not forbear yesterday reminding my Lord Treasurer of what I said to Mr. Southwell before his Lordship, when he came to take his leave before he went to Ireland; which was, that I hoped Mr. Southwell would let the Bishops and clergy of Ireland know that my Lord Treasurer had
long

long since (before the Duke was governor) prevailed on the Queen to remit the first-fruits, &c. and that it was his Lordships work, as the grant of the same favour in England had formerly been. My Lord Treasurer did then acknowledge it before Mr. Southwell, and I think Mr. Southwell should have acted accordingly; but there is a great deal of ignorance, as well as ill-will, in all this matter. The Duke of Ormond himself, had he engaged in it, could only act as a solicitor. Every body knows, that the Lord Treasurer in such cases must be applied to (and only he) by the greatest persons. I should think the people of Ireland might rather be pleased to see one of their own country able to find some credit at court, and in a capacity to serve them, especially one that doth it without any other prospect than that of serving them. I know not any of the Bishops from whom I can expect any favour, and there are not many upon whom a man of any figure could have such designs; but I will be revenged; for whenever it lieth in my power. I will serve the church and kingdom, although they should use me much worse. I shall dine to-morrow with Lord Treasurer, and perhaps I may then see the answer he is to write. I thought to have sent this letter away to-night; but I have been interrupted by business. I go to Windsor again on Saturday for a day or two, but I will leave this behind to be sent to the post.

August 21. I had wrote thus far, and was forced to leave off, being hurried away to Windsor by my Lord Treasurer, from whence I returned but last night. His Lordship gave me a paper, which he said he had promised me; I put it in my pocket, thinking it was about something else we had been talking over; and I never looked into it until just now, when I find it to be my Lord Primate's letter to his Lordship, with an inclosed one
from

from the Bishops. With submission, I take it to be dry enough, although I shall not tell his Lordship so: They say, they *are informed his Lordship had a great part in*, &c. I think they should either have told who it was informed them so, since it was a person commissioned by themselves; or at least said they were *assured*. And, as for those words, *a great part*, I know no body else had any except the Queen herself. I cannot tell whether my Lord hath writ an answer, having said nothing to him of it since he gave me the letters, nor shall I desire to see it.

As to the convocation, I remember both my Lord Treasurer and Mr St. John spoke to me about the matter, and were of the same opinion with your Grace, that it was wholly in the Queen's choice; I excused giving my opinion, being wholly uninformed; and I have heard nothing of it since.

My Lord Keeper gave me yesterday a bundle of Irish votes at Windsor, and we talked a good deal about the quarrel between the Lords and Commons: I said the fault lay in not dissolving the parliament; which I had mentioned to the Duke of Ormond, and often to some of those who were thought to have most credit with him. But they seemed to believe as I did, that any Irish parliament would yield to any thing that any chief governour pleased; and so it would be a needless trouble.

We reckon for certain, that Mr. Hill with his fleet is gone to Quebec.

Mrs. Masham † is every minute expecting to lie

* This lady's husband, Charles Masham, Esq; was created Baron Masham of Oates, in the county of Essex, Dec. 31. 1711.

lie in. Pray God preserve her life, which is of great importance. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful,
And most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

The Queen hath got a light fit of the gout. The privy seal is not yet disposed of.

L E T T E R XI.

Windfor-castle, Oct. 1. 1711.

My LORD,

I HAD the honour of a long letter from your Grace just a month ago, which I forbore acknowledging sooner, because I have been ever since perpetually tossed between this and London, and, partly, because there had nothing happened that might make a letter worthy the perusal. It is the opinion of some great persons here, that the words which the house of commons took amiss in your address, might very well bear an application that concerned only my Lord Wharton. I find they are against my opinion, that a new parliament should have been called; but all agree it must now be dissolved: But in short we are so extremely busy here, that nothing of Ireland is talked on above a day or two; that of the city & election I have ofteneft heard of; and the proceeding of your court in it, it is thought, might have been wiser. I find your Grace seemeth to be of my opinion, and so I told

* Dublin.

my

my Lord Treasurer, I think your Cilmainham † project of an address was a very foolish one, and that for the reason of those who were against it. I hope Ireland will soon be equally convinced with us here, that if the Pretender be in any body's thoughts, it is of those they least dream, and who now are in no condition of doing mischief to any but themselves. As for your convocation, I believe every thing there will terminate in good wishes. You can do nothing now, and will not meet again these two years, and then I suppose only to give money, and away. There should methinks, in the interval, be some proposals considered and agreed upon by the bishops and principal men of the clergy, to have all ready against the next morning; and even that I despair of, for a thousand reasons too tedious to mention.

My admiring at the odd proceedings of those among the bishops and clergy who are angry with me forgetting their first-fruits was but a form of speech, I cannot sincerely wonder at any proceedings in numbers of men, and especially (I must venture to say so) in Ireland. Mean time it is a good jest to hear my Lord Treasurer, saying often, before a deal of company, that it was I that got the clergy of Ireland their first-fruits; and, generally with this addition, that it was before the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord-lieutenant. His Lordship hath long designed an answer to the letter he received from the Bishops; he hath told me ten times he would do it to-morrow. He goeth to London this day, but I continue here for a week. I shall refresh his memory, and engage my Lord Harley his son to do so too.

I suppose

† The high-sheriff and the grand Jury of the county of Dublin meet here, and prepare addresses; examine affidavits, and find bills of indictment. Civil and criminal causes are also tried here.

I suppose your Grace cannot but hear in general of some steps that are making towards a peace. There came out some time ago an account of Mr. Prior's journey to France, pretended to be a translation, and is a pure invention from beginning to the end. I will let your Grace into the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace without Spain, and railing at the ministry, as if they designed to ruin us, occasioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it hath had a very great effect. Mean time your Grace may count that a peace is going forward very fast.—Mr. Prior was actually in France, and there are now two ministers from that court in London, which you may be pretty sure of, if you believe what I tell you, that I supped with them myself in the house where I am now writing, Saturday last: neither do I find it to be a very great secret; for there were two gentlemen more with us besides the invitor. However, I desire your Grace to say nothing of it, because it may look like lightness in me to tell it; Mr. Prior was with us too, but what their names are I cannot tell; for I believe those they passed by when I was there are not the real ones. All matters are agreed between France and us, and very much to the advantage and honour of England; but I believe no further steps will be taken without giving notice to the allies. I do not tell your Grace one syllable, as coming from any great minister, and therefore I do not betray them. But there are other ways of picking out things in a court: however, I must desire you will not discover any of these little particulars, nor cite me upon any account at all; for great men may think I tell things from them, although I have them from other hands; in which last case only I venture to repeat them to one I can confide in, and one at so great a distance as your Grace.

I humbly thank your Grace for the good opinion you are pleased to have of me, and for your advice which seemeth to be wholly grounded on it. As to the first, which relateth to my fortune, I shall never be able to make myself believed how indifferent I am about it. I sometimes have the pleasure of making that of others; and I fear it is too great a pleasure to be a virtue, at least in me. Perhaps in Ireland, I may not be able to prevent contempt any other way than by making my fortune; but then it is my comfort, that contempt in Ireland will be no sort of mortification to me. When I was last in Ireland, I was above half the time retired to one scurvy acre of ground, and always left it with regret. I am as well received and known at court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level; I have formerly been the like. I left it then, and will perhaps leave it now (when they please to let me) without any concern, but what a few months will remove. It is my maxim to leave great ministers to do as they please; and if I cannot distinguish myself by being useful in such a way, as becometh a man of conscience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will solicit for myself, although I often do for others.

The other part of your Grace's advice to be some way useful to the church and to the public by any talent you are pleased to think I possess, is the only thing for which I would desire some settlement that would make me full master of my time. I have often thought of some subjects, wherein I believed I might succeed: but, my Lord, to ask a man floating at sea, what he designed to do when he gets on shore, is too hasty a question: let him get there first, and rest and dry himself, and then look about him. I have been pretty well known to several great men in my life; and it was their duty, if they thought I might have been of use, to put me into a capacity for it; but I never
yet

yet knew one great man in my life, who was not every day swayed by other motives in distributing his favours, whatever resolutions he had pretended to make to the contrary. I was saying a thing the other day to my Lord Keeper, which he approved of, and which I believe may be the reason of this: it was, that persons of transcendent merit forced their way in spite of all obstacles: but those whose merit was of a second, third, or fourth rate, were seldom able to do any thing; because the knaves and dunces of the world, had all the impudence, assiduity, flattery, and servile compliance divided among them, which kept them perpetually in the way, and engaged every body to be their solicitors, I was asking a great minister a month ago how he could possibly happen to pick out a certain person to employ in a commission of discovering abuses, who was the most notorious for the constant practice of the greatest abuses in that very kind, and was very well known not to be at all reformed? He said he knew all this; but what would I have him to do? I answered, send any one of your footmen, and command him to chuse out the first likely, genteel fellow he sees in the streets; for such a one might possibly be honest, but he was sure the other was not; and yet they have employed him.

I promise your Grace that this shall be the last fallly I will ever make to court, and that I will return as soon as I can have leave. I have no great pleasure in my present manner of living, often involved in things that perplex me very much, and which try my patience to the utmost teased every day by solicitors, who have so little sense as to think I have either credit or inclination to be their's, although they see I am able to get nothing for myself. But I find I am grown very tedious, and therefore conclude with the greatest respect,

My Lord, your Grace's

Most dutiful, and most humble servant,

O o 2

LET-

L E T T E R XII.

London, Nov. 8, 1711.

My LORD,

I Cannot in conscience take up your Grace's time with an empty letter; and it is not every day one can furnish what will be worth your reading. I had all your Grace's packets, and I humbly thank your Grace for your good instructions to me, which I shall observe as soon as ever it shall please God to put me into a way of life, where I can have leisure for such speculations.

In above twenty years that I have known something of courts and ministers, I never saw so strange and odd a complicated disposition of affairs as what we have had for six weeks past. The facts your Grace may have met with in every common newspaper; but the springs of them are hardly discoverable even by those who had most opportunity of observing. Neither do I find those who should know best agree upon the matter. There is a perpetual trial of skill between those who are out and those who are in; and the former are generally more industrious at watching opportunities. Last September at Windsor the Duke of Somerset*, who had not been at cabinet-council for many months, was advised by the late ministry to appear there, but the rest refused to sit with him; and the council was put off until next day, when the Duke went to a horse-race. This was declaring open war, and ever since both he and his Dutchess (who is in great favour) have been using all sorts of means to break the present ministry. Mrs. Masham

* See the history of the last session of parliament, and of the peace of Utrecht.

was absent two months from Windsor, with lying in at Kensington, and my Lord Treasurer six weeks by indisposition. Some time before the session, the Duke abovementioned went to all those Lords who, by the narrowness of their fortunes, have depended on the court, and engaged them to vote against the ministry, by assuring them it was the Queen's pleasure. He is said to have added other powerful motives. Bothmar's* memorial was published just at that juncture, as Hoffman the Emperor's resident had some time before printed the French king's propositions. It is confidently affirmed by those who should know, that money was plentifully scattered. By these and some other accidents the vote was carried against the ministry; and every body of either party understood the thing as intended directly against my Lord Treasurer's head. The House of Lords made a very short adjournment, and were preparing some resolutions and addresses of the most dangerous importance. We had a very melancholy Christmas, and the most fearless persons were shaken: for our great danger lay where I cannot tell your Grace at this distance. The thing wished for was the removal of the Somerset family; but that could not be done, nor yet is. After some time the Queen declared herself as you have heard, and twelve new lords were created. My Lord Nottingham's game in this affair hath been most talked of, and several hard things said of him are affirmed to be true. The dissenting ministers in this town were consulted about the occasional bill, and agreed to it, for what reasons I cannot learn; that which is offered not satisfying me, that they were afraid of worse. I believe they expected an entire change of ministry and measures, and a new parliament, by which

* Baron BOTHMAR envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King GEORGE I.

it might be repealed, and have instead some law to their advantage. The Duke of Marlborough's removal hath passed very silently; the particular reasons for it I must tell your Grace some other time; but how it will pass abroad I cannot answer. People on both sides conclude from it, that the peace is certain, but the conclusion is ill-drawn: the thing would have been done, although we had been sure of continuing the war. We are terribly afraid of Prince Eugene's coming, and therefore it was put off until the resolutions were taken. Before he came out of his yacht, he asked how many lords were made? he was a quarter of an hour with the Queen, on Sunday about seven at night. The great men resolve to entertain him in their turns; and we suppose it will end in a journey of pleasure. We are so confidently told of the Duke of Somerset's being out, that I writ to the Dean of St. Patrick's. A man of quality told me, he had it from my Lord Keeper, whom I asked next day, and found it a mistake; but it is impossible to fence against all lies: however, it is still expected that the Duke will be out, and that many other removes will be made. Lord Ranelagh died on Sunday morning; he was very poor and needy; and could hardly support himself for want of a pension, which used to be paid him, and which his friends solicited as a thing of perfect charity. He *died hard*, as their term of art is here, to express the woeful state of men, who discover no religion at their death.

The town-talk is, that the Duke of Ormond will go no more to Ireland, but be succeeded by the Duke of Shrewsbury, who is a very great and excellent person; and I will hold a wager that your Grace will be an admirer of his Dutchess: if they go, I will certainly order her to make all advances to you; but this is only general report of which they
know

know nothing at court, although I think it not altogether improbable.

We have yet heard nothing of my Lord Privy Seal. Buys the Dutch envoy went to Holland I think at the same time. Buys is a great pretender to politics, and always leaves the company with great expressions of satisfaction that he hath convinced them all: he took much pains to persuade me out of some opinions; and although all he said did but fix me the deeper, he told the ministry how successful he had been. I have got poor Dr. King *, who was some time in Ireland, to be Gazetteer, which will be worth 250 l. per annum to him, if he be diligent and sober, for which I am engaged. I mention this because I think he was under your Grace's protection when he was in Ireland.

By what I gather from Mr. Southwell, I believe your Grace standeth very well with the Duke of Ormond; and it is one great addition to my esteem for Mr. Southwell, that he is entirely your Grace's friend and humble servant, delighting to do you justice upon all occasions.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Your Grace's most dutiful,
And most humble servant,

L E T T E R XIII.

—, 1712.

My LORD,
PERHAPS you will be content to know some circumstances of affairs here. The Duke of

* Author of MULLY of MOUNTOWN, (a most delightful village to the south of Dublin, near the sea), and several other good poems. He also translated HORACE's Art of Poetry into English verse.

Somerfet

Somerſet uſually leaveth Windſor on Saturday, when the miniſters go down thither, and returns not until they are gone. On Sunday ſevennight, contrary to cuſtom, he was at Windſor, and a cabinet-council was to be held at night; but after waiting a long time, word was brought out, that there would be no cabinet. Next day it was held, and then the Duke went to a horſe race about three miles off. This began to be whiſpered; and at my return to town they had got in the city; but not the reaſon; which was, that Mr. Secretary St. John refuſed to ſit if the Duke was there. Laſt Sunday the Duke was there again; but did not offer to come to the cabinet, which was held without him. I hear the Duke was adviſed by his friends of the other party to make this ſtep. The ſecretary ſaid to ſome of his acquaintance, that he would not ſit with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, &c. You know the Dutcheſs of Somerſet is a great favourite, and hath got the Dutcheſs of Marlborough's key, She is inſinuating, and a woman of intrigue, and will, I believe, do what ill offices ſhe can to the ſecretary. They would have hindered her coming in: but the Queen ſaid, If it were ſo, that ſhe could not have what ſervants ſhe liked, ſhe could not find how her condition was mended. I take the ſafety of the preſent miniſtry to conſiſt in the agreement of three great men, Lord Keeper, Lord Treafurer, and Mr. Secretary, and ſo I have often told them together with jeſt and earneſt, and two of them ſeparately with more ſeriousneſs. And I think they entirely love one another; their differences are not of weight to break their union. They vary a little about their notions of a certain general. I will not ſay more at this diſtance. I do not ſee well how they can be without the ſecretary, who hath very great abilities both for the cabinet and the parliament. The Tories in the city are a little diſcontented,

tented, that no further changes are made in employments, of which I cannot learn the secret, altho' I have heard several, and from such who might tell the true one if they would. One is, that Lord Treasurer professeth he is at a loss to find persons qualified for several places : another, (which is less believed) that the Queen interposeth : a third, that it is a trimming disposition. I am apt to think that he finds the call for employments greater than he can answer, if there were five times as many to dispose of; and I know particularly, that he disliketh very much the notion of people, that every one is to be turned out. The treasurer is much the greatest minister I ever knew : regular in life, with a true sense of religion, an excellent scholar, and a good divine. of a very mild and affable disposition, intrepid in his notions, and indefatigable in business, an utter despiser of money for himself, yet frugal (perhaps to an extremity) for the public. In private company he is wholly disengaged, and very facetious, like one who had no business at all. He never wants a reserve upon any emergency, which would appear desperate to others, and maketh little use of those thousand projectors and schematists, who are daily plying him with their visions, but to be thoroughly convinced by the comparison, that his own notions are the best.

