

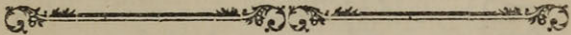
THE
W O R K S

O F

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME IV.


EDINBURGH:

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

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THE

WORKS

OF
DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,

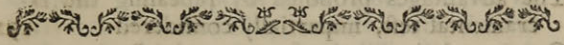
Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral,

VOLUME IV.

EDINBURGH,

Printed by A. Donaldson, and T. Cadell, in
Edinburgh.

MDCCLXXIII.


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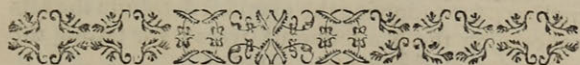
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An humble ADDRESS to both Houses
of PARLIAMENT*.

By M. B. DRAPIER.

*Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
Victoris.*

I Have been told, that petitions and addresses, to either king or parliament, are the right of every subject; provided they consist with that respect which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest proposals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the stile of *advice*; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if proposals should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope, every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's wishes. For instance; I may be allowed to wish, that some further laws were enacted for the advancement of

* This address is without a date, but it appears to have been written during the first session of parliament in Lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inserted with the preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the Irish edition, two dates are assigned to the following tract; in the advertisement prefixed it is said to have been written the first session of Carteret's government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival.

trade, for the improvement of agriculture, now strangely neglected against the maxims of all wise nations; for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; for setting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty wish of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this session would begin by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hardwareman; who illegally and clandestinely, as appears by your own votes and addresses, procured a patent in England for coining halfpence in that kingdom to be current here. This I say is the wish of the whole nation, *very few excepted*; and upon account of those few, is more strongly and justly the wish of the rest: those few consisting either of Wood's confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgement and strong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation by securing or advancing themselves. And because such men proceed upon a system of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen hundred pounds a year, salary and perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800 l. a-year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be on foot; such, for instance, as this of Wood; which, if it succeed, in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, (although, I am confident, it would have done so five sixths). Suppose, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately supporting this project, will please those by whom I expect to be preferred, or higher exalted: nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall

shall keep my employment ten years, not to mention a fair chance of a better. This at 1500 l. a-year amounts in ten years to 15,000 l. My estate by the success of the said project sinks 400 l. a-year; which, at twenty years purchase, is but 8000 l.: so that I am a clear gainer of 7000 l. upon the balance. And during all that period I am possessed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And if the project miscarry, my private merit is still entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practised, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the ruin or safety of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a senate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise Lord Bacon mentions a sort of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would set a house on fire for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember and hath turned his thoughts to observe the course of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the revolution, must acknowledge, that the highest points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have supposed: the only wonder is, how these artists were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public assemblies to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience latitude enough for vice, if a man in station be allowed to act injustice upon the usual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, serving his party, or consulting his preferments, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of particular persons. But to deliver up our whole country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to certain destruction, hath

not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable casuists on the side of corruption. It were far better, that all who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatsoever above the degree of a constable, (according to the scheme and intention of a great minister gone to his own place *), than to live under the daily apprehension of a few false brethren among ourselves. Because, in the former case, we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed, since none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this desperate affair of the new halfpence I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shopkeeper to have been hitherto so bold, as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of some very mollifying expressions which were used, and very gentle expedients proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate; but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own ruin in the success of Wood's attempt, these grand compounders have been more cautious.

But that the same spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other instances of great compliance) from certain circumstances, that have attended some late proceedings in a court of judicature *. There is not any common-place more frequently insisted on by those who treat of our constitution, than the greatest happiness and excellency of trials by juries; yet if this blessed part of our law be eludible at pleasure by the force of

* The late Earl of Sunderland.

* By Chief Justice Whitshed, whose method with a jury may be seen in the note which follows the "Proposal for the use of Irish manufactures," and that at the end of "Seasonable advice to a grand jury."

power, frowns, and artifice, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in Europe. And surely these high proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their necessary subsistence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; because it was obvious, that so much superabundant zeal could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to damp that spirit raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of William Wood and his abettors; to which spirit alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being hitherto preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by your wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanor upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our interest in overbalance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to **SOMEBODY**, or (as the hawkers called him) **NOBODY**, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to shew the bad consequences that might follow from any public resentment to the disadvantage of his ally, Mr. Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being disposed of from England. One of these emissaries came to me and urged the same topic: I answered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of leasers and gleaners. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who intreated his ass to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the ass refused to give

give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason; because he could not possibly change his present master for a worse: the enemy could not make him *fare harder, beat him more cruelly*, or load him with heavier burthens.

Upon these and many other considerations I may affirm it to be the wish of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be stigmatized by public censure; not from any hope that such a censure will amend their practices, or hurt their interest, (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both), but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself; for I write in great security; and am resolved that none shall merit at my expense, further than by shewing their zeal to discover, prosecute, and condemn me for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country: and yet I am conscious to myself, that I never had the least intention to reflect on his Majesty's ministers, nor on any other person, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of that number. However, some would have it, that I went too far; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have gone further, and I think I could not easily have fared worse. And therefore I was no further affected with their proclamation, and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the sins of the people. And as to the poor printer, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies the general wishes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal wish, that your first proceeding would be to examine into the
 pernicious

pernicious fraud of William Wood ; so I must add as the universal opinion, that all schemes of commutation, composition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the public ; against the dignity of a free kingdom ; and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a conivance to admit one thousand pounds in these halfpence will produce in time the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consented to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more safe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present, (which however God forbid), and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those palliatives, which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are, upon all occasions, and in all diseases, so ready to administer.

In the small compass of my reading (which however hath been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling), I have observed, that grievances have always preceded supplies ; and if ever grievances had a title to such a pre-eminence, it must be this of Wood ; because it is not only the greatest grievance that any country could suffer, but a grievance of such a kind, that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any supplies at all, except in adulterate copper ; unless a tax were laid for paying the civil and military lists, and the large pensions, with real commodities instead of money ; which, however, might be liable to some few objections as well as difficulties ; for altho' the common soldiers might be content with beef, and mutton, and wool, and malt, and leather ; yet I am in some doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous pensioners, the civil officers,
and

and others, who all live in England upon Irish pay, as well as those few who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost astonishment.

After the unanimous addresses to his Sacred Majesty against this patent of Wood from both houses of parliament, which are the three estates of the kingdom; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is intrusted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one side; and a few volunteers without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of halfpence in Ireland: witnesses are called on the behalf of Wood (of what credit, I have formerly shewn*): upon the issue the patent is found good and legal; all his Majesty's officers here (not excepting the military) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever, and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonsuited in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause between John Dow, plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not

* In letter 3.

understood them to be our governors, counsellors, or judges. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, Whether Ireland wanted halfpence? For there is no doubt, but we do want both halfpence, gold and silver; and we have numberless other wants, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with religion and laws, or any degree of soil and sunshine; but for what demerits on our side, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of halfpence was either affirmed or denied in any of our addressees or declarations against those of Wood. We alledged the fraudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baseness of his metal, and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and discouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was passed without the least reference hither; and without mention of any security given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases. These, and many other arguments we offered; but still the patent went on; and at this day our ruin would have been half completed, if God in his mercy had not raised an universal detestation of these half-pence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them, since we are not under obligations to do so by any law either human or divine.

But, in the name of God and of all justice and piety, when the King's Majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood, that he conceived, believed, intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his sub-

jects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom, of the most loyal subjects upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up against him; a kingdom, where the passage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where Papists have less power, and less land than in England? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, *the good of this nation*, when they advised the passing this patent? Can the person of Wood be otherwise regarded, than as the instrument, the mechanic, the head-workman, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps? If I employ a shoeboy, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the person of William Wood alone; because no other appears, and we are not to reason upon surmises; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, (for we cannot do less), that this patent for the coining of halfpence was wholly intended by a gracious King, and a wise public-spirited ministry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do upon maturest consideration universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these halfpence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to complete the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country: *is it, was it, can it, or will it* ever be a question, not whether such a kingdom, or William Wood, should be a gainer; but, whether such a kingdom should be wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated, made a scene of misery and desolation, for the sake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our universal wish, that God would put it into your hearts to be his instruments for so good a work.

For

For my own part, who am but one man, of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death, rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that shall be liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions; shall another proclamation issue against me because I presume to take my country's part against William Wood, where her final destruction is intended? But whenever you shall please to impose silence upon me, I will submit; because I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in some manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at mercy under so vile an adversary, is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth: and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment as is worthy of a parliament.

It is likewise our universal wish, that his Majesty should grant liberty to coin halfpence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament here shall advise: since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every petty prince abroad; and was always practised by Scotland to the very time of the union; yet surely Scotland, as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself a fourth part the value of Ireland; (for Bishop Burnet says, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of Britain); and with respect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the side,

is more dangerous and painful than a beam or a spike at a distance.

The histories of England, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects from the abuses of coin by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon occasions, to the public loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tenderest point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unsettled, no man can well be said to have any property at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some indulgence from England; not only upon the score of Christianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immense profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe, from what it doth at present.

The rents of land in Ireland, since they have been of late so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at least is directly transmitted to those who are perpetual absentees in England; as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers and England a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The

The occasional absentees, for business, health, or diversion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the post-office.

The numerous pensions paid to persons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in England, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the house of Lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to England for coals, whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wisdom in discouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian stuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, besides the profit to England *, is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to England, by selling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times

* From whence these commodities were exported to Ireland, the East-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured.

the prime cost : " A proceeding without example
" in the Christian or Heathen world."

Our own wool returned upon us in English manufactures to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to England ; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in England *.

These, and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near seven hundred thousand pounds *per annum* clear profit to England. And, upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of commerce, he shall find, that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a loser, which we do not possess in the highest perfection ; somewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood ; and now the branches are all cut off, he stands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this subject of perpetual absentees I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections ; and considering the usual motives of human actions, which are pleasure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in any of the three. I speak not of those English peers or gentlemen, who, beside their estates at home, have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate ; but I mean those lords and wealthy knights, or squires, whose birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune, (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances), are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during several years, when I resided in

* Many of the above articles have been since particularly computed by another writer, to whose treatise the reader is referred.

England ;

England; and truly I could not discover, that the figure they made was by any means a subject for envy, at least it gave me two very different passions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or sometimes appearing behind a croud at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hide-Park, or losing their money at the chocolate-house, or getting news, votes, and minutes, about five days before us in Dublin; I say, besides these and a few other privileges of less importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder, how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a foreign country, when he might live with lustre in his own; and even at less than half that expense, which he strains himself to make without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for size with the ox. I have been told by scholars, that Cæsar said he would rather be the first man in I know not what village, than the second in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæsar: but to be preceded by thousands and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or distinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable situation of life to a person of title or wealth, who can so cheaply and easily, shine in his native country.

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country-seats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to supply expenses in England; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons hath been the cause of another fatal consequence, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that very considerable number of lords who possess the amplest fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs

of

of their own country in parliament; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house would, in all human probability, have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, because they never can be remedied: and we might then have decided our own properties among ourselves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to another kingdom for justice, to our infinite expense, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of servitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were so desirous to determine our controversies; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irksome to that illustrious body: and whoever hath frequented the painted chamber and courts of requests must have observed, that they are never so nobly filled, as when an Irish appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that bleak and barren climate; and although some of them made frequent journeys to London, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made England their constant habitation before the union: or if they did, I am sure it was generally to their own advantage; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and by that means enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich absentees under the degree of peers; what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether those who live in another kingdom upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further

ther than upon account of the revenues they receive from it; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to vacant seats, who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and consequently can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, if it be a question at all.

But, besides the prodigious profits which England receives by the transmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of the whole kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a receptacle, wherein to disburden themselves of their supernumerary pretenders to offices; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, like birds of passage, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their credit and employments are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say what Luther said of himself; "POOR Ireland maketh many rich."

If amidst all our difficulties I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what possible advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the regular seeds of party and faction among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of equivocal generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our birth-place and climate.

The parties in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to favour the pretender; and those who were zealous opposers of him. Secondly, of those who were for and against a toleration of Dissenters by law. Thirdly, of high and low

church ; or, (to speak in the cant of the times) of Whig and Tory. And fourthly, of court and country. If there be any more, they are beyond my observation or politics : for as to subaltern or occasional parties, they have all been derivations from the same originals.

Now, it is manifest, that all these incitements to faction, party, and division are wholly removed from among us. For as to the pretender, his cause is both desperate and obsolete : there are very few now alive, who were men in his father's time, and in that prince's interest ; and in all others the obligation of conscience hath no place * : even the Papists in general of any substance or estates, and their priests almost universally, are what we call Whigs in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the smart, and see the scars of their former wounds ; and very well know, that they must be made a sacrifice to the least attempts towards a change ; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their superstition restored under any prince whatsoever.

Secondly, the Dissenters are now tolerated by law : neither do we observe any murmurs at present from that quarter, except those reasonable complaints they make of persecution, because they are excluded from civil employments ; but their number being very small in either house of parliament, they are not yet in a situation to erect a party : because however indifferent men may be with regard to religion, they are now grown wise enough to know, that if such a latitude were allowed to Dissenters, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find other hands to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, the dispute between high and low church is now at an end ; two thirds of the bishops having

* The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.

been promoted in this reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed all preferments in their gift to those they could well confide in: the deaneries all, except three, and many principal church-livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess such a body of clergy, as will never engage in controversy upon that antiquated and exploded subject.

Lastly, as to court and country parties, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English parliaments; this kingdom hath not for several years past been a proper scene whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in distant hands, and the reversions diligently watched and secured; the temporary ones of any inviting value are all bestowed elsewhere as fast as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like myself. And therefore, to institute a court and country party without materials, would be a very new system in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor unless in a nation of idiots can ever succeed, for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not sell his cow for a groat.

Therefore I conclude, that all party and faction with regard to public proceedings are now extinguished in this kingdom*; neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly revive: unless some new causes be administered, which cannot be done without crossing the interests of those who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures. And general calamities, without hope of redress, are allowed to be the greatest uniters of mankind.

* Since this discourse was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much mistaken in his conjectures.

However we must dislike the causes, yet this effect of begetting an universal concord among us in all national debates, as well as in cities, corporations, and country-neighbourhoods, may keep us at least alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in peace and amity. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the *subject of the quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in quiet. The former part hath been our case, I hope the latter will be so too; that we shall sit down amicably together, at least until we have something that may give us a title to fall out, since nature hath instructed even a brood of gossings to stick together, while the kite is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm union in any country, where every man wishes the same thing with relation to the public, may in several points of the greatest importance in some measure supply the defect of power, and even of those rights which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind. If the universal wish of the nation upon any point were declared by the unanimous vote of the house of Commons and a reasonable number of Lords, I should think myself obliged in conscience to act in my sphere according to that vote; because in all free nations I take the proper definition of law to be, *The will of the majority of those who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such votes or declarations have not received such a confirmation for certain accidental reasons; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the subject, provided they neither oppose the King's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force: none of which however can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for instance,
if

if nine in ten of the house of Commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal Peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *brass coin*, except under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as enemies to the King and the nation; I should think it a heinous sin in myself to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same censure against those who wore Indian stuffs and callicoës, or woollen manufactures imported from abroad, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, I should readily, heartily, and chearfully pay obedience; and to my utmost power persuade others to do the like; because there is no law of this land obliging us either to receive such coin, or to wear such foreign manufactures.

* Upon this last article I could humbly wish, that the Reverend the clergy would set us an example by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Irish drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the laity, and set many hands to works, so they would find their advantage in the cheapness, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by too many among that venerable body. † And in order to this I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade would contrive some decent stuffs and silks for clergymen at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporations of weavers in silk and woollen would publish some proposals, (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament), inviting persons of all degrees, and of both sexes, to

* This hath since been put in practice by the persuasions and influence of the supposed author; but much defeated by the most infamous fraud of shopkeepers.

† This scheme was likewise often urged to the weavers by the supposed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice.

wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening. So that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman, who did me the wrong, should be published; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, beside the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation; and the gentry call for English cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have, (and often too justly by their own faults), that the goodness more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of these foul and foolish proceedings too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received such a fatal blow in the only article of trade allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of Wood's project could undo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen-cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain; but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the
northern

northern weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen-trade to Spain would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishment were to be inflicted on numbers of men, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of traitors, and enemies to God and their country; who, for the prospect of a little present gain, do not only ruin themselves, (for that alone would be an example to the rest, and a blessing to the nation), but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the plague could have been confined only to those who were partakers in the guilt, had it travelled hither from Marseilles, those wretches would have died with less title to pity, than a highwayman going to the gallows.

But it happens very unluckily, that for some time past all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the public service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to my knowledge, hath been the stile of some persons, whose ancestors (I mean those among them who had any) and themselves have been flying in princes faces these fourscore years; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them wings to enable them for such a flight.

Thus, about four years ago, when a * discourse was published, endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own wollen manufactures, full of the

* The proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.

most dutiful expressions to the King, and without the least party-hint, it was termed *flying in the King's face*; the printer was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope it will somewhere be remembered further, the jury kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a special verdict; the † judge on the bench invoking God for his witness, when he asserted, that the author's design was to bring in the Pretender.

And thus also, my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of Wood's coin were called by the same persons, *flying in the King's face*: which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that vile representation of the royal countenance in William Wood's adulterate copper to his sacred Majesty's face; or if it were, my flying was not against the impression, but the baseness of the metal; because I well remembered, that the image which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship it, was not of *copper* but pure *gold*. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few royal images of that metal among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our veneration for his Majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much enliven it with the mixture of comfort and satisfaction.

Alexander the Great would suffer no statuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in stone or metal. How must he have treated such an operator as Wood, who goes about with sackfulls of drofs, odiously misrepresenting his prince's countenance; and would force them by thousands upon every one of us at above six times the value?

But, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himself, together with his fa-

† Judge Whistler.

vourers, abettors, supporters, either public or private; by those who connive at this project, or discourage and discountenance his opposers for fear of lessening their favour, or hazarding their employments; by those who endeavour to damp the spirit of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as by their writings or discourses do all they can to keep it up; by those softeners, sweeteners, compounders, and expedient-mongers, who shake their heads so strongly that we can hear their pockets gingle; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of such enemies to the kingdom I was *flying in the King's face*; or thought they were better representers of his Majesty, than that very coin for which they are secret or open advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those wishes of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following

First, That an end might be put to our apprehensions of Wood's halfpence, and to any danger of the like destructive scheme for the future.

Secondly, That halfpence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, That the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of Commons, were declared by some unanimous and hearty votes against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing Indian silks or callicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation: because we are under a greater necessity to do so, since we are not allowed to export any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, That some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of natives in all those parts of this kingdom, where the Irish abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the least spirit of a projector, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very considerable charge.

Fifthly, That due encouragement should be given to agriculture; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers ingrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, That the defects in those acts for planting forest-trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly effectual; except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to inclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of skill and industry. The neglect of copping woods cut down hath likewise been of very evil consequences. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of cutting down their own woods before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in shipping or building.

I may add that absurd practice of cutting turf without any regularity; whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the turf more difficult

cult to come at and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholesome by stagnating pools and marshes; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed of cutting scraws (as they call them), which is flaying of the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and sometimes in low ground, with a thin green sward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into a bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful countrymen, that by these two practices in turf and scraws the kingdom loseth some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; besides the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for turf; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their turf home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer-pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because in some periods of my life, I had opportunity and curiosity to observe, from what causes those great errors in every branch of country-management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some perhaps would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all possible means to avoid. And for the same reason I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But, as to the lands of those who are perpetual absentees, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants sat at easy rents; but for some years past they have

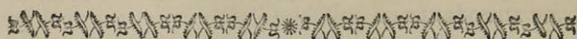
been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of merciless agents from England, than even those who held under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious estate in the county of Cork being let upon leases for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was so high, that the tenants begged leave to surrender their leases, and were content to lose their fines.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a subject worthy of the highest inquiry in any country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those which are of the greatest importance; whereof I defy the most learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the benefit which God and nature intended to us; as manifestly appears by our happy situation for commerce, and the great number of our excellent ports. So that, I think, little is left us besides the cultivating our own soil, encouraging agriculture, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the necessity of sending for corn and bark from England, and timber from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in England, that few politicians, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a commonwealth, as an honest farmer; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a perpetual service to his country; which it is a great controversy whether any of the former ever did, since the creation of the world; but no controversy

troverſy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of miſchief.

Although, in the foregoing letters, Dr Swift talks of liberty in a ſtrain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reaſon, juſtice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole courſe of his arguments, from the diſtinguiſhing characteristics of the moſt loyal ſubject; whatever might to the contrary have been ſuppoſed by a few degenerate ſlaves and ſycophants in thoſe days; even by that ſort of people, who, as the wiſe Lord Bacon expreſſes it, would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

However indeed ſuch was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 l. was offered for the author of the 4th letter, chiefly becauſe he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms worthy of a brave and reſolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his Sovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the viciffitudes of this world, his Majeſty's affairs might poſſibly take in other parts of his dominions.----- I ſhall only remark upon this doctrine, the contrary of which would, I think, have been high treaſon, and againſt his oath of allegiance, that how much ſoever it was condemned in the 1724 by ſlaves and flatterers; it was in 1745 ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed in the minds of men, that if there had been occaſion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the ſword in defence of their ſovereign, (which, beſide their loyalty and affection to his Majeſty, they have many reaſons to thank God for that there was not), K. George II. would undoubtedly have been ſupported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his Majeſty's affairs in other parts of his dominions have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout all Europe; even by the grand children of thoſe men ſo renowned for their valorous achievements in the days of K. William III. ----- As the author of the 4th letter could not be diſcovered, Harding the printer was indiſted in the uſual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whiſtled above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country and to the public intereſt, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Juſtice in a rage diſſolved the jury: on account of which he deſerved to have been impeached by the houſe of commons; becauſe the diſſolving of a grand jury, &c. See above, p. 85. l. 6. *Swift*.



The DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and set out in his own proper colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS against Mr. WOOD'S HALFPENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Esq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I Make not the least doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and considered what I shall offer upon the present occasion in my own defence, and against your Drapier: when ye shall make an exact assay of the arguments on both sides between him and me; and, lastly, when ye shall observe, as I shall point it out, the abusive and reproachful language with which he has treated me; I say, as I said before, I make not the least doubt, but ye will all to a man reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

In his first letter to the tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general of the kingdom of Ireland, [above, p. 218.*] he begins with the wheedling preamble of Brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-subjects. A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you best; he that is getting you no money at all, or I who am this present providing more money for you than you shall know what to do with. O sad!

* The pages referred to in this paper are in Vol. 3d.

O fad ! I am really concerned for the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and says.

“ It is a great fault among you, that when a person writes with no other intention than to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.” [p. 220.]

Artful enough indeed ! This he did to draw you in like so many gudgeons, to swallow his false arguments ; and you see he has accomplished his end at last ; for had ye not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my halfpence these five or six months past.

“ Now, you must know, that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth ; and if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brasier, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brasier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his.” [p. 221.]

Ay, would he give three pence. But one may see his malice here with half an eye. He does not tell of the vast expence and trouble I am at in coining ; the number of clerks I keep in pay ; how much I was out of pocket in getting my patent ; the great expence I shall be at in shipping them to Ireland ; which must, in the nature of things, be a vast drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble ; and therefore it cannot be supposed I can either put as much or as good copper in the halfpence for Ireland, as those for England. But, good Lord ! is not a halfpenny a halfpenny when once it is called so ; and, if it passes for a halfpenny, can you expect any more ? Good people, never mind one word he says, though he sells you a dozen hats at five shillings a-piece, which is three pound, is but five shillings in my money ; this is perfect transubstantiation to juggle you

out

out of your senses—three pound is but five shillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

“ This same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest;” [and why should not I?]; “ he is an Englishman, and had great friends,” [God be thanked for that]; “ and it seems knew very well where to give money to those that would speak to others, that could speak to the King, and would tell a fair story.” [I grant that, and what would he infer?] Then he proceeds: “ If his Majesty the King saw that it would utterly ruin the kingdom of Ireland, he would shew his displeasure to somebody or other. But a word to the wife is enough.” [We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well spoken what he thought, like an honest man. He proceeds]: “ Most of you must have heard with what anger our honourable house of Commons received an account of this Wood’s patent. There were several fine speeches made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat, from the bottom to the top; and several smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in print, and in so confident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole parliament put together.” [p.221. 222.]

The parliament was angry ---- made speeches ---- found me to be a wicked cheat---and I answered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament --- Well, I find this Drapier will say any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Drapier answer me only these three questions: Where did this parliament sit? And where are the speeches? And where is my answer?

“ The common soldier, when he goes to the market or alehouse, will offer this money,”
[meaning

[meaning my halfpence]; “and if it be refused, perhaps he will swagger, and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or alewife,” [threaten indeed! he will do it in earnest], “or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad halfpence.” [Why should he not? Is it any robbery if he pays them!] “in this and the like cases, the shopkeeper, or victualler, or any other tradesman, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood’s money; for example, *twenty pence for a quart of ale.*” [p. 223.] The devil is in his conscience, *twenty pence for a quart of ale!* I believe such another proposal was never since Adam. To consider all other things in proportion, what mischief would this occasion? That is, fifteen shillings a-bottle for claret, at eighteen pence a-bottle; for a flask of Burgundy five and forty shillings; fifty shillings a-day for a coach; ten shillings a dinner for a twelvepenny ordinary; thirty shillings a-day for a chair; ten pence a fresh egg; five pence a halpenny roll; two pence halfpenny for a pint of small beer. In short, by his advice, victuallers, vintners, and tradesfolk would soon get all the money of the kingdom into their own hands, should they all follow the pot-of-ale example. And now to consider the poor, they would be undone by the Drapier’s advice; the butcher would have eighteen pence for a sheep’s head; the baker ten shillings for a twelvepenny loaf; and thus would it be in proportion as to all their other exigencies. No, no, rather take my advice; *two pence a quart, and my blessing.*

In p. 223. he denies that my halfpence are lawful money of England or Ireland. I suppose then he would have them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for they must be lawful somewhere. For does he think, under the scarcity of money we find at present, that we can afford to let fourscore and

ten thousand pound lie dead? I need no other argument to shew what a friend he is to the public.

“ They say, 'Squire Conolly hath sixteen thousand pounds a-year: now, if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty horses to bring up his half years rent.” [p. 224.]

Suppose he must, where is the great hardship? If a man of sixteen thousand a-year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horses to draw his money, he deserves to want it. I'll engage his under-tenants will lay it down at his door, and it shall not cost him a farthing for the carriage.

“ These halfpence, if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the stuff is so base. The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our goods.” [p. 224.]

The stuff is good stuff, let him say what he will; and the halfpence are good halfpence, and I will stand by it: if I made them of silver, it would be the same thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeit, sure they counterfeit gold and silver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin. I am certain they have not coined one halfpenny as yet; and if they should, I shall take care to stock you so well, that you shall have no occasion for theirs; so that they may carry them home again if they please.

“ It would be very hard, if all Ireland should be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood and his halfpence should weigh down this whole kingdom, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their pockets; and
“ that

“ that is more than the English do by all the world
 “ besides.” [p. 225.]

Parturiant montes—But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not understand.

“ A famous law-book, called *The mirror of justice*, discoursing of the charters, (or laws), ordained by our ancient kings, declares the law to be as follows: it was ordained, that no king of this realm should change, impair, or amend, or make any money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties; that is, as my Lord Coke [1. Inst. 576.] says, without the assent of parliament.” [p. 226.]

Then he concludes, according to custom, with his fine flattering speeches.

“ I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.” [This Drapier is an excellent lawyer, I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor].

“ First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the King, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of gold or silver.

“ Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of gold or silver.—

“ Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those vile halfpence of that same Wood.—

“ Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this filthy trash. It is no treason to rebel against Mr. Wood. His Majesty, in his patent, obliges nobody to take these halfpence.”

[p. 229.]

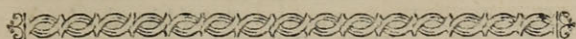
So then, at this rate, they are coined for nobody, by somebody; and somebody is to get nothing by nobody. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coinage. Ye see, Gentlemen, the force of that argument which the Drapier offers; but I

find logic is not his talent. Thus have I, with great patience, gone through this injurious piece of satire upon myself contained in this first letter. But knowing that the best undertakers have always met with enemies and detractors, I comfort myself that I have far defeated this malicious author; that you are all convinced, I am now for all your goods; and though a perfect stranger to the country of Ireland, yet a little time will shew what industry and pains it has cost me, to make you a flourishing and a happy people. It is my inclination to preserve a good understanding between me and you, however wicked people may endeavour to interpose. Before I conclude, I have one complaint more: I am told, that pitiful, malicious, insidious, undermining, scribbling Drapier set on a parcel of tattered, filthy, Irish, buttermilk, potatoe scoundrels, to carry my effigies about in wood, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's Green, [p. 37.] for which I hope, when the parliament sits, to have ample satisfaction. I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were concerned in that abominable procession.

I am your best friend,

W. W.





A full and true account of the solemn procession to the Gallows, at the execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Esq; and Hardwareman *.

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread, that William Wood, hardwareman, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † house here in Dublin, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both sexes, crouded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coin-er and a counterfeiter. Amongst the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner observed, that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to publish them for the use of those who at any time hereafter may be at a loss for proper words wherein to express their good dispositions towards the said William Wood.

* In this piece the author makes the several artificers attend William Wood (represented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradesman expresses his resentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the procession, most humourously described. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand. *Orrey.*

† One Molyneux an ironmonger.

- The people cried out to have him delivered into
their hands.
- Says the parliament-man. *Expel* him the *house*.
- 2d parliament-man. I second that *motion*.
- Cook. I'll *baste* him.
- 2d Cook. I'll give him his *bellyfull*.
- 3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops*.
- 4th Cook. I'll *force* him.
- Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.
- Bookfeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
- Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.
- Glazier. I'll make the *light* shine through him.
- Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
- Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
- 'Potheary. I'll *pound* him.
- 2d 'Potheary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.
- Schoolmaster. I'll make him an *example*.
- Rabbetcatcher. I'll *ferret* him.
- Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
- Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.
- WHIG. *Down* with him.
- TORY. *Up* with him.
- Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.
- 2d Miller. *Dam* him.
- Boatman. *Sink* him.
- Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.
- Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
- Bagniomán. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.
- Whore. *Pox* rot him.
- 2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
- 3d Whore. *Clap* him up.
- Mustard-maker. I'll have him by the *nose*.
- Curate. I'll *make the devil come out of him*.
- Popish-priest. I'll *send him* to the devil.
- Dancing-master. I'll *teach him better manners*.
- 2d Dancing-master. I'll make him cut a *capér*
three story high.
- Farmer. I'll *thrafs* him.
- Tailor. I'll sit on his *skirts*.

- 2d Tailor. *Hell* is too good for him.
 3d Tailor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.
 4th Tailor. I'll make his a— make *buttons*.
 Basketmaker. I'll *hamper* him.
 Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears*.
 2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.
 Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.
 2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.
 3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.
 4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.
 Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.
 Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.
 Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoke*.
 2d Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.
 Goldfinder. I'll make him *sink*.
 Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his
driver.
 2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the
 devil.
 Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.
 2d Butcher. Let us *blow* him up.
 3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.
 Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.
 Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.
 Ostler. I'll *rub* him *dawn*.
 Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.
 Banker. I'll kick him to *halfcrowns*.
 2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
 Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
 Gamester. I'll make his *bones* rattle.
 Bodicemaker. I'll *lace* his *sides*.
 Gardener. I'll make him *water* his *plants*.
 Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.
 Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.
 Old woman. I'll *mumble* him.
 Hangmen. I'll *throttle* him.

But at last the people, having received assurances, that William Wood was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigie; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the blackguards, with short stick in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Esq: represented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed at proper distances several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck served him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with persons in his condition, (which some censorious people imputed to affectation), for he was covered with a large rugg of several colours in patchwork: he was borne upon the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's green, he often bowed on both sides to shew his respects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, tho' somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his left hand to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner himself in person; whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder as the badge of his office.

Then followed two persons; the one representing William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain faddler, his intimate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein

wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new half-pence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable croud of people, who frequently sent out loud huzzas; which were censured by wiser heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself with great resignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him nor asking him pardon. His dying **SPEECH** was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of **GOLD**. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine **SPEECH**, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-timbered a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their li-

berality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouse of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the deceased. While the attendants were discoursing about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up, and proposed, that the body should be carried out the next day, and burned with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and, about nine o'clock, on the following morning there appeared a second procession. But, burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corpse was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occasions many speculations. But, what is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses, that there does not appear the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor visible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty, I shall leave among naturalists.



Some Considerations on the Attempts to pass
Mr. WOOD'S BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a Lover of his Country.

IT is a melancholy consideration, to see “ the several resolutions and addresses of both houses of parliament of Ireland, during their late session, the late address of his Majesty’s justices and privy council of that kingdom, and the petition of the county of the city of Dublin;” whereby the unanimous sense of this nation, and “ the great apprehensions they were under, from importing and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in Ireland, by virtue of the patent granted to William Wood,” have been represented in the strongest terms: I say, it is a melancholy consideration, to see the force of all these representations eluded by the petitions of a single person, such as Mr. Wood.

If justice stood on the side of this single person, it ought to give good men pleasure to see that right should take place; but when, on the contrary, the commonweal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people distracted with apprehension of the utmost danger to their properties, nay, the preservation of the purity of their laws, is overborne by private interest, what good man but must lament such an unhappy state of affairs?

And since the matter was of this importance, and seemed to carry with it the testimony of heaven, in the universal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus with one voice deprecated the evil, with any

shew of reason take upon them the risk of any miscarriage in a trial, in a subordinate court ?

It was to our gracious Sovereign, that all these addresses and petitions were presented : it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cause ; and it would have been the highest piece of arrogance for any person to have presumed to take upon themselves a share in that trust, which was only reposed in his Majesty's hands. It is no wonder therefore, " that every one was " guarded with caution, against giving any advice " or opinion in this matter of state ;" for which reason they ought to " apprehend great danger to " themselves from meddling in it."

'Though " this proceeding may seem extraordinary ;" yet it being on a most extraordinary matter, on a matter of such importance, as seemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the issue of it ; on a matter wherein the Lords and Commons were complainants, and the King immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but also as particular and only trustee, in whom his people reposed entire confidence to redress the grievances complained of ; was it not entirely reasonable and fit, that every particular person of this kingdom should rest upon what was done by the whole body of the people duly assembled in parliament, and not arrogantly assume to themselves a power of putting the fate of this nation to an issue before twelve men ?

Since then it plainly appears, that this matter is of such a high nature, that no particular person ought to have intermeddled in it ; it is to be presumed, that the non-appearance of persons " to " support the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland," can never be construed as a general diffidence, of being able to " support the " charge brought against the patent and patentee ;" though indeed it might proceed from a general and

a very reasonable " apprehension of a miscarriage" in this important affair ; " wherein both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced and satisfied, upon evidence and examination taken in the most solemn manner ;" that for my part I (and so I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their resolutions to have the same dignity (in this case) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima est eorum dignitas, et certissima auctoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

And therefore I don't presume to enter the lists, in order to support the resolutions of both houses of parliament ; for I look upon it, that they are " so sure and uncontrollable, that they ought not to be questioned : " but it shall be the business of this paper to point out some of the mischiefs which will naturally result from this coinage of Mr. Wood's, in case it should be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of issuing this money of Wood's is limited, " and without any compulsion, and currency enforced, to be received by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same." But then it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory " on all his Majesty's officers and ministers," to receive the same.