I am, my Lord,
 With the greatest respect,
 Your Grace's
 Most obedient, &c.

L E T T E R XIV.

London, March 29, 1712.

My LORD,

I Cannot ask pardon for not sooner acknowledging your Grace's letter, because that would look

as if I thought mine were of consequence. Either I grow weary of politics, or am out of the way of them, or there is less stirring than usual; and, indeed, we are all in suspense at present; but I am told that in ten or twelve days time we shall know what the issue will be at Utrecht. I can only tell your Grace, that there are some unlucky circumstances not proper to be trusted to a letter, which have hitherto retarded this great work: *Mihi ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur.* Mean time we are with great difficulty raising funds upon which to borrow five millions. One of those funds is a tax upon paper, and I think 30 per cent. upon imported books, and of such a nature as I could not yesterday forbear saying to my Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that, instead of preventing small papers and libels, it will leave nothing else for the press. I have not talked to the Duke of Argyle upon the affairs of Spain, since his return; but am told he affirms it impossible for us to carry on the war there by our former methods. The Duke of Ormond is expected to go in two or three days for Flanders. And what I writ to your Grace some months ago of the Duke of Shrewsbury succeeding to govern Ireland, will, I suppose, be soon declared. I was the other day to see the Dutchess, and reported your Grace's compliments, which she took very well; and I told her I was resolved your Grace and she should be very good acquaintance. I believe the spirit of your *Houghers* is got into our *Mohawks*, who are still very troublesome, and every night cut some body or other over the face; and commit a hundred insolent barbarities.

There was never the least design of any impeachment against the Duke of Marlborough and it was his own great weakness, or the folly of his friends, that the thing went so far as it did.

I know

I know not whether it is, that people have talked themselves hoarse: but for some weeks past, we have heard less of the Pretender than formerly. I suppose it is like a fashion got into Ireland when it is out here: but in my conscience, I do not think any one person in the court or ministry here, designs any more to bring in the Pretender than the Great Turk. I hope Mr. Harley, who is now on his journey to Hanover, will give that court a truer opinion of persons and things, than they have hitherto conceived. And if your Grace knew the instrument through which these false opinions have been infused, you would allow it another instance of the *Ludibrium rerum mortalium*. And your Grace cannot but agree, that it is something singular for the Prince in possession to make perpetual advances, and the presumptive heir standing off and suspicious.

I know not whether your Grace hath considered the position that my Lord Treasurer is visible in. The late ministry and their adherents confess themselves fully resolved to have his head, whenever it is in their power; and were prepared upon the beginning of the sessions, when the vote was carried against any peace without Spain, to move that he should be sent to the tower: At the same time, his friends, and the Tories in general, are discontented at his slowness in the changing of commissions and employments, to which the weakness of the court-interest, in the house of Lords, is wholly imputed; neither do I find, that those in the greatest stations, or most in the confidence of my Lord Treasurer, are able to account for this proceeding, or seem satisfied with it. I have endeavoured to solve this difficulty another way; and I fancy I am in the right, from words I have heard let fall: But whatever be the cause, the consequences may be dangerous.

The Queen is in very good health, but doth not use as much exercise as she ought. Pray God preserve her many years!

A projector hath lately applied to me to recommend him to the ministry about an invention for finding out the longitude. He hath given in a petition to the Queen by Mr. Sec. St. John. I understand nothing of the mathematics, but am told it is a thing as improbable as the philosopher's stone, or perpetual motion.

I lately writ a letter of about thirty pages to Lord Treasurer, by way of proposal for an academy, to correct, enlarge, and ascertain the English language. And he and I have named above twenty persons of both parties to be members. I will shortly print the letter: And I hope something will come of it. Your Grace sees I am a projector too.

I am, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

And most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R X V .

London, May 20, 1712.

My LORD,

WHEN I had the honour of your Grace's letter of March 27, I was lying ill of a cruel disorder which still pursueth me, although not with so much violence; and I hope your Grace will pardon me, if you find my letter to be that of one who writeth in pain. You see my Lord, how things are altered. The talk of a new Governor
for

for Ireland is dropped. The secret is, that the Duke of Ormond had the promise of a pension in case he lost his government; but my Lord Treasurer is so excessively thrifty, that, to save charges, he lets the Duke keep it; and besides, there are some other circumstances not proper for a letter, which have great weight in this matter. I count upon it, that whatever governor goeth over under this ministry, a new parliament will be called. Yet I was told that the Duke of Shrewsbury was pitched on as a sort of medium between, &c. He is a person of admirable qualities; and if he were somewhat more active, and less timorous in business, no man would be thought comparable to him.

The moderate of the other party seem now content to have a peace, and all our talk and expectations are full of it; but I protest to your Grace I know not what to write upon this subject, neither could I tell what to say, if I had the honor to be with you. Upon Lord Strafford's * coming over the stocks are fallen, although I expected, and I thought with reason, that they would rise. There is a trade between some here, and some in Holland of secrets and lies, and there are some among us whose posts let them into an imperfect knowledge of things, which they cannot conceal. This mixture maketh up the town-talk, governs the price of stocks, and hath often a great deal of truth in it: Besides, public affairs have often so many sudden turns and incidents, that even those behind the curtain can hardly pronounce for a week. I am sensible that I have often deceived your Grace with my wise *inuendos*. Yet I verily think that my intelligence was right at the moment I sent it. If I had writ to your Grace six days ago, I would have ventured to have given you hopes that a peace

* His Lordship was one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht.

would

would soon appear, and upon conditions wholly surprizing and unexpected. I say this to you wholly in confidence, and I know nothing yet to change my opinion, except the desponding talk of the town, for I see nothing yet in the contrivances of the ministers. It seems generally agreed that the present Dauphin cannot live, and upon that depend many measures to be taken. This afternoon, the bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants, &c. was thrown out of the house of Lords, the voices being equal, which is a great disappointment to the court, and matter of triumph to the other party. But it may possibly be of the worst consequence to the grants next session, when it is probable the ministry will be better settled, and able to procure a majority.

I am, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful, and

Most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XVI.

Kensington, Sept. 30, 1712.

My LORD,

I Have two or three times begun letters to your Grace, and have torn what I writ, hoping I might send you something decisive about the peace. But all still continues to lie very loose, and I continue to be very desponding, although the people in affairs laugh at me for it. I have one plain maxim in dealing with those who have more cunning

ning and less honesty than myself, which is what we call keeping the staff in my own hand, and contriving that they shall trust me rather than I them. A man may reason until he is weary upon this proceeding of the Dutch. The soldiers tell me that the Duke of Ormond could not possibly take possession of Dunkirk, since the foreign troops have refused to march, and that the states will not suffer us to go through their towns. But I had a whisper from one who should know best, that Dunkirk might now have been ours if right methods had been taken. And another great man said to be a friend of mine above a fortnight ago, that the least wrong step on that side the water might have very ill consequences at this juncture. Mean time, the discontented party seemeth full of hopes, and many of the court-side beside myself desponding enough. The necessity of laying the proposals before the parliament drew us into all this; for now we are in a manner pinned down, and cannot go back an inch with any good grace: So that if the French play us foul, I dread the effects, which are too visible to doubt. And on the other side, if the peace goeth smoothly on, I cannot but think that some severe inquiries will be made; and I believe upon very manifest grounds. If there be any secret in this matter of Dunkirk, it must be in very few hands, and those who most converse with men at the helm, are, I am confident, very much in the dark. Some people go so far as to think that the Dutch will hinder even the English forces under the Duke of Ormond from going by the French country to Dunkirk: but I cannot be of that opinion. We suppose a few days will decide this matter, and I believe your Grace will agree, that there was never a more nice conjuncture of affairs; however, the court appears to be very resolute: Several changes have been made, and more are daily expected. The Dutch are grown

so unpopular, that I believe the Queen might have addresses to stand by her against them with lives and fortunes.

I had your Grace's letter of May 29, written in the time of your visiting, from whence I hope you are returned with health and satisfaction.

The difficulties in the peace by the accidents in the Bourbon family are, as your Grace observeth, very great, and what indeed our ministers chiefly apprehended. But we think Phillip's renouncing to be an effectual expedient, not out of any regard he would have for it, but because it will be the interest of every prince of the blood in France to keep him out, and because the Spaniards will never assist him to unite the two kingdoms.

I am in hopes yet that your Grace may pay your treat, for it is yet four weeks to November, at least I believe we shall be happy or ruined before that time.

It is certain that there is something in what people say But the court is so luckily constituted at present, that every man thinks the chief trust cannot be any where else so well placed, neither do I know above one man that would take it, and it is a great deal too soon for him to have such thoughts.

I humbly thank your Grace for your concern about my health: I have still the remainder of some pains which hath partly occasioned my removing hither about three weeks ago; I was recommended to country-air, and chose this, because I could pass my time more agreeably near my friends at court. We think the Queen will go to Windsor in three weeks; and I believe I shall be there most of the time I stay in England, which I intend until towards the end of summer.

My Lord Treasurer hath often promised he will advance my design of an academy, so have my Lord Keeper, and all the ministers; but they are now

too busy to think of any thing beside what they have on the anvil. My Lord Treasurer and I have already pitched upon twenty members of both parties ; but perhaps it may all come to nothing.

If things continue as they are another session, perhaps your Grace may see the bill of resuming the grants * carried on with a great deal more rigour than it lately was. It was only desired that the grantees should pay six years purchase, and settle the remainder on them by act of parliament. and those grants are now worse than other lands by more years purchase than six ; so that in effect they would have lost nothing.

I am, with great respect,

Your Grace's most dutiful, and

Most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XVII.

London, October 21, 1712.

My LORD,

SINCE I had the honour of your Grace's letter of July 29. which found me at Windsor, I have been extremely out of order with a giddiness in my head, which pursued me until very lately, that by an uneasy course of physic I hope I have in some sort overcome it.

We are now in very near expectation of a peace ; and your Grace, I hope, will believe it as good a one as the circumstances of things would allow. I confess I agree with your Grace, that the great difficulty was about the danger of France and

* This bill passed in the negative.

Spain being united under one king. To my knowledge all possible means have been taken to secure that matter; and yet, after all, the weakest side will be there. Renunciations by France have very justly so little credit, that I do not wonder so little weight is laid on them. But Spain, we are sure, will, for their own sakes, enter into all securities to prevent that union, and all the allies must be guarantees. If you still object that some danger still remains, what is to be done? Your Grace is altogether misinformed, if you think that this is at all the difficulty which so long made the Dutch untractable. It was nothing less; neither have they once mentioned, during all the conversations at Utrecht, one syllable of getting Spain out of the Bourbon family, or into that of Austria, as the chief men have assured me not three days ago. Buys offered last winter to ease us immediately of the trouble we were in by Lord Nottingham's vote, if we would consent to let them share with us in the advantages we had stipulated with France: Which advantages however, did by no means clash with Holland, and were only conditional if peace should ensue. But my Lord, we know further, that the Dutch made offers to treat with France, before we received any from thence; and were refused, upon the ill usage they gave Mr. Torcy at the Hague, and the Abbe de Polignac afterwards at Gertruydenberg: And we know that Torcy would have been forced to apply to them again, if, after several refusals, we had not hearkened to their overtures. What I tell your Grace is infallibly true; and care shall be taken very soon to satisfy the world in this, and many other particulars at large, which ought to be known. For the kingdom is very much in the dark after all the pains hitherto taken to inform it. Your Grace's conjectures are very right, that a general peace would not be for our interest, if we had made ours
with

with France, And I remember a certain great man used to say two months ago, *Fight on, fight on, my merry men all.* I believe likewise that such a peace would have happened, if the Dutch had not lately been more compliant; upon which our ministers told those of France, that since the states were disposed to submit to the Queen, her Majesty must enter into their interests: And I believe they have as good conditions as we ever intended they should. Tournay I hope, will be yielded to them: And Lille we never designed they should have. The Emperor will be used as he deserveth; and having paid nothing for the war, shall get nothing by the peace. We are most concerned (next to our regard to Holland) for Savoy*, and France for Bavaria. I believe we shall make them both kings by the help of Sardinia and Sicily. But I know not how plans may alter every day. The Queen's whole design, as your Grace conjectureth, is to act the part of a mediator; and our advantages, too many to insert here, must be owned very great.

As for an academy to correct and settle our language; Lord Treasurer talked of it often very warmly; but, I doubt, is yet too busy until the peace be over. He goes down to Windsor on Friday to be chosen of the garter, with five more Lords †.

I know nothing of promises of any thing intended for myself; but I thank God I am not very warm in my expectations, and know courts too

* Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was made King of Sicily by this treaty.

† Henry Duke of Beaufort, captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners; James Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Master General of the ordinance; Henry Duke of Kent; John Earl of Poulet, Lord Steward of the household; Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain; and Thomas Earl of Stratford, one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, October 26, 1712.

well to be surpris'd at difappointments, which, however, I fhall have no great reason to fear, if I gave my thoughts any trouble that way, which, without affectation, I do not; although I cannot expect to be believed when I fay fo.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R X V I I I .

London, Jan. 3, 1713.

MY LORD,

SINCE I had the honour of your Grace's letter, we have had a dead time of news and politics, and I make a confcience of writing to you without fomething that will recompence the trouble of reading. I cannot but grant that your Grace, who is at a diftance, and argues from your own wifdom, and general obfervations and reading, is likely to be more impartial than I, who, in fpite of my refolutions and opinion to the contrary, am forced to converse only with one fide of the world, which fafteneth prejudice to me, notwithstanding all I can do to avoid them. Your Grace hath certainly hit upon the weak fide of our peace; but I do not find you have prefcribed any remedies. For that of limiting France to a certain number of fhips and troops, was, I doubt, not to be compafsd. While that mighty kingdom remaineth under one monarch, it will be always in fome degree formidable to its neighbours. But we flatter ourfelves it is likely to be lefs fo than ever, by the concurrence of many circumftances too long to trouble you with. But, my Lord, what is to be done? I will go fo far with your Grace as to tell you, that fome of our friends are of opinion with the other party, that if this laft campaign had gone on with
the

the conjunction of the British troops, France might have been in danger of being driven to great extreme. Yet, I confess to you at the same time, that if I had been first minister, I should have advised the Queen to pursue her measures towards a peace.

Some accidents and occasions have put it in my way to know every step of this treaty better, I think, than any man in England. And I do assert to your Grace, that if France had been closely pushed this campaign, they would, upon our refusal, have made offers to Holland, which the republic would certainly have accepted; and in that case the interest of England would have been wholly laid aside, as we saw it three years ago at the Hague and Gertruydenberg. The Marshal d'Uxelles and Mesnager *, two of the French plenipotentiaries, were wholly inclined to have begun by the Dutch; but the third, Abbe de Polignac, who hath most credit with Monsieur Torcy, was for beginning by England.

There was a great faction in France by this proceeding, and it was a mere personal resentment in the French king and Monsieur Torcy against the States, which hindered them from sending the first overture there. And I believe your Grace will be convinced, by considering that the demands of Holland might be much more easily satisfied than those of Britain. The States were very indifferent about the article of Spain being in the Bourbon family, as Monsieur Buys publicly owned when he was here, and among others to myself. They valued not the demolition of Dunkirk, the frontier of Portugal, nor the security of Savoy. They abhorred the thoughts of our having Gibraltar and

* This gentleman wrote minutes of his negotiations at the court of England, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, containing many curious particulars.

Minorca, nor cared what became of our dominions in North America. All they had at heart was the sovereignty of Flanders, under the name of a barrier, and to stipulate what they could for the emperor, to make him easy under their encroachments. I can further assure your Grace, before any proposals were sent here from France, and ever since, until within these few months, the Dutch have been endeavouring constantly, by private intrigues with that court, to undermine us, and put themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, which is a truth that perhaps the world may soon be informed in, with several others that are little known. Besides, my Lord, I doubt whether you have sufficiently reflected on the condition of this kingdom, and the possibility of pursuing the war at that ruinous rate. This argument is not the weaker for being often urged. Besides, France is likely to have a long minority; or, if not, perhaps to be engaged in a civil war. And I do not find that, in public affairs, human wisdom is able to make provisions for futurity, which are not liable to a thousand accidents. We have done all we can; and, for the rest, *curent posteris*.

Sir William Temple's memoirs which you mentioned, is his first part, and was published twenty years ago; it is chiefly of the treaty of Nimeguen, and was so well known, that I could hardly think your Grace hath not seen it.

I am in some doubt whether a fall from a horse be suitable to the dignity of an Archbishop. It is one of the chief advantages in a great station, that one is exempt from common accidents of that kind. The late King * indeed got a fall, but his Majesty was a fox-hunter. I question whether you can plead any precedent to excuse you; and therefore I hope you will commit no more such errors:

* King William III. who died by a fall from his horse.

And in the mean time, I heartily congratulate with your Grace, that I can rally you upon this accident.

I am in some fear that our peace will hardly be concluded in several weeks, by reason of a certain incident that could not be foreseen; neither can I tell whether the parliament will sit before the conclusion of the peace; because some persons differ in their politics about the matter. If others were no wiser than I, your session should not be deferred upon that account.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful,

And humble servant,

L E T T E R XIX.

London, March 28, 1713.

My LORD,

Although your humour of delaying, which is a good deal in fashion, might serve me for authority and example in not sooner acknowledging your Grace's letter, I shall not make that use of it, but naturally tell you that the public delay hath been the cause of mine. We have lived almost these two months past, by the week, expecting that part would meet, and the Queen tell them that the peace was signed. But unforeseen difficulties have arisen, partly by some mistakes in our plenipotentiaries, as well as those of France, too long to trouble your Grace with, since we never reckon all will be at an end; and the Queen hath sent new powers to Utrecht, which her ministers there

there must obey, I think, or be left without excuse. The peace will be signed with France, Holland, the Emperor, Savoy, Portugal, and England; but Spain hath yet no minister at Utrecht, the Dutch making difficulties about the Duke d'Osfun's passports; but the Marquis de Montelion will soon begin his journey, at least he tells me so. However, it is of no great moment whether Spain cometh in now, or a month hence, and the parliament will be satisfied with the rest. People here have grumbled at those prorogations until they are weary; but they are not very convenient, considering how many funds are out, and how late it is in the year. They think of taking off two shillings in the pound from the land-tax; which I always argued earnestly against: But the court hath a mind to humour the country-gentlemen, and the thing is popular enough; but then we must borrow upon new funds, which it will be of the last difficulty to invent or to raise. The other party are employed in spreading a report most industriously, that the Lord Treasurer intends, after the peace, to declare for the Whigs. They have spread it in Scotland to prepare people for the next election; and Mr. Annesly told me the other day at my Lord Steward's, that he had heard I writ the same to my friends in Ireland; which, as it is wholly without ground, so the fact is what I never had the least belief of, although his Lordship is somewhat of your Grace's mind, in not refusing to converse with his greatest enemies; and therefore he is censured, as you say you are, upon the same account. And to those who charge him with it, (as some are free enough to do it), he only says his friends ought to trust him; and I have some reason to believe, that after a peace, the direct contrary will appear. For my own part, I entirely agree with your Grace, that a free man ought not to confine his converse to any one party: Neither would I do
so,

so, if I were free ; but I am not, and perhaps much less is a great minister in such a juncture as this. Among many qualities I have observed in the Treasurer, there is one which is something singular, that he will be under an imputation, how wrong soever, without the pains of clearing himself to his nearest friends, which is owing to great integrity, great courage, or great contempt of censure ; I know he hath abundance of the two last, and I believe he has the first.

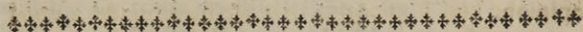
Your Grace's observations on the French dexterity in negotiation, as well as their ill faith, are certainly right ; but let both be as great as possible, we must treat with them one time or other ; and if ministers will not be upon their guard against such notorious managers, they are altogether inexcusable. But I do assure your Grace, that as it hath fallen in my way to know more of the steps of this whole treaty, than perhaps any one man besides ; I cannot see that any thing in the power of human prudence, under many difficult conjunctures, hath been omitted. We have been forced to conceal the best side, which, I agree, hath been unfortunate and unpopular ; but you will please to consider, that this way of every subject interposing their sentiments upon the management of foreign negotiations is a very new thing among us, and the suffering it hath been thought, in the opinion of wise men, too great a strain upon the prerogative ; especially giving a detail of particulars, which, in the variety of events, cannot be ascertained during the course of a treaty.—I could easily answer the objection of your Grace's friends in relation to the Dutch, and why they made those difficulties at the Hague and Gertruydenberg. And when the whole story of these two last intriguing years comes to be published, the world will have other notions of our proceedings. This, perhaps, will not be long untold, and might already have

been, if other people had been no wiser than I. After all, my Lord, I grant that, from a distant view of things, abundance of objections may be raised against many parts of our conduct, But the difficulties which gave room to these objections are not yet seen, and perhaps some of them will never appear, neither may it be convenient they should. If in the end it appears, that we have made a good bargain for you, we hope you will take it without entering too nicely into the circumstances. I will not undertake to defend our proceedings against any man who will not allow this postulatam, that it was impossible to carry on the war any longer; which whoever denies, either hath not examined the state of the nation with respect to its debts, or denies it from the spirit of party. When a friend of mine objected this to Lord Nottingham, he freely confessed it was a thing he had never considered. But, however, he would be against any peace without Spain; and why? because he was not privy seal. But then, why doth he vote with the Whigs in every thing else, although peace hath no concern? because he was not privy seal. I hope, my Lord, we shall in time unriddle you many a dark problem, and let you * see that faction, rage, rebellion, revenge, and ambition were deeply rooted in the hearts of those who have been the great obstructors of the Queen's measures, and of the kingdom's happiness; and, if I am not mistaken, such a scene may open, as will leave the present age and posterity little room to doubt who were the real friends and real enemies of their country. At the same time I know nothing is so rash as predicting upon the events of public councils, and I see many

* See an account of the peace of Utrecht, in the history of the four last years of Q. Anne.

many accidents very possible to happen, which may soon defeat all my wise conjectures.

I am, my Lord,
Your Grace's
Most dutiful and
Most obedient humble servant.



LETTER XX.

London, April 30. 1713.

My LORD,

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter of the 14th, which at present I cannot answer particularly: I send this to welcome your Grace to the Bath, where we conclude you are now arrived; and I hope the design of your journey is more for prevention than cure. I suppose your Grace hath heard that the Queen hath made Dr. Sterne Bishop of Dromore, and that I am to succeed him in his deanry. Dr. Parnell *, who is now in town, writ last post to your Grace, to desire the favour of you, that he may have my small prebend: He thinketh it will be some advantage to come into the chapter, where it may possibly be in my power to serve him in a way agreeable to him, although in no degree equal to his merits; by which he hath distinguished himself so much, that he is in great esteem with the ministry, and others of the most

* A very eminent poet. Two volumes of whose poems are published, the first by Mr. POPE, in the year 1721, dedicated to ROBERT HARLEY, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The other was printed in Dublin in the year 1758, with the following title; "The Posthumous Works of Dr. THOMAS PARNELL, late of Clougher; containing poems moral and divine; and on other various subjects."

Dignum laude virum Mæsa vetat mori.

HOR.

valuable persons in this town. He hath been many years under your Grace's direction, and hath very good title to your favour : So that I believe it will be unnecessary to add how much I should be obliged to your Grace's compliance in this matter : And I flatter myself that his being agreeable to me will be no disadvantage to him in your Grace's opinion.

I am, with the greatest respect,
My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful, and
Most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XXI.

London, May 23. 1713.

My LORD,

I HAD the honour of a letter from your Grace, the 18th instant, from Chester. I was confidently told about three weeks ago, that your Grace was expected every day at the Bath; and you will find a letter there as old as that, with a requisition in favour of Dr. Parnell, who, by his own merit, is in the esteem of the chief ministers here. I am very sensible, that the loss your Grace hath suffered in the removal of Dr. Sterne will never be made up by me, upon a great many accounts; however, I shall not yield to him in respect and veneration for your Grace's character and person; and I return you my most grateful acknowledgments for the offer you make me of your favour and protection. I think to set out for Ireland on Monday seven-night, to be there before the term endeth; for so they advise me, because the long vacation follows, in which I cannot take the oaths, unless

unless at a quarter-sessions, and I had better have two chances than one. This will hinder me from paying my respects to your Grace at the Bath; and indeed my own health would be better, I believe, if I could pass a few weeks there: but my remedy shall be riding, and a sea-voyage. I have been inquiring, and am told your Grace's cause will hardly come on this session; but indeed I have been so much out of order for these ten days past, that I have been able to do nothing.

As to the spire * to be erected on St. Patrick's steeple, I am apt to think it will cost more than is imagined; and I am confident that no bricks made in that part of Ireland, will bear being exposed so much to the air: however, I shall inquire among some architects here.

I hope your Grace will find a return of your health in the place where you are. I humbly beg your blessing, and remain, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful

And most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XXII.

Trim, July 16, 1713.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been about five weeks in this kingdom, but so extremely ill with the return of an old disorder in my head, that I was not able to write

* Dr. STERNE, (predecessor to Dr. SWIFT, as Dean of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin) afterwards Bishop of Dromore, from whence he was translated to the see of Clogher, left a sum of money to erect a spire on the top of that steeple, which was built a few

to your Grace. I have been the greatest part of that time at my country-parish, riding every day for my health. I can tell your Grace nothing from Dublin, having spent the days I was there between business and physic, and paid no visits nor received any but one day; and I reckon it no great loss, for I hear they are all party-mad; and it is one felicity of being among willows, that one is not troubled with faction. I hope you have as little of it at the Bath; for I cannot fancy it doth well with waters. If your Grace goeth to London from the Bath, I believe I may have the honour of waiting on you, although I shall do all in my power to save the trouble of such a journey, which neither my fortune nor my health will very well bear. I hope you feel the good effects of the place you are in, and I pray God continue your life for the good of the church.

The other day Mr. Thaker, prebendary of Sargard and vicar of Rathcool, died; and it would be a great mark of goodness in your Grace, as well as a personal favour to me, if you would please to dispose of his livings in favour of Mr. Thomas Warburton, who hath been many years my assistant in the cure of Laracor, hath behaved himself altogether unblameably, and is a gentleman of very good learning and sense. If I knew any one more deserving I would not recommend him; neither would I do it however, because I know your Grace hath a great many dependents; but that it will be a great use to me to have a vicar in one of my rectories, and upon my deanry in whom I can confide. I am told the livings amount to an hundred and twenty pounds a year at most; and it may probably happen in my way to be able to oblige

years after his Lordship's death. It is an octagon of many feet high, built of white hard mountain stone, with a gilt ball at the top of it, which may be seen at the distance of many miles.

some

To DR. NARCISSUS MARSH. 319

some friend of your's in a greater matter, which I shall very readily do.

I am, with the greatest respect,
My Lord, your Grace's
Most obedient, and
Most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XXIII.

London, October 20, 1713.

My LORD,

THE opportunity I had of a ship was so sudden, that I had not time to receive your Grace's last commands, or pay my respects, which it was my duty and inclination to do; and as for writing, I have always told your Grace, that I could not let about it with a good conscience, until I were provided with matter enough for your trouble of reading. We are outwardly pretty quiet during this interval of parliament; but I will not answer what seeds are sowing to make the next spring produce better fruit. There are several reasons impossible for me to tell at this distance, why I shall not be so good a correspondent as I have formerly been, but may probably serve to entertain you a year or two hence: for the fashion of this world passeth away; and there is nothing of so little consequence as the greatest court-secrets when once the scene is changed. I said to somebody when I was last in Ireland, who talked to me of the advantage and felicity I had in the familiarity of great ministers, that it was well enough while it continued a vanity; but as soon as it ceases to be a vanity, it began to be a vexation of spirit. I have some thoughts of passing this winter at the Bath, because my health requireth it, and because I shall then be at a pretty equal distance from the factions on both sides the water; for it is not impossible your Grace may have a warm winter.

I have

I have had some letters, particularly from Dr. Syngé, and Mr. Archdeacon Walls, about my being prolocutor. I have this post writ my thoughts upon that subject to Mr. Walls, and to save you the trouble, have desired him to communicate them to your Grace. Our elections for the city still continue: I was this afternoon at Guildhall. I find three of the old members, and Withers, who is the lowest, telleth me, he doth not despair of carrying it for himself. There is abundance of artifice, (to give it the softest word) used on both sides.

I came yesterday from Windsor, where I saw the Queen in very good health, which she findeth there more than any where else, and I believe will not remove until December. I believe my Lord Lieutenant * will be landed before this letter cometh to your hands: he is the finest gentleman we have, and of an excellent understanding and capacity for business: if I were with your Grace I would say more, but leave it to your own sagacity.

I will only venture to say one thing relating to Ireland, because I believe it will be of use that your Grace should know it. If your house of commons should run into any violences disagreeable to us here, it will be of the worst consequences imaginable to that kingdom; for I know no maxim more strongly maintained at present in our court, than that her Majesty ought to exert her power to the utmost upon any uneasinesses given on your side to herself or her servants: neither can I answer that even the legislative power here may not take cognizance of any thing that may pass among you in opposition to the persons and principles that are now favoured by the Queen. Perhaps I am gone too far, and therefore shall end, without any ceremony.

Your Grace's, &c.

* CHARLES TALBOT, Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl of Waterford and Wexford.

Direct to me under cover to Erasmus Lewis. Esq;
at Mr. Secretary Bromley's office at Whitehall.

L E T T E R XXIV.

London, Sept. 31, 1713.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace's letter which I received but last post is of an earlier date than what have since arrived. We have received the address for removing the Chancellor *, and the counter addresses from the Lords and convocation; and you will know before this reacheth you, our sentiments of them here. I am at a loss what to say in this whole affair. When I writ to you before, I dropt a word on purpose for you to take notice of, that our court seemed resolved to be very firm in their resolutions about Ireland. I think it impossible for the two kingdoms to proceed long upon a different scheme of politics. The controversy with the city I am not master of; it took its rise before I ever concerned myself in the affairs of Ireland, further than to be an instrument of doing some services to the kingdom, for which I have been ill requited. But, my Lord, the question with us here is, whether there was a necessity that the other party should be a majority? There was put into my hands a list of your house of commons by some who know the kingdom well: I desired they would (as they often do here) set a mark on the names of those who would be for the ministry, who I found amounted to one hundred and forty three, which I think comes within an equality: twenty

* Sir CONSTANTINE Phipps, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

names besides they could not determine upon: so that suppose eight to be of the same side, there would be a majority by one: but besides we reckon, that the first number 143, would easily rise to a great majority, by the influence of the government if that had been thought fit. This is demonstration to us; for the government there hath more influence than the court here; and yet our court carried it for many years against a natural majority, and a much greater one. I shall not examine the reasons among you for proceeding otherwise; but your Grace will find that we are determined upon the conclusion, which is, that Ireland must proceed on the same foot with England. I am of opinion, my Lord, that nothing could do more hurt to the Whig party in both kingdoms, than their manner of proceeding in your house of commons. It will confirm the crown and ministry that there can be no safety, while those people are able to give disturbance; and indeed the effects it hath already produced here are hardly to be believed: neither do we here think it worth our while to be opposed and encourage our enemies only for 70,000 l. a year; to supply which it may not be hard to find other expedients; and when there shall be occasion for a parliament, we are confident, a new one may be called with a majority of men in the interest of the Queen and church; for when the present majority pretends to regard either, we look upon such professions to signify no more than if they were penned by my Lord Wharton, or Mr. Moleworth †. I have suffered very much for my tenderness to some persons of that party, which I still preserve; but I believe it will not be long in my power to serve those who may want it. It would be

* Created Lord Viscount Moleworth by King GEORGE I.

endless to recount to your Grace the reproaches that have been made me on account of your neighbour.

It is but true, my Lord, we do not care to be troubled with the affairs of Ireland: but there being no war, nor meeting of parliament, we have leisure at present: besides, we look on ourselves as touched in the tenderest part. We know this Whig party are preparing to attack us next sessions, and their prevailing in Ireland would, we think, be a great encouragement to them here: besides, our remissness would dishearten our friends, and make them think we acted a trimming game: there are some things which we much wonder at, as they are represented: the address for removing the Chancellor is grounded upon two facts; in the former of which he was only concerned with several others. The criminal was poor and penitent; and a *noli prosequi* was no illegal thing. As to Moore's business, the Chancellor's speech on that occasion hath been transmitted hither, and seemeth to clear him from the imputation of prejudging. Another thing we wonder at is, to find the commons in their votes approve the sending for the guards by whom a man was killed. Such a thing, they say, would look monstrous in England.

Your Grace seemeth to think they would not break on money-matters; but we are taught another opinion, that they will not pass the great bill until they have satisfaction about the Chancellor; and what the consequence of that will be I suppose you may guess from what you know by this time.

My Lord, we can judge no otherwise here, than by the representations made to us. I sincerely look upon your Grace to be master of as much wisdom and sagacity as any person I have known, and from my particular respect to you and your abilities shall never presume to censure your proceedings, until I am fully apprised of the matter. Your Grace is looked upon here as altogether in

the other party, which I do not allow when it is said to me. I conceive you to follow the dictates of your reason and conscience; and whoever does that will, in public management, often differ as well from one side as another.

As to myself I take Ireland to be the worst place to be in while the parliament sits, and probably I may think the same of England in a month or two. I have few obligations (further than personal friendship and civilities) to any party: I have nothing to ask for but a little money to pay my debts, which I doubt they never will give me; and wanting wisdom to judge better. I follow those who, I think, are most for preserving the constitution in church and state, without examining whether they do so from a principle of virtue or of interest.

L E T T E R XXV.

Dublin, Nov. 13, 1716.