By this means there is a foundation laid for the most unheard-of confusion that ever was introduced into the business of a nation ; for here is established a species of money, made of the basest metal, which none in employments under his Majesty must refuse in payments to the crown or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his subjects are at liberty to refuse the same in payments to be made to them, either by his Majesty, or by any other person.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be highly prejudiced, by the want of intrinsic value in the
coin

coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in employments under his Majesty, are the persons, who, in the first place, must bear the burthen of this mischief. For if they are the only persons who are obliged to receive this coin as current money, it is to be presumed that no other persons will receive the same but with considerable allowance for the difference between the brass money, and that made of gold and silver.

And even with a considerable allowance, it will be hard to conceive how this brass money will find any degree of currency in the world, without the assistance of a set of men, who may probably raise great estates in this unsettled course of affairs; but such a set of people ought never to be encouraged by a wise government, for they will make their fortunes by the losses of good subjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet those hucksters, or money-jobbers, will be found necessary if this brass money is made current in the exchequer.

To shew in some measure the proportion of this mischief to his Majesty's revenue, and to those in immediate offices under him; it must be considered, that the gross revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000 l. *per annum*; out of which must be deducted the charge of collection and drawbacks; which, to be sure, the several collectors, and those who are to receive the drawbacks will take care to receive in Sterling money; about 80,000 l. *per annum*; and there will remain for the discharge of the civil and military lists, pensions, &c. 420,000 l. *per annum*, which sum, it is probable, issues out of the treasury by monthly payments of about 35,000 l. *per month*; for otherwise the current cash in this nation could not possibly pay the revenue, and serve to carry on even the little business of this country, for it hath never been computed that our current coin amounts to more than 50,000 l. so that if
40,000 l.

40,000 l. of Mr. Wood's brass money is thrown in upon us, (even admitting that no more of this species should be brought in), it is manifest that that sum will be near one twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military lists, and pensions, &c. of this kingdom.

If this sum should stagnate in the treasury, it is certain there will be no greater loss (immediately brought) by this coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies dead amounts to: but if it is issued in monthly payments to the army, and other his Majesty's officers and ministers, as in all probability it must: then this coin, being composed of a base metal, current only in the exchequer, where it is received at an imaginary value, of at least 60 *per cent.* more than the real value of the material, it will be suddenly paid back again to the collectors and by that means pass through the treasury, at least three times in every year; for there we are told, it is to meet with no let or molestation.

And seeing the currency of this money is not enforced on any other of his Majesty's subjects, it is easy to conceive, that the difference of value between this coin, and the gold and silver, which will be current in the nation, will be settled by the money-jobbers, at about 20 *per cent.* discount.

By which means alone, there will be lost in the intrinsic value of the revenue the sum of 24,000 l. *per annum*, without computing for the losses which must necessarily be brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this coin will create among the people; all which will be manifestly "destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject."

And yet the evil has been here computed on a supposition that only 40,000 l. of this money will be

be uttered in the kingdom ; but I take it to be impossible to limit the quantity that shall be brought in, especially if the importers of it have so sure a market for the same as the exchequer.

For though his Majesty should be able to prevent Mr. Wood from coining any more than 40,000 l. and should never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant his special licence or authority to enlarge that sum, yet it will be impossible to prevent the importation of this sort of coin from other nations. And there have been such variety of dyes made use of by Mr. Wood in stamping his money, that it makes the discovery of counterfeiters more difficult ; and the profit is so great, that it will be a sufficient temptation to our industrious neighbours of Holland to send by large quantities of this coin to so sure a market as the exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a question among lawyers, whether a man can be punished, at the King's suit, for counterfeiting this coin, because it is not the current coin of the kingdom ; for though these halfpence are to be received as money in the exchequer, yet in trade they are no better than counters, and therefore the patent may perhaps be construed to be no more than a grant of a monopoly to make those counters.

But it is worth observing, that if this patent is so worded, as that his Majesty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuse receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom, and which are to be found in the books of rates distributed among the officers of the revenue.

For by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his Majesty and his successors, are to be paid in lawful money of England. And by the act of excise, or new impost, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expressly declared and enacted, " That the several
" rates

“ rates and duties of excise, and all fines, penalties, forfeitures, or other sum, or sums of money rated, imposed, set, or forfeited, in and by this act, are meant and intended to be current and lawful money or monies of England, and that all and every of the same, be therefore demanded, received, paid, and satisfied accordingly.”

By these acts it is manifest, that the collectors are obliged to receive the several duties arising from the custom and excise, in no other money but such as is current and lawful money of England; and Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings not being current or lawful money in England, or in this kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue in this kingdom should receive the said duties, or any part of them, in Mr. Wood's brass money, it would be assuming to themselves a power to dispense with those acts of parliament, contrary to the sense of both houses of parliament, and contrary to their respective oaths; so that it seems highly reasonable, because consonant to law, that the officers of the revenue should give orders to the inferior officers, not to receive this coin.”

Perhaps it will be said, that the King hath a power to direct what coin he pleases to be received by the officers of his revenue, and that this patent is in consequence of such a prerogative. But it is to be hoped, that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament assembled as in their private capacities, have shewed a general dislike.

Moreover, as this case stands circumstanced, it is a great question, whether his Majesty hath such a

dispensing power: for though it should be allowed, that his Majesty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleases; yet it is most certain, that his Majesty does not intend to enforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his subjects, much less doth his Majesty intend to oblige those who are intitled, by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr. Wood's.

And it is plain, that, by the act of excise, there are several fines, penalties, and forfeitures, which, by virtue of that act, are to be received in current money of England, and to half those fines, forfeitures, and penalties, the informers are intitled by virtue of the said act: so that if the officers should be obliged to receive them in brass money, the informers must necessarily lose the benefit of the said act: and I may venture to say, that act cannot be repealed but by another act, to be made by King, Lords, and Commons; and not by a patent.

All these things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both houses of parliament of Ireland; it is not to be wondered, that "they represent, that the patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland." For what can be more clandestine, than to obtain a patent with powers, not only "highly prejudicial to his Majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject," but also contrary to several acts of parliament? and that this was an unprecedented attempt, at least in this reign, will be readily allowed; therefore all the representations made of the state of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, may with great truth be called *notorious misrepresentations*.

But

But it has been said, that his Majesty cannot proceed against the patentee, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and justice: and God forbid that any one of this kingdom should advise his Majesty to subvert or dispense with any of our laws. No part of the addresses from the houses of parliament of Ireland has the least tendency this way.

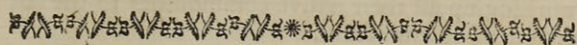
For though the house of Commons, in their second address to his Majesty, "most humbly beseech his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several officers intrusted with the receipt of his Majesty's revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatsoever, utter such halfpence and farthings:" yet, if his Majesty had been graciously pleased to have given orders, according to this humble address of his people of Ireland; it is humbly conceived that this would have been only an affirmation of the law of the land, as hath been said, and not any way contrary to law.

For though his Majesty, by "his patent under the great seal of Great Britain, wills, requires, and commands his lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of his kingdom of Ireland, and all other officers and ministers of his Majesty, his heirs and successors in England, Ireland, or elsewhere, to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood, his executors, &c. in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters, or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit or advantage, by virtue, and in pursuance of the said indentures;" yet it is "in all things as becometh," &c. And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the said patent, whereby it is manifest, that his Majesty never intended "to enforce the currency

“ of this money, to be received by any person, that
 “ would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the
 “ same.”

Therefore, since the people have shewed a general dislike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that some method will be found out to ease their minds from the distraction they are under on this occasion.





A short VIEW of the State of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath for some time been practised as a method of making mens court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret why these questions are so cordially asked, or so obligingly answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole island; I shall only enumerate by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniencies of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in
working

working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except those who are in war, with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increasing the number of their people; without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners for education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit, or trust, only to the natives; or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the
former

former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect: but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine, what share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequence.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; because those who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty; and in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the Exchange.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reason to complain: for, although

though the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock, and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might with the same encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which however we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that, of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years, it can hardly be said, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest:

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of Lord Chief Justice Whitshed's ghost,
with

with his *libertas et natale solum**, written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physick sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land: those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness or want of skill generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the isle of Man they coin their

* Liberty and my native country.

own silver: every petty prince, vassal to the emperor, can coin what money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries; particularly a sort of silk plaid, thro' which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn: and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could easily enlarge), I would be glad to know, by what secret method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing people without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining; without industry, labour, or improvement of land; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the north, a trade casual, corrupted and at mercy; and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason: like the thorn at Glastenbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy commissioners, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country-seats; the commodious farmers houses and barns; the towns and villages, where
every

every body is busy, and thriving with all kinds of manufactures ; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers ; the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people ; the vast numbers of ships in our harbours and docks, and shipwrights in our sea-port towns ; the roads crowded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures ; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress ? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England.

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer ; for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Iceland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people ; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom ; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead ; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator : who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwelling of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all o-

ther countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearth of land, since the farmers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearth of necessaries for life: because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take or go a-begging), without raising the price of cattle, and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of buildings in this city; because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallible undone. Hence the daily increase of bankers, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver, and one third of our gold: so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two, and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except some customhouse officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty 'squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to his Majesty, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned

to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.*

I think it a little un hospitable, and others may call it a subtle piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests upon their return to England, shall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital, where all the household-officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude, if Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers when they deliver such paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser at the expence of all honour, conscience, and truth*.

* The present state of Ireland † is, in general, as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and sciences are encouraged: and in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation to England, may be compared to a younger sister lately come of age, after having suffered all the miseries of an injured minor, such as law-suits, incroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, destruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length time, and her own noble spirit of industry, have entirely relieved her, and, some little heartburnings excepted, she enjoys the quiet possession of a very ample fortune, subject, by way of acknowledgement, to certain quitrents, payable to the elder branch of her house. *Take her all in all, she cannot have a greater fortune than she deserves. Overy.*

† 1752.

AN ANSWER to a paper, called, *A memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland.*

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a paper from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor give time to any part of the land to recover itself; and when their leases are near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it*.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers leases were ready to ingross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too easily

* This practice probably produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.*

tempted,

tempted, when a rich graſtier made an offer to take all their land, and give them ſecurity for payment. Thus, a vaſt tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their ſeveral cabbins, became all deſolate, and eaſily managed by one or two herds-men and their boys; whereby the maſter-graſtier with a little trouble ſeized to himſelf the livelihood of a hundred people.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the farmers were juſtly puniſhed for their knavery, brutality, and folly. But neither are the ſquires and landlords to be excuſed; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vaſt number of beggars, and the ruin of thoſe few ſorry improvements we had.

That farmers ſhould be limited in ploughing, is very reaſonable, and praſtiſed in England; and might have eaſily been done here by penal claules in their leaſes: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a moſt ſtupid want of thinking.

Had the farmers been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four laſt years of their leaſes, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have ſaved a million of money; and been more populous by above two hundred thouſand ſouls.

For a people denied the benefit of trade, to manage their lands in ſuch a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only ſuch things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage; is an abſurdity that a wild Indian would be aſhamed of; eſpecially when we add, that we are content to purchaſe this hopeful commerce by ſending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The graſtier's employment is to feed great flocks of ſheep, or black cattle, or both. With regard
to

to sheep, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to one certain country, and only to some few ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by; and the good of it is, that the more sheep we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool, or eat the flesh. Ajax was mad, when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies: but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the grazier's business is what we call *black cattle*, producing hides, tallow, and beef for exportation: all which are good and useful commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest part of the hides are sent out raw for want of bark to tan them; and that want will daily grow stronger: for, I doubt, the new project of tanning without it is at an end. Our beef, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets for the old reasons. But our tallow, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people, who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public economy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythians, and their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood, and milk, and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of corn; but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without bread to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to see, in this prodigious plenty of cattle, and dearth of
human

human creatures, and want of bread, as well as money to buy it, that all kind of flesh-meat should be monstrously dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not some regulation in the price of flesh, as well as bread: but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is overstocked with cattle, both black and white: and as it is observed, that the poor Irish have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat bullock or wether, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am assured, that the district in the several markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstance of money to purchase it, and of trade, or labour, to purchase that money, are indeed wholly wanting.

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

A hundred thousand barrels of wheat, you say, should be imported hither; and ten thousand pounds præmium to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation; I am no commissioner of the treasury; but am well assured, that the whole running cash would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much corn, which only at twenty shillings a-barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds; and ten thousand more for the præmium. But you will traffic for your corn with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of absentees, and other occasions in London, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I suppose, they will value it a little more than so much a quire. Where are

these rich farmers and ingrossers of corn, in so bad a year, and so little sowing ?

You are in pain for two shillings præmium, and forget the twenty shillings for the price ; find me but the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the miserable state of this nation. Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloaths, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first : because they are unwholesome ; and the last, because I should be glad if they were all burned ; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our misery : or give your tenants leave to plough for barley. But I will tell you a secret, which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the customs in London : they said, when any commodity appeared to be taxed above a moderate rate, the consequence was to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half ; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four ; whereas in the business of laying heavy impositions two and two never made more than one ; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both who can afford such expenses, is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than increased. But allowing no force in this argument ; yet so preternatural a sum, as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger, is just

in proportion with raising a million and a half in England; which, as things now stand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprising it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were starving in a RICH country, &c. Are you in earnest? is Ireland the rich country you mean? or are you insulting our poverty? were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever in it till of late? you may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in England. But by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds by a tax upon a few commodities, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition; or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not to be raised here, without a general excise; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in taxes more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be buyers? Most certainly, not the poor, who will not be able to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think, your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in potatoes and buttermilk, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and I think if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of justice as well as charity. In the mean time go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring squires to do the same with theirs; or else die

with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For, as to your scheme of raising "one hundred and ten thousand pounds," it is as vain as that of Rabelais, which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country.

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have given the public at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity; what I write was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes. A fair issue of things begun upon party-rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of Whig and Tory, of high church and low church; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controversy of strops for razors*; while agriculture was wholly dis-

* A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which several competitors eagerly contended.

couraged,

couraged, and consequently half the farmers, and labourers, and poor tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment: "Wisdom crieth in the streets; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh."

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God hath given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper, intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Justice Whitshed with an appearance of severity: since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I chuse to do it here; laying it therefore down for a *postulatum*, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no little creature of so mean a birth and genius had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE. I answer thus: Whether there be two different goddeses called *Fame*, as some authors contend, or only one goddes founding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people distinguished for their villany have as good a title to a blast from the proper trumpet, as those who are most renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most celebrated profligates have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world; yet his talents might have

have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power, and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two printers, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the King, nor him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him, and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villanies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just *Latin* enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; so that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuser *, had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise published any thing, which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romano, caveto*. Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure in some degree: but in this case I am quite deceived; if my error hath not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and

* Anytus one of the wretches who accused Socrates of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to subvert the religion of his country.

probably

probably of their dreams while they sleep), in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in mischief, scandal, and obloquy, with the hatred and contempt of all mankind against them; but chiefly of those among their own party, and their own family; such, whose odious qualities rival each other for perfection; avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness, ignorance, vanity, and revenge, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will rot, there may be some benefit for their survivors, to smell it while it is rotting.

I am, S I R,

your humble servant,

Dublin, March 25.

1728.

A. B.



A VINDICATION of his Excellency JOHN
 LORD CARTERET, from the charge of fa-
 vouring none but *Tories, Highchurchmen,*
 and *Jacobites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important subject with the
 greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may
 be convenient to give some account of his Excel-
 lency; in whose life and character there are cer-
 tain particulars, which might give a very just sus-
 picion of some truth in the accusation he lies
 under.

He is descended from two noble, ancient, and
 most loyal families, the Carterets, and the Gran-
 villes: too much distinguished, I confess, for what
 they acted, and what they suffered in defending the
 former constitution in church and state under King
 Charles the Martyr; I mean that very prince, on
 account of whose martyrdom “ a form of prayer,

* The view of this piece seems to be to recommend moderation,
 and laugh political bigotry out of countenance.

In this piece the failings of the Noble Lord, arising from the pre-
 judices of great talents and a learned education, are finely displayed
 with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed, there is couched
 here abundance of satire. *Pisborides*, that poor, angry, bustling mortal,
 he treats with all imaginable contempt: but in his satire against
Traulus he spares not to draw blood at every stroke; the former part of
 which is bitterly sarcastic, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His ac-
 count of *Agesslaus* being caught by the parson of the parish riding on a
 hobby-horse with his children, and some other touches of the like
 sort, are truly diverting. *D. Swift*.

“ with

“ with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament, to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity :” as we may read at large in our Common Prayer Books ; which day hath been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His Excellency the present Lord was educated in the university of Oxford ; from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philosophy, than properly became a person of his rank ; indeed much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some bishops and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them ; from whom although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash off the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgement, comprehension, eloquence, and wit ; and, to finish the work, all these were fortified even in his youth with the advantages received by such employments as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education, having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree ; and made principal secretary of state at a period when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house ; or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his Excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by Tory hands. I am likewise assured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be some grounds for this charge; because I have it from good hands, that when his Excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most insupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his Excellency lies under another very great disadvantage. For with all the accomplishments above mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he hath in a most unexemplary manner led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem, and friendship, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining evening companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the person may possibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a Tory; nor at such times do the natural or affected fears of Popery and the Pretender make any part of the conversation: I presume, because neither Homer, Plato, Aristotle, or Cicero, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his Excellency's failings; yet I think it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my sentiments differ
from

from the orthodox opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Pistorides. For these have decided the matter directly against me by declaring, that no person, who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single Tory principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the *worst of times* *, should be allowed to come within the verge of the castle; much less to bow in the antichamber, appear at the assemblies, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare assert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that, on the contrary, a considerable number of early penitents have been received into grace, who are now an ornament, happiness, and support to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one: I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to discover whether Madam † Violante be a Whig or Tory in her principles; or even that she hath ever been "offered the oaths to the government:" on the contrary, I am told, that she openly professeth herself to be a high-flier; and it is not improbable by her outlandish name, she may also be a Papist in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female openly caressed by principal persons of both parties; who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a grand jury, or even from 'Squire Hartley Hutcheson himself, that "zealous prosecutor of hawkers and libels." And, as Hobbes wisely observes, so much money being equivalent to so much power, it may deserve considering, with what safety such

* The three last years of Queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was minister, were so called by the Whigs.

† A famous Italian rope-dancer.

an instrument of power ought to be trusted in the hands of an alien, who hath not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess, there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many Whigs in this kingdom of the old fashioned stamp, of whom we might have made very good use; they bear the same loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family in the person of K. George II. the same abhorrence of the Pretender, with the consequences of Popery and slavery, and the same indulgence to tender consciences: but having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more leisure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy prospects concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both Whig and Tory; who, if they have any thing to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps, one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now, I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this species of thinkers, under the names of Tories, Jacobites, Papists, libellers, rebels, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, bustling, well-meaning mortal Pistorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference than a mixture of pity on one side, and of averfion on the other.

How hath he been pelted, pestered, and pounded by one single wag, who promiseth never to forsake him, living or dead?

I was much pleased with the humour of a surgeon in this town; who having, in his own apprehension, received some great injustice from the Earl of Galway, and despairing of revenge as well as
relief,

relief, declared to all his friends, that he had set apart one hundred guineas to purchase the Earl's carcase from the sexton, whenever *it* should die, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for three pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits; against whom there is no defence but innocence and philosophy: neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure but to downright stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable creature Traulus; who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to outdo even the genius of Pistorides in that miscarrying talent of railing without consistency or discretion against the most innocent persons according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an honest gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one to whom he professeth the greatest friendship; provided he acts in the dark, so as not to be discovered: but in the midst of caresses, visits, and invitations, to run into the streets, or to as public a place, and without the least pretended incitement sputter out the basest and falsest accusations; then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was all for his service: this proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid lest such a practitioner, with a body so open, so foul, and so full of sores, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political surgeon, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who, without waiting for his death, will flay and dissect him alive; and to the view of all mankind lay open all the disordered cells
of

of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatulences of his spleen : and all this for three pence.

In such a case, what a scence would be laid open ! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expose ! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies so inconsistent with each other in the same breast : furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject ; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity ; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world by an angry Whig of the old stamp, the unavoidable consequence must be a confinement of our friend for some months more to his garret ; and thereby depriving the public for so long time, and in so important a juncture, of his useful talents in their service, while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole ; but I hope, with a special regard to the quantity and quality of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madness ; because it is well known, that madness only operates by enflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the curators of Bedlam assure us, that some lunatics are persons of honour, truth, benevolence, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner ; while others, on the contrary, discover in every word and action the utmost baseness and depravity of human minds ; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that academy.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal which our friend shews or means for our cause.

And

And it must be confessed, that "the easy and smooth fluency of his elocution, bestowed on him by nature, and cultivated by continual practice, added to the comeliness of his person, the harmony of his voice, the gracefulness of his manner, and the decency of his dress," are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist upon any public occasion of making them appear with universal applause. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their jest better than their friend; surely to gain the reputation of the first orator in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the friends he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and as some kinds of assemblies are called the schools of politics, I confess nothing can better improve political school-boys, than the art of making plausible or implausible harangues against the very opinion for which they resolve to determine.

So Cardinal Perron, after having spoke for an hour to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates, that he could have spoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it hath constantly met with ill success in the mouth of our friend; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression: If persons in high stations have been allowed to chuse wenches without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the least reflection on their loyalty, or their Protestantism; shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for chusing a companion, who may formerly have been suspected for
differing

differing from the orthodox in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound Whig.

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern Ireland, whose unfortunate weak side it happens to be, for several reasons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of one or two gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his Majesty, and pray heartily for him: yet because they may perhaps be stigmatized as *quondam* Tories by Pistorides and his gang, his Excellency must be forced to banish them under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good-fellow, who may be a sincere Protestant and a loyal subject, and yet rather chuse to drink fine ale at the Pope's head, than muddy at the King's.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain, the high-flown loyalist, in the present sense of the word, have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the zeal of their principles hath eaten up their understandings: neither have they time, from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours, for acquiring new additions of merit to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love, and taste, and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? our thorough-spiced republic of Whigs, which contains the bulk of all hopers, pretenders, expectors, and professors, are beyond all doubt most highly useful to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all, who have
that

that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his Excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an original or profelyte favourite of the times might have been born to those uselefs talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet or a philosopher. All I contend for, is, that where the true genius of party once enters, it sweeps the house clean, and leaves room for many other spirits to take joint possession, until the last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first.

I allow it a great error in his Excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old unfashionable academic education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table to some book-learned companion without blushing, even when persons of great stations are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to spoil their politics and principles; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons directly contrary in every point to the present practice of the world: and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first minister; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expresses it, could never *take to their books*, yet are

well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly spelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against religion and high-flying; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity which best becomes a senator and a squire.

I could heartily wish his Excellency would be more condescending to the genius of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old English story-books, that one Agefilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the parson of the parish riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that Socrates, a Heathen philosopher, was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a King called *Cæsar Augustus* (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of Tories; and that two great men called *Scipio* and *Lælius*, (I forget their Christian names, and whether they were poets or generals), often played at duck and drake with smooth stones on a river. Now, I say, if these facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print), I cannot imagine, why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his Excellency in an infirmity which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public scandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I say, why he may not be indulged twice a-week to converse with one or two particular persons; and let him and them conn over their old exploded readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing ways and means from and to his most obedient politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the said particular person, or persons, may not have made so public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the business of the nation requires: still submitting my opinion to that happy majority, which I am confident

dent is always in the right; by whom the liberty of the subject hath been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who, by their wise councils, have made commerce to flourish, money to abound, inhabitants to increase, the value of lands and rents to rise; and the whole island put on a new face of plenty and prosperity.

But, in order to clear his Excellency more fully from this accusation of shewing his favour to high-fliers, Tories, and Jacobites, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a Tory denomination, to whom his Excellency gave any marks of his favour, was Dr. Thomas Sheridan. It is to be observed, that this happened so early in his Excellency's government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so dangerous an article. The Doctor being well known, and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth beyond most of his profession for many years past, was recommended to his Excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it seems, his Excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his Lordship was too easily prevailed on by the Doctor's request, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that unknown language by the Doctor's lads, which was written by some heathen author; but whether it contained any Tory or high-church principles, must be left to the consciences of the boys, the Doctor, and his Excellency: the only witnesses in this case, whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems, his Excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that some time after he gave the Doctor a church-living to the value of almost one hun-

dred pounds a-year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an antiquated notion, that good schoolmasters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet his Excellency did not venture to make this bold step without strong recommendations from persons of undoubted principles fitted to the times; who thought themselves bound in justice, honour, and gratitude to do the Doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or those of their friends. Yet the catastrophe was terrible; for the Doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof as it is to be supposed, the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church; he stopt at Cork to attend on his bishop; and going to church on the Sunday following, was, according to the usual civility of country-clergymen, invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It happened to be the first of August; and the first of August happened that year to light upon a Sunday: and it happened that the Doctor's text was in these words: *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and lastly, it happened, that some one person in the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his Majesty's person and government, when service was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town; and by the zeal of one man of no large dimension of body or mind, such a clamour was raised, that we in Dublin could apprehend no less than an invasion by the pretender, who must be landed on the south. The result was, that the Doctor must be struck out of the chaplain's list, and appear no more at the castle; yet whether he

* The first of August is the anniversary of the Hanoverian family's accession to the crown of Great Britain.

were then, or be at this day, a Whig or a Tory, I think is a secret; only it is manifest, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry, and a great admirer of the present royal family through all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that not having observed the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that in the whole sermon there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident there seems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who under the suspicion of a Tory received some favour from his Excellency, is Mr. James Stopford; very strongly recommended by the most eminent Whig in England on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of Tories; and therefore think his Excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hundred pounds a-year.

The third is Dr. Patrick Delany. This divine lies under some disadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain person*, then in a very high station here; for which reason, I

* Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Queen Anne died.

doubt the Doctor never drank his confusion since, and what makes the matter desperate, it is now too late; unless our inquisitors will be content with drinking confusion to his memory. The aforesaid eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of party, distinguished the Doctor among other juniors in our university for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the Doctor was then in too good a situation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the Doctor was named to his Excellency by a friend * among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his Excellency should know; and by the truth of which the giver would be content to stand or fall in his Excellency's opinion; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the gentleman who gave in their names. By this and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late Archbishop of Dublin, the Doctor became known to his Excellency, whose fatal turn of mind towards heathenish and outlandish books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the Doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic, as we are told he is, at the castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago the Doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society, (which it may not be for their honour to mention), resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds

* The Author,

a-year falling at the same time with the chancellorship of Christ-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his Excellency; the Doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition; having squandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover either on the exchange, or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his Excellency gave the Doctor a Prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral; which, being of near the same value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he shall have paid the great incumbrances upon it: so that he may now be said to possess of church-preferments in scattered tithes three hundred pounds a-year; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed; beside the advantage of a free lodging a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But since the Doctor hath not in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either Whig or Tory; and that the Lord Lieutenant still continues to admit him; I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new free-mason, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any Tory doctrines; except perhaps some among those few with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred for the most solid reasons, to the whole body of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and upon the strictest examination have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any party-suspicion can lie; I mean the unfortunate gentleman Doctor Sheridan, who by mere chance-medley, shot his own fortune dead with a single text.

As

As to the laity, I can hear but one person of the Tory stamp, who since the beginning of his Excellency's government did ever receive any solid mark of his favour: I mean Sir Arthur Acheson, reported to be an acknowledged Tory; and, what is almost as bad, a scholar into the bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack * upon his estate within two miles of his own house; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of sixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expense of five hundred pounds to put the house in repair, build stables, and other necessaries. I will place this invidious mark of beneficence conferred on a Tory in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations: after which it may be seen how much Sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithstanding his unfortunate principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, &c. 500 l. the interest where- of, <i>per annum</i> ,	} 30 0 0
For all manner of poultry to furnish the troopers, but which the said troopers must be at the labour of catching, va- lued <i>per ann.</i>	} 5 0 0
For straggling sheep,	8 0 0
For game destroyed five miles round	6 0 0
	<hr/>
	49 0 0
	<hr/>
Rent paid to Sir Arthur,	60 0 0
Deduct	49 0 0
	<hr/>
Remains clear,	11 0 0

* See a poem upon this incident, intitled, *The grand question debated, &c.*

Thus

Thus, if Sir Arthur Achefon shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive neat profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds Sterling to help him in entertaining the officer and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of good protestants, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetic as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal interest for the money that Sir Arthur must expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a saver at least; which is a prodigious instance of moderation in our friends towards a professed Tory: whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingness he hath shewn to make his Excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his Excellency on Tories, and reputed Tories, since his first arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question: and the account will stand thus.

Disposed of preferments and employments to Tories, or reputed Tories, by his Excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the space of six years:

To Doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rec- toy near Kinsale, <i>per annum</i> ,	}	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheson, baronet, a barrack, <i>per ann.</i> - - -		
		<hr/>
		111 0 0
		<hr/>

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his Excellency to the true friends of their king and country, and of the Protestant religion.

It is to be remembered, that although his Excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from England by their interest at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the only considerable station conferred on a Tory since his present Excellency's government was of this latter kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) real Tories can often with much less difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their reputed brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this, with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which, however, will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

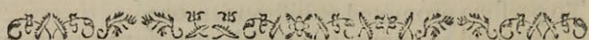
W H I G account.

To persons promoted to bishoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed <i>per ann.</i>	}	10,050 0 0
To civil employments		
To military commands		8436 0 0
		<hr/>
		27,516 0 0
		<hr/>

T O R Y account.

To Tories,	-	-	111 0 0
			<hr/>
Balance	-	-	27,405 0 0
			<hr/>

I shall conclude with this observation, that as I think, the Tories have sufficient reason to be fully satisfied with the share of trust, power, and employments, which they possess under the lenity of the present government; so I do not find how his Excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but high-church, high-fliers, termagants, Laudists, Sacheverellians, tip-top-gallon-men, Jacobites, rantivies, Anti-hanoverians, friends to Popery and the Pretender and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE Potestants, laurel-men, Annists, complainer's of the nation's poverty, Ormondians, iconoclasts, anti-glorious-memorists, anti-revolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians, and the like, when, by a fair state of the account, the balance, I conceive, seems to lie on the other side.



CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS sent down from the Right Honourable the house of Lords to the Honourable the house of Commons in Ireland, relating to the Clergy *.

Written in the year 1731.

I Have often for above a month past desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two bills brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the house of Lords: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one single prelate of the kingdom; and am a stranger to their

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the house of Lords, by a great majority of the Right Reverend the bishops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and passed by the Lords in parliament. It was afterwards sent to the house of Commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following considerations, who hath always been the best friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be seen by many parts of his writings, opposed this pernicious project with great success; which, if it had passed into a law, would have been of the worst consequence to this nation. *Dub. edit. 1738.*

characters,

characters, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their function (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly apostolical, and absolutely necessary to the perfection of a Christian church.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of humankind, than an indifference or insensibility for other mens sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reasons, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers; at whose mercy every minister lies to be defrauded. His office, as rector or vicar, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a bishopric, the scene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the King; his whole business is once a-year to receive the attendance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal presence necessary, for the business may be done by a vicar-general. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their vicars-general, secretaries,

taries, proctors, apparitors, fenefchals, and the like. Now, I fay, in fo quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their fubjects, it would be reasonable at leaft to hope that the labour, confinement, and fubjection, from which they have fo lately efaped, like a bird out of the fnare of the fowler, might a little incline them to the condition of thofe who were but laft week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and poffibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known ftory of Colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a fubaltern officer, was every day complaining againft the pride, oppreffion, and hard treatment of colonels towards their officers; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commiffion for a regiment, walking with a friend on the Mall, he confefled that the fpirit of colonelship was coming faft upon him, which fpirit is faid to have daily increafed to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to bifhoprics, have always fome great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, ftrong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a fuperlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at firft no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain Chriftian names among their old companions, the middling rate of clergymen; nor could therefore be ftrangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it fofoon, as it hath too often happened.

I confefs, I do not remember to have obferved anybody of men acting with fo little concert, as our clergy have done in a point where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal fupport was concerned, as well as their power of ferving God and his church in their fpiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their
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their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings; yet we know, what expert solicitors the Quakers, the Dissenters, and even the Papists have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the King and council in England, and the house of Lords hath, with great expedition, passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the Commons for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follows.

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their Lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50*l.* a year, the minister is bound to build after three years a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55*l. per annum*, he must after three years build a house that shall cost 77*l.* 10*s.* and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But, if the living be under 50*l.* a year, the minister shall be allowed 100*l.* out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the
rector,

rector, or vicar may be obliged by the caprice or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration, (an office which ever falls into the most knavish hands), upon whatever point his Lordship shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom, (which inevitably without a miracle must increase forever), there are not ten country-clergymen in Ireland, reputed to possess a parish of 100 *l. per annum*, who for some years past have actually received 60 *l.* and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss, what kind of valuations the bishops will make use of; and whether the starving vicar shall be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the bishops shall think fit, only leaving 300 *l.* a-year to the mother church; which 300 *l.* by another act passed some years ago, they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So that instead of six hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have in a small compass of years almost as many thousands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those who have the least regard to our holy religion as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, diligent, conversible clergyman, or even to common humanity, that the Honourable House of Commons will, in their great wisdom, justice, and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so overstocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned clergyman, with a competency fit for one of his education

tion, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion: That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find beef and wine for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with commissions of the peace, which several of the clergy now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate vicar from twenty to fifty pounds a-year, the son of a weaver, pedlar, tailor, or miller, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this scheme can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare gownman, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest-time for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the Scotch proverb, "A hungry louse bites fore." This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched pastor at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The Honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my Lords the Bishops enjoy as ample a power, both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office;

that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen over whom they preside; that, if non-resistance be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality. That, if the general impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill-judgment, or personal favour regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct; not to mention ignorance and stupidity.

I could name certain gentlemen of the gown, whose awkward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly strut in their walk, without one single talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of flattery and cringing: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my nephews, or had married my nieces, I could never in point of good conscience or honour have recommended to a curacy in Connaught.

The Honourable House of Commons may likewise perhaps consider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being less capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and that most of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwise than by the church, in which there might be some hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons should have settled their sons, their nephews, their nieces, their dependents, and their followers invited over from the other side, there would still remain an overplus of smaller church-preferments to be given to such clergy of the nation, who shall have their

quantum

quantum of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the denomination of Tories; unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50 *l.* a-year; which by the difficulty of collecting tithes in Ireland, and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed, that the divines sent over hither to govern this church have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior clergy. As to themselves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which consequently must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose, that whatever a parish is said to be worth, comes all into the parsons's pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England hath been the continual complaint of all men, who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an English vicar of 40 *l.* a-year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues; he hath a decent church of ancient standing, filled every Lord's day with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in God and CHRIST. He hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than goody. He is sometimes graciously invited by the squire, where he sits at an humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents: he is happy by being born to no

higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry servitor can be expected to bring with him from his college. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the Honourable House of Commons may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly clergymen through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for chusing parliament-men, (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40 s. *per annum, ultra reprises*), may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon elections; being entirely under the dependence of their bishops. For by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my Lords the Bishops have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of ecclesiastical militants able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their wall-lectures; and begin to doubt they must be contented with barns; which barns will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our true Protestant brethren, the Dissenters.