MY LORD,

THE reason I never gave your Grace the trouble of a letter was, because it could only be a trouble without either entertainment or use; for I am too much out even of this little world, that I know not the commonest occurrences in it; neither do I now write to your Grace upon any sort of business, for I have nothing to ask but your blessing and favourable thoughts; only I conceived it ought not to be said, that your Grace was several months absent in England, without one letter from the Dean to pay his respects. My schemes are all circumscribed by the cathedral, and the liberties about it, where nothing of moment hath happened since your Grace left it, except the election of Mr Chamberlain to St. Nicholas, which passed quietly while I was absent in the country. I am purchasing a glebe by the help of trustees, for the vicarage of Laracor; and I had vanity enough to desire it might be expressed by a
clause

clause in the deeds as one consideration, that I had been instrumental in procuring the first-fruits; which was accordingly inserted; but hints were given it would not pass. The then Bishops of Ossory and Killaloo had, as I am told, a sum of money for their labour in that affair, who, upon my arrival at London, to negotiate it, were one of them gone to Bath, and the other to Ireland: But it seemeth more reasonable to give Bishops money for doing nothing, than a private clergyman thanks for succeeding where Bishops have failed. I am only sorry I was not a Bishop that I might at least have got money. The Tory clergy here seem ready for conversion, provoked by a parcel of obscure zealots in London, who, as we hear, are setting up a new church of England by themselves. By our intelligence it seemeth to be a complication of as much folly, madness, hypocrisy, and mistake, as ever was offered to the world. If it be understood so on your side, I cannot but think there would be a great opportunity of regarding the body of the clergy to the interest of the court; who, if they were persuaded by a few good words to throw off their fears, could never think of the Pretender without horror, under whom it is obvious that those refiners would have the greatest credit, and consequently every thing be null since the time of the revolution, and more havock made in a few months than the most desponding among the Tories can justly apprehend from the present management in as many years. These at least are, as I am told, the thoughts and reasonings of the high-church people among us: But whether a court, in the midst of strength and security, will conceive it worth their while to cultivate the dispositions of people in the dust, is out of my reach.

The Bishop of Dromore hath never been in
town

town since he went to his diocese, nor doth he say any thing of coming up. He is in good health.

I was told a week or two ago, a confused story of the anatomy lecturer at the college turned out by the Provost *, and another put in his place. I know not the particulars, but am assured he is blamed for it both by the Prince and y^r Grace. I take the Provost to be a very honest gentleman, perfectly good-natured, and the least inclined to speak ill of others of almost any person I have known. He hath very good intentions, but the defect seemeth to be, that his views are short, various, and sudden; and I have reason to think, he hardly ever maketh use of any other counsellor than himself. I talked to him of this matter since it was done, and I think his answers satisfied me; but I am an ill retainer of facts wherein I have no concern; my humble opinion is, that it would be much to his own ease, and of theirs who dislike him, if he were put into another station; and if you will not afford him a bishopric, that you will let him succeed some rich country-dean. I dare be confident that the Provost had no other end in changing that lecturer, than a design of improving anatomy as far as he could; for he would never have made such a step as chusing the Prince † Chancellor, but from a resolution of keeping as fair as he possible could with the present powers, in regard both to his ease and his interest; and in hopes of changing a post, wherein, to say the truth, he hath been used by judges and governors like any dog, and hath suffered more by it in his health and honour than I, with his patrimonial estate, would think it were worth. Here hath been one Whittingham, in an ordination sermon, calling the clergy a thousand dumb dogs, and treating Episcopacy as bad as

* Rev. Dr. Pratt, afterwards Dean of Down.

† George Prince of Wales, afterwards King George II.

To DR. NARCISSUS MARSH. 327

Boyse *; yet no notice at all shall be taken of this, unless to his advantage upon the next vacant bishopric, and wagers are laid already, whether he or one Monk will be the man. But I forgot myself, and therefore shall only add, that I am, with the greatest respect and truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful, and

Most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XXVI.

Trim, Dec. 22, 1716.

MY LORD,

I Have been here some days to finish the purchase of a glebe for my country parish. I have prevailed on a gentleman to alienate twenty acres for 200 l. to be had from the trustees of the first-fruits. He then sets me twenty-three acres more for 999 years. Upon these last twenty acres, I am, by agreement, to lay out the said 200 l. in building, and to give the gentleman immediately 55 l. out of my own pocket, and to pay him 14 l. *per annum* for ever, which is near the value of the whole forty acres; these last twenty acres, after I have built and improved, I design to leave my successors; who will then have forty acres of good glebe, with house, gardens, &c. for 14 l. *per annum*. I reckon to lay out of my own money about 250 l. and so to be an humble imitator of your Grace, *longo intervallo*. This expedient was a project of

* An eminent dissenting teacher, minister of Woodstreet meeting house in Dublin, who wrote several tracts in favour of dissenters.

Dr.

Dr. Raymond, minister of this town, to deal with a Jew who would not lessen his rent roll to save all the churches in Christendom; Dr. Coghill, and every body else, approves the thing, since it is a good bargain to the church, a better to the gentleman, and only a bad one to myself; and I hope your Grace will have the same thoughts.

Since I came down here, I received the honour of a large, and therefore, an agreeable letter from your Grace of November 22. I have reason to think myself hardly dealt with by those of the side in power who will not think I deserve any place in your good thoughts; when they cannot but know, that while I was near the late ministry, I was a common advocate for those they call the Whigs, to a degree, that a certain great minister told me, I had always a Whig in my sleeve; neither did I ever fail to interpose in any case of merit or compassion, by which means several persons in England, and some in this kingdom, kept their employments: For I cannot remember my Lord Oxford ever refused me a request of that kind. And for the rest, your Grace may very well remember, that I had the honour of corresponding with you during the whole period, with some degree of confidence. Because I know your Grace had wished the same things, but differed only in opinion about the hands that should affect them; it was on account of this conduct, that certain warm creatures of this kingdom, then in London, and not unknown to your Grace, had the assurance to give me broad hints that I was providing against a change; and I observe those very men are now the most careful of all others to creep as far as they can out of harm's way.

The system of new zealots, which your Grace extracted, must be very suitable to my principles, who was always a Whig in politics. I have been told, that upon the death of the last non-juring Bishop, Dodwell

well and his followers thought the schism at an end. My notion was, that these people begun to set up again upon despair of their cause, by the rebellion * being brought to an end, else their politics are, if possible, worse than their divinity. Upon the whole, it is clear that the game is intirely in the hands of the King and his ministers, and I am extremely glad of your Grace's opinion, that it will be played as it ought: Or, if we must suffer for a name, however, I had rather be devoured by a lion than a rat.

That maxim of the injuring person never forgiving the person injured, is, I believe, true in particular, but not of communities. I cannot but suppose that the clergy thought there were some hardships and grounds for fears, otherwise they must be very wicked, or very mad; to say more would be to enter into dispute upon a party-subject: A dog or a horse knoweth when he is kindly treated; and besides a wise administration will endeavour to remove the vain, as well as the real fears of those they govern.

I saw the provost yesterday in this neighbourhood, and had some little talk with him upon the occasion of the Bishop of Killalla's death; I believe he would accept of the deanry of Derry, if Dr. Bolton the Dean should be promoted; but I said nothing of it to him; I believe he hath wrote to Mr. Molineux †, I find, since he cannot be trusted with a bishopric, that he desires to leave his station with as good a grace as he can; and that it may not be thought that what he shall get is only to get rid of him. I said in general, that such a circumstance, as things stood, was hardly

* The rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1715, in favour of the Pretender.

† Samuel Molineaux, Esq; a gentleman of great abilities and large property in Ireland, secretary to the Prince of Wales, Chancellor of the university of Dublin.

worth the quiet of a man's whole life, and so we parted, only with telling him I intended to write to your Grace in answer to a letter I had from you.

L E T T E R XXVII.

London, March 9, 1716-17.

My LORD,

I Had yesterday the honour of a letter from your Grace, wherein you first mention Mr. Duncan's accident, who, as it falls out, is quite recovered, and they say is since better of his asthma: I believe whenever he dieth, I shall be in some difficulties, although I am wholly indifferent who may succeed him, provided he may be a deserving person; unless I might say, that my inclinations are a little turned to oblige Mr. Dopping * on account of his brother, for whom I have always had a very great esteem. It will be impossible for me to carry any point against that great majority of the chapter, who are sure to oppose me whenever party interferes; and in those cases, I shall be very ready to change my nomination, only chusing those I least dislike among such as they will consent to; wherein I hope I shall have your Grace's approbation.

About a week ago, I wrote to your Grace in relation to the provost †. My Lord Bishop of Dromore, Dr. Coghill, and I, were yesterday using our rhetoric to no purpose.—The topic he perpetually adheres to, is, that the court offers him a deanry; because they look upon him as a man they cannot trust, which, he says, affecteth his reputa-

* Dr. Anthony Dopping, afterwards Bishop of Ossory.

† Dr. Pratt.

tion.

tion. That he professeth to be as true to the present King, as any person in employment: That he hath always shewn himself so: That he was sacrificed by the Tories in the late reign, on account of the dispute in the college and other matters: That he publicly argues and appears against the same party now upon all occasions; and expecteth as little favour from them, if ever they should come into power, as any man now in employment. As to any hints dropped to him, of any danger or uneasiness from parliament or visitation, he declareth himself perfectly safe and easy; and if it might not affect the society, he should be glad of such inquiries, in order to vindicate himself: That he should like the deanry of Down full as well, and perhaps better than the bishopric of Dromore, provided the deanry was given him in such a manner, and with some mark of favour or approbation, that the world would not think he was driven into it as a man whom the King could not trust; and if any such method could be thought on, he would readily accept it. That he is very sensible he should be much happier in the other station, and much richer, and, which weighs with him more, that it would be much for the present interest of the college to be under another head: But that the sense of his own loss of credit prevails with him above all considerations; and that he hopeth in some time to convince the world, and the court too, that he hath been altogether misrepresented.

This is the sum of his reasoning, by all I could gather after several conversations with him both alone and with some of his best friends, who all differ from him, as he allows most of his acquaintance do. I am no judge of what consequence his removal may be to the service of the college, or of any favours to be shown it. But I believe it would be no difficult matter to find a temper in this af-

fair: For instance, (I speak purely my own thoughts), if the Prince would graciously please to send a favourable message by his secretary to offer him the deanry, in such a manner as might answer the provost's difficulty, I cannot but think your Grace might bring such a thing about: But that I humbly leave to your Grace.

My Lord Bishop of Dromore received letters yesterday from your Grace, and the Bishop of Derry, with an account of his succeeding to Clogher, of which I am sure all parties will be exceedingly glad.

I wish your Grace a good journey to the Bath, and a firm establishment of your health there.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful, and

Most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

Not knowing but your Grace might be gone to the Bath, I have mentioned something of the Provost's affairs in a letter this post to my Lord Bishop of Derry.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

Dublin, March 22, 1717.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace's letter was a long time before it reached me; for I was several weeks in the country dispatching the affair of the glebe, which, however,

however, is not yet quite finished. Your Grace doth rightly conceive the nature of my purchase, and that I am likely to be 200 l. poorer for it, only I shall endeavour to lose by degrees, which is all I have for it. I shall endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent the evil you foresee of my successors neglecting my improvements, and letting them all go to ruin. I shall take the best advice I can, and leave them to be fools as well as knaves if they do so: For I shall make so many plantations and hedges, that the land will let for double the value; and after all, I must leave something to fortune.

As to what your Grace mentions of a practice in the late reign, of engaging people to come into the Queen's measures, I have a great deal to say on that subject, not worth troubling you with at present, further than that I am confident those who pretend to say most of it, are conscious their accusation is wrong: But I never love myself so little as when I differ from your Grace; nor do I believe I ever shall do it, but where I am master of the fact, and your Grace hath it only by report.

I have been speaking much to the Provost about the deanry of Derry, or whatever other employment under a bishopric may be designed him upon these promotions. I find Dr. Coghill * hath been upon the same subject with him, but he is absolutely positive to take nothing less at present; and his argument is, that whatever shall be given him now, beneath the station his predecessors were called to, will be a mark of his lying under the displeasure of the court, and that he is not to be trusted; whereas he looketh upon himself to have acted with principles as loyal to the present government, as any the King employs. He doth not seem to dislike ei-

* Marmaduke Coghill, L. L. D. judge of the prerogative court, afterwards a Privy-Counsellor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Commissioner of the revenue.

ther the deanries of Derry or Down, but is persuaded, it will reflect upon his reputation; and, unless it could be contrived that he might have some mark of favour and approbation along with such a preferment, I believe your Grace may be assured he will not accept it. I only repeat what he says to me, and what I believe he will adhere to.

For my own part, who am not so refined, I gave my opinion that he should take what was given him; but his other friends differ from me, and for ought I know, they may be in the right; and if the court thinketh it of consequence, that the present Provost should be removed, I am not sure but a way may be found out of saving his credit, which is all he seemeth to require; although I am confident, that if he were a bishop, the government might be very secure of him, since he seemeth wholly fallen out with the Tories, and the Tories with him; and I do not know any man, who in common conversation talketh with more zeal for the present establishment, and against all opposers of it than he. The only thing he desireth at present in his discoursing with me is, that no proposal of a deanry should be at all made to him, but that he may go on as he is, until further judgment shall be made of him by his future conduct.

I thought it proper to say thus much to your Grace, because I did not know whether you and he perfectly understood each other.

I hear your Grace intends this spring for the Bath. I shall pray, for the good of the church, that you may then establish your health.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

And most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

Among

Among other things the Provost argued, that Dr Foster was promoted to a bishopric from being a fellow; and therefore he must conclude, that offering him a less preferment, is a mark of displeasure, with which circumstance he is determined not to leave his present station.

L E T T E R XXIX.

Magherlyn, May 1. 1717.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace's letter of March 23. was brought to me at Trim, where I went a month ago to finish my lease and purchase for my country-parish. In some days after, I met my Lord Bishop of Clogher at Drogheda by appointment; we went together to Clogher, where he was enthroned, and after three days came to this place, where his Lordship is settling every thing against the coming of the new Bishop, who is expected here next week. My great business at Clogher was to seduce his Lordship to lay out 2000 l. in a new house, and for that end we rode about to find a situation. I know not whether I shall prevail, for he hath a hankering after making additions to the old one, which I will never consent to, and had rather he would leave all to the generosity of a successor. My notion is, that when a Bishop with good dispositions happens to arise, it should be every man's business to cultivate them. It is no ill age that produceth two such; and, therefore, if I had credit with your Grace, and his Lordship, it should be all employed in pushing you both upon works of public good, without the least mercy to your pains or your purses. An expert tradesmen makes a few of his best customers answer not only for those

those whom he gets little or nothing by, but for all who die in his debt.

I will suppose your Grace hath heard of Mr. Duncan's death. I am sure I have heard nothing of it by a great increase of disinterested correspondents ever since. It is well I am at free cost for board and lodging, else postage would have undone me. I have returned no answer to any, and shall be glad to proceed with your Grace's approbation, which is less a compliment, because I believe my chapter are of opinion I can hardly proceed without it. I desire only two things; first, that those who call themselves my friends may have no reason to reproach me; and the second, that in the course of this matter I may have something to dispose of to some one I wish well to.

Some weeks before Mr. Duncan's death, his brother-in-law Mr. Lawson, minister of Galtrim, went for England by Mr. Duncan's consent, to apply for an adjoining living, called Kilmore, in Duncan's possession, and now in the crown by his death. I know not his success, but heartily wish, if it be intended for him, that the matter might take another turn. That Mr. Warren, who is landlord of Galtrim, might have that living, and Kilmore adjoining, both not 150 l. and Mr. Lawson to go down to Mr. Warren's living, in Clogher diocese, worth about 200 l. But this is all at random, because I know not whether Kilmore may not be already disposed of, for I heard it is in your Grace's turn.

I heard lately from the Provost, who talked of being in the North in a month; but our Dublin account is, that they know not when the deanry is to be given him. I do not find any great joy in either party, on account of the person * who, it is sup-

* Rev. Dr. Richard Baldwin, who died in September 1759.

posed, will succeed him. The wrong custom of making that post the next step to a bishopric, hath been, as your Grace says, of ill consequence; and although, as you add, it gives them no rank, yet they think fit to take it, and make no scruple of preceding, on all occasions, the best private clergyman in the kingdom, which is a trifle of great consequence when a man's head is possessed with it.

I pray God preserve your Grace for the good of the church and the learned world; and for the happiness of those whom you are pleased to honour with your friendship, favour, or protection. I beg your Grace's blessing, and remain, with the greatest truth and respect,

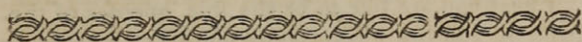
My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful,

And most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.



L E T T E R X X X .

Gallstown, near Kinnegad, Sept. 28. 1721.