The scheme of encouraging clergymen to build houses by dividing a living of 500 l. a-year into ten parts is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued; that bishops build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior clergy will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality
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in England, who could never be persuaded to keep a servant out of livery; because such servants would be expensive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increase his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wise men, that before these bills pass both houses, they should be sent back to England with the following clauses inserted.

First, that whereas there may be about a dozen double bishoprics in Ireland, those bishoprics should be split and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started, Whether twenty-two prelates can effectually extend their paternal care and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual subjects. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections, that I shall not insist upon it: for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the frogs were in, upon a report, that the sun was going to marry.

Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared null, and their children bastards: for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clause will be necessary, that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving votes in elections for parliament-men.

Others add a fourth; which is a clause of indulgence, that these reduced divines may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices: (for, unless I misapprehend, they are sup-
posed

posed to have episcopal ordination). For example, they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaisters for three miles round: they may get a dispensation to hold the clerkship and sextonship of their own parish *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a barrack be near, for the soldiers: in linen countries they may card and spin, and keep a few looms in the house: they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but none at home, unless to sober company, and at regular hours. It is by some thought a little hard, that in an affair of the last consequence to the very being of the clergy in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the established instructors of the nation in Christianity and moral virtues, and are the only persons concerned, should be the sole persons not consulted. Let any scholar shew the like precedent in Christendom for twelve hundred years past. An act of parliament for settling or selling an estate in a private family is never passed, until all parties give consent. But in the present case, the whole body of the clergy is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or asking their opinion; and this by a scheme contrived only by one part of the convocation, while the other part which hath been chosen in the usual forms, wants only the regal permission to assemble, and consult about the affairs of the church, as their predecessors have always done in former ages; where it is presumed, the lower house hath a power of proposing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (say these objectors) that there should be a real separate interest between the bishops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

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It seems there is a provision in the bill, that no parish shall be cut into scraps without the consent of several persons, who can be no sufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the clergy lay much weight on this caution; because they argue, that the very persons from whom these bills took their rise, will have the greatest share in the decision.

I do not by any means conceive the crying sin of the clergy in this kingdom to be that of non-residence. I am sure, it is many degrees less so here than in England; unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed: I believe upon a fair inquiry (and I hear an inquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably few; especially, considering how many parishes have not an inch of glebe, and how difficult it is upon any reasonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows, whether my Lords the Bishops will be soon able to convince the clergy, or those who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their Lordships minds by procuring these bills was to prevent the sin of non-residence; while the universal opinion of almost every clergyman in the kingdom, without distinction of party taking in even those who are not likely to be sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some livings in the north may be justly thought too large a compass of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remotest inhabitants to attend the service of the church, which in some instances may be true, no reasonable clergyman would oppose a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus, for instance, the deanery of Down, a country deanery, I think, without a cathedral, de-
pending

pending wholly upon an union of parishes joined together in a time when the land lay waste and thinly inhabited; since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent competency to the Dean, and placing rectories in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary curates.

The case may be probably the same in other parts; and such a proceeding discreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed, that the dean and chapter lands, which, in England, were all seized under the fanatic usurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confusions, and tithes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

The late * Archbishop of Dublin had a very different way of encouraging the clergy of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almost every bishop in the kingdom may do the same generous act with less damage to their sees, than his late Grace of Dublin; much of whose lands were out in fee-farms, or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a prelate hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the clergy's friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project;

* The Right Reverend Dr William King.

which

which they call a levelling principle, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtue and most generous actions among men; but which, in the general opinion, (for I do not pretend to offer my own), will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any clergyman whom this kingdom shall produce.

But whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future bishops sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the former out of the latter. However, one thing I can venture to assert; that from the earliest ages of Christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding, much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such hands in any Christian country; and so it may pass for more than a phoenix; because it hath risen without any assistance from the ashes of its fire.

The appearance of so many Dissenters at the hearing of this cause is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action hath been censured as a mark of triumph and insult before the victory is complete: since nither of these bills hath yet passed the house of Commons, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be rejected*. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or subdivided tithes towards increasing the stipends of the sectaries. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down stairs, took comfort when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

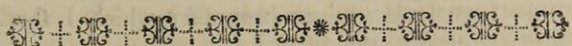
* They were rejected in the house of Commons by a great majority.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of so high a nature, and carry such dreadful *innuendos*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no offence, because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the score of disaffection; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my detractors.

Dublin, Feb. 24.

1731-2.





A PROPOSAL for an Act of Parliament, to pay off the Debt of the Nation, without taxing the subject; by which the number of landed Gentry will be considerably increased, and no Person will be the poorer, or contribute one Farthing to the Charge*.

Written in the Year 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay absentees, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a poll or land tax would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a land-tax upon a racked estate would be a burthen wholly insupportable.

The question will then be, How these national

* The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical.

debts can be paid ; and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal ? which I shall now lay open to the public ?

The revenues of their Graces and Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800 *l. per annum*, I mean the rents which the bishops receive from their tenants. But the real value of those lands at a full rent, taking the several fees one with another, is reckoned to be at least three fourths more ; so that, multiplying 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full rent of all the bishops lands will amount to 147,200 *l. per annum*, from which subtracting the present rent received by their Lordships, that is, 36,800 *l.* the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400 *l. per annum* ; which lands, if they were to be sold at twenty-two years purchase, would raise a sum of 2,428,800 *l.* reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum, I propose, that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400 *l.* so much be applied, as will entirely discharge the debts of the nation ; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury to supply contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But whereas the present set of bishops would be great losers by this scheme for want of their fines ; which would be hard treatment to such religious, loyal, and deserving personages ; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchase ; but if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed ; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their
lives

lives round to be worth more than seven years purchase; so that the purchasers may very well afford fifteen years purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800 *l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably; because the lands are to be sold only at fifteen years purchase, and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000 *l.*; of which I propose twelve hundred thousand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 *l.* I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public stock.

Although the bishops round do not in reality receive three fines apiece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be so; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent in recompense of giving them so large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 *l.* so that above three fourths will remain to be applied to public use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons; however the mistakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my proposal; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds more or less.

The fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same fee: if he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant fee lands are to come immediately into possession of the fee he hath left; and both the bishop who is removed,
and

and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other see will find candidates enough. For the law-maxim will here have place, *Caveat emptor*; I mean, the persons who succeed may chuse whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the see, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myself. If a person already a bishop be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and so must he who comes into a bishopric vacant by death: and this will bring the matter sooner to bear; which if the crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present set of bishops; and consequently encourage purchasers of their lands. For example: If a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole set of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and thereby save a great part of that sum which I have appropriated towards supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops lands two years purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the King and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands, at the remotest distances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it, but in buying of land; which consequently makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation,

nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry, where the bishop's tenants are not able or willing to purchase; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: several persons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchase at home under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs; by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of non-solvencies in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This proposal will also multiply farmers, when the purchasers will have lands in their own power to give long and easy leases to industrious husbandmen.

I have allowed some bishoprics, of equal income, to be of more or less value to the purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For instance: The lands of the primacy and some other sees are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bishop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the sees of Meath and Clonsfert consisting, as I am told, much of tithes, those tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the see of Dublin is said to have many free farms which pay no fines; and some leases for lives, which pay very little, and not so soon nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their Graces my Lords the Archbishops, and my Lords the Bishops, will heartily join in this proposal out of gratitude to his late and present Majesty, the best of kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent stations; as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the nation's debts, with-

out

out impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred gentlemen as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their Graces and Lordships from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of these very leases under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines at the pleasure of their landlords. Then the bulk of the tenants, especially the Dissenters, who are our true loyal Protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg to differ from them), being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet to be distributed to poor profelytes.

I will add one word more; that by such a wholesome law all the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church-leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their Graces and Lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that when heads of a bills (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there
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might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demefne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well that this scheme hath been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom; yet since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people, among whom I have been so well received. And if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law, (which being not in the least injurious to England will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side), my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.



AN EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, AND ENORMITIES, IN THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

Nothing is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions, spread almost through every part of Dublin; and proposing such remedies, as I hope the legislature will approve of.

The narrow compass to which I have confined myself in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects; and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And

And first, perhaps there was never known a wiser institution, than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes in large and populous cities to cry through the streets many necessaries of life : it would be endless to recount the conveniencies which our city enjoys by this useful invention ; and particularly strangers forced hither by business, who reside here but a short time ; for these, having usually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an easy price purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms, that a plain Christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new comers to look out at their garret-windows, and there see whether the thing that is cried be *tripes* or *flummery*, *butter-milk* or *cow-beels*. For, as things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest countryman just arrived to find out what is meant ; for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stuned twice a-day, *mugs*, *jugs*, and *porringers*, *up in the garret*, and *down in the cellar* : I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him ? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse, I mean, where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much disturbance and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of herrings is directly against all truth and probability ; *herrings alive*, *alive here* : the very proverb will convince us of this ; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for

whom the passing bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*? And pray how is it possible, that a herring, which, as philosophers observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these herrings, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches, who dare in the face of the sun vouch the very same affirmative of their salmon, and cry *salmon alive, alive*? whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual salmon cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse, and fully against the conviction of their own consciences: I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers; but all in vain; so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another cry, which, from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of *sweethearts**; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase sweet hearts. Neither am I sure, that this cry doth not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in England, the ladies are forced to take up with

* A sort of sugar cakes in the shape of hearts.

parsons and attorneys: but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person who frequents the castle, our public walks, our balls and assemblies; where the crouds of *toupees* * were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a cry peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in London; or at least, not in the same terms that it hath been practised by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjustly by the Tories. While these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true Whigs and Hanoverians out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baskets on their shoulders to call aloud at every house, *Dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be cleansed, until we were swept from the earth like rubbish. But since that happy turn of times, when we were so miraculously preserved by just an inch from Popery, slavery, massacre, and the pretender, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same cry; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true political dirt is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: Every person who walks the streets, must needs observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party hath assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by British fundamentals to make the world believe, that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in fashion, Dec. 1. 1733.

consequently

consequently that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from Jacobites and Papists. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a British *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements, upon a strict view, appearing couple-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician, who is well versed in such profound speculations; and at my request was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the *anus* of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill-disposed people alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to shew how ready the Jacobites are to lay hold of any handle to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add, that my friend the physician could by smelling each finger distinguish the Hibernian excrement from the British, and was not above twice mistaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the butchers; but is often continued by a succession of other people through the streets; it is called the *COSSING of a dog*: and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A strange dog happens to pass thro' a flesh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, *Cofs, cofs*, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly understands the term of art, and consequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people, and even

even his own brother-animals, pursue : the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile ; he is well worried in his flight ; and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill-wishers of the Jacobite kind are pleased to call a persecution ; and affirm, that it always falls upon dogs of the Tory principle. But we can well defend ourselves by justly alledging, that, when they were uppermost, they treated our dogs full as inhumanely. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended these processions, although I can very well distinguish between a Whig and a Tory dog, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a party-principle, except it were against certain malicious dogs, who most discovered their enmity against us, in the worst times *. And I remember too well, that in the wicked ministry of the Earl of Oxford a large mastiff of our party, being unmercifully cossed, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up Fishamble-street ; and as I am of low stature with very short legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards : and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and clung my legs as close to his sides as I could ; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel ; where, after rolling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidst the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious Jacobites. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowlege, that for this and many other services and sufferings * I have been since more than overpaid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diversion of cossing, which I confess myself an enemy to, unless we could always be sure

* A cant word used by the Whigs for the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's ministry.

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, vol. 1.

of distinguishing Tory dogs; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now justly esteemed the best worriers of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by our enemies to sculk in the tops of chimneys with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours, when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call, *Coach, coach*, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government; and thus, by the absence of a few members for a few minutes, a question may be carried against the true interest of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the pretender.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses, where punch is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of punch, the laddle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black lion, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear, or a cock, in the same posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these animals either separate or in conjunction are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of punch. Besides, it is agreed among naturalists, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor,

liquor, except where he hath been used to it from his infancy; and consequently it is against all the rules of hieroglyph to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that case we ought to suppose, that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which, however, to my knowledge, is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a Christian, as to aiding and assisting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them handy enough to fill liquor to the company; I do therefore vehemently suspect a plot intended against the government by these devices. For although the spread eagle be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful Protestant sign, yet I who am very suspicious of fair outsides in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the pretender's wife is said to be of German birth; and that many Popish princes in so vast an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: besides, it is plain, that the spread eagle exhibits to us the perfect figure of a cross; which is a badge of Popery. Then as to the cock, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The swan, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The lion is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect Jacobitism, and a manifest type of those who blacken the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish, whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl

be a crow or a raven. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a crow to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of Christians, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the Jacobites in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep, (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion: The least offensive picture in the whole set seems to be the bear; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the north, where the reformation first began; and which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the true Protestant religion. But however in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be chained, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* contrivance; by which these traitors hint an earnest desire of using all true Whigs, as their predecessors did the primitive Christians: I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their Tory-dogs to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to punch. I own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false prophet. For these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these popish Jacobites, and idolatrous gewgaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking punch at all; for nothing is easier, than to prove it a disaffected liquor; the chief ingredients, which are brandy, oranges, and lemons, are all sent us from Popish

piſh countries; and nothing remains of Proteſtant growth but fugar and water. For as to biſcuit, which formerly was held a neceſſary ingredient, and is truly Britiſh, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my aſſertion paſt all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous conſequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original inſtitution of making punch left us by Captain Ratcliff, the ſharpneſs is only occaſioned by the juice of lemons; and ſo continued until after the happy revolution. Oranges, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner but of yeſterday. It was the politics of Jacobites to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing ſpeaks itſelf. It was cunningly to ſhew their virulence againſt his Sacred Majeſty King William of ever glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to ſhew how faſt diſloyalty increaſeth) they came from one to two, and then to three oranges; nay at preſent we often find punch made all with oranges, and not one ſingle lemon. For the Jacobites before the death of that immortal prince, had by a ſuperſtition formed a private prayer, that as they ſqueezed the orange, ſo might that Proteſtant King be ſqueezed to death; according to the known forcery deſcribed by Virgil;

Limus ut hic dureſcit, et hæc ut cera liqueſcit, &c.

And thus the Romans, when they ſacrificed an ox, uſed this kind of prayer: As I knock down this ox, ſo mayſt thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies. In like manner, after King William's death, whenever a Jacobite ſqueezed an orange, he had a mental curſe upon the glorious memory, and a hearty wiſh for power to ſqueeze all his Majeſty's friends to death, as he ſqueezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was Prince of Orange.

This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me under an oath of secrecy, which, however, I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an impious set of men, who never scruple to drink *confusion* to all true Protestants under the name of *Whig*? A most unchristian and inhuman practice; “which, to our great honour and comfort, was *never* charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.”

The sign of two angels hovering in the air, and with their right hands supporting a crown, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence; for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters, (although I have good reason to suspect the latter), those angels are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical countenances, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the Jacobites, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now return to that great enormity of city-cries, most of which we have borrowed from London. I shall consider them only in a political view, as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, by defeating the Protestant succession, and introducing the pretender, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy revolution, all persons who possessed any employment or office, in church or state, were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and a great number of disaffected persons refusing to take the said oaths from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really
from

from a spirit of Popery and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud shrill voices, under pretence of selling fish, to go thro' the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry, *Buy my soul, buy my soul*; plainly insinuating, that all those who swore to King William, were just ready to sell their souls for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of Queen Anne, and, I hear, still continues in London with much offence to all true Protestants; but, to our great happiness, seems to be almost dropt in Dublin.

But, because I altogether contemn the displeasure and resentment of High-fliers, Tories, and Jacobites, whom I look upon to be worse even than professed Papists, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the worst of times under the late Earl of Oxford's administration, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign. "That wicked minister was universally known to be a Papist in his heart, * He was of a most avaritious nature, and is said to have died worth four millions Sterling, besides his vast expence in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council-table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead; and therefore, I shall observe this wise maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*"

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt

* The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of Lord Oxford.

several London cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And whereas it was upon good grounds grievously suspected, that all *places* at court were sold to the highest bidder; certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry fish in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, "Buy my fresh places." I must indeed own, that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold fish of that denomination to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the secret, although they carried fish in their sieves or baskets to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the Free Masons, which the purchasers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women, whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen finely dressed about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the Lord Treasurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried, "Buy my fresh places," and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe, that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the Duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England for admitting his eldest son by the Duchess of Orleans's daughter to succeed to the crown, as next heir, upon the pretender's being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn Protestant. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people disaffected to the then Illustrious, but now Royal House of Hanover, were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the Jacobite leaders to cry through the whole town, "Buy my *savoys*, dainty *savoys*, curious *savoys*." But I cannot directly charge the late Earl of Oxford with
this

this conspiracy, because he was not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offensive sound to every true Protestant, who is old enough to remember those dangerous times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and Jacobite Earl above mentioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power was to sell Flanders to France: the consequence of which must have been the infallible ruin of the States-General, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must next after Holland have been compelled to submit, whereby the Protestant religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the Jacobite grandees with the Earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former: it was therefore again put into practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex: and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country which we now by corruption call Flanders, is in its true orthography spelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever since stunned the ears of all London, made so many children fall into fits, and women miscarry; "Come buy my fresh *flaunders*, curious *flaunders*, charming *flaunders*, alive, alive, ho;" which last words can with no propriety of speech be applied to fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in herrings and salmon), but very justly to

ten provinces containing many millions of living Christians. But the application is still closer, when we consider that all the people were to be taken like fishes in a net; and by assistance of the Pope, who sets up to be the universal fisher of men, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expression, to be "laid as flat as a flounder."

I remember myself a particular crier of flounders in London, who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in those days so fully apprised of the designs which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to myself, "This cry seems to be forged in the Jesuits school: alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken, if there be not some Popish plot at the bottom." I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations: but it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been not only to these two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by selling Flanders to France. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in London and Dublin; although, I confess, not with equal vehemency or loudness; because the reason for contriving this desperate plot is, to our great felicity, wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the majority of the British house of Commons in the last years of Queen Anne's reign were in their hearts directly opposite to the

Earl

Earl of Oxford's pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation, (as it was proved before Justice * Peyton), to cry that vegetable commonly called *fellery* through the town. These women differ from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of *fellery* brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not at this present the least occasion to suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is indeed of all others the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment; I mean that of *turn-ups*; not of *turnips*, according to the best orthography, but absolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities, for it began soon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height, as during the Earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself to profess their disapprobation of this cry, on pretence that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureesses, who kept houses of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by some words in the cry; because, after the crier had bawled out, "Turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups," he would sometimes add the two following verses.

* A famous Whig justice in those times.

*Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.*

This, say some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness; which indeed ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But I hope we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when these two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. Swan so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a Jacobite as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence, by Sir Henry Dutton-Colt, and Colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffeehouse, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus, it appears to a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who, from the first years after the happy revolution, used a cant way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: "We hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another King TURN UP triumph:" and, "When shall we meet over a dish of TURN-UPS?" The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light; because the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality, I shall not decree; because, I am sure, the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed, that this cry was sung in a particular

ticular manner by fellows in disguise to give notice, where those traitors were to meet in order to concert their villanous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble proposal, that those who cry this root at present in our streets of Dublin may be compelled by the justices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*; for, I am afraid, we still have too many snakes in our bosom, and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched, when the owners least expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus we are zealous in matters of small moment, while we neglect those of the highest importance. I have already made it manifest, that all these cries were contrived in the worst of times, under the ministry of that desperate statesman Robert late Earl of Oxford; and for that very reason ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of Jacobites, and may well be numbered among the rags of Popery and treason; or if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the hands of true Protestants, who have given security to the government.

according to your phrase, hath been lately persecuted at Drogheda for his religion: but it is easy to observe, how mighty industrious some people have been for three or four years past, to hand about stories of the hardships, the merits, the number, and the power of the Presbyterians in Ireland, to raise formidable ideas of the dangers of Popery there, and to transmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with special care to have them inserted with comments in those infamous weekly papers that infest your coffeehouses. So, when the clause enacting a *sacramental test* was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the justices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commissions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in fortune and understanding, and some of them superannuated. So, when the Earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament sitting, a formal story was very gravely carried to his Excellency by some zealous members, of a priest newly arrived from abroad to the north-west parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a murdering the Protestants; which, though invented to serve an end they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd remarks by your worthy scriblers. In like manner the account of that person who was lately expelled our university

Swift held the Dissenters in the utmost degree of ridicule and detestation. He had an openness in his disposition, and a frankness in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reserve.——To such a disposition it is impossible that the gravity of Nonconformists could be agreeable. The dislike was mutual on both sides. Dr Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr. Swift. This piece is particularly written against *repealing the test-act*: and whoever considers himself related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it some arguments of weight and consideration, in case any such repeal should ever be attempted there. *Orrery.*

for

for reflecting on the memory of King William; what a dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced till the university was at the pains of publishing a Latin paper to justify themselves. And, to mention no more, this story of the persecution at Drogheda, how it hath been spread and aggravated, what consequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a secret and mystery, I should not pretend to give it an interpretation; but sufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *first*, by addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured, to shew the miserable state of the Dissenters in Ireland by reason of the *sacramental test*, and to desire the Queen's intercession that it might be repealed. Then, it is manifest that our Speaker *, when he was last year in England, solicited in person several members of both houses, to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot possibly interfere with the trade and interest of England; and though he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all men against the injustice of binding a nation by laws to which they do not consent. And, *lastly*, those weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application against the *sacramental test*, and an absolute necessity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say any thing of such trifles as are below a serious man's notice; much less would I disparage the understanding of any party, to think they would chuse the vilest and most igno-

* Mr Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton.

rant among mankind, to employ them for the assertors of a cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous liberty those wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that some men would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to the understandings of a great number; they are grown a necessary part in coffeehouse furniture, and some time or other may happen to be read by customers of all ranks for curiosity and amusement, because they lie always in the way. One of these authors (the fellow that was pilloried, I have forgot his name*) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the Observator † is much the brisker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lies and impudence than his Presbyterian brother. [The reason why I mention him is to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel case: Last year a paper was brought here from England, called "A dialogue between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins," which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his Grace of Canterbury ‡, than you have with the Archbishop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by name, by

* The fellow that was pilloried was Daniel Defoe, whose name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumstance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it, shews great art in the nicest touches of satire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The scoffs and sarcasms of Swift, like the bite of the rattle-snake, distinguish themselves more venomously dangerous, than the wounds of a common serpent.

Errata.
He was pilloried for a tract called, "The shortest way with the Dissenters."

† Mr. John Tutchin.

‡ Dr. Thomas Tenison.

that

that paltry rascal of an Observator; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the business of the missionary of Drogheda, wherein our excellent primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the Lord Archbishop of Dublin || hath been upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services he was, by the late King, promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the revolution, wherein was an account of King James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late Archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the King as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his Grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the Queen, entirely for the succession in the Protestant line, and for ever excluding the pretender; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards Dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect, yet upon his removal to Dublin they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards; in short, in the practice of all virtues that can become a public or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character

|| Dr. William King.

may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the Observator, or such as employ him.]

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the sacramental test; only whereas you desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surpris'd at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our interests in a point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This hath given us some suspicion; and though, in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs, it is certainly for our good, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of actions, are forced by mere conjecture to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the sacramental test; one is, because you are said to imagine it will be a step towards the like good work in England. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding several persons, who have well deserved upon a great occasion, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, especially English: but I remember there is in some of Mr. Cowley's love-verses a strain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by Ireland.

*Forbid it, heaven, my life should be
Weigh'd with her least conveniency.*

In short, whatever advantage you propose to yourselves by repealing the sacramental test, speak it out plainly, it is the best argument you can use; for we value your interest much more than our own; if your little finger be sore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any ease, speak the word, and it shall be done: the interest of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to strike to that of your poorest fishing-town; it is hard you will not accept our services, unless we believe at the same time, that you are only consulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at some distance, and I immediately blow up my house before there be occasion, because you are a man of quality, and apprehended some danger to a corner of your stable; yet why should you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourselves, we had abundance of benefit by the sacramental test, and foresee a number of mischiefs would be the consequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made against it by the Dissenters are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how cheerfully they engaged for the safety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the future they shall sit down quietly, and let us do our work ourselves; nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high treason.

Now, supposing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, and not trouble them about the fly on the wheel*, I thought liberty, property, and religion,

* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having settled on the spoke of a wheel belonging to a chariot that was driven rapidly along the road,

religion, had been the three subjects of the quarrel; and have not all those been amply secured to them? had they at that time a mental reservation for power and employments? and must these two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among some men, to melt down the phrase of a church established by law, into that of the religion of the magistrate; of which appellation it is easier to find the reason than the sense: if by the magistrate they mean the prince, [the expression includes a falsehood; for when King James was prince], the established church was the same it is now. If by the same word they mean the legislature, we desire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one established by law, and are willing by the same law to give a toleration to Dissenters; but if once we repeal our sacramental test, and grant a toleration, or suspend the execution of the penal laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many established churches, as there are sects of Dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the public; but that, I suppose, will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjust it should; because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable that revenues should be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, That no freeborn subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe. But why should any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of serving his Queen and country! their zeal is commend-

road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, *What a dust we raise!*

able, and when employments go a-begging for want of hands, they shall be fure to have the refusal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims which equally include Atheists, Turks, Jews, Infidels, and heretics: or, which is still more dangerous, even Papists themselves: the former you allow, the other you deny; because these last own a foreign power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can suit with free states, with limited or absolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the Pope's power in France is but a shadow; so that upon this foot there need be no great danger to the constitution by admitting Papists to employments. I will help you to enough of them who shall be as ready to allow the Pope here as little power as you please; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Christ is but a speculative point, for which no man it seems ought to be deprived the capacity of serving his country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great objection we have against repealing this same sacramental test. It is, that we are verily persuaded, the consequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us in no great compass of years. And pray, observe how we reason here in Ireland upon this matter.

We observe the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave industrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an undisturbed affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of that soil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Lochaber by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Doun and Antrim, so productive of that grain, which at little trouble and less expence finds diet and lodging for themselves and their cattle. These people, by their extreme parsimony, wonderful dexterity in dealing, and firm adherence to one another, soon grow
into

into wealth from the smallest beginnings, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increase daily by new supplies; besides, when they are the superior number in any tract of ground, they are not over patient of mixture: but such whom they cannot assimilate, soon find it their interest to remove. I have done all in my power on some land of my own to preserve two or three English fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, tho' one of them thought he had sufficiently made his court by turning presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a most formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at least three degrees worse than Popery: and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that spirit which taught them to abolish Episcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and observe, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very considerable number of the house of Commons, and have no other merit, but that of doing their duty in their several stations; therefore, when the test is repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give place to those who have much greater services to plead. The commissions of the revenue are soon disposed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commissioners, which give them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be said of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let Dissenters into the commissions of the peace, to make them high sheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their industry and our supineness, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the house of Commons, and consequently make themselves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers.

ers. I know it will be objected, that if all this should happen as I describe, yet the Presbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, because our bishops are so great in number in the house of Lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be abolished. But I have two very good expedients for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare swear our Speaker here has often thought on, especially having endeavoured at one of them so lately. To convince you, that this design is not so foreign from some people's thoughts, I must let you know, that an honest bell-wether* of our house (you have him now in England, I wish you could keep him there) had the impudence, some years ago, in parliament-time, to shake my Lord Bishop of Kilaloo† by his lawn-sleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, "that he hoped to live to see the day, when there should not be one of his order in the kingdom."

These last lines perhaps you think a digression; therefore to return, I have told you the consequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the sacramental test, which although the greatest number of such as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three pence whether there be any church, or no; yet because they pretend to argue from conscience as well as policy and interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in answer to your question, whether if any attempt should be made here for repealing the sacramental test, it would be likely to succeed? the number of professed Dissenters in this parliament was, as I remember, something under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others who

* Supposed to be Mr. Broderick.

† Dr. Lindsay, afterwards Lord Primate.

were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the Presbyterian party having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my Lord Pembroke's † speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the test-clause, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them; and the ablest of those who are reckoned the most stanch and thorough-paced Whigs upon all other occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of Whig and Tory do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in England, I told the King, that the highest Tories we had with us would make tolerable Whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from Popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present Queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an indulgence for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a Whig: And I believe there are not six members in our house of Commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up on one side of moderate Whigs, and on the other of Presbyterians and their abettors, by which last I mean such who can equally go to a church or conventicle, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or lastly, such who affect

† Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

to bear a personal rancour towards the clergy : these last are a set of men not of our own growth, their principles at least have been imported of late years ; yet this whole party put together will scarce I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the house of Lords, the difficulty there is conceived at least as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the bishops are generally pretty near a *par* of the house, and we reckon they will be all to a man against repealing the test ; and yet their Lordships are generally thought as good Whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for Episcopacy ; and perhaps one or two more, with whom certain powerful motives might be used for removing any difficulty whatsoever : but these are, in no sort, a number to carry any point against a conjunction of the rest and the whole bench of bishops.

Besides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly against repealing the test, though they are entirely devoted to her Majesty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good Whigs in our acceptance of the word. And I must let you know, that we of Ireland are not come up to other folks refinements, for we generally love and esteem our clergy, and think they deserve it ; nay, we are apt to lay some weight on their opinion, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least, unless it were upon some greater point of interest than this. And their judgment in the present affair is the more to be regarded, because they are the last persons who will be affected by it : this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the interest of the kingdom. Because the act which repeals the test, will only qualify a layman for an
employment,

employment, but not a Presbyterian or Anabaptist preacher for a church-living. Now, I must take leave to inform you, that several members of our house, and myself among the rest, knowing some time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any distinction, and desired their judgement in the matter; wherein we found a most wonderful agreement, there being but one divine that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary sentiment, wherein he afterwards stood alone in the convocation, very little to his credit, though, as he hoped, very much to his interest.

I will now consider a little the arguments offered to shew the advantages, or rather the necessity of repealing the test in Ireland. We are told, the Popish interest is here so formidable, that all hands should be joined to keep it under; that the only names of distinction among us ought to be those of Protestant and Papist; and that this expedient is the only means to unite all Protestants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but misrepresentation and mistake.

If we were under any real fear of the Papists in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid, as not to be equally apprehensive with others, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate sufferers: but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more: and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned Protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then, the Popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can

have no successors; so that the Protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than "hewers of wood, and drawers of water," are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any considerable numbers with an invader, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them*, had been trained for some years under a Popish deputy, and received such mighty aids from the French King.

As to that argument used for repealing the test, that it will unite all Protestants against the common enemy; I wonder by what figure those gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it: Suppose, in order to increase the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or, suppose I share my fortune equally between my own children and a stranger, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? It is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury, if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some people may stretch the term of common enemy. How many are there of those that call themselves Protestants, who look upon our worship to be idolatrous as well as that of the Papists, and with great charity put Prelacy and Popery together as terms convertible?

* In the reign of King James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

And

And therefore there is one small doubt I would be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the test: that is, whether these same Protestants, when they have, by their dexterity, made themselves the national religion, and disposed the church revenues among their pastors or themselves, will he so kind to allow us Dissenters, I do not say a share in employments, but a bare toleration by law? The reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as many Presbyterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol toleration, some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *rag of Popery*; and all agreeing it was to establish iniquity by a law. Now, I would be glad to know, when and where their successors have renounced this doctrine, and before what witnesses. Because methinks I should be loath to see my poor titular bishop *in partibus* seized on by mistake in the dark for a Jesuit, or be forced myself to keep a chaplain disguised like my butler, and steal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather used in those times when the church of England was malignant.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; Popery is now the common enemy, against which we must all unite; I have been tired in history with the perpetual folly of those states who call in foreigners to assist them against a common enemy; but the mischief was, these allies would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite subdued. And they reason; for it proved at last, that one part of the common enemy was those who called them in, and so the allies became at length the masters.

It is agreed among naturalists, that a lion is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws

pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful significancy of that word *persecution*, and what various interpretation it hath acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the Presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way; they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably ought to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they soon learned to swallow the sacramental test, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called men of a persecuting spirit. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, persecution was every day rung in our ears, and now, at last, the sacramental test itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request is only used as a step to demand another? A lover is ever complaining of cruelty, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceases to be cruel, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so persecution, it seems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to persecute others.

There is one argument offered against a sacramental test by a sort of men who are content to be stiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its service in the morning, and go with their wives to a conventicle in the afternoon, confessing they hear very good doctrine in both. These men are much offended, that so holy an institution, as that of the Lord's supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now, it seems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church
where

where they receive the sacrament; and supposing all men to live like Christians (especially those who are to have employments) did imagine they received the sacrament in course about four times a-year; and therefore only desired it might appear by certificate to the public, that such who took an office, were members of the church established, by doing their ordinary duty. However, lest we should offend them, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us: for, if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in parliament, that every man who takes an employment, should, instead of receiving the sacrament, be obliged to swear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law established, with Episcopacy, *and so forth*: and as they do now in Scotland, *to be true to the kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge the hardship that men should be deprived the liberty of serving their Queen and country on account of their conscience; and in short, have recourse to the common stile of their half-brethren. Now, whether this be a sincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour somewhat parallel to the foregoing; it seems by the test-clause, the military officers are obliged to receive the sacrament, as well as the civil. And it is a matter of some patience, to hear the Dissenters declaiming upon this occasion: they cry they are disarmed, they are used like Papists: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they must sit still, and see their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treason if they offer to defend themselves. Miserable condition! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that the pretender was not apprised of this passive Presbyterian principle, else he would have infallibly landed in our northern parts, and found them all sat down in their formalities, as the
Gauls

Gauls did the Roman senators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes to appease their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in such a case the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to hang them for defending it against the letter of the law; to which they readily answer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourselves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all Popish insurrections at home, or Popish invasions from abroad, the government shall be impowered to grant commissions to all Protestants whatsoever, without that persecuting circumstance of obliging them to say their prayers when they receive the sacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of occasional commissions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they had rather lose their estates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleasure of governing,

But to bring this discourse towards a conclusion: If the Dissenters will be satisfied with such a toleration by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houses will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to persuade this house of Commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to say the truth, we make a mighty difference here between suffering thistles to grow among us, and wearing them for posies. We are fully convinced in our consciences, that we shall always tolerate them; but not quite so fully that they will always tolerate us, when it comes to their turn; and we are the majority, and we are in possession.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obsolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foresee in the abrogation of it.

For,

For, if the consequences of repealing this clause should, at some time or other enable the Presbyterians to work themselves up into the national church; instead of uniting Protestants, it would sow eternal divisions among them. First, their own sects, which now lie dormant, would be soon at cuffs again with each other about power and preference; and the dissenting Episcopalians, perhaps discontented to such a degree, as upon some fair unhappy occasion, should be able to shake the firmest loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late proceedings, at what a rate this faction is like to drive, wherever it gets the whip and the feat. They have already set up courts of spiritual judicature in open contempt of the law: they send missionaries every where, without being invited, in order to convert the church of England folks to Christianity. They are as vigilant as I know who, to attend persons on their deathbeds, and for purposes much alike. And what practices such principles as these (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may spawn, when they are laid out to the sun, you may determine at leisure.

Lastly, Whether we are so entirely sure of their loyalty upon the present foot of government as you may imagine, their detractors make a question, which, however does, I think, by no means affect the body of Dissenters: but the instance produced is of some among their leading teachers in the north, who, having refused the abjuration-oath, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe hath been published; I think it a pity, it hath not been remedied.

Thus

152 A LETTER CONCERNING THE, &c.

Thus I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houses here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what use of it you please.

I am with great respect,

Dublin, Dec. 4.

1708.

SIR,

Yours, &c.



Scmc



Some ARGUMENTS against enlarging the
power of Bishops in letting of Leases *.

Mihi credite, major hereditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt.

Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1723.

IN handling this subject I shall proceed wholly upon the supposition, that of our party who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, to desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity, at least in as good a condition as it is at present; because as this discourse is not calculated for Dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiment of those persons, who with the denomination of churchmen are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered

* This pamphlet is intermixed with those masterly strokes of irony, which are so often intermixed in Swift's works. The general subject of it leads me to recollect a circumstance much to the Dean's honour: he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He constantly refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were scarce sufficient to maintain the necessary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrey.*

down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be now near two hundred years since almost three parts in four of the church-revenues have been taken from the clergy, besides the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other lands by the confusion of times, the fraud of incroaching neighbours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the reformation many Popish bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed directly contrary to many ancient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became Protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means Episcopal revenues were so low reduced, that three or four sees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil, King James I. by a bounty that became a good Christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the northern bishoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country-vicar. About the middle of King Charles I.'s reign the legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any farther alienations; and so a law was enacted, prohibiting all bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations from setting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reserved to be one half of the real value of such lands at the time they were set, without which condition the lease to be void.

Soon

Soon after the restoration of King Charles II. the parliament taking into consideration the miserable estate of the church, certain lands by way of augmentation were granted to eight bishops in the act of settlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three fees were in a great measure defeated; but by what accidents, it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at present is the condition of the church in Ireland with regard to Episcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for some information to those whose thoughts do not lead them to such considerations.

By virtue of the statute already mentioned, under King Charles I. limiting ecclesiastical bodies to the term of twenty-one years, under the reserved rent of half real value, the bishops have had some share in the gradual rise of lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common decency that might become their station. It is above eighty years since the passing of that act: the fee of Meath, one of the best in the kingdom, was then worth about 4000 l. *p. r. annum*; the poorer ones in the same proportion. If this were their present condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their successors, if such a bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose; and believe many persons who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at least eluded; some are for giving bishops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause, by which the bishops are bound to let their lands at half-value.

The reasons for the rise of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the first kind, are long peace and settlement after the devastations of war; plantations, improvements of bad soil, recovery of bogs and marshes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increase of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reason for the rise of land, more gradual, constant, and certain; which will have its effects in countries that are very far from flourishing in any of the advantages I have just mentioned: I mean the perpetual decrease in the value of gold and silver. I shall discourse upon these two different kinds with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the first? I cannot see how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for thirty years past have been real disimprovements; nine in ten of the quick-set-hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to forest-trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said, that the soil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath indeed been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation made in the country by ingrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no wellwisher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be

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on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God *sends rain equally upon the just and unjust*, why should those who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is *the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver.*

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an obulus, and of every other coin, between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the increase of bullion in the world by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy the riches of the east and west.

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the northern people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but
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the Monkish and other writers since the conquest have put that matter in a clearer light, by the several accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows that King John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thousand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's accounts of an ancient noble family in England written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years past. Henry Duke of Lancaster, who lived about that period, founded an hospital in Leicester for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a-week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In those times, a penny was equal to ten pence halfpenny, and somewhat more than half a farthing of ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon many estates in England to let for leases of lives, (renewable at pleasure), where the reserved rent is usually about twelpence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three shillings in the pound of the worth of his land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants by all manner of injuries will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the farm; as the late Earl of Bath felt by the experience of above ten thousands pounds loss.

The

The gradual decrease for about two hundred years after was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by some historians, that Harry VII. left behind him eighteen hundred thousand pounds; for, although the West Indies were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting of money ever possessed by any prince since the time of Vespasian (whom he resembled in many particulars), yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of England could hardly amount to such a sum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir ——— Cockain of Derbyshire, the best housekeeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a-year for maintaining the family, one pound a-year wages to each servant, and two pounds to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality who had seen the original account of his œconomy. Now, this sum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a-year at present, or somewhat more than four fifths.

The great plenty of silver in England began in Queen Elisabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vast quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards either upon their own American coasts, or in their return to Spain. However, so much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and most parts of Europe, is sunk above one half within the space of an hundred years, notwithstanding the great export of silver for about eighty years past to the East Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the same accident, and by new discoveries growing every day more plentiful, seems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progress of the value of money in former ages, and must of necessity continue so for the future, without some new invasion of
Goths

Goths and Vandals to destroy law, property, and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon the subject is intended only for the conviction of those among our own party, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable degree of prosperity to the end of the world.

The church is supposed to last for ever both in its discipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who must likewise observe the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's estate, which now yields him a thousand pounds a-year, had been set for ever at the highest value, even in the flourishing days of King Charles II. would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chief-ry? Suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to a thousand pounds a-year; how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that sum? Which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds goods in all corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinsic value, which gold and silver are not: and by this invention these colleges have preserved a tolerable subsistence for their fellows and students to this day.

The present bishops will indeed be no sufferers by such a bill; because, their ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great decrease in the value of money; or at worst they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than usual upon the change of leases into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half-value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such advantages, (considering the nature of humankind), when the question is only, whether the money shall be put into their own or another man's pocket? so they will never be excusable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppose, declare, and protest against any such bill, as must in its consequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private person be diminished by the weakness or inadvertency of his ancestors, in letting leases for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his industry for purchasing of more; but the church is barred by a dead hand; or if it were otherwise, yet the custom of making bequests to it hath been out of practice for almost two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary hath been its fortune.

I have been assured by a person of some consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the account of some other facts already related, that the

late * Bishop of Salisbury (the greatest Whig of that bench in his days) confessed to him, that the liberty which Bishops in England have of letting leases for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of Episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation-act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two English prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the sake of a more ample revenue, even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed some persons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting-bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for some years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and besides, when bishoprics here grow too small, to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench in an age or two be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble suppliants and dependents upon the court for a morsel of bread, and ready to serve every turn that shall be demanded

* Dr. Burnet.

from them in hopes of getting some *commendam* tack-
ed to their fees; which must then be the trade, as
it is now too much in England, to the great discour-
agement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that
practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years since the passing
of that limiting-act, and there is but one instance
in the memory of man of a bishop's lease broken
upon the plea of not being statutable; which, in
every body's opinion, could have been lost by no o-
ther person than he who was then tenant, and hap-
pened to be very ungracious in his county. In the
present * Bishop of Meath's case that plea did not
avail, although the lease were notoriously unstatu-
table; the rent reserved being, as I have been told,
not a seventh part of the real value; yet the jury
upon their oaths very gravely found it to be accord-
ing to the statute; and one of them was heard to
say, that he would "eat his shoes" before he would
give a verdict for the bishop. A very few more
have made the same attempt with as little success.
Every bishop and other ecclesiastical body reckon
forty pounds in an hundred to be a reasonable half-
value; or if it be only a third part, it seldom or
never breeds any difference between landlord and
tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or
ten parts less than the worth, the bishop, if he con-
sults the good of his see, will be apt to expostulate;
and the tenant, if he be an honest man, will have
some regard to the reasonableness and justice of the
demand, so as to yield to a moderate advancement,
rather than engage in a suit, where law and equity
are directly against him. By these means the bi-
shops have been so true to their trusts, as to pro-
cure some small share in the advancement of rents;
although it be notorious, that they do not receive

* Dr. Evans a Welchman.

the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thousand pounds a-year in the hands of a Protestant bishop, any more than of a lay person *. The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and hospitably as the other; pays his debts as honestly, and spends as much of his revenue among his tenants: besides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may distinguish them at first sight by their habits and horses; or if you go to their houses, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that such immediate tenants, generally speaking, have others under them, and so a third and fourth under them, and so a third and fourth in subordination, till it comes to the welder, (as they call him), who sits at a rack-rent, and lives as miserably as any Irish farmer upon a new lease from a lay landlord. But suppose a bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same stuff with other men), the consequence to the public is no worse than if he were a squire; for he leaves his fortune to his son or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no disadvantage to the public in a Protestant country, that a man should hold lands as a bishop, any more than if he were a temporal person; so it is of great advantage to the community, where a bishop leaves as he ought to do. He is bound in conscience to reside in his diocese, and by a solemn promise to keep hospitality; his estate is spent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people.

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when several of Queen Anne's bishops were living.

Suppose

Suppose him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed that some bishops of this kingdom within twenty years past, have done very signal and lasting acts of public charity; great instances whereof are the late * and present † Primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbishop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the Bishop of Raphoe ||, and several others: not forgetting the late Dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who bestowed one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation, (that I may observe by the way), if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the Bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statutes for commons being not half sufficient, by the fall of money, to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tithes, who received them upon the old church-conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? And what should hinder the same course to be taken in church-leases, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the Bishop? in riding through the country how few improvements do we see upon the

* Dr. Marsh.
† Dr. Lindsay.

‡ Dr. King.
|| Dr. Foster.

estates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune as well to the public as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great squires, who in reason were never designed to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a subserviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with cheerfulness, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half-value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thousand pounds a-year talk with great contempt of bishops leases, as being on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and he had certainly reason: my answer was, that such leases were originally intended only for the benefit of industrious husbandmen, who would think it a great blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his farm screwed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find shoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by such a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and false dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to a highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the sin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookseller sent me a small pamphlet, intitled, "The case of the laity, with some queries;" full of the strongest malice against the clergy, that I have any where met with since the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. These kinds of advocates do infinite mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE by giving grounds to the unjust reproaches of TORIERS and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his Majesty King GEORGE and the house of Hanover, not shaken
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in the least by the hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a prince; if I sincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late King WILLIAM, who preserved these kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY, with the expense of his blood, and hazard of his life; and lastly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all Dissenters, I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of me as a WHIG, and that my political catechism is full and complete. But whoever, under the shelter of that party-denomination, and of many great professions of loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure, the CHURCH established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to chuse another name of distinction for himself and his adherents. I came into the cause upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preserve as long as I can live. Shall we justify the accusations of our adversaries? *Hoc Itacus velit.*—The TORIES and JACOBITES will behold us, with a malicious pleasure, determined upon the ruin of our friends. For is not the present set of bishops almost entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy? And a short time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that the reason still strongly exists, for which that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder, where can be the insufferable grievance, that an ecclesiastical landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is at least as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has the nation been thrown into confusion? And have ma-

ny poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does the nation cry out to have a law that must in time send their bishops a-begging? But, God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church is not yet the cry, and I hope will never prove the voice of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that the people maintain them, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those who are for preserving the happy constitution in church and state. Whoever were the proposers of such queries, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by shewing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops at least are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the Episcopal rent-roll almost one half, let me suppose that all the church-lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity: would the tenants in such a case sit easier in their rents than they do now? Or, would the money be equally spent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards of absentees, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole income of Ireland is annually returned, to answer that single article of maintenance for Irish landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against pluralities and non-residence. As to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well understood. The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the glebes being generally lost, the tithes in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished, and the country depopulated; in order to preserve
a face

a face of christianity, it was necessary to unite small vicarages sufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a minister. The profit of ten or a dozen of these unions seldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a-year. If there be a very few dignitaries, whose preferments are perhaps more liable to this accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be favourites of the time; or persons of superior merit, for whom there hath ever been some indulgence in all governments.

As to non-residence, I believe there is no Christian country upon earth, where the clergy have less to answer for upon that article. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed *non-residents*; for surely we are not to reckon in that number those who, for want of glebes are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a cabin to put their heads in; the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accomodate the minister with an acre of ground. And indeed, considering the difficulties the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to me, how they are able to perform that part of their duty so well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who hath lately addressed to the house of Commons an excellent discourse for the *encouragement of agriculture*; full of most useful hints, which, I hope, that honourable assembly will consider as they deserve. I am not a stranger to his Lordship; and excepting in what relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of tithes upon the clergy and their proctors. His Lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that

* The late Lord Molesworth.

the meanest farmer hath all manner of advantages against the most powerful clergymen, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the minister were ever so evil disposed; the whole system of teizing, perplexing, and defrauding the proctor, or his master, being as well known to every ploughman, as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading man in the parish must have his tithes at his own-rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful observers, whose interest was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his Lordship's discontent against the bishops court, I shall not interpose farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their just dues by a more short, decisive, and compulsive method, than such a cramped and limited jurisdiction will allow.

His Lordship is not the only person disposed to give the clergy the honour of being the sole encouragers of all new improvements. If hops, hemp, flax, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy alone must reward the industrious farmer by abatement of the tithe. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would please to abate proportionably in his rent, for every acre thus improved? Would not a man just dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at least as reasonable?

I believe no man will dispute his Lordship's title to his estate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of tithes, which he mentions with some emotion. I suppose the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the same reason that a maxim in law hath more weight in the world than an article of faith. And yet I think there may be such a thing

as sacrilege; because it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as described in holy writ. This I am sure of, that his Lordship would at any time excuse a Parliament for not concerning itself in his properties without his own consent.

The observations I have made upon his Lordship's discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my subject: however, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some proposals to the house of Commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him: which proceeds, from his own principle, the desire of defending liberty and property, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law empowering the bishops to set fee-farms; and says, "Whoever intimates, that they will deny their consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church." Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half-value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*, "for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical;" which was grounded upon reasons, that do still and must for ever subsist.

October 21.

1723.

The PRESBYTERIANS Plea of Merit, in order
to take off the TEST, impartially exam-
ined.

Written in the year 1731 *.

WE have been told in the common news-
papers, that all attempts are to be made
this session by the Presbyterians and their abettors
for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory
step to make it go down smoother in England. For
if once *their light would so shine*, the Papists del-
ighted with the blaze would all come in and dance
about it. This I take to be a prudent method;
like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a
new medicine to a dog, before he prescribes it to a
human creature †.

The

* See a letter on this subject, p. 132. of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the same occasion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and spirit, by saying,—"We have been told in the common news-papers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the Presbyterians and their abettors for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For if once *their light would so shine*, the Papists delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he prescribes it to a human creature."—
I have quoted this short passage for the style, as well as the matter; and I dare say, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general observation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and allusions, with a justness particularly delicate and exact, and without the

The Presbyterians have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by shewing the merits and pretensions upon which they claim this justice, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of King Charles II. and at the revolution under the Prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun, against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the Presbyterians upon those two great events, and the pretensions to favour which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward VI. upon Queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored Popery), many Protestants fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon Queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against Episcopacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church: building upon this foundation, to run as far as possible from Popery even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction,

the least stiffness or affectation. I have formerly mentioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Dissenters, especially the Presbyterians [above, p. 133.]; and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the same subject, *Orrery*.—
And so it is placed in this edition,

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under the name of Puritan, became very turbulent during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise Queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers as well as their insolence and perverseness so far increased, that soon after the death of King James I. many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of Queen Elizabeth), particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those scurrilous libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, and several others. And although the Earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design towards making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown, and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifest, that Puritanism did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion till some time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of King James I. and the former part of his son, there were several Puritan bishops, and many Puritan private clergymen; while people went as their inclinations led them to hear preachers of each party in the parish churches; for the Puritan clergy had received Episcopal orders as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out, the term Puritan gradually dropt, and that of Presbyterian succeeded; which sect was in two or three years established in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of
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the Lords and Commons, without consulting the King, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of Independent: it spread indeed somewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the Presbyterians either in weight or number, until the very time the King was murdered.

When the King, who was then a prisoner in the isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London, they reported his Majesty's answer in the house. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art as to obtain a majority in a thin house, for passing a vote, that *the King's concessions were a ground for a future settlement.* But the great officers of the army, joining with the discontented members, came to a resolution of excluding all those who had consented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid Presbyterian, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the General, in conjunction with those members who had opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house except those of their own party. Upon which the question for bringing the King to justice was immediately put, and carried without opposition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; altho'
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by the advice or threats of his wife he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced it appears manifest, that the differences between those two sects, Presbyterian and Independent, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a Whig and Tory at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and Episcopacy was equally the same in both: evidently the consequence of the very same principles, upon which the Presbyterians alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events; if towards the conclusion they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions, and preferments, are frequent in the accounts of those times. For I make no doubt, that all the prudent Presbyterians complied in proper seasons, falling in with the stream; and thereby got that share in employments which many of them held to the restoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the same manner we find our wisest Tories in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and measures at the Queen's death, have endeavoured for several years by due compliances to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alledged, that some of the Presbyterians declared openly against the King's murder; I allow it to be true. But from what motives?

No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spite, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power by a new infant-spawn of Independents sprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But where-ever interest or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we see at this day, that the Tories are more hated by the whole set of zealous Whigs, than the very Papists themselves; and in effect as much unqualified for the smallest office: although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty to the same Protestant King and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this Independent party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their Presbyterian brethren, he may please to observe, that during the whole usurpation they contended by degrees with their parent sect, and, as I have already said, shared in employments; and gradually, after the restoration, mingled with the mass of Presbyterians; lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of Dissenters.

The Presbyterian merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themselves instrumental towards the King's restoration. The kingdom grew tired with those ridiculous models of government; first, by a house of Lords and Commons without a King; then without Bishops; afterwards by a Rump* and Lords Temporal; then by a Rump alone; next by a single person for life, in conjunction with

* This name was given to that part of the house of Commons which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force.

a Council; by Agitators; by Major-generals; by a new kind of Representatives from the three kingdoms; by the Keepers of the Liberties of England; with other schemes that have slipped out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his son Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the same manner with the two usurping Kings of Brentford †; the people harassed with taxes and other oppressions. The King's party, then called the *Cavaliers*, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, cobblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *Rump* assembly grew despicable to those who had raised them: the city of London exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The *Rump*, after many deaths and resurrections, was in the most contemptuous manner kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in: a free parliament called in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the King restored.

The second claim of Presbyterian merit is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of King James II. while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce Popery, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown; to this they add their eminent services at the revolution under the Prince of Orange.

Now, the *quantum* of Presbyterian merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-adviced prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will easily be computed by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets, and public

† In the Rehearsal,

papers, printed in those times, and some afterwards; besides the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the dissenters conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon King Charles II.'s death, soon after his successor had publicly owned himself a Roman Catholic, he began with his first caresses to the church-party; from whom having received very cold discouraging answers, he applied to the Presbyterian leaders and teachers; being advised by his priests and Popish courtiers, that the safest methods towards introducing his own religion would be by taking off the sacramental test, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, (I suppose that professed Christianity.) It seems that the Presbyterians in the latter years of King Charles II. upon account of certain plots (allowed by Bishop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a short time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon these charitable Christians, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of King James with the strongest professions of loyalty, and highest acknowledgements for his favour. I have seen several of their addresses, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the Papists upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the style of *our brethren the Roman Catholics*. About this time began the project of closeting, (which hath since been practised many times with more art and success), where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his Majesty, to know, whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the sacramental test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement, that despairing of success, he had recourse

to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination he preferred several Presbyterians, and many Papists, to civil and military employments. While the King was thus busied, it is well known that Monsier Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the Prince and Princess of Orange, concerning the repeal of the test; whereof the King had sent an account to their Highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this, "That their Highnesses thought very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church." This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those, whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, hath very few examples in any Christian state; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence King James received of an intended invasion by the Prince of Orange, among great numbers of Papists to increase his troops, he gave commissions to several Presbyterians; some of whom had been officers under the *Rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted Presbyterian, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his memoirs. This regiment was raised in England against the Prince of Orange: the Colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a Presbyterian

rian as his father. However, at the time of the Prince's landing, the father, easily foreseeing how things would go, went over, like many others, to the Prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to assist in the siege of Derry, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now consider the conduct of the church-party during the whole reign of that unfortunate King. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the King durst not trust a parliament; but encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his Presbyterian friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church-clergy at that time are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against Popery, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But upon the strictest inquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the Presbyterians at that time upon the subject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the rest) were sent to the tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command from the King. The Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was summoned before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, for not suspending Dr. Sharp (afterwards Bishop of York) by the King's command. If the Presbyterians expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or transmitted by tradition. The proceedings against Magdalen college in Oxford, for refusing to comply with the King's mandate for admitting a professed Papist upon their foundation, are a standing proof of the courage and firmness in religion shewn by that learned society to the ruin of their fortunes. The Presbyterians
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know very well, that I could produce many more instances of the same kind. But these are enough in so short a paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after King William was settled on the British throne, the Presbyterians began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour : and the new King having been originally bred a Calvinist, was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration ; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that sect ; nor designed to favour them farther than as it stood with the present scheme of politics ; as I have long since been assured by the greatest men of Whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewise true, nor will it be denied, that when the King was possessed of the English crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom ; the Presbyterians wisely chose to join with the Protestant army, rather than with that of King James their old friend, whose affairs were then in a manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this kingdom divided against itself could never prevail against the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis* : for their estates and religion ; which latter will never suffer so much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we : and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a Protestant army, under a King they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a Popish enemy under an abdicated King, is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable ; and, I believe, will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the test, many groundless reports were induttriously and seasonably

ably spread of an invasion threatened by the pretender on the north of Ireland. At which time the Presbyterians in their pamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the Pretender should invade those parts of the kingdom where the numbers and estates of the Dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still, and let us fight our own battles; since they were to reap no advantage, which ever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand neuters, otherwise than by a compact with the pretender and his army to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown? This is a necessary supposition; because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration they sufficiently shewed their good-will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door, that a Scottish or northern Presbyterian hates our Episcopal established church more than Popery itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone that stands in the way between them and power; which Popery doth not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprise. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the Presbyterians in countenancing and confirming those reports; because it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the pretender counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the Presbyterians by chusing to land in those very parts, where their number, wealth, and power, most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore,
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in charity to this sect, I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable job.

As to Popery in general, which for a thousand years past hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd system of Christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of Papists are very few; crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice; and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last war: some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against Popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the Protestant religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding; so I do not conceive why a sunk, discarded party, who neither expect nor desire any thing more than a quiet life, should, under the names of High-fliers, Jacobites, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce popery and the pretender; while the Papists abhor them above all men, on account of severities against their priests, in her late Majesty's reign, when the now disbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced
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of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I had passed through, and to my great satisfaction found them every where abounding in professions of loyalty to the late King George; for which they gave me the reasons above mentioned; at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the Queen's last ministry.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the Presbyterians for a repeal of the sacramental test, as a reward for their merits at the restoration and the revolution; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who, I am sure, have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men who are now resuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which of all others they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts with all possible impartiality, from the current histories of those times; and have shewn, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of these sectaries, under the denominations of Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents, for about the space of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth to this present time. But notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismatics (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting, and demanding, (not without insinuated threats, according to their custom), that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would

fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my Lords the bishops; who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates: not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates, who must have heard, that immediately after those rebellious fanatics had murdered their King, they voted a house of Lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as Commons: not to the house of Commons; who must have heard, that in those fanatic times the Presbyterian and Independent commanders in the army, by military power, expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a rump to govern the nation: lastly, not the crown; which those very fains, destined to rule the earth, trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the blessed wearer.

But the session now approaching, and a clan of dissenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head-quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution, to solicit their establishment with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments. I think it high time that this paper should see the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the Presbyterians should obtain their ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken, in the point which they have most at heart, by the repeal of the test; I mean the benefit of employments. For, after all, what assurance can a Scottish northern Dissenter, born on Irish ground, have, that he shall be treated with as much favour as a TRUE SCOT born beyond the Tweed?

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I am ready enough to believe, that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true, the advocates for this scheme promise a new world after this blessed work shall be completed; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of Papist and Protestant: for as to Whig and Tory, High-church and Low-church, Jacobite and Hanoverian, Court and Country party, English and Irish interests, Dissenters and Conformists, New Light and Old Light, Anabaptist and Independent, Quaker and Muggletonian; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony at the sessions and assizes, on the bench and in the revenues, and, upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: That a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the Papists, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the Presbyterian sect intends to use in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which, (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their Independent rivals), as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as Episcopacy and the house of Lords, even until the King was restored: at which event, although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle, by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that

others have done it for them, by a certain * Doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government: but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will and must endeavour, by all means which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God, by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of Popery, in order to a thorough reformation; and, as in charity bound, to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing with St. Paul, "that the whole kingdom were as they are." But what assurance will they please to give, that when their feet shall become the national established worship, they will treat us **DISSENTERS** as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the saints? Were not all the remainders of the Episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Christians under Heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books expressly against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the rest one frequently insisted on; that allowing such a liberty would be to "establish iniquity by a law*." Many of these writings are yet to be seen; and, I hear, have been quoted by the Doctor above mentioned.

As to their great objection of prostituting that

* The late Dr. Tisdal, who died June 1736.

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatise called, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*.

holy institution, the blessed sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment; I ask, whether they would not be content to receive it "after their own manner" for the office of a judge, for that of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a Lord Justice. I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without bending a knee; for, as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine, in their conventicles, is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, since they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can nor ought in conscience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the Papists. But lest we should offend them, I am ready to change this test for another; although, I am afraid, that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the sacrament a test were the only objection. I therefore propose, that before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no man shall receive any employment before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, &c. and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be further enacted, That whoever offends, &c. shall be fined five hundred pounds, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all public trust for ever. Otherwise I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion shall, either give up that fallacious hypocritical reason for taking off the test, or freely confess, that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect, without any test at all,

all, except that of swearing loyalty to the King: which, however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test than any other that the law hath yet invented.

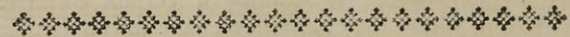
For, from the first time that these sectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments, where Calvinists, and some other reformers who rejected Episcopacy, possess the supreme power; and these are all republics; I mean Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths; wherein, I confess, I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch that I am now justly liable to the censure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest; they will best consider, whether those people who in all their actions, preachings, and writings, have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust with those who have been always found the true and only friends to the English establishment. From which consideration, I could have added one more article to my new test, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured, by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither to solicit the repeal of
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the test, were pleased to express their gratitude, by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the test must be delivered up by the very superiors appointed to defend it, the affair is already in effect at an end. What secret reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love, I shall not inquire: "For, O my soul, come not thou into their *secret*; unto their *assembly*, mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."





The Advantages proposed by repealing the
SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially
considered.

Written in the year 1732.

Whoever writes impartially upon this subject, must do it not only as a mere secular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular system of Christianity. And, I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worship and ceremony, which is looked upon as the established; and consequently, only the priests of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments bestowed among those who comply (at least outwardly) with the same establishment.

This method is strictly observed, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confessed to allow the fullest liberty of conscience of any Christian state; and yet are never known to admit any persons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worship. As to their military men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a necessity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no small number in time of peace.

This caution therefore of making one established faith seems to be universal, and founded upon the strongest reasons, the mistaken or affected zeal of obstinacy and enthusiasm having produced such a
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number of horrible destructive events throughout all Christendom. For whoever begins to think the national worship is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a zeal to make as many profelytes as he can : and a nation may possibly have an hundred different sects with their leaders ; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they must “ obey God rather than man ; *must* cry aloud and spare not ; *must* lift up their voice like a trumpet.”

This was the case of England during the fanatic times. And against all this there seems to be no defence, but that of supporting one established form of doctrine and discipline ; leaving the rest to a bare liberty of conscience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or senate, or both, it ought to be changed ; provided the work might be done without blood or confusion. Yet, whenever such a change shall be made, some other establishment must succeed, although for the worse ; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this sense, those who affirm that every law which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken ; for many laws in Popish kingdoms and states, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws ; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

That, for instance, if the three estates of parliament in England (whereof the Lords Spiritual, who represent the church, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish Episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of

the English church, as “burthenfome, dangerous, and contrary to holy fcripture; and that Presbytery, Anabaptifm, Quakerifm, Independency, Muggletonianifm, Brownifm, Familifm,” or any other fubdivided feft among us, fhould be eftablifhed in its place: without queftion all peaceable fubjects ought paffively to fubmit; and the predominant feft muft become the religion eftablifhed; the public maintaining no other teachers, nor admitting any perfons of a different religious profefion into civil offices, at leaft if their intention be to preferve the nation in peace.

Suppofing then, that the prefent fyftem of religion were abolifhed: and Presbytery, which I find itands the faireft, with its fynods and claffes, and all its forms and ceremonies effential or circumftantial, were erected into the national worfhip: their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be transported at the public charge, whether by ftipends or tithes; and only the reft of the fame faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reafoning in what I have laid down, it fhould feem, that the project now in agitation for repealing the teft-act, and yet leaving the name of an eftablifhment to the prefent national church, is altogether inconfiftent; and may admit of confequences, which thofe who are the moft indifferent to any religion at all, are poffibly not aware of.

I prefume whenever the teft fhall be repealed, which obliges all men who enter into office under the crown, to receive the facrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all Dif-fenters, (except Papifts); whofe confciences can fuffer them to take the common oaths in fuch cafes prefcribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-ftation in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an excifeman.

Thus,

Thus, of the three judges on each bench the first may be a Presbyterian, the second a free-will Baptist, and the third a Churchman; the Lord Chancellor may be an Independent; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be revealed to the Quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motley administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publicly shew the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, Bishop Burnet tells us, that the Presbyterians, in the fanatic times, professed themselves to be above mortality; which as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the beggarly elements: And accordingly, at this day, no scruples of conscience, with regard to conformity, are, in any trade or calling, inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppression, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montaigne, of a common prostitute, who, in the storming of town, when a soldier came up to her chamber, and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck, by leaping out of the window, than suffer a rape; yet still continued her

trade of lewdness, while she had any customers left.

I confess, that, in my private judgment, an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except Papists) to enjoy employments would be less pernicious to the public, than a fair struggle between two contenders; because, in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But however I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the Presbyterians, and those of the church yet established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side by examining, which of the two is the better spiritual œconomy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution; but the question turns upon this point; when the Presbyterians shall have got their share of employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with), I ask, whether they ought not, by their own principles, and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power, and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein, if they can succeed without blood, (as under the present disposition of things is very possible they may), it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is, of compromising among themselves that important controversy about the *old light* and the *new*; which otherwise may, after this establishment, split them as wide as Papist and Protestant, Whig and Tory, or Churchman and Dissenter; and consequently the work will be to begin again; for in religious quarrels

quarrels it is of little moment, how few or small the differences are; especially when the dispute is only about power. Thus the zealous Presbyterians of the North are more alienated from the established clergy, than from the Romish priests; taxing the former with idolatrous worship, as disguised Papists, Ceremony-mongers., and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reason; because the clergy stand in their way, which the Popish priests do not. Thus I am assured that the quarrel between *old* and *new light men* is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other dispute of the highest importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarrass the Presbyterians after their establishment, will be, how to adjust their claim of the kirk's independency on the civil power, with the constitution of this monarchy: a point so delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy without the least ground of suspicion.

As to the Presbyterians allowing liberty of conscience to those of Episcopal principles, when their own kirk shall be predominant; their writers are so universally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver Cromwell's reign, that I believe no reasonable churchman (who must then be a Dissenter) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the Presbyterians after this approaching repeal of the test-act, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side in any farther scheme they may have towards making their religion national, For I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from England, whatever religion they

they profess, or have been educated in, to be of that party: since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation, where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controlled, it must be the following: that those whose private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish, that the nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all persons who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life; their sole business being to advance themselves by following the advice of their *principals*. I except likewise those persons who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could possibly be by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopes, who, by balancing accounts with themselves turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary will outweigh the loss by bad rents received out of lands in moneyless times.

If my Lords the Bishops, who, I hear, are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, shall, in their wisdom and piety, and love of the church, consent to this repeal of the test, I have not the least doubt, that the whole reverend body will cheerfully submit to their spiritual fathers; of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare they have already found so many amazing instances.

I am not therefore under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will (for some time) be no great sufferers by this repeal; because

I cannot recollect among all our sects any one that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present Episcopal clergy are safe for two years, Although it may be somewhat unequal, that in the northern parts, where there may be three Dissenters to one churchman, the whole revenue shall be ingrossed by him who hath so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage which the Dissenters at present lie under, of a disability to receive church-preferments will be easily remedied by the repeal of the test. For the Dissenting teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the Popish clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the indelible character, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both Presbyterians and Independents, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and hath left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern Presbyterian teachers: so was Colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and several others, whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason why a painful Presbyterian teacher, as soon as the test shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold along with the spiritual office and stipend a commission in the army or the civil list *in commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of Christians, which in effect disqualifies those who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators; yet
this

this was a privilege begun in times of Popery, many hundred years before the reformation, and woven with the very institution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the stipends of dissenting teachers may be raised, and the farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a people so deserving, and so loyal by their principles. Every bishop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can sequester the profits for the use of the next incumbent. Upon a lapse of half a year, the donation falls to the archbishop, and after a full year to the crown during pleasure. Therefore it would be no hardship for any clergyman alive, if (in those parts of Ireland, where the number of sectaries much exceeds that of the conformists) the profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the support of the dissenting teacher, who hath so many souls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in those hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, against which a remedy doth not so readily occur. For supposing the test-act repealed, and the Dissenters in consequence fully qualified for all secular employments; the question may still be put, whether those of Ireland will be often the persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, that there may be * another seminary in view, more numerous and more needy, as well as more meriting, and more easily contented with such low offices; which some nearer neighbours hardly think it worth stirring from the chimney-sides to obtain. And, I am told, it is the common practice of those who are skilled in the management of bees, that when they see a foreign swarm at some distance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, these artists have a trick to divert them into

* Scotland.

some neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many suspecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to see dangers afar off: to all which I can only say, that our native Presbyterians must by pains and industry raise such a fund of merit, as will answer to a birth six degrees more to the north. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as several of the established church have compassed by indefatigable pains, I do not see well how their affairs will much mend by repealing the test: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be disqualified in fact, as it will much increase the mortification, so it will withdraw the pity of many among their wellwishers, and utterly deprive them of that merit they have so long made, of being a loyal, true Protestant people, persecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their case, they must wait maturity of time; until they can by prudent, gentle steps, make their faith become the religion established in the nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt, that they will take the most effectual methods to secure their power against those who must then be Dissenters in their turn; whereof, if we may form a future opinion from present times, and the dispositions of Dissenters, who love to make a thorough reformation, the number and qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmost sincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmost deference and submission to public wisdom and power.

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, **W**Hether hatred and violence between parties in a state be not more inflamed by different views of interest, than by the greater or lesser differences between them either in religion or government ?

Whether it be any part of the question at this time, Which of the two religions is worse, Popery or Fanaticism; or not rather, Which of the two (having both the same good will) is in the hopefulest condition to ruin the church ?

Whether the sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the Papists ?

Whether the prevailing sectaries could allow liberty of conscience to Dissenters without belying all their former practice, and almost all their former writings ?

Whether many hundred thousand Scotch Presbyterians are not full as virulent against the Episcopal church, as they are against the Papists; or as they would have us think the Papists are against them ?