My LORD,

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter the first instant; and although I thought it my duty to be the last writer in corresponding with your Grace, yet I know you are so punctual, that if I should write sooner, it would only be the occasion of giving you a new trouble before it ought, in conscience, to be put upon you. Besides, I was in some pain that your letter of Sept. 1. was not the first you had writ, because about ten days after a friend sent me word that your Grace said you had writ to me six weeks before, and had no answer; whereas

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I can assure your Grace, that I received but one from you, nor had I reason to expect it, having not done myself the honour to write to you before. I will tell you the secret of dating my letter; I was in fear lest the post should be gone, and so left a blank, and wisely huddled it up without thinking of the date; but we country gentlemen are frequently guilty of greater blunders; and in that article I grow more perfect every day.

I believe you seriously, that you will take care of your health to prevent a successor; that is to say, I believe you tell truth in jest; for I know it is not the value of that life makes you desire to live, and am afraid the world is much of your mind; for it is out of regard to the public, or some of themselves, more than upon your own account, that they wish your continuance amongst us.

It seems you are a greater favourite of the Lieutenant's * than you care to own, for we hear that he killed but two bucks, and sent you a present of one.

I hear you are like to be the sole opposer of the bank †, and you will certainly miscarry, because it would prove a most perfidious thing. Bankrupts are always for setting up banks; how then can you think a bank will fail of a majority in both houses!

You are very perverse, my Lord, in misinterpreting the ladies favour, as if you must die to obtain it; I assure you it is directly contrary, and if you die, you will lose their favour for ever; I am commanded to tell you so; and, therefore, at the peril of your life, and of their good graces, look to your health.

* Charles Duke of Grafton.

† At this time there was a scheme for a national bank, which was rejected by parliament.

I hear the Bishop of Bangor †, despairing of doing any good with you, hath taken up with Hereford. I am a plain man, and would be glad at any time to see fifty such bishops hanged, if I could thereby have saved the life of his predecessor, for whom I had a great esteem and friendship, I do not much approve the compliments made you by comparisons drawn from good and bad Emperors, because the interest falls short on both sides. If Julian had immediately succeeded Constantine, it would have been more to the purpose. Sir James of the Peak said to Bouchier, the gamester, *Sirrah, I shall look better than you, when I have been a month in my grave.* A great man in England was blaming me for despising somebody or other; I assured him I did not at all despise the man he mentioned, that I was not so liberal of my contempt, nor would bestow it where there was not some degree of merit. Upon this principal, I can see no proper ground of opposition between your Grace and that wretch of Bangor. I have read indeed, that a dog was once made King of Norway, but I forget who was his predecessor; and therefore am a loss for the other part of the comparison.

I am afraid the clatter of ladies tongues is no very good cure for a giddiness in the head. When your Grace (as you say) was young, as I am not, the ladies were better company, or you more easily pleased. I am perpetually reproaching them for their ignorance, affectation, impertinence, (but my paper will not hold all *) except Lady Betty Rochfort, your old acquaintance.

I own my head and your Grace's feet would be ill joined; but give me your head and take my feet, and match us in the kingdom if you can.

† Dr Benjamin Hoadly.

* ————— Quæ plurima menti
Fœminæ natura dedit.

My Lord, I row after health like a waterman, and ride after it like a postboy, and find some little success; but *subeunt morbi, tristisque senectus*. I have a receipt to which you are a stranger; my Lord Oxford and Mr. Prior used to join with me in taking it; to whom I often said, when we were two hours diverting ourselves with trifles, *vive la bagatelle*. I am so deep among the workmen at Mr. Rochfort's canals and lakes, so dextrous at the oar, such an alderman after the hare——

I am just now told from some news-papers, that one of the King's enemies, and my excellent friend Mr. Prior, is dead; I pray God deliver me from any such trials. I am neither old nor philosopher enough to be indifferent at so great a loss; and, therefore, I abruptly conclude, but with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful, and

Obedient servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XXXI.

My LORD,

MR. Chetwood * intends to deliver in a petition to the government to day, and entreated me to speak to your Grace before he delivered it, which not having an opportunity to do, I make bold to inclose this letter, which your Grace may please to

* Knightly Chetwood, Esq; who had very good pretensions to an English peerage: for which he presented several memorials, but to no purpose.

read;

To DR. NARCISSUS MARSH. 341

read; and is the substance of what he desired me to say.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

Deanry-house, And most humble servant,

Feb. 22. 1722-3,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R XXXII.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace will have received, before this comes to your hands, an account of the Primate's death †, who died yesterday at twelve o' clock at noon. He had left off spitting for about ten days before, and the want of that is thought to have been the immediate cause of his death, although he eat heartily until the two last days. He hath left the Bishop of Kildare *, and his steward Mr. Morgan, his executors, who were both out of town; but I suppose are sent for. Some who formerly belonged to him think he has left 40,000 l. others report he died poor.

The vogue is, that your Grace will succeed him, if you please; but I am too great a stranger to your present situation at court to know what to judge. But if there were virtue enough, I could wish your Grace would accept the offer, if it should be made you. Because I would have your name left to posterity among the Primates; and, because entering into a new station, is entering after a sort on a new lease of life; and because it might be hoped, that your Grace would be advised with a-

† Dr. Lindsay, who was succeeded by Dr. Boulyer, Bishop of Bristol.

* Dr. Ellis,

bout a successor; and because that diocese would require your Grace's ability and spirit to reform it; and because — but I should never be at an end if I were to number up the reasons why I would have your Grace in the highest stations the crown can give you.

I found all the papers in the cabinet relating to Dr. Stephen's hospital, and, therefore, I brought them home to the deanry. I opened the cabinet in the presence of Mr. Bouhereau †, and saw one paper, which proved a bank-note for 500 l. the greatness of the sum startled me, but I found it belonged to the same hospital; I was in pain because workmen were in the room and about the house; I therefore went this morning to St. Sepulchre's, and in the presence of Mrs. Green ‡, I took away the note, and have secured it in my cabinet, leaving her my receipt for it, and am very proud to find that a scrip under my hand will pass for 500 l. I wish your Grace a good journey to the establishment of your health, and am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful

And most humble servant,

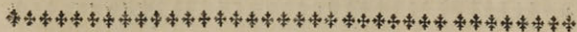
JON. SWIFT.

Dublin,
July 14. 1724.

† A French Clergyman.

‡ The Archbishop's housekeeper.





To the R E A D E R.

IN or about the year 1731, Mr. Wogan, a gentleman of an antient and good family in Ireland, sent a present of a cask of Spanish Cassala wine to the Dean, also a crimson velvet bag, with gold and silk strings, in which were inclosed a paraphrase on the seven penitential Psalms of David, and several original pieces in verse and prose, dedicated to the Rev. Dr. Swift, D. S. P. D. whom he never saw. This Mr. Wogan was a gentleman of great bravery and courage, and distinguished himself in several battles and sieges. He was appointed, by the Chevalier de St. George, in the year 1718, to take the Princess Sobieski, (granddaughter of the famous James Sobieski, King of Poland, who raised the siege of Vienna) to whom he was married by proxy in Poland, who, in her journey to Rome, was, by order of the Imperial Court, made a prisoner in Tyroll, and closely confined in the castle of Inspruck for some time, when Mr. Wogan undertook to set her at liberty, and bring her safe to Rome, which he effectually performed, by bringing her through all the guards: for which dangerous and gallant service, he was made a Roman Knight, which was an honour that was not conferred on a foreigner for many centuries before. This gentleman, soon after went into the service of Spain, where he got a government and other military commands, and distinguished himself in many engagements, being well known all over Europe by the name of Chevalier, or Sir Charles Wogan.

The

The ANSWER of the Reverend Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, to the author Sir CHARLES WOGAN, an officer of distinction in the service of the King of Spain.

S I R,

I Received your packet at least two months ago, and took all this time not only to consider it maturely myself, but to shew it to the few judicious friends I have in this kingdom. We all agreed that the writer was a scholar, a man of genius, and of honour. We guessed him to have been born in this country from some passages, but not from the style, which we are surpris'd to find so correct in an exile, a foldier, and a native of Ireland. The history of yourself, although part of it be employed in your praise and importance, we did not dislike, because your intention was to be wholly unknown, which circumstance exempts you from any charge of vanity. However, although I am utterly ignorant of present persons and things, I have made a shift, by talking in general with some persons, to find out your name, your employments, and some of your actions, with the addition of such a character, as would give full credit to more than you have said (I mean of yourself) in the dedicatory epistle.

You will pardon a natural curiosity on this occasion, especially when I began with so little, that I did not so much as untie the strings of the bag for five days after I received it, concluding it must have come from some Irish friar in Spain, filled with monastic speculations, of which I have seen some in my life, little expecting a history, a dedication, a poetical translation of the penitential psalms, Latin poems, and the like, and all from a foldier. In these kingdoms you would
be

be a most unfashionable military man, among troops where the least pretension to learning or piety, or common morals, would endanger the owner to be cashiered. Although I have no great regard for your trade, from the judgement I make of those who profess it in these kingdoms, yet I cannot but highly esteem those gentleman of Ireland, who with all the disadvantages of being exiles and strangers, have been able to distinguish themselves by their valour and conduct in so many parts of Europe, I think, above all other nations; which ought to make the English ashamed of the reproaches they cast on the ignorance, the dulness, and the want of courage in the Irish natives; those defects, wherever they happen, arising only from the poverty and slavery they suffer from their inhuman neighbours, and the base corrupt spirits of too many of the chief gentry, &c. By such events as these, the very Grecians are grown slavish, ignorant, and superstitious. I do assert that from several experiments I have made in travelling over both kingdoms, I have found the poor cottagers here, who could speak our language, to have a much better natural taste for good sense, humour and raillery, than ever I observed among people of the like sort in England. But the millions of oppressions they lie under, the tyranny of their landlords, the ridiculous zeal of their priests, and the general misery of the whole nation, have been enough to damp the best spirits under the sun. I return to your packet.

Two or three poetical friends of mine have read your poems with very good approbation, yet we all agree some corrections may be wanting, and at the same time we are at a loss how to venture on such a work. One gentleman of your own country, name, and family, who could do it best, is a little too lazy; but however something shall be done and submitted to you. I have been only

a man of rhimes, and that upon trifles, never having written serious couplets in my life; yet never any without a meral view. However, as an admirer of Milton, I will read yours as a critic, and make objections, where I find any thing that should be changed. Your directions about publishing the epistle and the poetry, will be a point of some difficulty. They cannot be printed here with the least profit to the author's friend in distress. Dublin bookfellers have not the least notion of paying for a copy. Sometimes things are printed here by subscription, but they go on so heavily, that few or none make it turn to account. In London it is otherwise; but even there the authors must be in vogue, or, if not known, be discovered by the style, or the work must be something that hits the taste of the public, or what is recommended by the presiding men of genius.

When Milton first published his famous poem, the first edition was very long going off; few either read, liked, or understood it; and it gained ground merely by its merit. Nothing but an uncertain state of my health (caused by a disposition to giddiness, which although less violent, is more constant) could have prevented my passing this summer into England to see my friends, who hourly have expected me: in that case I could have managed this affair myself, and would have readily consented that my name should have stood at length before your epistle; and by the caprice of the world, that circumstance might have been of use to make the thing known; and consequently better answer the charitable part of your design, by inciting people's curiosity. And in such a case I would have writ a short acknowledgment of your letter, and published it in the next page after your epistle; but giving you no name, nor confessing my conjecture of it. This scheme I am still upon,

as soon as my health permits me to return to England*.

As I am conjectured to have generally dealt in raillery and satire, both in prose and verse, if that conjecture be right, although such an opinion hath been an absolute bar to my rising in the world; yet that very world must suppose, that I followed what I thought to be my talent, and charitable people will suppose I had a design to laugh the follies of mankind out of countenance; and as often to lash the vices out of practice. And then it will be natural to conclude, that I have some partiality for such kind of writing, and favour it in others. I think you acknowledge, that in some time of your life you turned to the rallying part; but I find at present your genius runs wholly into the grave and sublime, and therefore I find you less indulgent to my way, by your dislike of the Beggar's opera, in the persons particularly of Polly Peachum and Macheath; whereas we think it a very severe satire upon the most pernicious villainies of mankind. And so you are in danger of quarrelling with the sentiments of Mr. Pope, Mr. Gay, the author, Dr. Arbuthnot, myself, Dr. Young, and all the brethren whom we own. Dr. Young is the gravest among us, and yet his satires have many mixtures of sharp raillery. At the same time you judge very truly, that the taste of England is infamously corrupted by shoals of wretches who write for their bread; and therefore I had reason to put Mr. Pope on writing the poem, called the DUNCIAD; and to hale those scoundrels out of their obscurity, by telling their names at length, their works, their adventures, sometimes their lodgings, and their lineage; not with A——'s and B——'s, according to the old way, which would be unknown in a few years.

* The last time the Dean was in England was in the year 1727.

As to your blank-verse, it hath too often fallen into the same vile hands of late. One Thomson a Scotsman, hath succeeded the best in that way, in four poems he hath written on the four seasons: yet I am not over-fond of them, because they are all description, and nothing is doing; whereas Milton engageth me in actions of the highest importance,

Modo me Romæ, modo ponit Athenis.

and yours on the seven psalms, &c. have some advantage that way.

You see Pope, Gay, and I, use all our endeavours to make folks merry and wise, and profess to have no enemies except knaves and fools. I confess myself to be exempted from them in one article, which was engaging with a ministry to prevent, if possible, the evils that have over-run the nation; and my foolish zeal in endeavouring to save this wretched island. Wherein, though I succeeded absolutely in one important article*; yet even there I lost all hope of favour from those in power here, and disobliged the court of England, and have in twenty years drawn above one thousand scurrilous libels on myself, without any other recompence than the love of the Irish vulgar, and two or three dozen sign-posts of the *drapier* in this city, besides those that are scattered in country-towns; and even these are half worn out. So that whatever little genius God hath given me, I may justly pretend to have been the worst manager of it to my own advantage of any man upon earth.

Aug. 2.] What I have above written hath long lain by me, that I might consider further: but I have been partly out of order, and partly plagued with a lawsuit of ten years standing, and I doubt very ill closed up, although it concerns two thirds of my little fortune. Think whether such periods

* Against Wood's copper halfpence. See the Drapiers letters.

of life are proper to encourage poetical or philosophical speculations.

I shall not therefore tire you any longer, but with great acknowledgment for the distinction you please to show me, desire to be always thought, with great truth and a most particular esteem,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

And obliged Servant,

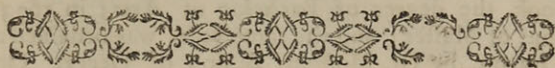
J. SWIFT.

We have sometimes editions printed here of books from England, which I know not whether you are in a way of getting. I will name some below, and if you approve of any, I shall willingly increase your library; they are small, consequently more portable in your marches, and which is more important, the present will be cheaper for me.

Dr. YOUNG's Satires.
Mr. GAY's Works.
Mr. POPE's Works.
POPE's DUNCIAD.

| GAY's Fables.
| Art of Politics, and
| some other Trifles in
| Verse, &c.





L E T T E R S

FROM

DR. S W I F T

TO

DR. K I N G,

Lord PRIMATE and ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN.

A very friendly correspondence having been carried on for many years between Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Swift, D. S. P. D. it may be proper to prefix some account of his Grace before the following letters, for which we shall make no apology.

WILLIAM KING was born at Antrim the first day of May 1650, and was descended from an antient family of the Duke of Burras in the North of Scotland, from whence his father removed in the reign of King Charles I. to avoid engaging in the solemn league and covenant; brought his effects, and settled his family in the north of Ireland, where the above William was born, and had the pleasure of living to see his son promoted to the bishopric of Derry.

In 1662, he was sent to a Latin school in the county of Tyrone, and the 18th of April 1667, entered the university of Dublin. In 1670, he
took

took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1673, that of Master; and the same year, was ordained a Deacon, by Dr. Moflum, Bishop of Derry. On the 26th of April 1674, he was ordained a Priest by Dr. John Parker, Archbishop of Tuam. In 1688, he was constituted President of the Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin; and on the 26th of January following, was elected Dean by the Chapter. In 1689, he took his degree of Dr. of Divinity. He was promoted to the Bishopric of Derry on the 9th of January O. S. 1690, and was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, the 25th of the said month. Upon the promotion of Dr. Narcissus Marth, Archbishop of Dublin, to the Archbishopric of Armagh, Dr. King was translated from Derry to the see of Dublin, the 11th of March 1702. His Grace, in the reign of George I. was four different times one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, for his great loyalty and attachment to the Protestant religion, and the house of Hanover. He died at the archiepiscopal palace at St. Sepulcher's, Dublin, on the 8th of May 1729, having entered into the 86th year of his age, and was buried on the north side of Donnybrook church, near Dublin, without any monument, tomb, or inscription, as he had directed in his lifetime.

His private charities were very ample and considerable; but so cautiously and secretly dispersed, that it is impossible to give a particular account of them. After he was translated to the see of Dublin, he repaired and adorned the palace of St. Sepulchre's, which was in a ruinous condition, by expending above 3000 l. on improvements, and erected a court-house for his archiepiscopal manor at his own charge. He purchased from the late Lord Ross, and others, many inappropriate tithes, to add to the livings of the clergy in his diocese, to make them glebes, and for lectureships.