Whether the Dutch, who are most distinguished for allowing liberty of conscience, do ever admit any persons, who profess a different scheme of worship from their own into civil employments, altho' they

they may be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether the Dissenters ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for the test, that the Dissenters in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their further increase?

The great argument given by those whom they call low churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to Dissenters hath been, that by such indulgencies the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether if what the above pamphleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in numbers with conformists be true, it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what those low-church politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to holy scripture and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart, that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether Episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether, by necessary consequences, the several expedients among the sectaries to constitute their teachers are not absolutely null and void?

Whether the sectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from bishops?

Whether the bishops and clergy will be content to give up Episcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well subsist?

Whether that great tenderness towards sectaries, which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of Popery, or to that spirit of Atheism, Deism, Scepticism, and universal immorality, which all good men so much lament?

Granting Popery to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the sectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these kingdoms, with allowance for the short time which the sectaries had to act in, who are in a manner but of yesterday. The Papists in the time of King James II. used all endeavours to establish their superstition, wherein they failed by the united power of English church Protestants with the Prince of Orange's assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted Papists had the least design to oppose or murder their King, much less to abolish kingly government; nor was it their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side, the Puritans, who had almost from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining with the Scotch enthusiasts in the time of King Charles I. were the principal cause of the Irish rebellion and massacre, by distressing that prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely succours. And after that pious prince had satisfied his parliament in every single point to be complained of, the same sectaries, by poisoning the minds and affections of the people with the most false and wicked representations of their King, were able, in the compass of few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expense of many thousand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and
(in

(in their own style) to destroy the church root and branch.

The account therefore stands thus: The Papists aimed at one pernicious act, which was to destroy the Protestant religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the assistance of our glorious King William, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three most infernal actions that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by God; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of those sectaries have ever yet in a solemn public manner renounced any one of those principles upon which their predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel persecutions of the Episcopal church during the course of that horrid rebellion, and the consequences of it until the happy restoration, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit lies so equally divided between the Papists and the sectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either side?

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common understanding, who professeth himself a member of the church established, although perhaps with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the case), if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can after cool thinking rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time?

Whether the candour of that expression so frequent of late in sermons and pamphlets, of the *strength and number of the Papists in Ireland*, can be justified? for as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politics of the speaker and writer; but it is a gross imposition upon common reason to terrify us with their

their strength. For Popery, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough from the consequences it hath to increase the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise; the best topic for clamours of designing men; but the real error only of fools. The landed Popish interest in England far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into Protestant hands by purchase or descent: and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts will fall with the cause of it in half a generation, unless it be raised or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The Papists are wholly disarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations, to rebel: they want every advantage which they formerly possessed, to follow that trade; and wherein even with those advantages they always miscarried: they appear very easy and satisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole last reign; nor ever scrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much severity.

Upon these considerations, I must confess to have suspended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of Popery; many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active, young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and sleep heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reason) upon all other subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern which our neighbours, and others who come from the same neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this account; although the former be farther removed

moved from the danger of Popery by twenty leagues of salt-water: but this, I fear, is a digression.

When an artificial report was raised here many years ago, of an intended invasion by the pretender, (which blew over after it had done its office), the Dissenters argued in their talk and in their pamphlets after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church: Gentlemen, if the pretender had landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the Test, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your defence, our answer shall be, Pray, Gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reasoning I have heard from several of their chiefs and abettors in an hundred conversations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project should fail to take off the test.

Upon which piece of oratory and reasoning I form the following query. Whether, in case of an invasion from the Pretender, (which is not quite so probable as from the Grand Signior) the Dissenters can with prudence and safety offer the same plea; except they shall have made a previous stipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives, and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, sufficient motives for repelling invasions; especially in our sectaries, who call themselves the truest Protestants, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceness against Popery?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the blessed K. Charles I. enjoined by act of parliament, can be justly reckon-

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ed a particular and distinguishing mark of good affection to the present government.

Whether in those churches where the said day is observed, it will fully answer the intent of the said act, if the preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate, the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its consequences, the following usurpations, the entire destruction of the church, the cruel and continual persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its doctrines, with the ensuing Babel of Fanaticism, to the account of that blessed King, who, by granting the petition of right, and passing every bill that could be asked for the security of the subject, had, by the confession of those wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether such a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than one, not many years past, even in the presence of viceroys), who takes that course as a means for promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common road in a monarchy where the descendants of that most blessed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reason of making these queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS*.

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the first conquerors of this kingdom were English Catholics, subjects to English Catholic kings, from whom by their valour and success they obtained large portions of land, given

* In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for repealing the test-act in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in England. The various arguments for it were answered in every shape; but no way more effectually, than by examining what pretence the Presbyterians had to share in all the privileges of government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or compared with those of other sectaries. Under the former head they were fully silenced by our author, in "The Presbyterians plea of merit impartially examined" [above, p. 172]. They are now put in the balance with Papists, whom although they have sometimes styled their brethren in adversity, yet, when placed in competition, they will hate as brethren likewise. But let them here dispute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of the establishment. *Dub edit. 1735.*

The author having before examined the Presbyterians plea of merit, with respect to their own principles and practices, has in this tract put them in the balance against Papists.

This tract is written under the assumed character of a Roman Catholic; by which means the author attacks his adversaries with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the several atrocious crimes of the Papists; but at the same time palliates them skilfully, that, from that very acknowledgment, he enables himself to aim the heavier blows at Presbyterians. A paragraph extracted from the pamphlet, will exemplify my meaning. [Here the particular passage is quoted, beginning thus, "We allow the Catholics to be brethren of

given them as a reward for their many victories over the Irish: to which merit our brethren the dissenters of any denomination whatsoever have not the least pretensions.

It is confessed, that the posterity of those first victorious Catholics were often forced to rise in their own defence against new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Irish with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner by new English adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders. Whereas all the rebellions of Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which however at last they did with the murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The Catholics were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas our brethren the Dissenters were always republicans both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the Catholics of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true Whigs, in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the Royal House of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George II.

the Dissenters," &c. p. 213. l. 36. ending p. 214 l. 23.]--The greatest art, and the keenest strokes of irony, display themselves throughout the whole composition: and the conclusion of it is drawn up with a mixture of serious and ironical arguments that seem to defy all kinds of refutation. *Orrery.*

against

against the pretender and all his adherents. To which they think themselves bound in gratitude as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of Queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during the administration of that wicked minister the Earl of Oxford.

The Catholics of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title as any of their brother Dissenters to the appellation of Protestants. They have always protested against the felling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; against Deism, Atheism, Socinianism, Quakerism, Muggletonianism, Fanaticism, Brownism, as well as against all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas the title of Protestants assumed by the whole herd of Dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their protesting against archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expressions used in the Solemn League and Covenant *, where the word Popery is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the Catholics agree with the Episcopal church in those fundamentals.

Although the Catholics cannot deny, that in the great rebellion against King Charles I. more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament-army than in his Majesty's troops; and that many Jesuits and Friars went about in the disguise of Presbyterian and Independent ministers to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform

* A solemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and English fanatics in the rebellion against King Charles I. 1643, by which they solemnly engaged among other things, "to endeavour the extirpation of Prelacy, that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and all other Episcopal officers depending on that hierarchy."

us; yet the bulk of Catholics in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The Catholics have some reason to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O'Neal, with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterwards by the Catholic lords and gentlemen of the English pale in defence of the King, after the English rebellion began. It is well known, that his Majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before, by an invasion of the covenanting, Scottish, kirk rebels, and by the base terms the King was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the Catholic army in Ireland fought for their King against the forces sent over by the parliament, then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial, to deny that they did their duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the King? for which great numbers of them lost their lives, and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants from those very men, who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and destroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the Irish were entirely subdued, continued in power under the rump, were chief confidants, and faithful subjects to Cromwell, yet being wise enough to foresee a restoration, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their old brethren in rebellion, for the service of the King; just saving the tide, and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the Catholics lost by their loyalty, but likewise

likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the Catholics are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that Christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by Catholics; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government established in all Christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the King in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The Catholics of Ireland, in the great rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of their King. The schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of those very estates which the Catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics: and thus they gained by their rebellion, what the Catholics lost by their loyalty.

We allow the Catholics to be brethren of the Dissenters; some people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have them to be our children, because we both dissent from the church established, and both

both agree in abolishing this persecuting sacramental test; by which negative discouragement we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismatics, in calling the members of the national church their brethren and fellow Protestants. It is true, that all these sects (except the Catholics) are brethren to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the Quakers) in rebellion. But how the churchmen can be styled their fellow Protestant, we cannot comprehend: because, when the whole Babel of sectaries joined against the church, the King, and the nobility for twenty years in a MATCH AT FOOT-BALL, where the proverb expressly tells us, that all are FELLOWS; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the churches, and cities, and royal palaces shattered to pieces by their balls, their buffets, and their kicks; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT-BALL; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved, all their opposers who had lost the game.

It is said the world is governed by opinion; and politicians assure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more, as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment; it must follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with so much obstinacy as those in religion, especially by such zealots, who never bore the least regard to religion, conscience, honour, justice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the mask of hypocrisy, to promote their diabolical designs. And therefore Bishop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honestly, that the saints of those fanatic times pronounced themselves above morality; which

which they reckoned among beggarly elements ; but the meaning of the two last words thus applied we confess to be above our understanding.

Among those kingdoms and states which first embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the most regular way ; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the supreme power of a King * and the three estates in parliament ; to which, as the highest legislative authority, all subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much blood-shed on so great a change of religion. But a considerable number of Lords, and other persons of quality through the kingdom, still continued in their old faith, and were, notwithstanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or less in every reign, until the test-act in the time of King Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of Catholics gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the reign of King Charles I. England became in a great degree a Protestant kingdom, without taking the sectaries into the number ; the legality whereof, with respect to human laws, the Catholics never disputed ; but the Puritans, and other schismatics, without the least pretence to any such authority, by an open rebellion destroyed that legal reformation, as we observed before, murdered their King, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the Catholics, in such a Babel of religions, chose to adhere to their own faith left them by their ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the supreme legislative power, we cannot dispute the human legality of such a change.

* Henry VIII.

But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable party of men, which differs from an establishment either old or new, can deserve liberty of conscience, it ought to consist of those who for want of conviction, or of right understanding of the merits of each cause, conceive themselves bound in conscience to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; because they are of all others the least likely to be authors of innovations, either in church or state.

On the other side, if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion against the king, without whose consent, by the nature of our constitution, no law can pass; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons, and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles, both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates), by the murder of their King, and by the abolishing the whole system of government; the Catholics cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused by all parties except themselves, and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted, should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power, than the Catholics, who, during all that period of twenty years, were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to those arguments for repealing the sacramental test, which equally affect the Catholics, and their brethren the Dissenters.

First, We agree with our fellow-dissenters, that *
“ persecution merely for conscience-sake is against

* *Vid.* Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.

“ the genius of the gospel.” And so likewise is
 “ any law for depriving men of their natural and
 “ civil rights, which they claim as men.” We are
 also ready enough to allow, that “ the smallest ne-
 “ gative discouragements for uniformity’s sake are
 “ so many persecutions.” Because it cannot be de-
 nied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a
 real wound, as much as a stab through the heart.
 In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man
 to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the
 peace. “ merely on a point of conscience, is a ne-
 “ gative discouragement,” and consequently, a real
 persecution: for in this case, the author of the
 pamphlet quoted in the * margin puts a very perti-
 nent and powerful question: “ If God be the sole
 “ Lord of the conscience, why should the rights
 “ of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction?”
 Now to apply this to the Catholics: the belief of
 transubstantiation “ is a matter purely of religion
 “ and conscience, which doth not affect the politi-
 “ cal interest of society, as such: therefore, why
 “ should the rights of conscience, whereof God is
 “ the sole Lord, be subject to human jurisdiction?
 And why should God be deprived of this right over
 a Catholic’s conscience, any more than over that of
 any other Dissenter.

And whereas another author among our brethren
 the Dissenters hath very justly complained, that by
 this persecuting test-act great numbers of true Pro-
 testants have been forced to leave the kingdom and
 fly to the plantations, rather than stay here branded
 with an incapacity for civil and military employ-
 ments; we do affirm, that the Catholics can bring
 many more instances of the same kind; some thou-
 sands of their religion having been forced by the sa-
 cramental test to retire into other countries, rather
 than live here under the incapacity of wearing

* *Vid.* Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.

swords, sitting in parliament, and getting that share of power and profit which belong to them as fellow Christians, whereof they are deprived merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows, in the words of the same author †, That “if we
 “ Catholics are incapable of employments, we are
 “ punished for our dissent; that is, for our consci-
 “ ence, which wholly turns upon political confi-
 “ derations.”

The Catholics are willing to acknowledge the King's supremacy, whenever their brethren the Dissenters shall please to shew them an example.

Further, the Catholics, whenever their religion shall come to be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same test offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: “To end
 “ this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope
 “ will appear to every impartial person a fair and
 “ equitable one: we Catholics propose, with sub-
 “ mission to the proper judges, that effectual securi-
 “ ty be taken against persecution, by obliging all
 “ who are admitted into places of power and trust,
 “ whatever their religious profession be, in the
 “ most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting
 “ principles.” It is hoped the public will take notice of these words; “whatever their religious
 “ profession be;” which plainly include the Catholics; and for which we return thanks to our dissenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of possessing civil and military employments, they would never be at ease, till they had raised their own way of worship into the national religion through all his Majesty's dominions, equal with the true orthodox Scottish kirk;

† See Reasons against the test,

which

which, when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow liberty of conscience to Episcopal dissenters, than they did in the time of the great English rebellion, and in the succeeding fanatic anarchy, till the King was restored. There is another very learned schismatical pamphleteer*, who, in answer to a malignant libel, called, *The Presbyterians plea of merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this aspersion, by assuring all Episcopal Protestants of the present church upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the Dissenters will never offer at such an attempt. In like manner the Catholics, when legally required, will openly declare upon their words and honours, that as soon as their negative discouragements and their persecution shall be removed by repealing the sacramental test, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cause, whether the kingdom shall think fit to make their faith the established religion or not.

And again, whereas our Presbyterian brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the King, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected against them both in and out of season, by our common enemy the present Conformists; we do declare, in the defence of our said brethren, that the reproach aforesaid is *an old worn-out threadbare cant*, which they always disdained to answer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain Conformist, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a subject; he was pleased to divert the discourse with a foolish story, which I cannot forbear telling to his disgrace. He said there was a clergyman in Yorkshire, who for fifteen years together preached every Sunday against drunkenness: whereat the parishioners being much

* Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters.

offended, complained to the Archbishop; who having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer, than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his Grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lieth upon the Catholics of Ireland; that some years before King Charles II. was restored, when theirs and the King's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the Rump to be settled; after all his Majesty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the said Catholics who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the Duke of Lorraine; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which after the restoration was proved against them by Dean Boyle, since Primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The Catholics freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their estates, and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the Rump or Cromwell absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the Catholics, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in

a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the Rump? And I have often heard not only our friends the Dissenters, but even our common enemy the Conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times, freely confess, that, considering the miserable situation the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least to the recovery of England and Scotland, from those betrayers, and sellers, and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the last-quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great mistake: for the first original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon Cain, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the Roman nose and Austrian lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any brands fixed on schismatics for several years past, they have been all made with *cold Iron*; like thieves who by the *benefit of the clergy* are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but escape the pain and the mark by being in fee with the *jailor*. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a very fresh instance, have the souls, and bodies, and purses of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the Catholic priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore,

Therefore, upon the whole, the Catholics do humbly petition (without the least insinuation of threatening), that upon this favourable juncture their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their brethren the Dissenters.

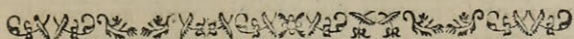
And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controversy the author was again victorious, for the test was not repealed.



Some



Some REASONS against the BILL for
settling the tithe of HEMP, FLAX, &c.
by a *modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cause of complaint against the present house of Commons; who in the last sessions were pleased to throw out a bill † sent them from the Lords, which that Reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a law; and who in the present sessions defeated the arts and endeavours of schismatics to repeal the sacramental test.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of those bills might by its necessary consequences be very displeasing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reasons purely secular; and that this last attempt for repealing the test did much more affect at present the temporal interest, than the spiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both those occasions, expressed equal gratitude to that honourable house for their justice and steadiness, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

* Many eminent clergymen who opposed this scheme applied to Dr. Swift to write against it, which he readily consented to upon their giving him some hints; and two days after, the following reasons were presented to several members of parliament which had so good an effect that the bill was dropped.

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid observing in it, a greater fund of calumnies, not a less degree of spirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Ordy.*

† For the bishops to divide livings.

It must needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that such an assembly as the present house of Commons should now, with an expedition more than usual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture with a clause, whereby the church is to lose two parts in three of the legal tithes in flax and hemp.

Some reasons why the clergy think such a law will be a great hardship upon them are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them with all deference due to that honourable assembly.

First, the clergy suppose that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the displeasure of the nation's representatives; neither can the declared loyalty of the present set, from the highest prelate to the lowest vicar, be in the least disputed; because there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom residing some part of the year at his country-seat, who is not in his own conscience fully convinced that the tithes of his minister have gradually sunk for some years past one third, or at least one fourth of their former value, exclusive of all non-solventcies.

The payment of tithes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from Papists and Dissenters, but even from those who profess themselves Protestants, that by the expense, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they should pay little more than half the value of the tithes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains: and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that, in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone must be the sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thousand pounds a-year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge with the rest of their fellow-subjects? what satisfactory reason can be therefore given why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men. They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours the landlords possess their estates; and have been always supposed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title; for no families now in being can shew a more ancient. Indeed, if it be true that some persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this case an opinion may possibly be soon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward way.

It is said, there will be also added in this bill a clause for diminishing the tithe of hops, in order to cultivate that useful plant among us; and here likewise the load is to lie entirely on the shoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be easy to foresee where such proceedings

are like to stop : or whether by the same authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as justly challenge the same power in reducing all things titheable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by skilful persons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament without their own consent is a new thing, not much above the date of seventy years : before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themselves. But things are extremely altered at present ; it is not now sufficient to tax them in common with their fellow-subjects, without imposing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow-subjects are exempt ; and this in a country professing Christianity.

The greatest part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been stripped of their glebes by the confusion of times, by violence, fraud, oppression, and other unlawful means ; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a small piece of ground in their parishes, at a most exorbitant rent, and usually for a short term of years, whereon to build a house, and enable them to reside. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, I am a witness, that they are generally more constant residents than their brethren in England ; where the meanest vicar hath a convenient dwelling with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle ; besides the certainty of his little income from honest farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewise to make him presents according to their ability for his better support. In all which circumstances the cler-

gy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the Honourable house will consider, that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman to do the least injustice to the meanest cottager in his parish, in any bargain for tithes, or other ecclesiastical dues. He can, at the utmost, only demand to have his tithe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the poorest cottager to the most substantial farmer, can and generally doth impose upon the minister, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by insolence, and sometimes by force; notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and skill of himself and his proctor. Insomuch that it is allowed that the clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land-rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two hundred thousand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding those of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they should each of them possess two hundred pounds a-year, if those tithes were equally divided, although in well-cultivated corn-countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that sum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty considerable; but if these and all the rest were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five pounds a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be justly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradesmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the Honourable house.

One terrible circumstance in this bill is, that of turning the title of flax and hemp into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancient custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almost incredible sufferers. Thus, in the present case, the title of a tolerable acre of flax, which by a medium is worth twelve shillings, is by the present bill reduced to four shillings. Neither is this the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sum must, in process of time sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary fall attending the value of money, which is now at least nine tenths lower all over Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at least within our own memories in purchasing almost every thing required for the necessities or conveniences of life: as any gentleman can attest, who hath kept house for twenty years past. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impossibility that this kingdom should ever thrive under its present disadvantages, which without a miracle must still increase; yet, when the whole cash of the nation shall sink to fifty thousand pounds, we must in all our traffic abroad either of import or export go by the general rate, at which money is valued in those countries that enjoy the common privileges of humankind. For this reason no corporation (if the clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity upon any consideration whatsoever; which is a rock that many corporations have split upon to their great impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter undoing: because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known

known enough in England, where estates let for ever, some hundred years ago, by several ancient noble families, do not at this present pay their posterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an easy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full share in all parliamentary impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a punishment upon that body of men, which is taxed for some great demerit or danger to the public, apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: thus the Papists and Nonjurors have been doubly taxed, for refusing to give proper securities to the government; which cannot be objected against the clergy. And therefore if this bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what disaffection or other crime they are punished.

If an additional excise upon ale, or a duty upon flesh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker, would bear any more of the charge than for what themselves consumed, but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas by this bill the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture by which all the rest of the kingdom are supposed to be gainers.

This bill is directly against *magna charta*, whereof the first clause is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the church in all rights.

A tax laid upon employment is a very different thing. The possessors of civil and military employments are no corporation; neither are they any part of our constitution; their salaries, pay, and perquisites are all changeable at the pleasure of the prince

prince who bestows them, although the army be paid from funds raised and appropriated by the legislature. But the clergy, as they have little reason to expect, so they desire no more than their ancient legal dues; only indeed with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which is to be feared they must wait for until more favourable times. It is well known, that they have already, of their own accord, shewn great indulgence to their people upon this very article of tithes, seldom taking above a fourth part of their tithes for small parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners; waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never suspecting that their good intentions should be perverted in so singular a manner to their detriment, by that very assembly which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our constitution, ever since Christianity became national among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what reason, or from what provocations; I say, from that very assembly, who, during the intervals of convocations, should rather be supposed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the least attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon inquiry, that any of those gentlemen who among us without doors are called the court party, discover the least zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their displeasure against this bill, which must very much lessen the value of the King's patronage upon promotion to vacant sees, in the disposal of denaries, and other considerable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to bestow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members,
who

who may have a sufficient stock of that sort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times most prevail.

The Dissenters, by not succeeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the test, have lost nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the least offence, are by this bill deprived of a considerable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the schismatical party will have the pleasure of gratifying their revenge—*hoc Gratii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, because when his present lease shall expire, his landlord will infallibly raise the rent in an equal proportion, upon every part of land where flax is sown, and have so much a better security for payment at the expense of the clergy.

If we judge by things past, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever consent that a law shall expire, by which he finds himself a gainer; and of this there are many examples as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill is, by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into those countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of lessening the tithe of flax and hemp, is one of such a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Because, if I am rightly informed, no set of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more industrious and successful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by persuading their people to sow flax and hemp, by procuring seed for them, and by having them instructed in the management thereof; and this they did not without reasonable hopes of increasing the value of their parishes after some time, as well as of
pro-

promoting the benefit of the public. But if this *modus* should take place, the clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become losers by their extraordinary care, by having their arable lands turned to flax and hemp, which are reckoned great impoverishers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they should shew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their parishes, as they hitherto have shewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared, at least so far as to resolve not to give themselves any more trouble than other men, about promoting a manufacture by the success of which they only, of all men, are to be the sufferers. Perhaps the giving even a farther encouragement than the law doth, as it now stands, to a set of men who might, on many accounts, be so useful to this purpose, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually answered: but this is what they are far from desiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the same footing with the rest of their fellow-subjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to pass into a law, it were to be wished, that the same law would not only appoint one or more sworn surveyors in each parish, to measure the lands on which flax and hemp are sown, but also settle the price of surveying, and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual survey. Without something of this kind, there must constantly be disputes between them, and the neighbouring justices of peace must be teized as often as those disputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was sent to me with several reasons against the bill, some whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the rest did not occur

to me. I shall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church ; and if not of divine original, yet at least of great antiquity.

II. That all purchases and leases of tithable lands, for many centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the demand of tithes, and those lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of such tithes lessened by act of parliament, so much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and vested in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending person can be so deprived of his property, without the greatest violation of common justice.

V. That to do this upon a prospect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust supposition ; inasmuch as the price of the lands so occupied will be no way lessened to the farmer by such a law.

VI. That the clergy are content cheerfully to bear (as they do now) any burthen in common with their fellow-subjects, either for the support of his Majesty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation ; but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time when, by the decrease of the value of their parishes, they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the legislature hath therefore distinguished the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads ; and the present clergy of the kingdom hope, they have not deserved worse of the legislature than their predecessors.

VIII. That, by the original constitution of these kingdoms, the clergy had the sole right of taxing themselves, and were in possession of that right as low as the restoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the Commons by the cession of the clergy, the Commons can be considered in this case in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That besides those tithes always in the possession of the clergy, there are some portions of tithes lately come into their possession by purchase; that if this clause should take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of these purchasers upon an equal foot of advantage with the rest of their fellow-subjects. And that some tithes in the hands of impropiators are under settlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this house should consider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer: and,

Lastly, That if it were at any time just and proper to do this, it would however be too severe to do it now, when all the tithes of the kingdom are known for some years past to have sunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy is at least as useful to the public as the same income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reasonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional support than to diminish their present subsistence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Englishmen; nothing left for the younger sons of Irishmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, &c. therefore no reason to make them worse.

The *modus* upon the flax in England affects only lands reclaimed since the year 1690, and is at the

the rate of five shillings the English acre, which is equivalent to eight shillings and eight pence Irish, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little consequence in England, but is the staple in Ireland, and if it increases, (as it probably will), must in many places jostle out corn, because it is more gainful.

The clergy of the established church have no interest, like those of the church of Rome, distinct from the true interest of their country, and therefore ought to suffer under no distinct impositions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for settling the modus of flax in England was brought in the first year of the reign of K. George I. when the clergy lay very unjustly under the imputation of some disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some fens in Lincolnshire which were not to be continued under flax; but it left all lands where flax had been sown before that time under the same condition of tithing, in which they were before the passing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually possessed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the staple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tithe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six-pence a-garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed; the reasons for which taxations will not hold with regard to property, at least till employments become inheritances. The Commons always have had so

tender a regard to property, that they never would suffer any law to pass, whereby any particular persons might be aggrieved without their own consent.

N. B. Some alterations have been made in the bill about the *modus*, since the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.



A modest PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a Burden to their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public.

IT is a melancholy object to those who walk thro' this great town, or travel in the country, when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin-doors crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags, and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants, who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is, in the present deplorable state of the kingdom, a very great additional grievance; and therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children found and useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of professed beggars; it is of a much greater extent, and shall take
in

in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of our projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a child just dropt from its dam may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment: at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bastard-children, alas! too frequent among us, sacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt more to avoid the expense than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple, whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many under the present distresses of the kingdom); but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I can again subtract fifty thousand for those women who miscarry, or whose children

children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed. For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houses, (I mean in the country), nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardsly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no saleable commodity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at most, on the exchange, which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nursed, is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricasse, or a ragouft.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to sheep, black cattle, or swine; and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages, therefore one male will be sufficient to serve four females. Then the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.

I have reckoned, upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will increase to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author*, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other season; therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of Popish infants is at least three to one in this kingdom; and there

* Rabelais.

fore it will have one other collateral advantage by lessening the number of Papists among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a begar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four fifths of the farmers) to be about two shillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to given ten shillings for the carcase of a good fat child, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he hath only some particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants, the mother will have eight shillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till she produces another child.

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may slay the carcase: the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer-boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dressing them hot from the knife, as we do roasting pigs.

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme. He said, that many gentlemen of this kingdom having of late destroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; so great a number of both sexes in every county being now ready to starve for want of work and service; and these to be disposed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations. But, with due deference to so

excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments: for, as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our schoolboys, by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable, and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, be a loss to the public, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides, it is not improbable, that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice (although indeed very unjustly), as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended.

But, in order to justify my friend, he confessed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanazor, a native of the island of Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in conversation, told my friend, that, in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcases to persons of quality as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the Emperor, was sold to his imperial Majesty's prime minister of state, and other great mandarines of the court, in joints from the gibbet, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at a playhouse and assemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about the vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been

desired

desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and fith and vermine, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For, first, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an Episcopal curate.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thousand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings a-piece *per annum* the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, besides the profit of a new dish introduced to the

tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taste. And the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture

Fourthly, The constant breeders, besides the gain of eight shillings Sterling *per annum* by the sale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year.

Fifthly, This food will likewise bring great custom to taverns; where the vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best receipts for dressing it to perfection, and consequently have their houses frequented by all the fine gentlemen, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a skilful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would increase the care and tenderness of mothers towards their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit instead of expense. We should soon see an honest emulation among the married women, which of them could bring the fattest child to the market. Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, or sows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For instance, the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of swines flesh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon, so much wanted among us by the great destruction of pigs, too frequent at

our tables; which are no way comparable, in taste or magnificence, to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which, roasted whole, will make a considerable figure at a Lord Mayor's feast, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being studious of brevity.

Supposing that one thousand families in this city would be constant customers for infant's flesh, besides others who might have it at merry meetings, particularly at weddings and christenings, I compute, that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thousand carcases; and the rest of the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy "for this one individual kingdom of IRELAND, and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth. *Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients*: of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: of using neither cloaths nor household furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women; of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from *Laplanders*, and the inhabitants of *Topinambos*: of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment the city was taken; of being a little cautious

“ tious not to sell our country and consciences for
 “ nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least
 “ one degree of mercy towards their tenants. *Last-*
 “ *ly*, Of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and
 “ skill into our shopkeepers, who, if a resolution
 “ could now be taken to buy only our native
 “ goods, would immediately unite to cheat and
 “ exact upon us in the price, the measure, and
 “ the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought
 “ to make one fair proposal of just dealing, tho’
 “ often and earnestly invited to it.”

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients *, till he hath at least some glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

But, as to myself having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something solid and real, of no expense and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in disobliging England. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, “ although, perhaps, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole
 “ nation without it.”

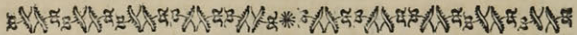
After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my

* These expedients had been proposed before, some of them by the Dean, and to urge the practice of them by shewing the only alternative, seems to have been the design of this paper.

scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author or authors will be pleased maturely to consider two points. *First*, As things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thousand useles mouths and backs. And, *secondly*, there being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence put into a common stock would leave them in debt two millions of pounds sterling, adding those who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor cloaths to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, or greater miseries upon their breed for ever.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the "public good of my country, by
"advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to
"the rich." I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past childbearing.

To



To the Honourable House of Commons, &c.

The humble Petition of the FOOTMEN in
and about the city of Dublin.

Written in the year 1732.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners are a great and numerous society, endowed with several privileges time out of mind.

That certain lewd, idle, and disorderly persons for several months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the public walks of this city; habited sometimes in green coats and sometimes laced, with long caken cudgels in their hands, and without swords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent those walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be true genuine Irish *footmen*; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toupees*, as a judicious eye may soon discover, by their awkward, clumsy, ungentle gait and behaviour: by their unskilfulness in dress even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of impudence and dulness peculiar to the rest of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent pitch of assurance; although it may be justly apprehended that they will do so in time, if these counterfeits shall happen to succeed in their evil design of
passing

passing for real footmen, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the ladies.

Your petitioners do farther alledge, that many of the said counterfeits, upon a strict examination, have been found in the act of strutting, staring, swearing, swaggering, in a manner that plainly shewed their best endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not succeed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmost indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole profession.

Your petitioners do therefore make it their humble request, that this Honourable house (to many of whom your petitioners are nearly allied) will please to take this grievance into your most serious consideration; humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain officers might, at the public charge, be employed to search for, and discover all such counterfeit footmen; to carry them before the next justice of peace, by whose warrant, upon the first conviction, they should be stripped of their coats and oaken ornaments, and be set two hours in the stocks: upon the second conviction, besides stripping, be set six hours in the stocks, with a paper pinned on their breasts, signifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words: "A. B. commonly called A. B. Esq; a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman."

And for any other offence, the said toupee shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your Honours will please to observe, with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our honourable calling, that several well-meaning peo-

ple have mistaken them to be of our fraternity, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did, in the worst of times. And we further beg leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a seditious design to render us less capable of serving the public in any great employments, as several of our fraternity, as well as our ancestors have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your Honours to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency, and your petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.



A PROPOSAL for giving Badges to the
BEGGARS in all the Parishes of Dublin.

By the DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S.

Written in the Year 1737.

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two Deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city; and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions upon the score of party, in which my predecessors, time out of mind, have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving the old commission, and establishing a new one of near three times the number, have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of a benefit to the city. In the present commission all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of squires, not only those

who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended since the new establishment, I observed very little was done except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared: and I have found the court of assistants usually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, or adjusting accounts of meal and small beer; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment, I mean some schemes recommended to the general board for answering the chief ends in erecting and establishing such a poor-house, and endowing it with so considerable a revenue: and the principal end I take to have been that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes are not able to do it; and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poor-house, than it was ever known to be since its first erection.

As the whole fund for supporting this hospital is raised only from the inhabitants of the city; so there can be hardly any thing more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining foreign beggars and bastards, or orphans of farmers, whose country landlords never contributed one shilling towards their support. I would engage, that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honesty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a small number of original poor in every parish, who might, without being burthensome to the parishioners, find a tolerable support.

I have, for some years past, applied myself to
several

several Lord Mayors, and the late Archbishop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain proposal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every parish, who begged in the streets; that the said beggars should be confined to their own parishes; that they should wear their badges well sewn upon one of their shoulders, always visible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in some clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual disquiet, which they do not ill deserve; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of less consequence; because the remedy is in their own power: but all street-walkers and shopkeepers bear an equal share in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection against this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their several parishes. The objection was this: What shall we do with the foreign beggars? must they be left to starve? I answered, No; but they must be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country-parish do as they please, or rather, after the practice in England, send them from one parish to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England still in force, every parish is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no such consequence in this point as some would make it, whether a country parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer parishes of the kingdom, all necessaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean butter-milk, oat-meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himself a beggar, can sometimes spare a sup or a morsel, not worth
the

the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own parish, who is disabled from work. A beggar native of the parish is known to the squire, to the church-minister, to the popish priest, or the conventicle-teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally some relations able to live, and contribute something to his maintenance. None of which advantages can be reasonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any), may get half their support by doing some kind of work in their power, and thereby be less burdensome to the people. In short, all necessaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars should put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But when the spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuisance to the whole country: he and his female are thieves, and teach the trade of stealing to their brood at four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeited, it is dangerous for a single person unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but still with a view to this town, whither he arrives at last, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder that the country-squires should be very willing to send up their colonies; but why the city should be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thousand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off than in this town, or in any of its suburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing miseries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which mi-
series

series there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual swarms of foreign beggars, who might be banished in a month without expense, and with very little trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great number of street-beggars, I find some weak attempts have been made in one or two parishes to promote the wearing of badges; and my first question to those who ask an alms is, "Where is your badge?" I have, in several years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their shoulders, only covered with a sort of capes which they could lift up or let down upon occasion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be seen with a badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon such an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether such wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must confess, this absurd insolence hath so affected me, that for several years past, I have not disposed of one single farthing to a street-beggar, nor intend to do so until I see a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my brother-walkers to follow my example, which most of them assure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deserve charity. However, as to persons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To say the truth, there is not a more undeserving vicious race of humankind, than the bulk of those who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miseries is originally owing to our own faults,

(but

(but what those faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention), so I am confident, that among the meaner people nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving condition, did not become so by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleness, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenness, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from those who have asked me an alms, what was their former course of life, will find them to have been servants in good families, broken tradesmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed housekeepers; but (to use their own cant) reduced by losses and crosses, by which nothing can be understood but idleness and vice.

As this is the only Christian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty and not the riches of the nation; so the blessing of increase and multiply, is by us converted into a curse; and as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with Christianity. It is seldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the servant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath saved up a stock of money sufficient to carry on his business; nor takes a wife without a suitable portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly addition to that stock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the case is directly contrary, where many thousand couples are yearly married, whose whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be sufficient to purchase a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-supper, nor have any prospect of supporting their honourable state but by service, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their happiness is often deferred

red until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to steal a shilling to pay their Popish priest, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion of wisdom would be required, to find some kind of remedy against this destructive evil, or, at least, not to draw the consequences of it upon our decaying city, the greatest part whereof must of course, in a few years, become desolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not absolutely barbarous, parents think themselves bound by the law of nature and reason, to make some provision for their children; but the reason offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been for some time past extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it seems, they are grown so gracious as to transmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profess to mean real English beggars, in the literal meaning of the word, as it is usually understood by Protestants. It seems the justices of the peace and parish-officers in the western coasts of England have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their supernumerary beggars, in order to advance the English Protestant interest among us; and these they are so kind to send over *gratis* and duty-free. I have had the honour more than once to attend large cargoes of them from Chester to Dublin: and I was then so ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city should receive them into Bridewell, and, after a month's residence, having been well whipped twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they should be returned honestly back with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved

ed of, I propos'd, that whereas one Englishman is allowed to be of equal intrinsic value with twelve born in Ireland, we should in justice return them a dozen for one to dispose of as they pleas'd.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their severall parishes. For instance: a beggar of the parish of St. Warborough's, or any other parish here, if he be an object of compassion, hath an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand: because the inhabitants, one or other walk through every street in town, and give their alms, without considering the place, wherever they think it may be well dispos'd of; and these helps, added to what they get in eatables by going from house to house among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the suburb-parishes will not have altogether the same advantage, because they are not equally in the road of business and passengers: but here it is to be consider'd, that the beggars there have not so good a title to public charity, because most of them are strollers from the country, and compose a principal part of that great nuisance which we ought to remove.

I should be apt to think, that few things can be more irksome to a city minister, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his district, whom he hath no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of those to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuse to any minister of a city-parish, he usually lays the fault upon the bea-dles, who, he says, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as those bea-dles often keep alehouses, they find their account in such customers. This evil might easily be remedied, if the parishes would make some small addition to the salaries of a bea-dle,

dle, and be more careful in the choice of those officers. But, I conceive, there is one effectual method in the power of every minister to put in practice; I mean, by making it the interest of all his own original poor to drive out intruders: for if the parish beggars were absolutely forbidden by the minister and church-officers to suffer strollers to come into the parish, upon pain of themselves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houses and shops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiscretion of our city-shopkeepers, who suffer their doors to be daily besieged by crowds of beggars (as the gates of a lord are by duns), to the great disgust and vexation of many customers, whom I have frequently observed to go to other shops, rather than suffer such a persecution; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infest them.

Wherefore I do assert, that the shopkeepers, who are the greatest complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every customer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when a 'prentice with a horse-whip is able to lash every beggar from the shop who is not of the parish, and doth not wear the badge of that parish on his shoulder, well fastened, and fairly visible; and if this practice were universal in every house to all the sturdy vagrants, we should in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants, except those who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that first endowed this hospital, and those who afterwards contributed, as they were

such who generally inhabited here, so they intended what they gave to be for the use of the city's poor. The revenues, which have since been raised by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the least charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original design, than to misapply those revenues on strolling beggars or bastards from the country, which bears no share in the charges we are at.

If some of the out-parishes be overburthened with poor, the reason must be, that the greatest part of those poor are strollers from the country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest lodgings, and from thence infest every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped as a most insufferable nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual tax upon the city, which shares too deep in the public miseries brought on us by the oppressions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our Fellow-Protestants, and fellow-subjects.

Some time ago I was appointed one of a committee to inquire into the state of the workhouse; where we found that a charity was bestowed by a great person for a certain time, which in its consequences operated very much to the detriment of the house; for, when the time was elapsed, all those who were supported by that charity continued on the same foot with the rest on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches, from several parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the rest; so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itself.

I know

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city is charged upon the bellowers, (as they are called), who find their accounts best in suffering those vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better salaries were given to those who execute that office in the several parishes, and would make it their interest to clear the town of those caterpillars, rather than hazard the loss of an employment that would give them an honest livelihood. But, if that should fail, yet a general resolution of never giving charity to a street-beggar out of his own parish, or without a visible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond spirit in beggars, which ought to be discouraged, and severely punished. It is owing to the same causes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleness, drunkenness, and rash marriages without the least prospect of supporting a family by honest endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving bread, or other food; and they have in this town been frequently seen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard cloaths, unless to sell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work: they want only ale, brandy, and other strong liquors, which cannot be had without money: and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had some other thoughts to offer upon this subject. But as I am a desponder in my nature, and have tolerably well discovered the disposition of our people, who never will move a step towards
easing

easing themselves from any one single grievance; it will be thought, that I have already said too much, and to little or no purpose, which hath often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

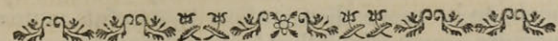
April 22.

1737.

J. SWIFT.



ADVICE



ADVICE to the freemen of the city of
Dublin, in the choice of a MEMBER to
represent them in parliament *.

THOSE few writers, who, since the death of Alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they should proceed in electing a new representative for the next sessions, having laid aside their pens; I have reason to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly those who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a second, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what person they resolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two persons who set up for candidates: one is the present Lord Mayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good esteem, and alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and possessed of a considerable office || under the crown. The question is, Which of these two persons it will be most for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, so that my inquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and situation of both.

* This piece was published in the year 1733; and as it may be useful upon a like occasion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphry French.

‡ John Macaral.

|| Register to the barracks.

In order to this, I must offer my countrymen and fellow-citizens some reasons why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom they bestow their votes.

To perform this with more clearness, it may be proper to give you a short state of our unfortunate country.

We consist of two parties, I do not mean Popish and Protestant, high and low church, Episcopal and Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of those of English who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whose ancestors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the English crown), and the gentlemen sent from t'other side to possess most of the chief employments here. This latter party is very much enlarged and strengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil administration deposited in their hands: although for polical ends, and to save appearances, some employments are still deposited (yet gradually in a smaller number) to persons born here. This proceeding, fortified with good words and many promises, is sufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might easily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for several years past with great prudence made precarious, and during pleasure; by which means the possessors are, and must inevitably be, for ever dependent; yet those very few of any consequence, which being dealt with so sparing a hand to persons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who desire to mend their condition by the favour of those in power.

Now, my dear fellow-citizens, how is it possible you can conceive that any person who holds an office of some hundred pounds a-year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit,
will

will, if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing, when he sits in the house, that he knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, these are no times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing stars are much more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find ten thousand pounds by digging in my garden, than such a phoenix by searching among the present race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous as well as modern maxim of politics in the English nation, to take every opportunity of depressing Ireland, whereof an hundred instances may be produced in points of the highest importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: although many of the greatest persons among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their present successors.

But so the fact stands at present. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the house of Commons) very seldom agree in any thing but their loyalty to his present Majesty, their resolutions to make him and his viceroy easy in the government, to the utmost of their power, under the present condition of the kingdom. But the persons sent from England, who (to a trifle) are possessed of the sole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in possession who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopes, and promisees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon a universal submission to whatever shall be demanded; wherein they act safely, because none of themselves, except the candidates, feel the least of our pressures.

I remember a person of distinction some days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our highest employments of all kinds, can never be possibly losers of one farthing by the greatest calamities that can befall this kingdom, except a plague that would sweep away a million of our *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*; or an invasion that would fright our grantees out of the kingdom. For this person argued, that while there was a penny left in the treasury, the civil and military list must be paid; and that the Episcopal revenues, which are usually farmed out at six times below the real value, could hardly fail. He insisted farther, that, as money diminished, the prices of all necessaries for life must of consequence do so too, which would be for the advantage of all persons in employment, as well as of my Lords the Bishops, and to the ruin of every body else. Among the company there wanted not men in office, besides one or two expectants: yet I did not observe any of them disposed to return an answer: but the consequences drawn were these: That the great men in power sent hither from the other side were by no means upon the same foot with his Majesty's other subjects of Ireland. They had no common ligament to bind them with us; they suffered not with our sufferings, and if it were possible for us to have any cause of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppose a person, born in this kingdom, shall happen by his services for the English interest to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a-year; and that he hath likewise an estate in land worth four hundred pounds a-year more: suppose him to sit in parliament: then, suppose a land-tax to be brought in of five shillings a-pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds
a-year

a-year in land : the tax he must pay yearly is one hundred pounds ; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thousand pounds. But if he gives his vote against this tax, he will lose four thousand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment ; and thus the balance will be against him three thousand pounds.

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial, as to lose four hundred pounds a-year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches ; and so it is indeed among us : but whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives : they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home ; and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer,

The house of Commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of Commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members ; if one hundred of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers,

eafy to be perfuaded, fuch as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get fomething; if they be merry companions, without fufpicion, of a natural bashfulnefs, not apt or able to look forwards; if good words, fmiles, and careffes, have any power over them, the larger part of a fecond hundred may be very eafily brought in at a moft reasonable rate.

There is an Englifhman * of no long ftanding among us, but in an employment of great truft, power, and profit. This excellent perfon did lately publifh, at his own expenfe, a pamphlet, printed in England by authority, to juftify the bill for a general excife, or inland duty, in order to introduce that bleffed fcheme among us. What a tender care muft fuch an Englifh patriot for Ireland have of our intereft, if he fhould condefcend to fit in our parliament? I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to fee that mortal, who would with pleafure blow us up all at a blaft; but he duly receives his thoufand pounds a year; makes his progrefs like a king; is received in pomp at every town † and village where he travels, and fhines in the Englifh news-papers.

I will now apply what I have faid to you, my brethren and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one perfon in office, of which he is not mafter for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of this country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honeft gentleman, as the word *honeft* is generelly underftood. But he loves his employment better than he doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute or give him city-fecurity to pay him the value of his employment, if it fhould be ta-

* Edward Thomfon, Efq; member of parliament for York, and a commissioner of the revenue of Ireland.

† Mr Thomfon was prefented with his freedom of feveral corporations in Ireland.

ken from him during his life, for voting on all occasions with the honest country-party in the house? although I much question, whether he would do it even upon that condition.

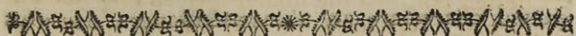
Wherefore, since there are but two candidates, I intreat you will fix on the present Lord Mayor. He hath shewn more virtue, more activity, more skill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured with great success to banish frauds, corruptions, and all other abuses from amongst you.

A dozen such men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or solicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will assure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practised the rules of virtue with so much difficulty, in so great and so busy a station, deserves your thanks, and the best return you can make him; and you, my brethren, have no other to give him, than that of representing you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another. Your promises were sins of inconsideration at best; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other side. He hath four hundred pounds a-year under the crown, which he is too wise to part with, by sacrificing so good an establishment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can assure you, the *Drapier* is in the interests of the present Lord Mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare so in public company, and offer some of these very reasons in defence of his opinion; although he hath a regard and esteem for the other gentleman, but would not answer the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The

The Lord Mayor's severity to some unfair dealers should not turn the honest men among them against him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of those very traders whose dishonest member he punished. He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the most likely to act right as a representative of your city, as he constantly did in the government of it.





Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offered to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the court of Aldermen and Common Council of the Hon. city of Dublin, in the choice of a Recorder*.

THE office of Recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman, it is said, that five or six persons are soliciting to succeed him in the employment. I am a stranger to all their persons, and to most of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvassed with more decency, than it sometimes happeneth upon the like occasions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts, how the several persons and parties concerned ought to proceed in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

And first, as it is a very natural, so I can by no means think it an unreasonable opinion, that the sons, or near relations of aldermen, and other deserving citizens, should be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employment in the city's disposal: provided they be equally qualified with other candidates; and provided that such employments require no more than common abilities and common honesty. But, in the choice of a record-

* Upon the death of Mr. Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, several gentlemen declared themselves candidates to succeed him; upon which the Dean wrote this paper; and Eaton Stannard, Esq; (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profession). was elected.

er, the case is entirely different. He ought to be a person of good abilities in his calling; of an unspotted character; an able practitioner; one who hath occasionally merited of this city before: He ought to be of some maturity in years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue so; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover succession; indulgent to tender consciences; but, at the same time, a firm adherer to the established church. If he be such a one, who hath already sat in parliament, it ought to be inquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occasions for the good of his country; and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city: whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious: And lastly, whether he be a man of courage: not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.— These, and many other particulars, are of infinitely more consequence than that single circumstance of being descended by a direct or collateral line from any alderman, or distinguished citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or shopkeeper in this city of any substance, whose thriving, less or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion in parliament, that may the least affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the Commons, as they are a numerous body, so they seem to be most concerned in point of interest; and their interest ought to be most regarded, because it altogether dependeth upon the true interest of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of disobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly consider,
which

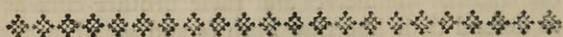
which of the candidates is most likely to advance the trade of themselves and their brother-citizens; to defend their liberties, both *in* and *out* of parliament, against all attempts of incroachment or oppression. And so God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may for many years supply that important office with skill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people say, *Amen*.



Vol. IV.

M m

The



The last Speech and Dying Words of **EBENEZER ELLISTON**, who was executed the 2d day of May 1722 *.

Published at his desire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following speech was written, the town was much pestered with street-robber; who, in a barbarous manner, would seize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this speech had so good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed since.]

I AM now going to suffer the just punishment for my crimes, prescribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom, that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches, that, although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such nonsense and false English charged upon him, even when he

* This piece had a most excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower class of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliston, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the style of this paper is so natural for a person in such circumstances, that it would almost deceive the nicest judgment. *Orery.*

is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession, I have been considering, ever since my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And first, I cannot say from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God, and the world; but I am very much so, for the bad success of my villainies in bringing me to this untimely end. For it is plainly evident, that, after having some time ago obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade: my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although, in compliance with my friends, I resolve to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say farther from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went to the gallows to smite their breasts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked dispositions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the

government in ever pardoning or transporting us ; unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are sure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good ; by the same rule, *That it is better to have but one fox in a farm than three or four.* But we generally make a shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by experience, that some hope we have of finding mercy, when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of those odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full : these wretches put us upon all mischief to feed their luits and extravagancies : they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men ; their advice is always not to spare if we are pursued ; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all ; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are sure to be our betrayers.

Now, as I am a dying man, something I have done which may be of good use to the public. I have left with an honest man, (and indeed the only honest man I was ever acquainted with), the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of their abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed, in many of which I have been their accomplice, and heard the rest from their own mouths ; I have likewise set down the names of those we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged this honest man, and have received his promise upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing, or housebreaking, he will look into his list, and if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to
the

the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of several gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin streets for three years past: I have told the circumstances of those robberies; and shewn plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortune. I have therefore desired my friend, that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get that relation printed and published with the first letters of those gentlemen's names, who by their own want of bravery are likely to be the cause of all the mischief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a short description of that kind of life, which I have led for some years past; and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our childhood, as to have no sense of goodness; yet something heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never easy till we are half-drunk among our whores and companions; nor sleep sound unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the day, a wise man would easily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained countenance; often turning back, and flinching through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother-thief by his looks, though I never saw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and soon squander it away on our vices, in those houses that
receive

receive us; for the master and mistress, and the very tapster, go snacks; and besides make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, snuff-boxes, and the like, we have customers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have seen a tankard worth fifteen pounds sold to a fellow in — street for twenty shillings; and a gold watch for thirty. I have set down his name, and that of several others, in the paper already mentioned. We have setters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by; especially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conscience, that if an account were made of a thousand pounds in stolen goods, considering the low rates we sell them at, the bribes we must give for concealment, the extortions of alehouse-reckonings, and other necessary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this we must find cloaths for our whores, besides treating them from morning to night; who in requital reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it described by our clergy, the truest picture of it must be in the backroom of one of our alehouses at midnight; where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time, until they are past their senses, is such a continued horrible noise of cursing, blasphemy, lewdness, scurrility, and brutish behaviour, such roaring and confusion, such a clutter of mugs and pots at each other's heads; that bedlam, in comparison, is a sober and orderly place. At last, they all tumble from their stools and benches, and sleep away the rest of the night; and generally the landlord or his wife, or
some

some other whore who has a stronger head than the rest, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be easy till we are drunk; and our drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

This is a short picture of the life I have led; which is more miserable than that of the poorest labourer, who works for fourpence a-day; and yet custom is so strong, that I am confident, if I could make my escape at the foot of the gallows, I should be following the same course this very evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whose interest it is to root us out like wolves and other mischievous vermin, against which no fair play is required.

If I have done service to men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done service to God; and that will be better than a silly speech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am passing along the streets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a man the death of a dog.

E. E.

The



The INTELLIGENCER*.

NUMBER I.

IT may be said, without offence to other cities of much greater consequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of folly and vice, both negative and imported; and

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper undertaken by the Dean and Dr. Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever published. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, some verses in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th and 7th are put together and printed as they were published by Mr Pope in the 4th volume of their miscellanies, under the title of *An Essay on the fates of clergymen*, vol. 8. p. 189. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *mad Mullinix and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was also classed by Mr Pope, in vol. 7. p. 193. The 9th he intitled *An essay on modern education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 7. p. 197. The verses at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 8. p. 66. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr. Sheridan, having written a short introduction, took into the *Intelligencer*, merely to save the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 4. and intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*. No 19. is also a tract which has been before published by itself: and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the same reason as the former. The Dean and the Doctor soon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were disappointed of assistance; the price was but one halfpenny; and so few were sold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up such hints as should be sent him; of which there were enough, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate, with less labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730. See letter 62.

as to those imported, we have the advantage to receive them last, and consequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, because there are many effects of folly and vice among us, whereof some are general, and others confined to smaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few individuals; there is a society lately established, who at great expense have erected an office of intelligence, from which they are to receive weekly information of all important events and singularities, which this famous metropolis can furnish. Strict injunctions are given to have the truest information; in order to which, certain qualified persons are employed to attend upon duty in their several posts; some at the playhouse, others in churches, some at balls, assemblies, coffeehouses, and meetings for quadrille; some at the several courts of justice, both spiritual and temporal; some at the college, some upon my Lord Mayor and aldermen in their public affairs; lastly, some to converse with favourite chambermaids, and to frequent those alehouses and brandy shops where the footmen of great families meet in a morning; only the * barracks and parliament-house are excepted; because we have yet found no *enfants perdus* † bold enough to venture their persons at either. Out of these and some other storehouses, we hope to gather materials enough to inform, or divert, or correct, or vex the town.

But as facts, passages, and adventures of all kinds are like to have the greatest share in our paper, whereof we cannot always answer for the truth; due care shall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all just offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have

* Barracks, buildings for the lodgement of soldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, forlorn hope. See Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction.

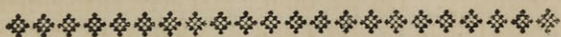
cause to blush or be angry ; if otherwise, then the guilty person is safe for the future upon his present amendment, and safe for the present from all but his own conscience.

There is another resolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general discontent, and is of so singular a nature, that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be absolutely necessary by way of apology for so bold and unpopular an attempt. But so it is, that we have taken a desperate counsel to produce into the world every distinguished action, either of justice, prudence, generosity, charity, friendship, or public spirit, which comes well attested to us. And although we shall neither here be so daring as to assign names, yet we shall hardly forbear to give some hints, that, perhaps, to the great displeasure of such deserving persons, may endanger a discovery. For we think, that even virtue itself should submit to such a mortification, as by its visibility and example will render it more useful to the world. But however, the readers of these papers need not be in pain of being overcharged with so dull and ungrateful a subject. And yet who knows, but such an occasion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have settled a correspondence round the kingdom.

But after all our boasts of materials sent us by our several emissaries, we may probably soon fall short, if the town will not be pleased to lend us further assistance towards entertaining itself. The world best knows its own faults and virtues, and whatever is sent shall be faithfully returned back, only a little embellished, according to the custom of AUTHORS. We do therefore demand and expect continual advertisements in great numbers, to be sent to the PRINTER of this paper, who hath employed a judicious secretary to collect such as may be most useful for the public.

And

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our correspondents, that, on the contrary, we expressly charge and command them, in all the facts they send us, to set down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular description of the "persons, dresses, dispositions of the sever-
"al lords, ladies, 'squires, madams, lawyers, game-
"sters, toupees, fots, wits, rakes, and informers," whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities and capacities of the person concerned, and treat them with the respect or familiarity, that may be due to their stations and characters, which we are determined to observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.



N U M B E R III.

Ipse per omnes
Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THe players having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the season; it may be no unpleasent speculation, to reflect a little upon this dramatic piece, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which hath frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment*.

Although an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which whoever can rightly touch will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the

* See Letters to and from Dr. Swift.

dislikers, out of dulness or affectation, will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean is, what we call humour; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our English tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English nation; because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a taste for true humour, will find an hundred instances of it in these volumes printed in France under the name of *Le Theatre Italien*; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now, I take the comedy, or farce, (or whatever name the critics will allow it), called the Beggar's Opera to excel in this article of humour; and, upon that merit, to have met with such prodigious success, both here and in England.

As to poetry, eloquence, and music, which are said to have most power over the minds of men; it is certain, that very few have a taste or judgment of the excellencies of the two former; and if a man succeed in either, it is upon the authority of those few judges, that lend their taste to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in music; and that among those who crowd the operas, nine in ten go thither merely out of curiosity, fashion, or affectation.

But a taste for humour is in some manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon subjects too refined, and superior to their understanding.

And as this taste of humour is purely natural, so is humour itself; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we observe it some-
times

times among common servants, and the meanest of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they possess.

I know very well, that this happy talent is contemptibly treated by critics, under the name of low humour, or low comedy; but I know likewise that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the most wit of any nations in Europe, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what disposition of the mind, what influence of the stars, or what situation of the climate, this endowment is bestowed upon mankind, may be a question fit for philosophers to discuss. It is certainly the best ingredient towards that kind of satire which is most useful, and gives the least offence; which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And although some things are too serious, solemn, or sacred, to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed, that corruptions in religion, politics, and law, may be proper topics for this kind of satire.

There are two ends that men propose in writing satire: one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private satisfaction and pleasure of the writer; but without any view towards personal malice: the other is a public spirit, prompting men of genius and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both these ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expose vice, as another hath to be vitious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a court, a ministry, or a senate, are they not amply paid by pensions, titles, and power, while I expect and desire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in

a corner? yet if those who take offence think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the scene with them whenever they please.

But if my design be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at least, I am sure it is the interest of those very courts and ministers, whose follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wisdom to get the laughers on our side, it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our side, who can make millions laugh when they please.

My reason for mentioning courts and ministers, “(whom I never think on but with the most profound veneration),” is, because an opinion obtains, that in the *Beggars Opera* there appears to be some reflection upon courtiers and statesmen, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true, indeed, that Mr. GAY, the author of this piece, hath been somewhat singular in the course of his fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the court, with a large stock of real merit, a modest and agreeable conversation, a hundred promises, and five hundred friends, he hath failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reason. He lay under the suspicion of having written a libel or lampoon against a great minister*. It is true, that great minister was demonstratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr. GAY was not the author; but having lain under the suspicion, it seemed very just that he should suffer the punishment; because, in this most reformed age, the virtues of a prime minister are no more to be suspected, than the chastity of Cæsar's wife.

It must be allowed, that the *Beggars Opera* is not the first of Mr. GAY's works, wherein he hath

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

been faulty with regard to courtiers and statesmen. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, published within two years past, and dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, for which he was promised a reward, he hath been thought somewhat too bold upon the courtiers. And although it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not considering, that the malignity of some people might misinterpret what he said to the disadvantage of present persons and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. GAY as a politician; and shall consider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath, by a turn of humour, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the strongest and most odious light; and thereby done eminent service both to religion and morality. This appears from the unparalleled success he hath met with. All ranks, parties, and denominations of men, either crowding to see his opera, or reading it with delight in their closets; even ministers of state, whom he is thought to have most offended, (next to those whom the actors represent), appearing frequently at the theatre, from a consciousness of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjust a parallel malice, envy, and disaffection to the government have made.

I am assured, that several worthy clergymen in this city went privately to see the Beggar's Opera represented; and that the fleering coxcombs in the pit amused themselves with making discoveries, and spreading the names of those gentlemen round the audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a clergyman who would appear openly in his habit at a theatre, with such a vitious crew as might probably stand round him, at such comedies and profane tragedies as are often represented. Besides, I know very well, that persons of their function are bound to avoid the
appearance

appearance of evil, or of giving cause of offence. But when the Lords Chancellors, who are keepers of the King's conscience; when the Judges of the land, whose title is reverend; when ladies, who are bound by the rules of their sex to the strictest decency, appear in the theatre without censure; I cannot understand, why a young clergyman, who comes concealed out of curiosity to see an innocent and moral play, should be so highly condemned; nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who said, "he hoped none of his clergy were there." I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections against that reverend body, planted in this city, and I wish there never may. But I should be very sorry that any of them should be so weak, as to imitate a court-chaplain in England, who preached against the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do more good, than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine*.

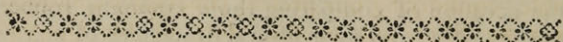
In this happy performance of Mr. GAY's all the characters are just, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It discovers the whole system of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity established among us, by which neither our lives or our properties are secure, either in the highways, or in public assemblies, or even in our own houses. It shews the miserable lives, and the constant fate of those abandoned wretches: for how little they sell their lives and souls; betrayed by their whores, their comrades, and the receivers and purchasers of those thefts and robberies. This comedy contains likewise a satire, which, without inquiring whether it affects the present age, may possibly be useful in

* Dr. Thomas Heron, chaplain to the society at Lincoln's inn, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, after that Archbishop of York, and now Archbishop of Canterbury.

times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occasion of comparing those common robbers of the public, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of politicians in times of corruption.

This comedy likewise exposeth, with great justice, that unnatural taste for Italian music among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our northern climate and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with the Italian effeminacy, and Italian nonsense. An old gentleman said to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and singers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing, or poisoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgement, that nothing but servile attachment to a party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dulness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. GAY.



N U M B E R XV*.

L A M E N T A T I O N S . ii. 19.

Arise, cry out in the night; in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord; lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of the young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every street.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the island Delos, was inscribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgement for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public-spirited Athenians. Had the same poet, inspired by a noble and heroic ardour, by another ode awakened and roused their whole state against an invading enemy, or opened their eyes against any secret and wicked contrivers of their destruction, they would have erected him a statue at least. But, alas! that spirit is fled from the world, and long since neglected. Virtue is become her own paymaster. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been so little notice taken of a small, but most excellent pamphlet, written by the Drapier. It is intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland* [above, p. 53.]. There never was any treatise yet published, with a zeal more generous for the u-

* See above, p. 280. in the notes.

niversal good of a nation, or a design more reasonable, considering our present lamentable condition: yet we listen not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it should have been inscribed in capital letters, (as glorious as those of the poet), in the most public part of every corporation-town through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the several unprovoked causes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed further, and say, that every head of every family ought to instruct his children so far in this most incomparable pamphlet, that they should not only understand, but be able to repeat by heart every single paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wisest lawgiver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7, 8, 9. "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates."

And where would be the great trouble, since we have little else to do, if every man would read a lecture of the short view every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expense would be extravagant, if he should have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames in every chamber of his house; that it might be as evident as the hand writing on the wall.

And since I have ventured thus far to praise and recommend this most inimitable piece, let me speak a few words in favour of its *Author*.

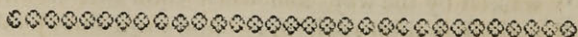
I would propose to my countrymen before all their money goes off, (it is going as fast as possible), to

convert it into a few statues to the *Drapier* in those memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have shone with the greatest lustre in defence of our liberty, and the *Protestant religion* over all Europe; at *Derry*, at *Enniskilling*, at *Boyne*, at *Aughrim*. Nor would it be amiss to set up a few more about our metropolis, with that glorious inscription, *Libertas et natale solum*.

If our money were metamorphosed upon such a good occasion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypselus *, to get it into his own coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys should act like the Roman prefects, and run away with our very statues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

“ I am assured, that it hath for some time been “ practised,” &c. [Here *The short view of the state of Ireland*, was inserted verbatim.]



N U M B E R X I X .

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[N. B. In the following discourse the author personates a country-gentleman in the north of Ireland. And this letter is supposed as directed to the *Drapier*.]

HAVING, on the 12th of October last, received a letter, signed ANDREW DEALER, and PATRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following paper,

* Cypselus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that state to himself in ten years time. *Arist. Polit.*

just

just come to my hands, will be a sufficient answer to it.

SIR,

I AM a country-gentleman, and a member of parliament, with an estate of about 1400 l. a-year; which, as a northern landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were esteemed to be not above half value; yet, by the intolerable scarcity of silver, I lie under the greatest difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing necessary for my family from tradesmen, who are not able to be long out of their money. But the sufferings of me, and those my rank, are trifles in comparison of what the meaner sort undergo; such as the buyers and sellers at fairs and markets; the shopkeepers in every town; the farmers in general; all those who travel with fish, poultry, pedlary-ware, and other conveniencies to sell: but more especially handicraftsmen, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these kind of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a double pistole or a moidore, (for we hardly have any gold of lower value left us), to divide it among themselves as they can: and this is generally done at an alehouse or brandyshop; where, besides the cost of getting drunk, (which is usually the case), they must pay ten-pence or a shilling for changing their piece into silver to some huckstering fellow, who follows that trade. But what is infinitely worse, those poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their oatmeal and other necessaries of life at almost double value; and consequently are not able to discharge half their score, especially under the scarceness of corn for two years past,
and

and the melancholy disappointment of the present crop.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar. These indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren, without the least ground of provocation, who rejoice at our sufferings, altho' sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually sent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and some other lovers of their country have so often observed with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general this complaint for the want of silver may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a cut finger, when he is struck with the plague; and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows may be allowed to feel the smart of wasps, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging, and vexatious in every kind of small traffic, and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniences of perhaps greater moment in themselves have been tamely submitted to with far less disquietude and murmurs. And the case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that nothing is more easy than a remedy; and that the want of silver, in proportion to the little gold remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me
very

very lately, that, in discoursing with the Lord Lieutenant * before his last return to England, his Excellency said, " He had pressed the matter of-
" ten, in proper time and place, and to proper
" persons and could not see any difficulty of the
" least moment, that could prevent us from be-
" ing made easy upon this article."

Whoever carries to England twenty-seven English shillings, and brings back one moidore of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Irish: in a guinea, the advantage is three pence; and two pence in a pistole. The *Bankers*, who are generally masters of all our gold and silver with this advantage, have sent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thousand moidores in silver would thus amount in clear profit to 37 l. 10 s. The shopkeepers, and other traders, who go to London to buy goods, followed the same practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable distress.

To a common thinker it should seem, that nothing would be more easy, than for the government to redress this evil, at any time they shall please. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21 s. and 6 d. to only 21 s. the consequence to this kingdom were obvious, and manifest to us all: and a sober man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been since. It would surely require no very profound skill in algebra to reduce the difference of nine pence in thirty shillings, or three pence in a guinea to less than a farthing; and so small a fraction could be no temptation either to bankers, to hazard their silver at sea, or tradesmen to load themselves with it in their journeys to England. In my humble opinion, it would be no unreasonable con-

* The Lord Carteret.

descension, if the goverment would graciously please to signify to the poor loyal Protestant subjects of Ireland, either that this miserable want of silver is not possible to be remedied in any degree by the nicest skill in arithmetic; or else, that it doth not stand with the good pleasure of England, to suffer any silver at all among us. In the former case, it would be madness to expect impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit; for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the Conqueror.

The question hath been often put in printed papers, by the Drapier and others, or perhaps, by the same writer under different styles, why this kingdom should not be permitted to have a mint of its own for the coinage of gold, silver, and copper; which is a power exercised by many bishops, and every petty prince in Germany? But this question hath never been answered; nor the least application, that I have heard of, made to the crown from hence for the grant of a public mint; altho' it stands upon record that several cities and corporations here had the liberty of coining silver. I can see no reasons why we alone of all nations, are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial kingdom since Nimrod, which ever wanted power to coin their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any subject to petition either the prince or the parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a subject of Ireland, I profess I cannot determine; nor will undertake, that the printer shall not be prosecuted in a court of justice for publishing my wishes, that a poor shopkeeper might be able to change a guinea or a moidore, when a customer comes for a crown's worth of goods. I have known less crimes punished with the utmost severity, under the title of *disaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wisdom
of

of the ancients, who, after Aftrea had fled from the earth, at least took care to provide *three upright judges for hell*. Mens ears among us are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happens to think out of fashion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the toothach, lest our weak and busy dabblers in politics should be ready to swear against him for disaffection.

There was a method practised by Sir Ambrose Crawley, the great dealer in iron-works, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the several towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave notes instead of money from two pence), which passed current in all shops and markets, as well as in houses, where meat and drink was sold. I see no reason why the like practice may not be introduced among us with some degree of success: or at least may not serve as a poor expedient in this our *blessed age of paper*; which, as it dischargeth all our greatest payments, may be equally useful in the smaller, and may just keep us alive until an English act of parliament shall forbid it.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of small traffic. How happy should we be in comparison of our present condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the sheers for want of a mint, upon our foreign gold, by clipping it into half-crowns and shillings, and even lower denominations; for beggars must be content to live upon scraps; and it would be our felicity, that these scraps could never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of these projects will avail, I see nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the wild Indians with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this disadvantage on our side, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a recompense in bugles or glass in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence and settle themselves in America: the poorer sort for want of work; the farmers, whose beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and those who have any ready money, or can purchase any by the sale of their goods or leases, because they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any money to buy the very necessaries of life, are hastening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, corn among us carries a very high price; but it is for the same reason, that rats, and cats, and dead horses have been often bought for gold in a town besieged.

There is a person of quality in my neighbourhood, who twenty years ago, when he was just come to age, being unexperienced, and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and consequently by the rise of land since that time looked upon his estate to be set at half value: but numbers of these tenants or their descendants are now offering to sell their leases by cant*, even those which were for lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some fee-farms, which the landlord himself hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded seven years ago. And some leases let at the same

* Cant or auction,

time for lives have been given up to him without any consideration at all.

This is the most favourable face of all things at present among us ; I say, among us of the north, who are esteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how soon this misery and desolation may spread, is easy to foresee.