He

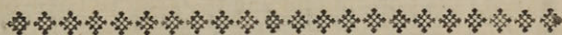
He gave in his lifetime 500 l. to the University of Dublin, towards founding a divinity lecture for the benefit of those who intended to enter into holy orders; and devised 500 l. more to purchase a further maintenance and endowment for the said lecture. He also devised 150 l. to the poor of the city of Dublin. He gave 500 l. in his lifetime, to the Blue-Coat hospital in Dublin, and 300 l. to the fund arising from the application of the first-fruits, for purchasing glebes and impropriate tithes for the increase of poor vicarages.

His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his character and station, and the whole course of his conversation innocent, chearful, and improving; for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue that could adorn a public, or private life.

In 1687, Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry, having published at Dublin, in quarto, a pamphlet, intitled, *The considerations which obliged Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry, to embrace the Catholic religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace Dr. Francis Marsb, the Lord Primate of Ireland: Dr. King immediately wrote an answer, Mr. Manby, encouraged by the court, and assisted by the most learned champions of the Church of Rome, published a reply under this title, A reformed Catechism, in two Dialogues, concerning the English Reformation, &c. in reply to Mr. King's Answer, &c. Our author soon rejoined in A Vindication of the Answer. Mr. Manby dropped the controversy, but dispersed a loose sheet of paper artfully writ, with this title, A Letter to a Friend; shewing the vanity of this opinion, that every man's sense and reason are to guide him in matters of faith. Our author soon published his answer. In 1689, our author was twice confined in the castle of Dublin, by order of King James II: and the same year commenced Doctor of Divinity. In 1690, he was advanced to the see of*

Derry. In 1691, he published at London, in quarto, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's government, &c.* "A history, says Bishop Burnet, as truly as it is finely written." He had by him at his death, attested vouchers of every particular fact alledged in this book, which are now in the hands of his relations. In 1693, his Lordship finding the great number of his Protestant dissenters in his diocese of Derry, increased by a vast addition of colonies from Scotland, in order to persuade them to conformity to the established church, published *A discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God.* Mr. Joseph Boyse, a dissenting minister, wrote an answer. The Bishop answered Mr. Boyse. The latter replied. The Bishop rejoined. In 1702, he published at Dublin, in quarto, his celebrated treatise *De Origine Mali.* Mr. Edmund Law, M. A. Fellow of Christ's-College in Cambridge, afterwards published a complete translation of this, with very valuable notes, in quarto. In the second edition he has inserted, by way of notes, a large collection of the author's papers on the same subject, which he had received from his relations, after the publication of the former edition. Our author, in this excellent treatise, hath many curious observations. He asserteth and proves, that there is more moral good in the earth than moral evil. There are ten good acts, says he, done by those we call bad men, for one ill one. A sermon by our author, preached at Dublin, in 1709, was published under the title of *Divine predestination and foreknowledge, consistent with the freedom of man's will.* This was attacked by Anthony Collins, Esq; in a pamphlet, intitled, *A vindication of the Divine attributes: In some remarks on the Archbishop of Dublin's sermon, intitled, Divine predestination, &c.* He published likewise, *A discourse concerning the consecration of churches; shewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the grounds of that office.*

LET-

 L E T T E R S, &c.


L E T T E R I.

To his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin.

Dublin-Castle, July 16, 1700.

MY LORD,

I Was several times to wait on your Lordship at your lodgings; but you were either abroad, or so engaged, that I could not be permitted the honour to attend you. I have an humble request to your Lordship, if you will please to excuse me if I cannot be at the triennial visitation; for my * Lord and Lady continually residing at the lodge, I am obliged to a constant attendance there.

I am, with all respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

* Earl of Berkeley, then one of the Lords Justices of Ireland.

LETTER II.

Trim, Dec. 31, 1704.

MY LORD,

I Did intend to have waited on your Grace before you went for England, but hearing your voyage is fixed for the first opportunity of the wind, I could not forbear giving you a few minutes interruption, which I hope your Grace will believe to be without any other design than that of serving you. I believe your Grace may have heard, that I was in England last winter, when the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church had, I think, with great wisdom and discretion, chosen a most malicious, ignorant, and headstrong creature to represent them; wherein your Grace cannot justly tax their prudence, since the * cause they are engaged in is not otherwise to be supported. And, I do assure your Grace, (which perhaps others may have been cautious in telling you), that they have not been without success. For, not only the general run in Doctors-Commons, which was wholly on their side, which my Lord Bishop of Cloyne † observed as well as I; but, that little instrument of theirs, did use all his power to misrepresent your Grace, and your cause, both in town and city, as far as his narrow sphere could reach. And he spared not to say, that your Grace had personal resentment against him; that you sought his ruin, and threatened him with it. And I remember, at a great man's table, who hath as much influence in England, as any subject can well have, after dinner came in a master in chancery, whom I had before observed

* A law-suit between the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, about his right visiting them, which was given in favour of his Grace.

† Dr. Charles Crow.

to be a principal person in Doctors-Commons when your Grace's cause was there debating; and upon occasion of being there, fell into discourse of it, wherein he seemed wholly an advocate for Christ-church; for all his arguments were only a chain of misinformations, which he had learned from the same hand; insomuch, as I was forced to give a character of some persons, which otherwise I should have spared, before I could set him right, as I also did in the affair of the late Dean of Derry, which had been told with so many falsehoods and disadvantages to your Grace, as it is hard to imagine.

I humbly presume to say thus much to your Grace, that knowing the prejudices that have been given, you may more easily remove them, which your presence will infallibly do.

I would also beg of your Grace to use some of your credit towards bringing to a good issue the promise the Queen made, at my Lord Bishop of Cloyne's intercession, to remit the first-fruits and tenths of the clergy; unless I speak ignorantly, for want of information, and that it be a thing already done. But what I would mind your Grace of is, that the crown-rent should be added, which is a great load upon many poor livings, and would be a considerable help to others. And I am confident, with some reason, that it would be easily granted, being, I hear, under a thousand pounds a-year, and the Queen's grant for England being so much more considerable than ours can be at best. I am very certain, that if the Bishop of Cloyne had continued to solicit it in England, it would easily have passed; but his Lordship giving it up wholly to the Duke of Ormond*, I believe it hath not been thought of so much as it ought. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the haste and hurry of this, occasioned by that of the post,

* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

which

which is not very regular in this country; and imploring your blessing, and praying to God for your good voyage, success, and return, I humbly kiss your Grace's hands, and remain,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R III.

London, Feb. 5. 1707-8.

My LORD,

I Have been a month expecting the representation your Grace was pleased to promise to send me, which makes me apprehend your Grace hath been hindered by what you complained of, the clergy's backwardness in a point so very necessary to their service: And, it is time ill lost at this juncture, while my Lord * Lieutenant is here, and in great credit at court, and would perhaps be more than ordinarily ready to serve the church in Ireland. If I have no directions from your Grace by the end of this month, I shall think of my return to Ireland against the 25th of March, to endeavour to be chosen to the living of St. Nicholas, as I have been encouraged to hope; but would readily return at a week's warning to solicit that affair with my Lord Lieutenant while he stays here, or in any other manner your Grace will please to direct.

Your Grace knows long before this, that Dr. Mills is Bishop of Waterford. The court and Archbishop of Canterbury were strongly engaged for another person, not much suspected in Ireland,

* Thomas Herbert Earl of Pembroke.

any more than the choice already made was, I believe, either here or there.

The two houses are still busy in Lord Peterborough's affair, which seems to be little more than an amusement, which, it is conceived, might at this time be spared, considering how slow we are said to be in our preparations, which, I believe is the only reason why it was talked the other day about the town, as if there would be soon a treaty of peace. There is a report of my Lord Galway's death, but it is not credited. It is a perfect jest to see my Lord Peterborough reputed as great a Whig as any in England, abhorred by his own party, and caressed by the Tories.

The great question, Whether the number of men in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza, was but 8600, when there ought to have been 29,600, was carried on Tuesday in the affirmative against the court, without a division, which was occasioned by Thomas Hammer's oratory. It seems to have been no party-question, there being many of both glad and sorry for it.

The court hath not been fortunate in their questions this session; and, I hear some of both parties expressing contrary passions upon it. I tell your Grace bare matters of fact, being not inclined to make reflections; and, if I were, I could not tell what to make, so oddly people are subdivided.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER

L E T T E R I V .

London, June 10. 1708.

My LORD,

I Sent your Grace a long letter several weeks ago, I inclosed in one to the Dean *. I know not whether it came to your hands, having not since been honoured with your commands. I believe I told your Grace that I was directly advised by my Lord Sund—, my Lord Somers, Mr. Southwell, and others, to apply to † my Lord Treasurer, in behalf of the clergy of Ireland, and Lord Sunderland undertook to bring me to Lord Treasurer, which was put off for some time, on account of the invasion. For, it is the method here of great ministers, when any public matter is in hand, to make it an excuse for putting off all private application. I deferred it some time longer, because I had a mind my Lord Sunderland should go along with me; but either the one or the other was always busy, or out of the way; however, his Lordship had prepared Lord Treasurer, and engaged him (as he assured me) to think well of the matter, and the other day Lord Treasurer appointed me to attend him. He took me into a private room, and I told him my story, that I was commanded by your Grace, and desired by some other Bishops, to use what little credit I had to solicit, (under the direction of my Lord Lieutenant) the remitting the the first-fruits, which, from the favourable representation of his Lordship to the Queen, about four years ago, the clergy were encouraged to hope it would be granted: that I had been told it might be of use, if some person could be admitted to his

* Dr. Sterne.

† Earl of Godolphin.

presence,

presence, at his usual times of being attended, in order to put him in mind ; for the rest, they relied entirely on his Excellency's good offices, and his Lordship's dispositions to favour the church. He said, in answer, he was passive in this business : That he supposed my Lord Lieutenant would engage in it, to whom, if I pleased, he would repeat what I had said. I replied, I had the honour of being well known to his Excellency ; that I intended to ask his leave to solicit this matter with his Lordship, but had not mentioned it yet, because I did not know whether I had credit enough to gain that access he was now pleased to honour me with : That upon his Lordship's leave to attend him, signified to me by the Earl of Sunderland, I went to inform his Excellency, not doubting his consent, but did not find him at home, and therefore ventured to come, but not knowing how his Excellency might understand it, I begged his Lordship to say nothing to my Lord Lieutenant, until I had the honour to wait on him again. This my Lord Treasurer agreed to, and entering on the subject, told me, that since the Queen's grant of the first-fruits here, he was confident, not one clergyman in England was a shilling the better. I told him I thought it lay under some incumbrances ; he said it was true ; but beside, that was wholly abused in the distribution ; that as to those in Ireland, they were an inconsiderable thing, not above 1000 l. or 12 l. a year, which was almost nothing for the Queen to grant, upon two conditions. First, that it should be well disposed of. And secondly, that it should be received with due acknowledgements ; in which cases he would give his consent, otherwise, to deal freely with me he never would. I said as to the first, that I was confident the Bishops would leave the methods of disposing it entirely to her Majesty's breast ; as to the second, her Majesty, and his Lordship might

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count upon all the acknowledgements that the most grateful and dutiful subjects could pay to a prince. That I had the misfortune to be altogether unknown to his Lordship, else I should presume to ask him, whether he understood any particular acknowledgements? he replied, by acknowledgements, I do not mean any thing under their hands, but I will so far explain myself to tell you, I mean better acknowledgements than those of the clergy of England. I then begged his Lordship to give me his advice, what sort of acknowledgements he thought fittest for the clergy to make, which I was sure would be of mighty weight with them. He answered, I can only say again, such acknowledgements as they ought. We had some other discourse of less moment, and after licence to attend him on occasion, I took my leave. I tell your Grace those particulars, in his very words, as near as I can recollect, because I think them of moment, and I believe your Grace may think them so too. I told Southwell all that passed, and we agreed in our comments; which I desired him now to inform you, He set out for Ireland this morning: I am resolved to see my Lord Sund in a day or two, and relate what my Lord Treasurer said, (as he hath commanded me to do), and perhaps I may prevail on him to let me know his Lordship's meaning, to which I am prepared to answer, as Mr. Southwell will let you know. At Evening the same day, I attended my Lord Lieutenant, and desired to know what progress he had made, and at the same time proposed that he would give me leave to attend Lord Treasurer, only as a common solicitor, to refresh his memory. I was very much surpris'd at his answer, that the matter was not before the Treasurer, but entirely with the Queen, and therefore it was needless; upon which I said nothing of having been there. He said he had writ lately to your Grace, on account of what was
done

done ; that some progress was made, that they put it off because it was not a time of war, but that he had some hopes it would be done ; but this is only such an account as his excellency thinks fit to give, although I send it your Grace by his orders. I hope, that in his letters he is fuller. My Lord Treasurer on the other hand assured me, he had the papers which his Excellency denied, and talked of it as a matter that had long lain before him, which several persons in great employments assure me is, and must be true. Thus your Grace sees, that I shall have nothing more to do in this matter, further than pursuing the cold scent of asking his Excellency once a month, how it goeth on ? which, I think, I had as good forbear, since it will turn to little account. All I can do is to engage my Lord Sunderland's interest with my Lord Treasurer, whenever it is brought before him, or to hint it to some other persons of power and credit, and likewise to endeavour to take off that scandal the clergy of Ireland lie under, of being the reverse of what they really are, with respect to the revolution, loyalty to the Queen, and settlement to the crown ; which is here the construction of the word Tory.

I design to tell my Lord Treasurer, that this being a matter my Lord Lieutenant hath undertaken, he doth not think it proper I should trouble his Lordship ; after which, recommending it to his goodness, I shall forbear any further mention. I am sensible how lame and tedious an account this is, and humbly beg your Grace's pardon ; but I still insist, that if it had been solicited four years ago by no abler a hand than my own, while the Duke of Ormond was in Ireland, it might have been done in a month : and, I believe it may be so still, if his Excellency lays any weight of his credit upon it ; otherwise, God knows when. For myself, I have nothing more to do here but to attend my

Lord Lieutenant's motions, of whose return we are very uncertain, and to manage some personal affairs of my own. I beg the continuance of your Grace's favour, and your blessing,

And am, with all respect,

Your Grace's most obedient, &c.

L E T T E R V.

London, Nov. 9. 1708.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace's letter of September 7th, found me in Kent, where I took the opportunity to retire, during my Lord Pembroke's absence with his new lady (who are both expected to-morrow); I went afterwards to Epsom, and returned but yesterday: This was the cause of my so long omitting to acknowledge your letter. I am ready to agree with your Grace, that very wrong representations are made of things and persons here, by people who reside on this side but a short time, converse at second or third hand, and on their return make a vanity of knowing more than they do. This I have observed myself in Ireland, even among people of some rank and quality; and I believe your Grace will proceed on much better grounds, by trusting to your own wisdom and experience of things, than such intelligence.

I spoke formerly all I knew of the twentieth parts, and whatever Mr. D—— hath said in his letters about staying until a peace, I do assure your Grace, is nothing but words. However that matter is now at an end. There is a new world here, and yet I agree with you, that if there be an interregnum, it will be the properest time to address my Lord Treasurer; and I shall second it with all the credit

credit I have, and very openly, and I know not (if one difficulty lie in the way) but it may prove a lucky juncture.

On my return from Kent, (the night of the Prince's *death), I staid a few days in town before I went to Epsom: I then visited a certain great man, and we entered very freely into discourse upon the present juncture. He assured me there was no doubt now of the scheme holding about the admiralty, the government of Ireland, and precedence of the council; the disposition whereof your Grace knoweth as well as I; and, although I care not to mingle public affairs with the interest of so private a person as myself; yet, upon such a revolution, not knowing how far my friends may endeavour to engage me in the service of a new government, I would beg your Grace to have favourable thoughts of me on such an occasion, and to assure you that no prospect of making my fortune, shall ever prevail on me to go against what becometh a man of conscience and truth, and an entire friend to the established church. This, I say, in case such a thing should happen, for my own thoughts are turned another way, if the Earl of Berkley's journey to Vienna holds, and the ministry will keep their promise of making me the Queen's Secretary; by which I shall be out of the way of parties, until it shall please God I have some place to retire to, a little above contempt; or, if all fail, until your Grace and the Dean of St. Patrick's shall think fit to dispose of that poor town-living † in my favour.

Upon this event of the Prince's death, the contention designed with the court about a speaker is dropt, and all agree in Sir Richard Onslow, which is looked on as another argument for the scheme succeeding. This I had from the same hand.

* George Prince of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne.

† St. NICHOLAS.

As to a comprehension which your Grace seems to doubt an intention of, from what was told me I can say nothing; doubtless, it must be intended to come to that at last, if not worse; but I believe at present, it was meant, that there should be a consent to what was endeavoured at in your parliament last session.