The vast sums of money daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our gold in these parts, almost as much as of our silver. And the good wives who come to our houses offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependence lies, for so little profit, that it can neither half-pay their rents, nor half support their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthusiasm spread among our northern people, of sheltering themselves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their present insupportable condition at home. I have made all possible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from those plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all seasons of the year, and so ill accommodated in their ships, that many of them have died miserably in their passage, but could never get one satisfactory answer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or cousin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over ; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a penny an acre. But the truth of the fact is this : the English established in those colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the wild Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of some barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other service than to blunt their enemies swords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their

dead bodies. And thus our people, who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the savages; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years purchase by their labour. Now, besides the fox's reason *, which inclines all those who have already ventured thither to represent every thing in a false light, as well for justifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their misery, the governing people in those plantations have also wisely provided, that no letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither without being first viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some months ago by an honest man, who having transported himself and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of such a voyage, and to discourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a fever to turn often, although without any hope of ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy just at his back; so men in the extremest degree of misery and want will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touched the subject I began with and with the utmost caution; for I know how criminal the least complaint hath been thought, however seasonable,

* The fox who, having lost his tail would have persuaded the rest to cut off theirs.

or just or honestly intended, which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at least in my time, be interpreted by inuendos as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the gout; which, besides the loss and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, so severely afflicted with that distemper.

I wish you good success, but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the least view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but villains and betrayers of their country can be your enemies. Upon which I have little to say, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that sort; and therefore, as you may easily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient

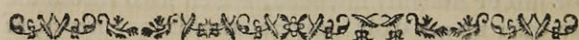
Humble servant,

A. NORTH.

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.



REMARKS



REMARKS on Dr. SWIFT'S TRACTS
relating to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr. DEAN SWIFT'S ESSAY.

THESE tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reason may chance to be neglected by succeeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almost all other points of history, excepting those only which are stiffly supported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their several views and interests in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr. Swift, and particularly the Drapier's letters, are founded on the secure basis of the laws of his country, and supported throughout the whole with the warmest zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of those who are not unworthy to enjoy the blessings of our constitution. For although it be a truth scarce ever regarded, the subject-matter which happens to give rise to any political treatise whatsoever is but of little consequence; that spirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepest of our attention, let what age or nation soever boast of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of these nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the deaf adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inspired like Dr. Swift to apprise them

them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and slavery, by the contrivance of some wicked impostor that may lie in wait for their destruction. Consider therefore, ye sons of Ireland, what hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wife, your courageous patriot; consider what persecutions were set on foot against him by slaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very existence of your country, against one vile insignificant mechanic. Think not because that evil day is past, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not seen pretended patriots of late years, which have prostituted their impious pens to serve the vilest purposes? But thanks be to God! their writings have perished, and their names are universally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore, and imbibe the political principles of Dr. Swift; engrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your childrens children; and above all things remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy upon those men who by their words, their actions, and other wicked insinuating artifices, endeavour to sap the vitals of your liberty. For be assured, that in the day of trial they will approve themselves to their masters to be corrupted slaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece, intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*, written in 1727, [above, p. 53.] I cannot but declare myself heartily sorry, that I am forced to disagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it [above, p. 61.]. For surely among all the pleasures and delights which have any respect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the prosperity of our country. But alas! the miseries of Ireland being the effects
of

of a thousand causes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At least all remedies but one (which is abolishing the use of gold and silver out of the whole community; a scheme too philosophical, and perhaps too chimerical for so corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be so exceedingly desperate, that I verily believe it would require a legislator equal to the conductor of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flourishing people, notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder that any man could possibly reside for the greater part of eighteen years in Ireland, without remarking, to his infinite regret, that no people in the Christian world are so destitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithstanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the most favoured of any country upon earth. *Optima natio, pessima gens*, was, I remember. Dr. Swift's periphrasis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raised against the absurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *Short View* the Doctor enumerates fourteen causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich, and then examines what effects arise from these causes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that some few alterations have taken place since 1727. But whether in fact these alterations have at all contributed to the interest of the weal public; or whether it appears they have had the least effect towards banishing complaining from our streets, is at present one of the points to be considered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr. Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but insist upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen is just in the same condition, and labours under the same
disadvan-

disadvantages, this present year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With respect to the seventh article [above, p. 54, 56.], which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture, Ireland is by far in a worse situation at present than it was in 1727, notwithstanding many appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain that great improvements, and particularly the finest roads perhaps in the world, have been made since that epoch, flocks and herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be asserted by Lord Orrery [above, p. 61.] that agriculture is cultivated (*i. e.* that the culture of land is cultivated) in Ireland; the greater part of the husbandmen, the labourers, and the poor, have, merely for the sake of those cursed cattle which are the bane of Ireland, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and banished the country, helpless, naked and forlorn; to rot, starve, and perish in desolate places, to the great diminution of the inhabitants.

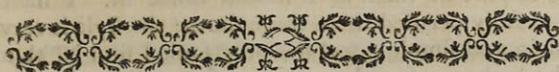
And as to the fourteenth article [above, p. 58.] the people of Ireland, by their folly, their madness, their luxury, and disregard to all public interest, are by many degrees in a more wretched condition than they were in 1727; the most common necessaries, even their corn, their ale, and their potatoes being, to the shame and confusion of their politics, imported from abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their spices.

As to the pamphlet, intitled, *A modest proposal*, &c. [above, p. 237.], it is a humorous treatise, equally the product of despair and benevolence; and seemeth to have been written in the bitterness of the Dean's soul, and principally addressed to the consideration of those merciless tyrants which starve and oppress their fellow-creatures, even to the shame and destruction of their country. His proposal is, to fatten up the children of beggars, cottagers,

and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the markets, and sell their carcases to the rich; a food which he declares to be very proper for landlords; who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to their children.

As to Dr. Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein the rights of the clergy and the cause of Christianity are expressly and immediatly concerned, I shall only observe in general, that Swift, being a thorough master of politics, and, far beyond all the wisest of his contemporaries, deeply versed in the history of parties, could discover at a surprizing distance the natural consequences of those efforts which had been frequently made during the time he flourished, to subvert our happy constitution both of church and state; insomuch that he appears from a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the most sagacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of Christ. *Swift.*



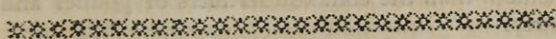


T R A V E L S

Into several REMOTE NATIONS of the World.

By LEMUEL GULLIVER, first a Surgeon,
and then a Captain of several ships.

In FOUR PARTS.



The PUBLISHER to the READER.

THE author of these travels, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, is my ancient and intimate friend; there is likewise some relation between us on the mother's side. About three years ago, Mr. Gulliver, growing weary of the concourse of curious people coming to him at his house in Redriff, made a small purchase of land, with a convenient house, near Newark in Nottinghamshire, his native country, where he now lives retired, yet in good esteem among his neighbours.

Although Mr. Gulliver was born in Nottinghamshire, where his father dwelt, yet I have heard him say, his family came from Oxfordshire; to confirm which, I have observed in the church yard at Banbury, in that county, several tombs and monuments of the Gullivers.

Before he quitted Redriff, he left the custody of the following papers in my hands, with the liberty

to dispose of them as I should think fit. I have carefully perused them three times: the style is very plain and simple; and the only fault I find is, that the author, after the manner of travellers, is a little too circumstantial. There is an air of truth apparent through the whole; and indeed the author was so distinguished for his veracity, that it became a sort of a proverb among his neighbours at Redriff, when any one affirmed a thing, to say it was as true as if Mr. Gulliver had spoken it.

By the advice of several worthy persons, to whom, with the author's permission, I communicated these papers, I now venture to send them into the world, hoping they may be, at least for some time, a better entertainment to our young noblemen, than the common scriblers of politics and party.

This volume would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable passages relating to the winds and tides, as well as to the variations and bearings in the several voyages, together with the minute descriptions of the management of the ship in storms, in the style of sailors; likewise the account of longitudes and latitudes; wherein I have reason to apprehend, that Mr. Gulliver may be a little dissatisfied: but I was resolved to fit the work as much as possible to the general capacity of readers. However, if my own ignorance in sea-affairs shall have led me to commit some mistakes, I alone am answerable for them: and if any traveller hath a curiosity to see the whole work at large, as it came from the hand of the author, I will be ready to gratify him.

As for any further particulars relating to the author, the reader will receive satisfaction from the first pages of the book.

RICHARD SYMSON.

A LETTER from Captain GULLIVER,
to his Cousin SYMPSON.

Written in the year 1727.

I Hope you will be ready to own publicly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent urgency, you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect account of my travels, with direction to hire some young gentlemen of either university to put them in order, and correct the style, as my cousin Dampier did by my advice, in his book called, "A voyage round the world." But I do not remember I gave you power to consent, that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted: therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that kind; particularly a paragraph about her Majesty Queen Anne, of most pious and glorious memory; although I did reverence and esteem her more than any of human species. But you, or your interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my inclination, so was it not decent to praise any animal of our composition before my master Houyhnhnm: and besides, the fact was altogether false; for, to my knowledge, being in England during some part of her Majesty's reign, she did govern by a chief minister; nay even by two successively, the first whereof was the Lord of Godolphin, and the second the Lord of Oxford; so that you have made me "say the thing that was
"not."

“not.” Likewise, in the account of the academy of projectors, and several passages of my discourse to my master Houyhnhnm, you have either omitted some material circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a manner, that I do hardly know mine own work. When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a letter, you were pleased to answer, that you were afraid of giving offence; that people in power were very watchful over the press, and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an Inuendo, (as I think you call it). But, pray, how could that which I spoke so many years ago, and at above five thousand leagues distance, in another reign, be applied to any of the Yahoos, who now are said to govern the herd: especially at a time when I little thought on, or feared, the unhappiness of living under them? have not I the most reason to complain, when I see these very Yahoos carried by Houyhnhnms in a vehicle, as if these were brutes and those the rational creatures? and indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a sight, was one principle motive of my retirement hither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you, in relation to yourself, and to the trust I reposed in you.

I do, in the next place, complain of my own great want of judgement, in being prevailed upon by the intreaties and false reasonings of you and some others, very much against my own opinion, to suffer my travels to be published. Pray bring to your mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the motive of public good, that the Yahoos were a species of animals utterly incapable of amendment, by precepts or example: and so it hath proved; for, instead of seeing a full stop put to all abuses and corruptions, at least in this little island, as I had reason to expect; behold, after above six months warning, I cannot
learn

learn that my book has produced one single effect according to mine intentions. I desired you would let me know by a letter, when party and faction were extinguished; judges learned and upright; pleaders honest and modest, with some tincture of common sense, and Smithfield blazing with pyramids of law-books; the young nobility's education entirely changed; the physicians banished; the female Yahoos abounding in virtue, honour, truth, and good sense; courts and levees of great ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; wit, merit, and learning rewarded; all disgracers of the press, in prose and verse, condemned to eat nothing but their own cotton, and quench their thirst with their own ink. These, and a thousand other reformatations, I firmly counted upon by your encouragement; as indeed they were plainly deducible from the precepts delivered in my book. And it must be owned, that seven months were a sufficient time to correct every vice and folly to which Yahoos are subject, if their natures had been capable of the least disposition to virtue or wisdom; yet, so far have you been from answering mine expectation in any of your letters; that on the contrary you are loading our carrier every week with libels, and keys, and reflections, and memoirs, and second parts; wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great states-folk; of degrading human nature (for so they still have the confidence to stile it) and of abusing the female sex. I find likewise, that the writers of those bundles are not agreed among themselves; for some of them will not allow me to be the author of mine own travels; and others make me author of books, to which I am wholly a stranger.

I find likewise, that your printer hath been so careless as to confound the times, and mistake the dates of my several voyages and returns; neither assigning the true year, nor the true month, nor day of the month: and I hear the original ma-
nuscript

manuscript is all destroyed since the publication of my book; neither have I any copy left; however, I have sent you some corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second edition: and yet I cannot stand to them; but shall leave that matter to my judicious and candid readers to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our sea-Yahoos find fault with my sea-language, as not proper in many parts, nor now in use. I cannot help it. In my first voyages, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found, that the sea-Yahoos are apt, like the land ones, to become newfangled in their words, which the latter change every year; insomuch, as I remember, upon each return to my own country, their old dialect was so altered, that I could hardly understand the new. And I observe, when any Yahoo comes from London, out of curiosity to visit me at mine own house, we neither of us are able to deliver our conceptions in a manner intelligible to the other.

If the censure of the Yahoos could any way affect me, I should have great reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my book of travels a mere fiction out of mine own brain; and have gone so far as to drop hints, that the Houyhnhnms and Yahoos have no more existence than the inhabitants of Utopia.

Indeed I must confess, that as to the people of Lilliput, Brobdingrag (for so the word should have been spelt, and not erroneously Brobdingnag) and Laputa, I have never yet heard of any Yahoo so presumptuous as to dispute their being, or the facts I have related concerning them; because the truth immediately strikes every reader with conviction. And is there less probability in my account of the Houyhnhnms or Yahoos, when it is manifest as to the latter, there are so many thousands, even in
this

this city, who only differ from their brother brutes in Houyhnhnm-land, because they use a sort of Jabber, and do not go naked? I wrote for their amendment, and not their approbation. The united praise of the whole race would be of less consequence to me, than the neighing of those two degenerate Houyhnhnms I keep in my stable; because from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some virtues without any mixture of vice.

Do these miserable animals presume to think, that I am so degenerated as to defend my veracity? Yahoo as I am, it is well known through all Houyhnhnm-land, that, by the instructions and example of my illustrious master, I was able in the compass of two years (although I confess with the utmost difficulty) to remove that infernal habit of lying, shuffling, deceiving, and equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very souls of all my species; especially the Europeans.

I have other complaints to make upon this vexatious occasion; but I forbear troubling myself or you any further. I must freely confess, that since my last return, some corruptions of my Yahoo nature have revived in me, by conversing with a few of your species, and particularly those of mine own family, by an unavoidable necessity; else I should never have attempted so absurd a project as that of reforming the Yahoo race in this kingdom: but I have now done with all such visionary schemes for ever.

April 2, 1727.

* * * That the original copy of these travels was altered, by the person through whose hands it was conveyed to the press, is a fact; but the passages of which Mr. Gulliver complains in his letter, are

to be found only in the first editions; for the Dean having restored the text wherever it had been altered, sent the copy to the late Mr. Motte, by the hands of Mr. Charles Ford. This Copy has been exactly followed in every subsequent edition, except that printed in Ireland by George Falkener; the editor of which, supposing the Dean to be serious when he mentioned the corruptions of dates, and yet finding them unaltered, thought fit to alter them himself; there is however scarce one of these alterations, in which he has not committed a blunder; though, while he was thus busied in defacing the parts that were perfect, he suffered the accidental blemishes of others to remain.—See the preface to this edition.



TRAVELS into several REMOTE NATIONS of the world*.

P A R T I.

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.

C H A P. I.

The author gives some account of himself and family : his inducement to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his life; gets safe on shore in the country of Lilliput: is made a prisoner, and carried up the country.

MY father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel college in Cambridge at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself

* These voyages are intended as a moral political romance, in which Swift seems to have exerted the strongest efforts of a fine irregular genius. But while his imagination and his wit delight, the venomous strokes of his satire, although in some places just, are carried into so universal a severity, that not only all human actions, but human nature itself, is placed in the worst light. — Perfection in every attribute is not indeed allotted to particular men. But among the whole species, we discover such an assemblage of all the great and amiable virtues, as may convince us, that the original order of nature contains in it the greatest beauty. It is directed in a right line, but it deviates into curves and irregular motions, by various alterations and disturbing causes. Different qualifications shine out in different men. BACON and NEWTON (not to mention BOYLE) shew the divine extent of the human mind: of which power Swift could not be insensible; but his disappointments rendered him splenetic, and an-

myself close to my studies; but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very scanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be some time or other my fortune to do. When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a-year to maintain me at Leydon: there I studied physic two years and fe-

gry with the whole world.-- Education, habit, and constitution, give a surprising variety of characters; and while they produce some particular qualities, are apt to check others. Fortitude of mind seldom attends a sedentary life: nor is the man whose ambitious views are crossed, scarce ever afterwards endued with benevolence of heart. The same mind that is capable of exerting the greatest virtue, by some defect in the first steps of education often degenerates into the greatest vice. These effects take their source from causes almost mechanical. The soul in our present situation, is blended and inclosed with corporeal substance, and the matter of which our body is composed, produces strange impulses upon the mind.---To correct vice, by shewing her deformity, in opposition to the beauty of virtue, and to amend the false systems of philosophy, by pointing out the errors, and applying salutary means to avoid them, is a noble design, and was, I would fain flatter myself the general intent of this hieroglyphic writer.---Gulliver's travels are chiefly to be looked upon as an irregular essay of Swift's peculiar wit and humour. The inhabitants of Lilliput are represented, as if reflected from a concave mirror, by which every object is reduced to a despicable minuteness. The inhabitants of Brobdingnag, by a contrary mirror, are enlarged to a shocking deformity. In Lilliput we behold a set of puny insects, or animalcules in human shape, ridiculously engaged in affairs of importance. In Brobdingnag the monsters of enormous size are employed in trifles.---In the two first parts there are many ridiculous adventures, even such as must have excited mirth from Heraclitus. Where indelicacies do not intervene, the narrative is very entertaining and humorous. In some parts, Gulliver seems to have had particular incidents, if not particular persons in his view. His observations on education are useful: and so are his improvements on the institutions of Lycurgus. *Orrery.*

ven months, knowing it would be useful in long voyages.

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master Mr. Bates to be surgeon to the swallow, Captain Abraham Pannel commander: with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts. When I came back, I resolved to settle in London; to which Mr. Bates, my master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old Jury; and being advised to alter my condition, I married Mrs. Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton hosier in Newgate-street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.

But, my good master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having therefore consulted with my wife, and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages for six years to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best of authors, antient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was ashore, in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language, wherein I had a great facility by the strength of my memory.

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jury to Fetter-lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors; but it would not turn to account. After three years expectation that things would mend, I accept-

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ed an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, master of the *Antelope*, who was making a voyage to the South-Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4. 1699; and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas. Let it suffice to inform him, that, in our passage from thence to the East-Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Diemen's land. By an observation we found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labour, and ill food; the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship; but the wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed by my computation about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labour while we were in the ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was overset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom: but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth: and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured

red was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a condition, that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned about nine hours; for when I awaked, it was just day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: for as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner, I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards, the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me; but, in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the mean time, I felt at least forty more, of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah degul*: the others repeated the same words

words several times, but I then knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness; at length struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs, that fastened my left arm to the ground; for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and at the same time, with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures run off a second time before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great shout in a very shrill accent, and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac*; when in an instant I felt above an hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles; and besides, they shot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body, (tho' I felt them not) and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this shower of arrows was over, I fell a groaning with grief and pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with spears to stick me in the sides; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand being already loose, I could easily free myself: and as for the inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows: but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased; and about four yards from me, over against my right ear, I heard a knocking for about

an hour, like that of people at work : when turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it : from whence one of them, who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable. But I should have mentioned, that before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langra debul fan* : (these words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me). Whereupon immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the strings that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger, the other two stood on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator, and I could observe many periods of threatenings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness. I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness ; and being almost famished with hunger, having not eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear shewing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of decency) by putting my finger frequently to my mouth, to signify that I wanted food. The *Hurgo* (for so they call a great lord, as I afterwards learned) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above an hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked to-

wards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided and sent thither by the king's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs, and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I eat them by two or three at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time about the bigness of musket-bullets. They supplied me as fast as they could, shewing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite, I then made another sign, that I wanted drink. They found by my eating, that a small quantity would not suffice me, and being a most ingenious people, they flung up with great dexterity one of their largest hogheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hoghead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more; but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders, they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times, as they did at first, *Hekinah degul*. They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach mevola*, and when they saw the vessels in the air, there was an universal shout of *Hekinah degul*. I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honour I made them, for so I interpreted my submissive

missive behaviour, soon drove out these imaginations. Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of hospitality to a people, who had treated me with so much expense and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my body, while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature, as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a person of high rank from his Imperial Majesty. His Excellency having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue. And producing his credentials under the signet royal, which he applied close to my eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution, often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant, whither it was agreed by his Majesty in council that I must be conveyed. I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other (but over his excellency's head, for fear of hurting him or his train) and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty. It appeared, that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hand in a posture to shew, that I must be carried as a prisoner. However he made other signs to let me understand, that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment, Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds, but again, when I felt the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and ob-

-serving likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave tokens to let them know, that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this the Hurgo and his train withdrew, with much civility, and chearful countenances. Soon after I heard a general shout, with frequent repetitions of the words, *Peplom selan*, and I felt great numbers of people on my left side, relaxing the cords to such a degree that I was able to turn upon my right, and to ease myself with making water; which I very plentifully did, to the great astonishment of the people, who conjecturing, by my motion, what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that side, to avoid the torrent, which fell with such noise and violence from me. But, before this, they had daubed my face and both my hands with a sort of ointment very pleasant to the smell, which in a few minutes removed all the smart of their arrows. These circumstances, added to the refreshment I had received by their victuals and drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the physicians, by the Emperor's order, had mingled a sleepy potion in the hogsheds of wine.

It seems that upon the first moment I was discovered, sleeping on the ground after my landing, the Emperor had early notice of it by an express; and determined in council, that I should be tied in the manner I have related, (which was done in the night while I slept) that plenty of meat and drink should be sent to me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city.

This resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion; however, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous, for supposing those people had endeavoured to kill me with their spears
and

and arrows while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have roused my rage and strength, as to have enabled me to break the strings, where-with I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

The people are most excellent mathematicians, and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics by the countenance and encouragement of the Emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince hath several machines fixed on wheels for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men of war, whereof some are nine feet long, in the woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame of wood raised three inches from the ground, about seven feet long and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which it seems set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me, as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me into this vehicle. Eighty poles each of one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords of the bigness of packthread were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords by many pulleys fastened on the poles; and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and flung into the engine, and there tied fast. All this I was told, for, while the whole operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the Emperor's
largest

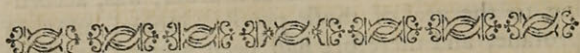
largest horses, each about four inches and an half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being stopt a while, to adjust something, that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep; they climbed up into the engine, and advancing very softly to my face, one of them, an officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way into my left nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently*: whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my awaking so suddenly. We made a long march the remaining part of the day, and rested at night with five hundred guards on each side of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next morning, at sun-rise, we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city-gates about noon. The Emperor and all his court came out to meet us, but his great officers would by no means suffer his Majesty to endanger his person by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage stopt, there stood an ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole kingdom, which, having been polluted some

* It has been remarked, that courage in whatever cause, though it sometimes excites indignation, is never the object of contempt; but this appears to be true, only because courage is supposed to imply superiority: for this officer in the guards becomes extremely ridiculous and contemptible, by an act of the most daring curiosity, which sets him in comparison with Gulliver; to whom he was so much inferior, that a blast of the *man-mountain's* nostrils would have endangered his life; and if here 'm itself is not proof against ridicule, those surely are Lilliputians in philosophy, who consider ridicule as the test of truth.

years before by an unnatural murder, was, according to the zeal of those people, looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common use, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great gate, fronting to the north, was about four feet high, and almost two feet wide, through which I could easily creep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground: into that on the left side, the King's smith conveyed fourscore and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with six and thirty padlocks. Over-against this temple, on the other side of the great highway, at twenty feet distance, there was a turret at least five feet high. Here the Emperor ascended with many principal lords of his court to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned, that above an hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand; and in spite of my guards, I believe, there could not be fewer than ten thousand at several times, who mounted my body by the help of ladders. But a proclamation was soon issued to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up with as melancholy a disposition, as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people at seeing me rise and walk are not to be expressed. The chains that held my left leg were about two yards long, and gave me not only the liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a semicircle; but being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.



C H A P. II.

The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the nobility, comes to see the author in his confinement. The Emperor's person and habit described. Learned men appointed to teach the author their language. He gains favour by his mild disposition. His pockets are searched, and his sword and pistols taken from him.

WHEN I found myself on my feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the inclosed fields which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a stang *, and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theatre.

I had been for some hours extremely pressed by the necessities of nature; which was no wonder, it being almost two days since I had last disburdened myself. I was under great difficulties between urgency and shame. The best expedient I could think on, was to creep into my house, which I accordingly did; and, shutting the gate after me, I went as far as the length of my chain would suffer, and discharged my body of that uneasy load. But this was the only time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an action; for which I cannot but hope the candid reader will give some allowance, after he

* A stang is a pole or perch; sixteen feet and an half.

bath maturely and impartially considered my case, and the distress I was in. From this time my constant practice was, as soon as I rose, to perform that business in open air, at the full extent of my chain; and due care was taken every morning, before company came, that the offensive matter should be carried off in wheel-barrows, by two servants appointed for that purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a circumstance that, perhaps, at first sight may appear not very momentous, if I had not thought it necessary to justify my character in point of cleanliness to the world; which, I am told, some of my maligners have been pleased, upon this and other occasions, to call in question.

When this adventure was at an end, I came back out of my house, having occasion for fresh air. The Emperor was already descended from the tower, and advancing on horse-back towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the beast, though very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder feet: but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat, till his attendants ran in and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicles upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took these vehicles, and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels, which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and so I did with the rest. The Empress, and young princes of the blood of both sexes, attended by many ladies, sat at some

distance in their chairs; but upon the accident that happened to the Emperor's horse, they alighted, and came near his person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off: however, I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic and European: but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose †; it was almost three inches long; the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad, so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread upon the ground, embroidered

† The masculine strength of features, which Gulliver could not see, till he laid his face upon the ground; and the awful superiority of stature in a being, whom he held in his hand; the helmet, the plume, and the sword, are a fine reproof of human pride; the objects of which are trifling distinctions, whether of person or rank; the ridiculous parade and ostentation of a pigmy, which derive not only their origin, but their use, from the folly, weakness, and imperfection of ourselves and others.

with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers; but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present, (as I conjectured by their habits) who were commanded to address themselves to me, and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca; but all to no purpose. After about two hours the court retired, and I was left with a strong guard, to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice of the rabble, who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst, and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ring-leaders to be seized; and thought no punishment so proper, as to deliver them bound into my hands, which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach: I took them all on my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my penknife: but I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground, and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and the people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time the

Emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me. Six hundred beds of the common measure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house; an hundred and fifty of their beds, sewn together, made up the breadth and length; and these were four double, which however kept me but very indifferently from the hardness of the floor, that was of smooth stone. By the same computation they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long inured to hardships*.

As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to see me; so that the villages were almost emptied, and great neglect of tillage and household affairs must have ensued, if his imperial majesty had not provided by several proclamations and orders of state against this inconveniency. He directed, that those who had already beheld me should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house, without licence from court; whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees.

In the mean time, the Emperor held frequent councils, to debate what course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose; that my diet would be

* Gulliver has observed great exactness in the just proportion and appearances of the several objects thus lessened and magnified. But he dwells too much upon these optical deceptions. The mind is tired with a repetition of them, especially as he points out no beauty nor use in such amazing discoveries, which might have been so continued as to have afforded improvement, at the same time that they gave astonishment. He too often shews an indelicacy that is not agreeable, and exerts his vein of humour most improperly in some places, where, I am afraid, he glances at religion. *Ortery.*

very expensive, and might cause a famine. Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisoned arrows, which would soon dispatch me; but again they considered, that the stench of so large a carcass might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably spread through the whole kingdom. In the midst of these consultations, several officers of the army went to the door of the great council-chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to the six criminals above-mentioned, which made so favourable an impression in the breast of his majesty, and the whole board, in my behalf, that an imperial commission was issued out, obliging all the villages nine hundred miles round the city, to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals for my sustenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread and wine, and other liquors; for the due payment of which his majesty gave assignments upon his treasury. For this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes, seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expence. An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domestics, who had board-wages allowed for their maintenance, and tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my door. It was likewise ordered, that three hundred taylors should make me a suit of cloaths after the fashion of the country: that six of his majesty's greatest scholars should be employed to instruct me in their language: and lastly, that the Emperor's horses, and those of the nobility, and troops of guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me. All these orders were duly put in execution, and in about three weeks I made a great progress in learning their language; during which time the
Emperor

Emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleas'd to assist my masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first words I learnt were to express my desire, that he would please to give me my liberty, which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *lumas kelmin pessa desmar lon emposo*; that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom. However, that I should be us'd with all kindness; and he advis'd me to acquire by my patience and discreet behaviour, the good opinion of himself and his subjects. He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me, for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answer'd the bulk of so prodigious a person. I said, his majesty should be satisfi'd; for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my pockets before him. This I deliver'd, part in words, and part in signs. He replied, that by the laws of the kingdom I must be search'd by two of his officers; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance; that he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice, as to trust their persons in my hands: that whatever they took from me should be return'd when I left the country, or paid for at the rate which I should set upon them. I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs, and another secret pocket, which I had no mind should be search'd, wherein I had some little necessaries, that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pen, ink and paper a-

bout

bout them, made an exact inventory of every thing they saw; and, when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the Emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is word for word as follows:

Imprimis, In the right coat-pocket of the *great man-mountain* (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*), after the strictest search, we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we, the searchers were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid-leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both sneezing for several times together. In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures; which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands. In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court; wherewith we conjecture the *man-mountain* combs his head; for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket on the right side of his middle cover (so I translate the word *Ran-fu-lo*, by which they meant my breeches) we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber, larger than the pillar; and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we know not what to make of. In the left pocket another engine of the same kind, In the smaller

smaller pocket on the right side were several round flat pieces of white and red metal of different bulk; some of the white, which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy, that my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped: we could not without difficulty reach the top of them as we stood at the bottom of his pocket. One of them was covered, and seemed all of a piece: but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about twice the bigness of our heads. Within each of these was inclosed a prodigious plate of steel; which, by our orders, we obliged him to shew us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines. He took them out of their cases, and told us, that in his own country his practice was to shave his beard with one of these, and to cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets which we could not enter: these he called his fobs; they were two large flits cut into the top of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his belly. Out of the right fob hung a great silver chain with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain; which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal: for on the transparent side we saw certain strange figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance. He put this engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise like that of a water-mill: and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal, or the god that he worships; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did any thing without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said it

it pointed out the time for every action of his life*. From the left fob he took out a net, almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse, and served him for the same use: we found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, must be of immense value.

Having thus, in obedience to your majesty's commands, diligently searched all his pockets, we observed a girdle about his waist, made of the hide of some prodigious animal, from which, on the left side, hung a sword of the length of five men; and on the right, a bag or pouch divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your majesty's subjects. In one of these cells were several globes, or balls, of a most ponderous metal, about the bigness of our heads, and required a strong hand to lift them: the other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the palms of our hands.

This is an exact inventory of what we found about the body of the man-mountain, who used us with great civility, and due respect to your majesty's commission. Signed and sealed on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth moon of your majesty's auspicious reign.

Clefrin Freloc, Marfi Freloc.

When this inventory was read over to the Emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars. He first called for my scymiter, which I took out, scabbard and all. In the mean time he ordered three thousand of his choicest troops (who then attended him) to sur-

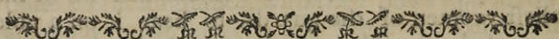
* Perhaps the author intended to expose the probable fallacy of opinions derived from the relations of travellers, by shewing how little truth need to be misunderstood to make falsehood specious.

round me at a distance, with their bows and arrows just ready to discharge : but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed upon his Majesty. He then desired me to draw my scymiter, which, although it had got some rust by the sea-water, was in most parts exceeding bright. I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprize ; for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the scymitar to and fro in my hand. His majesty, who is a most magnanimous prince *, was less daunted than I could expect ; he ordered me to return it into the scabbard, and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six feet from the end of my chain. The next thing he demanded, was one of the hollow iron pillars ; by which he meant my pocket-pistols. I drew it out, and at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it ; and charging only with powder, which by the closeness of my pouch happened to escape wetting in the sea (an inconvenience against which all prudent mariners take special care to provide) I first cautioned the Emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of my scymiter. Hundreds fell down, as if they had been struck dead ; and even the Emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself in some time. I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner, as I had done my scymiter, and then my pouch of powder and bullets ; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark, and blow up his imperial palace into the air. I likewise delivered up my watch, which the Emperor

* He who does not find himself disposed to honour this magnanimity should reflect, that a right to judge of moral and intellectual excellence is, with great absurdity and injustice, arrogated by him who admires, in a being six feet high, any qualities that he despises in one, whose stature does not exceed six inches.

was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards, to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as dry-men in England do a barrel of ale. He was amazed at the continual noise it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could easily discern; for their sight are much more acute than ours: he asked the opinions of his learned men about it, which were various and remote, as the reader may well imagine without my repeating; although indeed I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse with nine large pieces of gold and some smaller ones; my knife and razor, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book. My scymiter, pistols, and pouch were conveyed in carriages to his Majesty's stores; but the rest of my goods were returned me.

I had, as I before observed, one private pocket, which escaped their search, wherein there were a pair of spectacles (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine eyes) a pocket perspective, and some other little conveniencies; which being of no consequence to the emperor, I did not think myself bound in honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled, if I ventured them out of my possession.



C H A P. III.

The author diverts the Emperor and his nobility of both sexes in a very uncommon manner. The diversions of the court of Lilliput described. The author bath his liberty granted him upon certain conditions.

MY gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army, and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favourable disposition. The natives came by degrees to be less apprehensive of any danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my hand: and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide and seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking their language. The Emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceed all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much, as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white-thread, extended about two feet and twelve inches from the ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons, who are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education. When a great office is vacant either by death or disgrace, (which often happens) five or six of those candidates petition the Emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with

a dance on the rope, and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the office. Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to shew their skill, and to convince the Emperor, that they have not lost their faculty. Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the strait rope at least an inch higher, than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him do the summerfet * several times together upon a trencher, fixed on a rope, which is no thicker than a common packthread in England. My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer; the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater when the ministers themselves are commanded to shew their dexterity; for by contending to excell themselves and their fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured, that a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broke his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shewn before the Emperor and Empress, and first minister upon particular occasions. The Emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one it blue, the other red, and the third green. These threads are proposed as a prize for those persons, whom the Emperor hath a mind

* Summerfet, or summersault, a gambol of a tumbler, in which he springs up, turns heel over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet.

to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the old or new world. The Emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backwards and forwards several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the Emperor holds one end of the stick, and his first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with the most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court, who are not adorned with one of these girdles.