I thought to have writ more largely to your Grace, imagining I had much matter in my head, but it fails, or is not convenient at present. If the scheme holds, I shall make bold to tell your Grace my thoughts, as formerly, under cover, because I believe there will be a great deal to be thought of and done. A little time may produce a great deal. Things are now in great suspense both at home and abroad. The parliament, we think, will have no prorogation. There is no talk of the Duke of Marlborough's return yet. Speculative people talk of a peace this winter, of which I can form no prospect, according to our demands.

I am, my Lord, your Grace's

Most obedient, humble servant,

J. S.

Your Grace will please to direct your commands to me at St. James's coffee-house, in St. James-street.



LETTER VI.

London, Nov. 30, 1708.

My LORD,

I WRIT to you about a fortnight ago, after my return from the country, and gave you some account of an intended change at court, which is

now

now finished. Care was taken to put Lord Pembroke in mind of the first fruits before he went out of his office; but it was needless, for his Excellency had it at heart, and the thing is done, of which, I suppose, you have an account. You know who goes over chaplain; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other bishops, and the Lord Treasurer himself solicited that matter in a body: It was thought absolutely necessary, considering the dismal notion they have here of so many high-church Archbishops among you; and your friend made no application, for reasons left you to guess. I cannot yet learn whether you are to have a new parliament; but I am apt to think you will, and that it must be thought necessary:—The affair of Drogheda * hath made a noise here, and, like every thing else on your side, is used as a handle; I have had it rung in my ears from certain persons. I hope you are prepared to take off the sacramental test, because that will be a means to have it taken off here among us; and that the clergy will be for it, in consideration of the Queen's bounty, and that men in employment will be so wise to please the court, and secure themselves; but, to think there is any design of bringing the Scots into offices, is a mere scandal.

Lord Pembroke is to have the admiralty only a few months, then to have a pension of 4000 l. a year, and to retire; and it is thought Lord Oxford † will succeed him, and then it is hoped, there will be an intire change in the admiralty; that Sir John Leak will be turned out, and the Whigs so well confirmed, that it will not be in the power of

* Some disputes in corporation-affairs.

† Edward Ruffel, (of the family of the Duke of Bedford) who burned and destroyed the French fleet at La Hague in 1692, and soon after another attack was made by the Earl of Orford.

the court upon a peace to bring the balance on the other side.

One Mr. Shute is named for Secretary to Lord Wharton: He is a young man, but reckoned the shrewdest head in England: And the person in whom the Presbyterians chiefly confide; and if money be necessary towards the good work in Ireland, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000 l. from the body of Dissenters here. As to his principles, he is truly a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently, &c.

The clergy are here in an uproar upon their being prorogued: The Archbishop of Canterbury taketh pains to have it believed it was a thing done without his knowledge. A divine of note (but of the wrong side) was with me the other day, and said, he had it from a good hand, that the reason of this proceeding was an intention of putting the parliament on examining and correcting courts ecclesiastic, &c.

The Archbishop of Dublin is represented here as one that will very much oppose our designs; and, although I will not say that the observator is paid for writing as he doth; yet I can positively affirm to you, that whatever he says of that Bishop, or of the affairs of Ireland, or those here, is exactly agreeable to our thoughts and intentions.

This is all I can recollect, fit to inform you at present. — If you please, I shall from time to time send you any thing that cometh to my knowledge that may be worth your notice.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

London, Jan. 6. 1709.

My LORD,

BEFORE I received the honour of your Grace's of Nov. 20. I had sent one inclosed, &c. with what account I could of affairs. Since that time the measures are altered of dissolving your parliament, which, doubtless, is their wisest course for certain obvious reasons, that your Grace will easily apprehend, and I suppose you have now received directions about proroguing it, for I saw the order some days ago. I should have acknowledged your Grace's letter, if I had not been ever since persecuted with a cruel distemper, a giddiness in my head, that would not suffer me to write or think of any thing; and of which I am now slowly recovering. I sent you word of the affairs of the first-fruits being performed, which my Lord Pembroke had the goodness to send me, immediate notice of. I seldom see his Lordship now, but when he pleaseth to command me, for he sees no body in public, and is very full of business. I fancy your Grace will think it necessary that in due time his Lordship should receive some kind of thanks in form: I have a fair pretence to merit in this matter, although in my own conscience, I think I have little, (except my good wishes, and frequent reminding my Lord Pembroke). But, two great men in office, giving me joy of it, very frankly told me, that if I had not smoothed the way, by giving them and the rest of the ministry a good opinion of the justice of the thing, it would have met with opposition; upon which I only remarked, what I have always observed in courts, that when a favour is done, there is no want of persons to challenge obligations. Mean time I am in a pretty condition, who have bills of merit given

me, that I must thankfully acknowledge, and yet cannot honestly offer them in payment. I suppose the clergy will in due time send the Queen an address of thanks for her favour.

I very much applaud your Grace's sanguine temper, as you call it, and your comparison of religion to paternal affection; but the world is divided into two sects, those that hope the best, and those that fear the worst; your Grace is of the former, which is the wiser, the nobler, and most pious principle; and although I endeavour to avoid being of the other, yet upon this article, I hear sometimes strange weaknesses; I compare true religion to learning and civility which have ever been in the world, but very often shifted their scenes, sometimes entirely leaving whole countries where they have long flourished, and removing to others that before were barbarous, which hath been the case of Christianity itself, particularly in many parts of Africa, and how far the wickedness of a nation may provoke God Almighty to inflict so great a judgement, is terrible to think. But as great Princes, when they have subdued all about them, presently have universal monarchy in their thoughts, so your Grace having conquered all the corruptions in a diocese, and then pursued your victories over a province, would fain go further and save a whole kingdom, and would never be quiet, if you could have your will, until you had converted the world.

And this reminds me of a pamphlet lately come out, pretended to be a letter hither from Ireland, against repealing the test; wherein your Grace's character is justly set forth: for the rest, some parts are very well, and others puerile, and some facts, as I am informed, wrong represented. The author hath gone out of his way, to reflect on me as a person likely to write for repealing the test, which I am sure is very unfair treatment. This is

all

all I am likely to get by the company I keep. I am used like a sober man with a drunken face, have the scandal of the vice without the satisfaction. I have told the ministry, with great frankness, my opinion, that they would never be able to repeal it, unless such changes should happen as I could not foresee, and they all believe I differ from them in that point.

Mr. Addison, who goes over first secretary, is a most excellent person, and being my most intimate friend, I shall use all my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things. I spoke to him with great plainness upon the subject of the test, and he says, he is confident my Lord Wharton will not attempt it, if he finds the bent of the nation against it.—I will say nothing further of his character to your Grace at present, because he hath half persuaded me to have some thoughts of returning to Ireland, and then it will be time enough: But, if that happens otherwise, I presume to recommend him to your Grace as a person you will think worth your acquaintance.

My Lord Berkley begins to drop his thoughts of going to Vienna, and indeed I freely gave my opinion against such a journey, for one of his age and infirmities. And I shall hardly think of going Secretary without him, although the Emperor's ministers here think I will, and have writ to Vienna. I agree with your Grace, that such a design was a little too late at my years; but, considering myself wholly useless in Ireland, and in a parish with an audience of half a score, and it being thought necessary that the Queen should have a Secretary at that court, my friends telling me it would not be difficult to compass it, I was a little tempted to pass some time abroad, until my friends would make me a little easier in my fortune at home. Beside, I had hopes of being sent in time to some other court, and in the mean while the pay would be forty shillings a-

day, and the advantage of living, if I pleased, in Lord Berkley's family. But, I believe, this is now all at an end.

I am, my Lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your Grace's

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

My Lord Wharton says, he intends for Ireland the beginning of March.

L E T T E R VIII.

March 6, 1709.

My LORD,

I Should have acknowledged yours of Feb. 10. long ago, if I had not stayed to see what became of the first-fruits. I have likewise yours of the 12th instant. I will now tell you the proceedings in this unhappy affair. Some time after the Prince's * death, Lord Pembroke sent me word by Sir Andrew Fontain, that the Queen had granted the thing, and afterwards took the compliment I made him upon it. He likewise, (I suppose), writ to the same purpose himself to the Archbishop of Dublin. I was then for a long time pursued by a cruel illness, that seized me at fits, and hindered me in meddling in any business; neither indeed could I at all suspect there was any need to stir any more in this, until often asking Mr. Addison, whether he had any orders about it? I was a little in pain, and de-

* See Note, p. 365.

Ired Mr. Addison to inquire at the Treasury whether such a grant had then passed? and, finding an unwillingness, I inquired myself; where Mr. Taylor assured me there was never any orders for such a grant. This was a month ago, and then I began to despair of the whole thing. Lord Pembroke was hard to be seen; neither did I think it worth talking the matter with them. What perplexed me most was, why he should tell me, and write to Ireland, that the business was done. (For if the account he sent to Ireland, were not as positive as what he gave me, I ought to be told so from thence). I had no opportunity of clearing this matter until the day I received your last letter, when his explanation was, that he had been promised he should carry over the grant, when he returned to Ireland, and that his memorial was now in the treasury. Yet, when I had formerly begged leave to follow this matter with Lord Pembroke only, in the form of common soliciting, he was uneasy, and told me Lord Pembroke had nothing at all to do with it; but that it was a matter purely between the Queen and himself, (as I have told you in former letters), which, however, I knew then to be otherwise, from Lord Pembroke himself. So that all I had left me to do was only the cold amusement of now and then refreshing Lord Pembroke's memory, or giving the ministry, as I could find opportunity, good dispositions towards the thing. Upon this notice from Lord Pembroke, I immediately went to Lord Wharton, (which was the first attendance I ever paid him); he was then in a great crowd; I told him my business; he said, he could not then discourse of it with me, but would the next day. I guessed the meaning of that; and saw the very person I expected, just come from him. Then I gave him an account of my errand. I think it not convenient to repeat here the particulars of his answer; but the formal part

part was this. That he was not yet properly Lord Lieutenant until he was sworn; that he expected the same application should be made to him, as had been done to other Lord Lieutenants; that he was very well disposed, &c. I took the boldness to begin answering those objections, and designed to offer some reasons; but he rose suddenly, turned off the discourse, and seemed in haste; so I was forced to take my leave. I had an intention to offer my reasons in a memorial, but was advised, by very good hands, to let it alone, as infallibly to no purpose. And, in short, I observe such a reluctance in some friends, whose credit I would employ, that I begin to think no further of it.

I had writ thus far, without receiving a former letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, wherein he tells me positively, that Lord Pembroke had sent him word the first-fruits were granted, and that Lord Wharton would carry over the Queen's letter, &c. I appeal to you what any man could think after this? neither indeed had I the least suspicion, until Mr. Addison told me he knew nothing of it: and that I had the same account from the treasury. It is wonderful, a great minister should make no difference between a grant, and the promise of a grant. And, it is as strange, that all I could say would not prevail on him to give me leave to solicit the finishing it at the treasury, which could not have taken the least grain of merit from him. Had I the least suspected it had been only a promise, I would have applied to Lord Wharton above two months ago; and so I believe would the Archbishop of Dublin, from Ireland; which might have prevented, at least, the present excuse, of not having had the same application; although others might, I suppose, have been found.

I sent last post by the Lord Lieutenant's commands, an inclosed letter, from his Excellency, to the Lord Primate. In answer to a passage in your
former

former letter Mr. Stoughton is recommended for a chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant. His sermon is much recommended by several here. He is a prudent person, and knows how to time things. Others of somewhat better figure are as wise as he. A bold opinion is a short easy way to merit, and very necessary for those who have no other.

I am extremely afflicted with a cold, and cough attending it, which must excuse any thing ill expressed in this letter. Neither is it a subject in the present circumstances very pleasant to dwell upon.

I am, &c.

*****A*****

L E T T E R IX.

London, Sept. 19, 1710.

My LORD,

I Arrived here on Thursday last, and inquiring for the two Bishops, I found my Lord of * Osfory was gone some time ago, and the Bishop of Killala † I could not hear of until next day, when I found he was set out early in the morning for Ireland; so that the letter to their Lordships is so far to no purpose. I cannot yet learn whether they left any papers behind them; neither shall I much inquire; and to say the truth, I was less solicitous to ask after the Bishop of Killala, when I heard the other was gone. They tell me, all affairs in the treasury are governed by Mr. † Harley, and that he is the person usually applied to; only of late, my Lord Powlet, upon what people have talked to him that way, hath exerted himself

* Dr. John Harstrong.

† Dr. Wm. Lloyd.

‡ Robert Harley, Esq; afterwards Earl of Oxford, often mentioned in these works.

a little, and endeavours to be as significant as he can. I have opportunities enough of getting some interest with his Lordship, who hath formerly done me good offices, although I have no personal acquaintance with him. After which I will apply to Mr. Harley, who formerly made some advances towards me, and, unless he be altered, will, I believe, think himself in the right to use me well: But I am inclined to suspend any particular solicitations until I hear from your Grace, and am informed what progress the two bishops have made; and until I receive their papers, with what other directions your Grace will please to send me.

Upon my arrival here, I found myself equally caressed by both parties, by one as a sort of purge for drawing me to lay hold of, and by the other as one discontented with the late men in power, for not being thorough in their designs, and therefore ready to approve present things. I was to visit my Lord Godolphin, who gave me a reception very unexpected, and altogether different from what I ever received from any great man in my life, altogether short, dry, and morose, not worth repeating to your Grace, until I have the honour to see you: I complained of it to some of his friends, as having, I thought, for some reasons, deserved much the contrary from his Lordship: They said, to excuse him, that he was over-run with spleen and peevishness upon the present posture of affairs, and used nobody better. It may be new to your Grace to tell you some circumstances of his removal. A letter was sent him by the groom of the Queen's stables, to desire he would break his staff, which would be the easiest way, both to her Majesty and him. Mr. Smith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, happened to come in a little after, my Lord broke his staff, and flung the pieces in the chimney, desiring Mr. Smith to be witness that he had obeyed the Queen's commands, and sent him

to the Queen with a letter and a message, which Mr. Smith delivered, and at the same time surrendered up his own office. The parliament is certainly to be dissolved, although the day is yet uncertain. The remainder of Whigs in employment are resolved not to resign, and a certain Lord told me, he had been the giver of that advice, and did in my presence prevail on an acquaintance of mine in a great post to promise the same thing; only Mr. * Boyle, they say, is resolved to give up. Every body counts infallibly upon a general removal. The Duke of Queensberry, it is said, will be steward; my Lord Cholmondeley is gone over to the new interest with great indignation of his friends. It is affirmed by the Tories, that the great motive of these changes was the absolute necessity of a peace, which they thought the Whigs were for perpetually delaying. Elections are now managing with greater violence and expence, and more competitors, than ever was known, yet the town is much fuller of the people than usually at this time of the year, waiting until they see some issue of the matter. The Duke of Ormond is much talked of for Ireland, and I imagine he believeth something of it himself. Mr. Harley is looked upon as first minister, and may not Lord Shrewsbury †, and his Grace helps on the opinion, whether out of policy or truth, upon all occasions professing to stay until he speaks with Mr. Harley. The Queen continues at Kensington in-

* Secretary of State.

† Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury; who before the demise of Queen Anne had been Secretary of State, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Louis XIV. King of France; and at the death of her Majesty, he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household; three of the highest places of trust, honour, and profit, never in the hands of one person before. His Grace died without issue, by which the title of Duke became extinct; but the title of Earl of Shrewsbury devolved on Gilbert Talbot, a Roman Catholic, the next heir.

disposed with the gout, of which she hath frequent returns.

I deferred writing to your Grace, as late as I could this post, until I might have something to entertain you: But there is such an universal uncertainty among those who pretend to know most, that little can be depended on. However, it may be some amusements to tell you the sentiments of people here, and, as bad as they are, I am sure they are the best that are stirring; for it is thought there are not three people in England entirely in the secret, nor is it sure, whether even those three are agreed in what they intend to do. I am, with great respect,

My Lord,
 Your Grace's
 Most obedient, and
 Most humble servant,
 J. SWIFT.

I have not time to read this and correct the literal mistakes.

I was to wait on the Duke of Ormond, and to set him right in the story of the college, about the * statue, &c.

LETTER X. †

London, October 10, 1710.

My LORD,

I Had the honour of your Grace's letter of September 16, but I was in no pain to acknowledge

* Some young gentlemen of the University took the truncheon out of the right hand of the equestrian statue of King William III. on College-Green, Dublin, and were expelled for it.

† This letter being in part only printed in a former volume, and being imperfect there in other respects, it has been thought proper to print the whole here.

it, nor shall be at any other time, until I have something that I think worth troubling you, because I am very sensible how much an insignificant letter is worse than none at all. I had likewise the memorial, &c. in another packet; and I beg your Grace to inclose whatever packets you send me (I mean of bulk) under a paper directed to Mr. Steele *, at his office in the Cockpit, and not for me at Mr. Steele's. I should have been glad the Bishop had been here, although I take Bishops to be the worst sollicitors in the world, except in their own concerns; they cannot give themselves the little trouble of attendance that other men are content to swallow; else, I am sure, their two Lordships might have succeeded easier than men of my level can reasonably hope to do.

As soon as I received the packets, I went to wait upon Mr. Harley †. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate, and got myself represented (which I might justly do) as one extremely ill used by the last ministry, after some obligations, because I refused to go certain lengths they would have had me. This happened to be in some sort Mr. Harley's own case. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, as I was whispered that he would, and the more, upon the ill usage I had met with. I sat with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I gave him a history of the whole business, and the steps that had been made in it, which he heard as I could wish, and promised with great readiness his best credit to effect it. I mentioned the difficulties we had met from Lord Lieutenants and their Secretaries, who would not suffer others to solicit, and neglected it

* Sir Richard Steele, often mentioned in these works.

† Lord High Treasurer of England, afterwards created Earl of Oxford.

themselves. He fell in with me intirely, and said, neither they nor himself should have the merit of it, but the Queen, to whom he would shew my memorial with the first opportunity, in order, if possible, to have it done in this interregnum. I said, it was a great encouragement to the bishops that he was in the treasury, whom they knew to have been the chief adviser of the Queen, to grant the same favour in England. That the honour and merit of this would certainly be his, next the Queen; but that it was nothing to him who had done so much greater things; and that for my part, I thought he was obliged to the clergy of Ireland, for giving him an occasion of gratifying the pleasure he took in doing good to the church. He received my compliment extremely well, and renewed his promises with great kindness. I forgot to tell your Grace, that when I said I was impowered, &c. he desired to see my powers, and then I heartily wished they had been a little more ample; and I have since wondered what scruple a number of bishops could have of empowering a clergyman to do the church and them a service, without any prospect or imagination of interest for himself, further than about ten shillings a year.

Mr. Harley hath invited me to dine with him to-day; but I shall not put him upon this discourse so soon. If he begins it himself I will add at bottom, whatever there is of moment. He said, Mr. Secretary St. John * desires to be acquainted with me, and that he will bring us together, which may be of further help; although I told him I had no thoughts of applying to any but himself, wherein he differed from me, desiring I would speak to others, if it were but for form; and seemed to mean, as if he would avoid the envy of doing things alone. But an old courtier (an intimate

* Afterwards Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE.

friend of mine) with whom I consulted, advised me still to let him know, I relied wholly upon his good inclinations and credit with the Queen. I find I am forced to say all this very confusedly, just as it lies in my memory; but, perhaps it may give your grace a truer notion of what passed, than if I had writ in more order. Besides, I am forced to omit the greatest part of what I said, being not proper for a letter at such a distance; for I told very freely the late causes which had stopt this matter, and removed many odious misrepresentations, &c.

I beg whatever letters are sent to Bishops or others in this matter by your Grace or the Primate, may be inclosed to me, that I may stifle or deliver them, as the course of the affair shall require. As for a letter from your Grace to the Queen, you say it needs advice; and I am sure it is not from me, who shall not presume to offer, but perhaps from what I have writ, you may form some judgment or other.

As for public affairs, I confess I began this letter on a half sheet, merely to limit myself on a subject with which I did not know whether your Grace would be entertained. I am not yet convinced that any access to men in power gives a man more truth or light than the politics of a coffee-house. I have known some great ministers, who would seem to discover the very inside of their hearts. when I was sure they did not value whether I had proclaimed all they had said at Charing-cross. But I never knew one great minister, who made any scruple to mould the alphabet into whatever words he pleased, or be more difficult about any facts, than his porter is about that of his Lords being at home; so that whoever hath so little to do, as to desire some knowledge in secrets of state, must compare what he hears from several great men, as from one great man, at several times, which is equally different.

People

People were surpris'd, when the court stopt its hands as to its further removals; the comptroller, a Lord of the Admiralty, and some others, told me, they expected every day to be dismissed; but they were all deceived, and the higher Tories are very angry: But some time ago at Hampton-court, I picked out the reason from a dozen persons; and told Sir J. Holland, I would lay a wager he would not lose his staff so soon as he imagined: The ministry are afraid of too great a majority of their own side, in the House of Commons, and therefore stopt short in their changes) yet some refiners think they have here gone too far already, for of thirty new members in the present elections, about twenty-six are Tories. The Duke of Ormond seemeth still to stand the fairest for Ireland; although I hear some faint hopes they will not nominate very soon. The ruin of the late party was owing to a great number, and complication of causes, which I have had from persons able enough to inform me, and that is all we can mean by a *good hand*, for the veracity is not to be relied on. The Duchess of Marlborough's removal hath been seven years working; that of the Treasurer above three, and he was to be dismissed before Lord Sunderland. Besides the many personal causes, that of breaking measures settled for a peace four years ago, had a great weight, when the French had complied with all terms, &c. In short, they apprehended the old party to be intirely against a peace, for some time, until they were rivetted fast, too fast to be broke, as they otherwise expected, if the war should conclude too soon. I cannot tell (for it is just come into my head) whether some unanimous addressees, from those who love the church in Ireland, or from Dublin, or your Grace and the clergy, might not be seasonable; or, whether my Lord Wharton's being not yet suspended may yet hinder it.

I forgot

I forgot to tell your Grace, that the memorial I gave Mr. Harley was drawn up by myself, and was an abstract of what I had said to him; it was as short as I could make it; that which you sent being too long, and of another nature.

I dined to day with Mr. Harley; but I must humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I say no more at present, for reasons I may shortly let you know. In the mean time I desire your Grace to believe me, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most dutiful,

And most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

The END.



To Dr. KING

I have to thank you for the
 copy of the book which you
 have sent me. I had a
 great deal of pleasure in
 reading it. I shall be
 glad to hear from you
 again. I am, Sir,
 your obedient servant,
 J. S. SWIFT

My love,

Your Obedt. Servant,

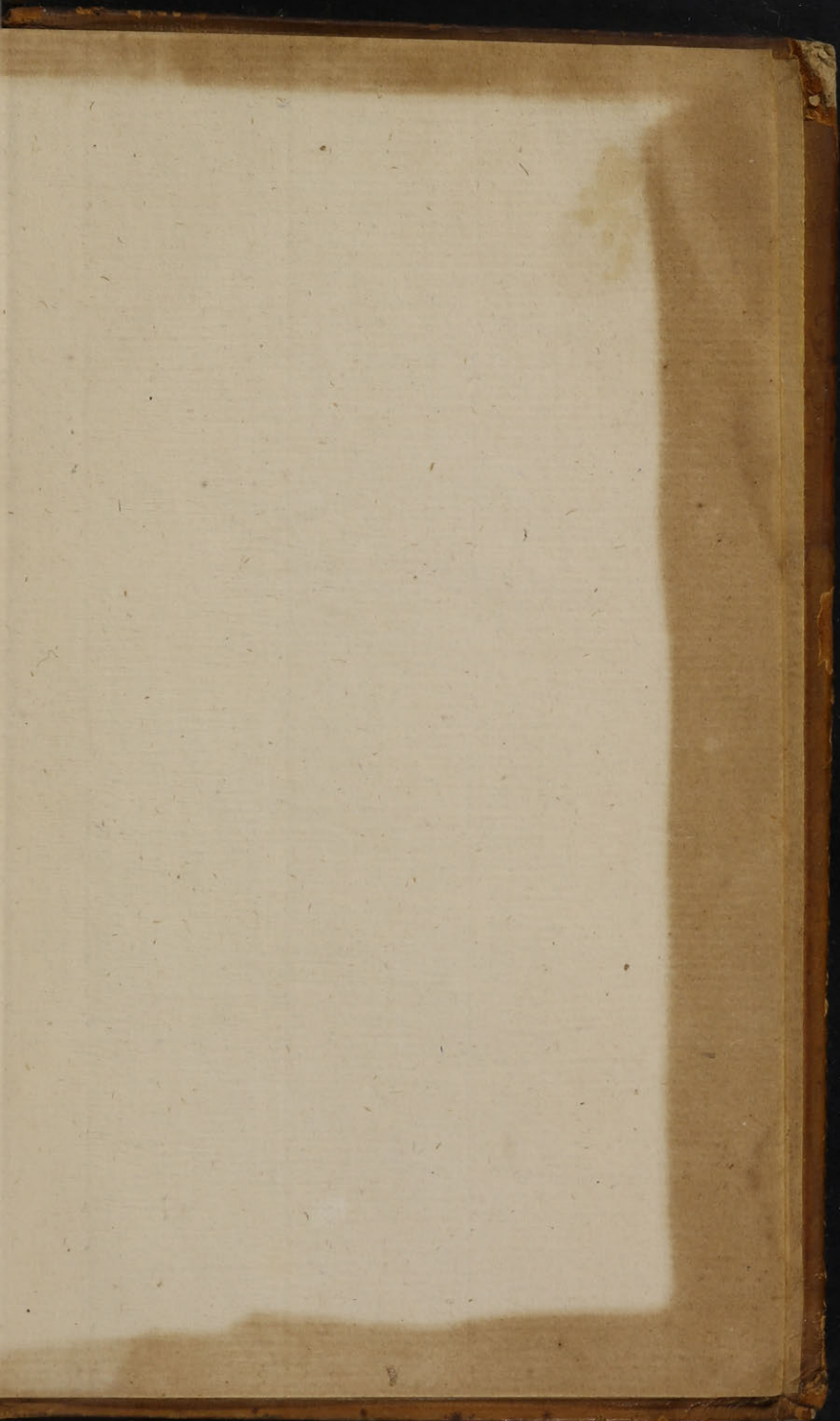
John Swift

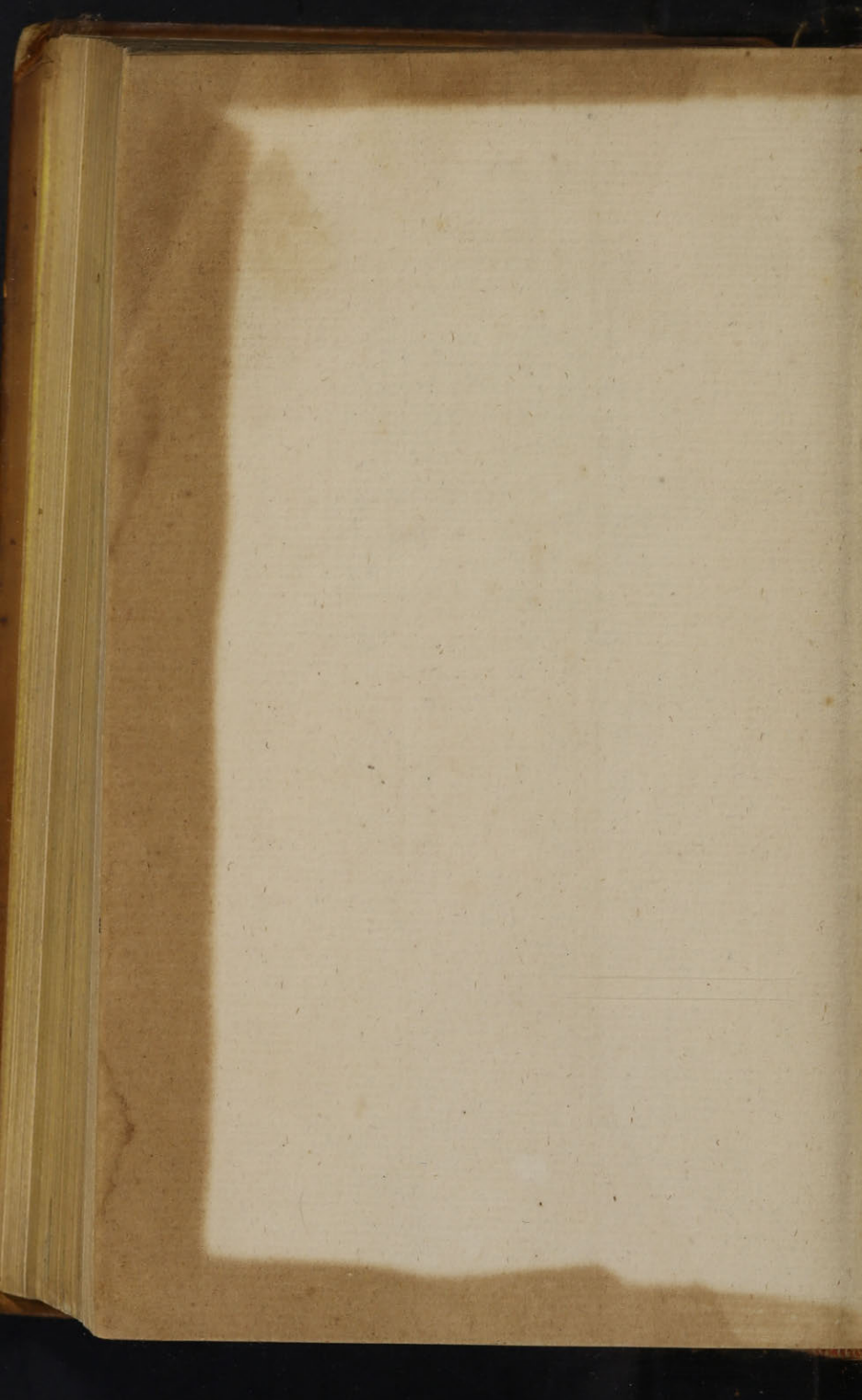
And with kindest regards

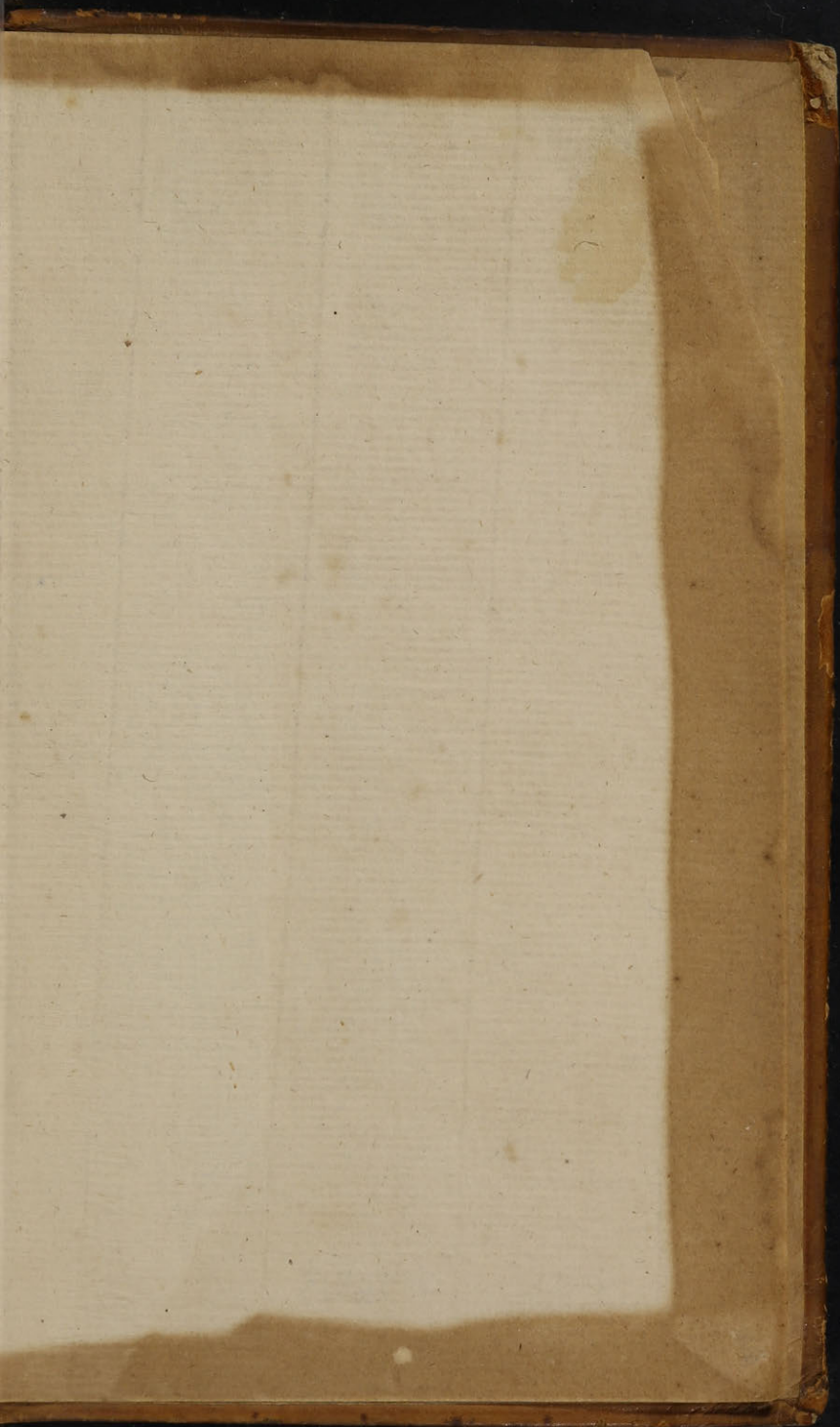
J. S. SWIFT

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