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the Emperor's huntsmen, upon a large courser took my foot, shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious leap. I had the good fortune to divert the Emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his Majesty commanded the master of his woods to give directions accordingly, and the next morning six woodmen arrived with as many carriages, drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks, and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two
feet

feet and a half square, I took four other sticks, and tied them parallel at each corner about two feet from the ground; then I fastened my handkerchief to the nine sticks that stood erect; and extended it on all sides, till it was tight as the top of a drum: and the four parallel sticks, rising about five inches higher than the handkerchief, served as ledges on each side. When I had finished my work, I desired the Emperor to let a troop of his best horse, twenty-four in number, come and exercise upon this plain. His Majesty approved of the proposal, and I took them up one by one in my hands ready mounted and armed, with the proper officers to exercise them. As soon as they got into order, they divided into two parties, performed mock skirmishes, discharged blunt arrows, drew their swords, fled, and pursued, attacked and retired, and in short, discovered the best military discipline I ever beheld. The parallel sticks secured them and their horses from falling over the stage; and the Emperor was so much delighted, that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased to be lifted up, and give the word of command: and, with great difficulty, persuaded even the Empress herself to let me hold her in her close chair within two yards of the stage, from whence she was able to take a full view of the whole performance. It was my good fortune, that no ill accident happened in these entertainments, only once a fiery horse, that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, struck a hole in my handkerchief, and his foot slipping, he overthrew his rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the hole with one hand, I set down the troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up. The horse that fell was strained in the left shoulder, but the rider got no hurt, and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could; however, I would not trust to the strength

strength of it any more in such dangerous enterprizes.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an express to inform his majesty, that some of his subjects, riding near the place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black substance lying on the ground, very oddly shaped, extending its edges round as wide as his Majesty's bed-chamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at first apprehended, for it lay on the grass without motion; and some of them had walked round it several times; that, by mounting upon each other's shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it, they found it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the *man-mountain*; and if his Majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it only with five horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence. It seems, upon my first reaching the shore after our shipwreck I was in such confusion, that, before I came to the place where I went to sleep, my hat, which I had fastened with a string to my head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to land; the string, as I conjecture, breaking by some accident, which I never observed, but thought my hat had been lost at sea. I intreated his imperial Majesty to give orders, it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the use and the nature of it; and the next day the waggoner arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim within an inch and half of the edge, and fastened two hooks in the holes; these hooks were tied by a long cord to the harness, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an English mile; but, the
ground

ground in that country being extremely smooth and level, it received less damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure, the Emperor having ordered that part of his army, which quarters in and about his metropolis, to be in a readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular manner. He desired I would stand like a Colossus, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader, and a great patron of mine) to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four in a breast, and the horse by sixteen, with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. This body consisted of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His Majesty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest decency, with regard to my person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger officers from turning up their eyes, as they passed under me: and, to confess the truth, my breeches were at that time in so ill a condition, that they afforded some opportunities for laughter and admiration.

I had sent so many memorials and petitions for my liberty, that his Majesty at length mentioned the matter first in the cabinet, and then a full council; where it was opposed by none, except Skyresh Bolgolam, who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal enemy. But it was carried against him by the whole board, and confirmed by the Emperor. That minister was *galbet*, or admiral of the realm, very much in his master's confidence, and a person well versed in affairs. but of a morose and sour complexion. However, he was at length persuaded to comply; but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These articles were brought

to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries, and several persons of distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the performance of them; first in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their laws, which was to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and thumb on the tip of my right ear. But because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public.

Golbasto Momaren Evlame Gurdilo Shefin Mully Ully Gue, most mighty Emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand *blustrugs* (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the centre, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His most sublime Majesty proposeth to the *man-mountain*, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which by a solemn oath he shall be obliged to perform.

1st, The *man-mountain* shall not depart from our dominions, without our licence under our great seal.

2^d, He shall not presume to come into our metropolis without our express order; at which time the inhabitants shall have two hours warning to keep within doors.

3^d, The said *man-mountain* shall confine his

walks

walks to our principal high-roads, and not offer to walk or lie down in a meadow or field of corn.

4th, As he walks the said roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses, or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands without their own consent.

5th, If an express requires extraordinary dispatch, the *man-mountain* shall be obliged to carry in his pocket the messenger and horse a six days journey once in every moon, and return the said messenger back (if so required) safe to our Imperial presence.

6th, He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island of Blefuscu *, and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.

7th, That the said *man-mountain* shall, at his times of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other our royal buildings.

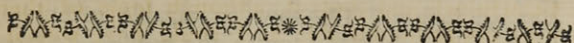
8th, That the said *man-mountain* shall, in two moons time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.

Lastly, That upon his solemn oath to observe all the above articles, the said *man-mountain* shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favour. Given at our palace at Belfaborac, the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign,

* In his description of Lilliput, the author seems to have had England more immediately in view. In his description of Blefuscu he seems to intend the people and kingdom of France. Yet the allegory between these nations is frequently interrupted, and scarce any where complete. Several just strokes of satire are scattered here and there upon errors in the conduct of our government. *Orrery.*

I swore and subscribed to these articles with great cheerfulness and content, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the malice of Skyreth Bolgolam, the high-admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty. The Emperor himself, in person, did me the honour to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by prostrating myself at his Majesty's feet: but he commanded me to rite; and after many gracious expressions, which, to avoid the censure of vanity, I shall not repeat; he added, that he hoped I should prove a useful servant, and well deserve all the favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The reader may please to observe, that, in the lost article for the recovery of my liberty, the Emperor stipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 Lilliputians. Some time after, asking a friend at court, how they came to fix on that determinate number; he told me, that his mathematicians having taken the height of my body by the help of a quadrant, and finding it to exceed theirs in the proportion of twelve to one, they concluded, from the similarity of their bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and consequently would require as much food as was necessary to support that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of that people, as well as the prudent and exact oeconomy of so great a prince.



C H A P. IV.

Mildendo, the metropolis of Lilliput, described. together with the Emperor's palace. A conversation between the author and a principal secretary, concerning the affairs of that empire. The author's offers to serve the Emperor in his wars.

THE first request I made, after I had obtained my liberty, was, that I might have licence to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses. The people had notice by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall, which encompassed it, is two feet and a half high, and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I stept over the great western gate, and passed very gently and sideling, through the two principal streets, only in my short waistcoat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with the utmost circumspection to avoid treading on any stragglers, who might remain in the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses at their own peril. The garret-windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators, that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place. The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred feet long. The two great streets, which run cross and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but
only

only viewed them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thousand souls: the houses are from three to five stories: the shops and markets well provided.

The Emperor's palace is in the centre of the city, where the two great streets meet. It is inclosed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet distance from the buildings. I had his Majesty's permission to step over this wall; and the space being so wide between that and the palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward court is a square of forty feet, and includes two other courts; in the inmost are the royal apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one square into another, were but eighteen inches high, and seven inches wide. Now the buildings of the outer court were at least five feet high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them without infinite damage to the pile, tho' the walls were strongly built of hewn stone, and four inches thick. At the same time the Emperor had a great desire, that I should see the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I spent in cutting down with my knife some of the largest trees in the royal park, about an hundred yards distance from the city. Of these trees I made two stools, each about three feet high, and strong enough to bear my weight. The people having received notice a second time, I went again through the city to the palace, with my two stools in my hands. When I came to the side of the outer court, I stood upon one stool, and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently set it down on the space between the first and the second court, which was eight feet wide. I then stepped over the building very conveniently from one stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked stick.

By

By this contrivance I got into the inmost court; and, lying down upon my side, I applied my face to the windows of the middle stories, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid apartments that can be imagined. There I saw the Empress and the young princes in their several lodgings with their chief attendants about them. Her imperial Majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiss.

But I shall not anticipate the reader with farther descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater work, which is now almost ready for the press, containing a general description of this empire, from its first erection thro' a long series of princes, with a particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning, and religion, their plants and animals, their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful; my chief design at present being only to relate such events and transactions, as happened to the public or to my self, during a residence of about nine months in that empire.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they stile him) for private affairs, came to my house, attended only by one servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hours audience: which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my soliciations at court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty; said, he might pretend to some merit in it: but however added, that, if it had not been for the present situation of things at court, perhaps I might

might not have obtained it so soon. For, said he, as flourishing a condition as we appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils; a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion by a most potent enemy from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that, for above seventy moons past there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of Trameckfan, and Slameckfan †, from the high and low heels of their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alledged indeed, that the high heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use only of low heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's imperial heels are lower at least by a *drurr* than any of his court (*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch.) The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute the Trameckfan, or high-heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial Highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high-heels; at least, we can plainly discover, that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a hoble in his gait. Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his Majesty. For as to what we have heard

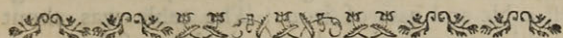
* High-Church and Low-Church, or Whig and Tory. As every accidental difference between man and man, in person and circumstances, is by this work rendered extremely contemptible; so speculative differences are shewn to be equally ridiculous, when the zeal, with which they are opposed and defended, too much exceeds their importance.

you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world, inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain, that an hundred mortals of your bulk, would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his Majesty's dominions: besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions, than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu. Which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six and thirty moons past. It began upon the following occasion: it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present Majesty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers. Whereupon the Emperor, his father, published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account, wherein one Emperor lost his life, and another his crown. These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy; but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the course of these troubles, the Emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, ac-

cusing us of making a schifin in religion, by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blundecral (which is their Alcoran.) This however is thought to be a mere strain upon the text; for the words are these: *That all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end.* And which is the convenient end, seems in my humble opinion to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine. Now, the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the Emperor of Blufuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war hath been carried on between the two empires for six and thirty moons, with various success; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us: and his imperial Majesty, placing great confidence in your valour and strength, hath commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you.

I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the Emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his person and state against all invaders*.

* Gulliver, without examining the subject of dispute, readily engaged to defend the Emperor against invasion, because he knew, that no such monarch had a right to invade the dominions of another, though for the propagation of truth.



C H A P. V.

The author, by an extraordinary stratagem, prevents an invasion. A high title of honour is conferred upon him. Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for peace. The Embress's apartment on fire by an accident; the author instrumental in saving the rest of the palace.

THE empire of Blefuscu is an island, situated to the north-east side of Lilliput, from whence it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the enemy's ships, who had received no intelligence of me, all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our Emperor upon all vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his Majesty a project I had formed of seizing the enemy's whole fleet; which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbour ready to sail with the first fair wind. I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plummed; who told me, that in the middle, at high-water, it was seventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about six feet of European measure; and the rest of it fifty *glumgluffs* at most. I walked to the north-east coast, over against Blefuscu; where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out my small perspective-glass, and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men of war, and a great number of transports: I then came back to my house, and gave orders (for which

I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron. The cable was about as thick as pack thread, and the bars of the length and size of a knitting needle. I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason I twisted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremities into a hook. Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and putting off my coat, shoes, and stockings, walked into the sea in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high-water. I waded with what haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground; I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy was so frightened, when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships and swam to shore, where they could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls: I then took my tackling, and, fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face; and, besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for mine eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little necessaries, a pair of spectacles in a private pocket, which, as I observed before, had escaped the Emperor's searchers. These I took out, and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows, many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect, farther than a little to discompose them. I had now fastened all the hooks, and taking the knot in my hand, began to pull; but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors, so that the boldest part of my enterprise

prise remained. I therefore let go the cord, and leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely cut with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving above two hundred shots in my face and hands; then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with great ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men of war after me.

The Blefusudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run a-drift, or fall foul on each other: but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair, as it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I stopt a while to pick out the arrows that stuck in my hands and face; and rubbed on some of the same ointment that was given me at my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and waiting about an hour, till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The Emperor and his whole court stood on the shore, expecting the issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, because I was under water to my neck. The Emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in an hostile manner: but he was soon eased of his fears, for the channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened, I cried in a loud voice, *Long live the most puissant Emperor of Lilliput!*

Lilliput! this great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created me a *Nardac* upon the spot, which is the highest title of honour among them.

His majesty desired, I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of his enemy's ships into his ports. And so unmeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he seem'd to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of *Blefuscu* into a province, and governing it by a vice-roy; of destroying the *Big-endian* exiles, and compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole world. But I endeavour'd to divert him from this design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice: and I plainly protest'd, that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery. And, when the matter was debated in council, the wisest part of the ministry were of my opinion.

This open bold declaration of mine was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his imperial majesty, that he could never forgive me; he mention'd it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest appear'd, at least by their silence, to be of my opinion; but others, who were my secret enemies, could not forbear some expressions, which by a side-wind reflect'd on me. And from this time began an intrigue between his majesty and a junto of ministers maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions.

About three weeks after this exploit, there arriv'd a solemn embassy from *Blefuscu*, with humble offers of a peace; which was soon concluded up-

on

on conditions very advantageous to our Emperor, wherewith I shall not trouble the reader. There were six ambassadors, with a train of about five hundred persons; and their entry was very magnificent, suitable to the grandeur of their master, and the importance of their business. When their treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good offices by the credit I now had, or at least appeared to have at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their friend, made me a visit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valour and generosity, invited me to that kingdom in the Emperor their master's name, and desired me to shew them some proofs of my prodigious strength, of which they had heard so many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their excellencies to their infinite satisfaction and surprize, I desired they would do me the honour to present my most humble respects to the Emperor their master, the renown of whose virtues had so justly filled the whole world with admiration, and whose royal person I resolved to attend before I returned to my own country: accordingly, the next time I had the honour to see our Emperor, I desired his general licence to wait on the Blefusudian monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could plainly perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not guess the reason, till I had a whisper from a certain person, that Flimnap and Bolgolam had represented my intercourse with those ambassadors as a mark of disaffection, from which I am sure my heart was wholly free. And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts and ministers.

It is to be observed, that these ambassadors spoke to me by an interpreter, the languages of both empires

pires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each nation priding itself upon the antiquity, beauty, and energy of their own tongues, with an avowed contempt for that of their neighbour; yet our Emperor, standing upon the advantage he had got by the seizure of their fleet, obliged them to deliver their credentials, and make their speech in the Lilliputian tongue. And it must be confessed, that from the great intercourse of trade and commerce between both realms, from the continual reception of exiles, which is mutual among them, and from the custom in each empire, to send their young nobility and richer gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves by seeing the world, and understanding men and manners; there are few persons of distinction, or merchants, or seamen, who dwell in the maritime parts, but what can hold conversation in both tongues; as I found some weeks after, when I went to pay my respects to the Emperor of Blefuscu, which in the midst of great misfortunes, through the malice of my enemies, proved a very happy adventure to me, as I shall relate in its proper place.

The reader may remember, that when I signed those articles upon which I recovered my liberty, there were some which I disliked, upon account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a Nardac of the highest rank in that empire, such offices were looked upon as below my dignity, and the Emperor (to do him justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing his majesty, at least as I then thought, a most signal service. I was alarmed at midnight with the cries of many hundred people at my door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of terror. I heard the word *Burglum* repeated incessantly: several of the Emperor's court, making their way
through

through the croud, intreated me to come immediately to the palace, where her imperial majesty's apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a maid of honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a romance. I got up in an instant; and orders being given to clear the way before me, and it being likewise a moonshine night, I made a shift to get to the palace without trampling on any of the people. I found they had already applied ladders to the walls of the apartment, and were well provided with buckets, but the water was at some distance. These buckets were about the size of a large thimble, and the poor people supplied me with them as fast as they could: but the flame was so violent, that they did little good. I might easily have stifled it with my coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my leathern jerkin. The case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable, and this magnificent palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a presence of mind unusual to me, I had not thought of an expedient. I had, the evening before, drank plentifully of a most delicious wine, called Glimigrim, (the Blefuscudians call it Flonec, but ours is esteemed the better sort), which is very diuretic. By the luckiest chance in the world I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine; which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble pile, which had cost so many ages in erecting, preserved from destruction.

It was now day-light, and I returned to my house without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor: because, although I had done a very eminent piece of service, yet I could not tell how his

Majesty might resent the manner, by which I had performed it: for, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it is capital in any person, of what quality soever, to make water within the precincts of the palace. But I was a little comforted by a message from his Majesty, that he would give orders to the grand justiciary for passing my pardon in form; which however I could not obtain. And I was privately assured, that the Empress, conceiving the greatest abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the court, firmly resolved that those buildings should never be repaired for her use; and, in the presence of her chief confidants, could not forbear vowing revenge.



CHAP. VI.

Of the inhabitants of Lilliput; their learning, laws, and customs; the manner of educating their children. The author's way of living in that country. His vindication of a great lady.

ALTHOUGH I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet in the mean time I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas. As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees: for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and half, more or less; the geese about the bigness of a sparrow, and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which to my sight were almost invisible; but nature hath adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view:

view : they see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And, to shew the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with observing a cook pulling a lark, which was not so large as a common fly ; and a young girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk. Their tallest trees are about seven feet high : I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clenched. The other vegetables are in the same proportion ; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which for many ages hath flourished in all its branches among them : but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Europeans ; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians ; nor from up to down, like the Chinese ; but assant from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.

They bury their dead with their heads directly downwards, because they hold an opinion, that in eleven thousand moons they are all to rise again, in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall, at their resurrection, be found ready standing on their feet *. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine, but the

* Here the author dares even to exert his vein of humour so liberally, as to place the resurrection, one of the most encouraging principles of the Christian religion, in a ridiculous and contemptible light. Why should that appointment be denied to man or appear so very extraordinary in the human kind, which the Author of nature has illustrated in the vegetable species, where the seed dies and corrupts, before it can rise again to new beauty and glory? *Errata.*

practice still continues in compliance to the vulgar †.

There are some laws and customs in this empire very peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but if the person accused maketh his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death; and out of his goods or lands, the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he hath been in at making his defence. Or if that fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The Emperor also confers on him some public mark of his favour, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with

† This paragraph, if it were examined with judgement and candour, would incline us to believe, that an opinion of a life to come is connected so immediately with all our reasoning faculties, that, supposing we had never been blessed with any revelation from God, we should believe the resurrection to life eternal. The Lilliputians believe, that, after eleven thousand moons, the earth will be turned upside down; and upon that account they are buried with their heads directly downward, in order to be found standing upon their feet at the day of resurrection: An opinion, which I confess, with the learned among themselves, to be whimsical and ridiculous enough. But follies and absurdities are always mixed with idolatry and superstition. The Lilliputians were rank idolaters; otherwise how could they imagine Gulliver's watch to be the god that he worshipped? And therefore I cannot but infer, that instead of placing the resurrection in a ridiculous contemptible light, Gulliver hath fairly manifested the opinion of a state hereafter (although connected with some vanities and absurdities, which are the effects of superstition) to be the ground-work of all religion, founded upon the clear and strong dictates, both of nature and reason. *Swift.*

death;

deah; for they alledge, that care and vigilance, with a very common understanding, may preserve a man's goods from thieves, but honesty has no fence against superior cunning; and since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon credit; where fraud is permitted and connived at, or hath no law to punish it, the honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage. I remember, when I was once interceding with the king for a criminal, who had wronged his master of a great sum of money, which he had received by order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his Majesty, by way of extenuation, that it was only a breach of trust; the Emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer as a defence, the greatest aggravation of the crime: and truly I had little to say in return, further than the common answer, that different nations had different customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed*.

Although we usually call reward and punishment the two hinges, upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation, except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof, that he hath strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, hath a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality and condition of life, with a proportionable sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use: he likewise acquires the title of *snillpall*, or *legal*, which is added to his name, but doth not descend to his posterity. And these people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us, when I told them, that our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account, that the image of justice in their courts of judicature is formed with

* An act of parliament hath been since passed, by which some breaches of trust have been made capital.

fix eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify circumspection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a sword sheathed in her left, to shew she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In choosing persons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities; for, since government is necessary to mankind, they believe that the common size of human understandings is fitted to some station or other, and that providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery, to be comprehended only by a few persons of sublime genius, of which there seldom are three born in an age; but they suppose truth, justice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power, the practice of which virtues, assisted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the service his country, except where a course of study is required. But they thought the want of moral virtues were so far from being supplied by superior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into such dangerous hands as those of persons so qualified; and at least, that the mistakes committed by ignorance in a virtuous disposition, would never be of such fatal consequence to the public weal, as the practices of a man whose inclinations led him to be corrupt, and who had great abilities to manage, to multiply, and defend his corruptions.

In like manner, the disbelief of a divine providence renders a man incapable of holding any public station; for, since kings avow themselves to be the deputies of providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd, than for a prince to employ such men as disown the authority under which he acteth.

In relating these and the following laws, I would only be understood to mean the original institutions,

tions, and not the most scandalous corruptions, into which these people are fallen, by the degenerate nature of man. For as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on the ropes, or badges of favour and distinction by leaping over sticks, and creeping under them, the reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the grandfather of the Emperor, now reigning, and grew to the present height by the gradual increase of party and faction.

Ingratitude is among them a capital crime, as we read it to have been in some other countries; for they reason thus, that whoever makes ill returns to his benefactor, must needs be a common enemy to the rest of mankind, from whom he hath received no obligation, and therefore such a man is not fit to live.

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children, differ extremely from ours. For, since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence; and that their tenderness towards their young, proceeds from the like natural principle: for which reason they will never allow, that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting him, or to his mother for bringing him into the world, which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts in their love-encounters were otherwise employed. Upon these, and the like reasonings, their opinion is, that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children: and therefore they have in every town public nurseries, where all parents, except cottagers and labourers, are obliged to send their infants of both sexes to be reared and educated when they
come

come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are supposed to have some rudiments of docility. These schools are of several kinds, suited to different qualities, and to both sexes. They have certain professors well skilled in preparing children for such a condition of life as befits the rank of their parents, and their own capacities as well as inclinations. I shall first say something of the male nurseries, and then of the female.

The nurseries for males of noble or eminent birth, are provided with grave and learned professors, and their several deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the principles of honour, justice, courage, modesty, clemency, religion, and love of their country; they are always employed in some business, except in the times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two hours for diversions, consisting of bodily exercises. They are dressed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their quality be ever so great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial offices. They are never suffered to converse with servants, but go together in smaller or greater numbers to take their diversions, and always in the presence of a professor, or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad impressions of folly and vice, to which our children are subject. Their parents are suffered to see them only twice a year; the visit is to last but an hour; they are allowed to kiss the child at meeting and parting: but a professor, who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling expressions, or bring any presents of toys, sweetmeats, and the like.

The pension from each family for the education and entertainment of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the Emperor's officers.

The

The nurseries for children of ordinary gentlemen, merchants, traders, and handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same manner; only those designed for trades are put out apprentices at eleven years old, whereas those of persons of quality continue their exercises till fifteen, which answers to twenty-one with us: but the confinement is gradually lessened for the last three years.

In the female nurseries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dressed by orderly servants of their own sex; but always in the presence of a professor or deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five years old. And if it be found, that these nurses ever presume to entertain the girls with frightful or foolish stories, or the common follies practised by chamber-maids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the city, imprisoned for a year, and banished for life to the most desolate part of the country. Thus the young ladies there are as much ashamed of being cowards and fools, as the men, and despise all personal ornaments beyond decency and cleanliness: neither did I perceive any difference in their education, made by their difference of sex, only that the exercises of the females were not altogether so robust; and that some rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller compass of learning was enjoined them: for their maxim is, that among people of quality, a wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable companion, because she cannot always be young. When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home with great expressions of gratitude to the professors, and seldom without tears of the young lady and her companions.

In the nurseries of females of the meaner sort, the children are instructed in all kinds of works proper for their sex, and their several degrees; those in-

tended for apprentices are dismissed at seven years old, the rest are kept to eleven.

The meaner families, who have children at these nurseries, are obliged, besides their annual pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the steward of the nursery, a small monthly share of their gettings, to be a portion for the child; and therefore all parents are limited in their expences by the law. For the Lilliputians think nothing can be more unjust, than for people, in subservience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of supporting them on the public. As to persons of quality, they give security to appropriate a certain sum for each child, suitable to their condition; and these funds are always managed with good husbandry, and the most exact justice.

The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their education is of little consequence to the public; but the old and diseased among them are supported by hospitals; for begging is a trade unknown in this empire.

And here it may perhaps divert the curious reader to give some account of my domestics, and my manner of living in this country, during the residence of nine months and thirteen days. Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a table and chair, convenient enough, out of the largest trees in the royal park. Two hundred sempstresses were employed to make me shirts, and linen for my bed and table, all of the strongest and coarsest kinds they could get; which however they were forced to quilt together in several folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is usually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The sempstresses took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck
and

and another at my mid-leg, with a strong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a third measured the length of the cord with a rule of an inch long. Then they measured my thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and waist, and by the help of my old shirt, which I displayed on the ground before them for a pattern, they fitted me exactly. Three hundred taylors were employed in the same manner to make my clothes; but they had another contrivance for taking my measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a ladder from the ground to my neck; upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plum-line from my collar to the floor, which just answered the length of my coat; but my waist and arms I measured myself. When my clothes were finished, which was done in my house (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them) they looked like the patch-work made by the ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour.

I had three hundred cooks to dress my victuals in little convenient huts built about my house, where they and their families lived and prepared me two dishes apiece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table; an hundred more attended below on the ground, some with dishes of meat, and some with barrels of wine, and other liquors, slung on their shoulders; all which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner by certain cords, as we draw the bucket up a well, in Europe. A dish of their meat was a good mouthful, and a barrel of their liquor a reasonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a sirloin so large, that I have been forced to make three bits of it; but this is rare. My servants were astonished to see me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we

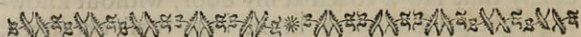
do the leg of a lark. Their geese and turkies I usually eat at a mouthful, and I must confess, they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his Imperial Majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness (as he was pleased to call it) of dining with me. They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord high treasurer, attended there likewise with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but eat more than usual, in honour to my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe, that this visit from his Majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master. That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he outwardly caressed more than was usual to the moroseness of his nature. He represented to the Emperor the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine *per cent.* below par; that I had cost his Majesty above a million and a half of sprugs (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle) and upon the whole, that it would be adviseable in the Emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me.

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer upon my account. The treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his wife, from the malice of some evil tongues, who informed him that her grace had taken a violent affection for my person; and the court-scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my lodging. This I solemnly declare

to be a most infamous falsehood, without any grounds, further than that her grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendship. I own she came often to my house, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were usually her sister and young daughter, and some particular acquaintance; but this was common to many other ladies of the court. And I appeal to my servants round, whether they at any time saw a coach at my door, without knowing what persons were in it. On these occasions, when a servant had given me notice, my custom was to go immediately to the door; and, after paying my respects, to take up the coach and two horses very carefully in my hands (for, if there were six horses, the postilion always unharnessed four) and placed them on a table, where I had fixed a moveable rim, quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents. And I had often four coaches and horses at on my table, full of company, while I sat in my chair, leaning my face towards them; and, when I was engaged with one set, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table. I have passed many an afternoon very agreeably in these conversations. But I defy the treasurer, or his two informers, (I will name them, and let them make their best of it) Custril and Drunlo, to prove that any person ever came to me *incognito*, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his imperial Majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this particular, if it had not been a point wherein the reputation of a great lady is so nearly concerned, to say nothing of my own, though I then had the honour to be a *Nardac*, which the treasurer himself is not; for all the world knows, that he is only a *Glumglum*, a title inferior by one degree, as that of a Marquis is to a Duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his post. These false informations,

tions, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an accident not proper to mention, made the treasurer shew his lady for some time an ill countenance, and me a worse; and although he was at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all credit with him, and found my interest decline very fast with the Emperor himself, who was indeed too much governed by that favourite:



C H A P. VII.

The author, being informed of a design to accuse him of high-treason, maketh his escape to Blefuscu. His reception there.

BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this kingdom, it may be proper to inform the reader of a private intrigue, which had been for two months forming against me,

I had been hitherto all my life a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe.

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the Emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable at a time, when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial Majesty) came to my house very privately at night in a close chair, and, without sending his name, desired admittance: the chairmen were dismissed: I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat-pocket; and, giving orders to a
trusty

trusty servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sat down by it. After the common salutations were over, observing his Lordship's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reason, he desired I would hear him with patience in a matter, that highly concerned my honour and my life. His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me.

You are to know, said he, that several committees of council have been lately called in the most private manner on your account; and it is but two days since his Majesty came to a full resolution.

You are very sensible, that Skyrish Bolgolan (*galbet*, or high-admiral) hath been your mortal enemy almost ever since your arrival: his original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory, as admiral, is much obscured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap, the high-treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious on account of his lady. Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you for treason, and other capital crimes.

This preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt; when he intreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded.

Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; wherein I venture my head for your service.

Articles of impeachment against Quinbus Flestrin, the man-mountain.

A R T I C L E I.

Whereas, by a statute made in the reign of his imperial Majesty Calen Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that whoever shall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, shall be liable to the pains and penalties of high-treason: notwithstanding the said Quinbus Flestrin, in open breach of the said law, under colour of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of his Majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traiterously, and devilishly, by discharge of his urine, put out the said fire kindled in the said apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace, against the statute in that case provided, &c. against the duty, &c.

A R T I C L E II.

That the said Quinbus Flestrin having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial Majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy and put to death, not only all the Big-endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire, who would not immediately forsake the Big-endian heresy; he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene, imperial Majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people*.

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* A lawyer thinks himself honest if he does the best he can for his

A R T I C L E III.

That, whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu to sue for peace in his Majesty's court, he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants to a prince, who was lately an open enemy to his imperial Majesty, and in open war against his said Majesty.

A R T I C L E IV.

That the said Quinbus Flestrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful subject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuscu, for which he hath received only verbal licence from his imperial Majesty; and under colour of the said licence, doth falsely and traiterously intend to take the said voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet, the Emperor of Blefuscu, so late an enemy and in open war with his imperial Majesty aforesaid.

There are some other articles, but these are the most important, of which I have read you an abstract.

In the several debates upon this impeachment it must be confessed, that his Majesty gave many marks of his great lenity, often urging the services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your crimes. The treasurer and admiral insisted, that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious peath, by setting fire on your house at night, and the general was to attend with twenty thousand

his client; and a statesman, if he promotes the interest of his country: but the Dean here inculcates an higher notion of right and wrong, and obligations to a larger community.

men armed with poisoned arrows, to shoot you on the face and hands. Some of your servants were to have private orders to strew a poisonous juice on your shirts and sheets, which would soon make you tear your own flesh, and die in the utmost torture. The general came into the same opinion; so that for a long time there was a majority against you: but his Majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your life, at last brought off the chamberlain.

Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the Emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his Majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world, that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial: however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his Majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life, and only give orders to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived, that by this expedient justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the Emperor; as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his Majesty: that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes was the greatest difficulty you had in bringing over the enemies fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see
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by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.

This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam the admiral could not preserve his temper; but rising up in fury said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor: that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes; that you, who was able to extinguish the fire by discharge of urine in her Majesty's apartment, (which he mentioned with horror), might, at another time, raise an inundation by the same means to drown the whole palace; and the same strength which enabled you to bring over the enemies fleet, might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back: that he had good reasons to think you were a Big-endian in your heart; and as treason begins in the heart, before it appears in overt-acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

The treasurer was of the same opinion: he shewed to what straits his Majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable: that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes was so far from being a remedy against this evil, that it would probably increase it, as is manifest from the common practice of blinding some kind of fowl, after which they fed the faster, and grew sooner fat: that his sacred Majesty and the council, who are your judges, were in their own consciences fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law *.

But

* There is something so odious in whatever is wrong, that even those whom it does not subject to punishment, endeavour to colour it with

But his imperial Majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter. And your friend, the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected concerning the great charge his Majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his Excellency, who had the sole disposal of the Emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil, by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months; neither would the stench of your carcase be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your death, five or six thousand of his Majesty's subjects might in two or three days cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cart-loads, and bury it in distant parts to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity.

Thus, by the great friendship of the secretary, the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret, but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none dissenting except Bolgolam the admiral, who, being a creature of the Empress, was perpetually instigated by her Majesty to insist upon your death, she having borne perpetual malice against you on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguish the fire in her apartment.

with an appearance of right; but the attempt is always unsuccessful, and only betrays a consciousness of deformity, by shewing a desire to hide it. Thus the Lilliputian court pretended a right to dispense with the strict letter of the law to put Gulliver to death, though by the strict letter of the law only he could be convicted of a crime; the intention of the statute not being to suffer the palace rather to be burnt, than pished upon.

In

In three days, your friend the secretary will be directed to come to your house, and read before you the articles of impeachment; and then to signify the great lenity and favour of his Majesty and council, whereby you are only condemned to the loss of your eyes, which his Majesty doth not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and twenty of his Majesty's surgeons will attend, in order to see the operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the ground.

I leave to your prudence what measures you will take; and, to avoid suspicion, I must immediately return, in as private a manner as I came.

His Lordship did so, and I remained alone under many doubts and perplexities of mind.

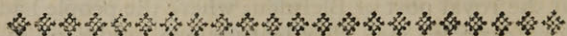
It was a custom, introduced by this prince and his ministry, (very different, as I have been assured, from the practices of former times), that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the malice of a favourite, the Emperor always made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qualities known and confessed by all the world. This speech was immediately published through the kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the people so much as those encomiums on his Majesty's mercy; because it was observed, that, the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent. Yet, as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a courtier, either by my birth or education, I was so ill a judge of things, that I could not discover the lenity and favour of this sentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my trial; for although I could not deny the facts alledged in the several articles, yet I hoped they would admit
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of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state-trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies. Once I was strongly bent upon resistance, for, while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by remembering the oath I had made to the Emperor, the favours I received from him, and the high title of Nardac he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself, that his Majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.

At last I fixed upon a resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some censure, and not unjustly: for, I confess, I owe the preserving mine eyes, and consequently my liberty, to my own great rashness, and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts, and their methods of treating criminals, less obnoxious than myself, I should with great alacrity and readiness have submitted to so easy a punishment. But, hurried on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his Imperial Majesty's licence to pay my attendance upon the Emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got; and, without waiting for an answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay. I seized a large man of war, tied a cable to the prow, and, lifting up the anchors, I stript myself, put my cloaths (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and drawing

it after me, between wading and swimming arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me; they lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name. I held them in my hands, till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know I there waited his Majesty's command. I had an answer in about an hour, that his Majesty, attended by the royal family and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me. I advanced a hundred yards. The Emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the Empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his Majesty's and the Empress's hand. I told his Majesty that I was come, according to my promise, and with the licence of the Emperor my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince; not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive, that the Emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power; wherein however it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapt up in my coverlet.



C H A P. VIII.

The author, by a lucky accident, finds means to leave Blefuscu; and, after some difficulties, returns safe to his native country.

THREE days after my arrival, walking out of curiosity to the north-east coast of the island, I observed about half a league off, in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and, wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might, by some tempest, have been driven from a ship: whereupon I returned immediately towards the city, and desired his Imperial Majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left, after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen, under the command of his vice-admiral. This fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered the boat; I found the tide had driven it still nearer. The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stript myself, and waded till I came within an hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the fore-part of the boat, and the other end to a man of war: but I found all my labour to little purpose; for, being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity, I was forced to swim behind, and push the boat forwards as often as I could, with one of my hands; and, the
tide

thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself in the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs. Neither did I find the Emperor at all displeas'd; and I discovered by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.

These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen fold of their strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty of the thickest and strongest of theirs. A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search, served me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows for greasing my boat, and other uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest timber-trees for oars and masts, wherein I was however much assisted by his Majesty's ship-carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them after I had done the rough work.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his Majesty's commands, and to take my leave. The Emperor and royal family came out of the palace; I lay down on my face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the Empress, and young princes of the blood. His Majesty presented me with 50 purses of two hundred *sprugs* a-piece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I stored the boat with the carcases of an hundred oxen, and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready dressed,

dress'd, as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed. And to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay, and a bag of corn. I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the Emperor would by no means permit; and, besides a diligent search into my pockets, his Majesty engag'd my honour not to carry away any of his subjects, although with their own consent and desire.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the 24th day of September 1701, at six in the morning; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at south-east, at six in the evening I descried a small island about half a mile to the north-west. I advanced forward, and cast anchor on the lee-side of the island, which seem'd to be uninhabited, I then took some refreshment, and went to my rest. I slept well, and as I conjecture, at least six hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awaked. It was a clear night. I eat my breakfast before the sun was up; and heaving anchor, the wind being favourable, I steered the same course that I had done the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket-compass. My intention was to reach, if possible, one of those islands which I had reason to believe lay to the north-east of Van Diemen's land. I discovered nothing all that day; but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had, by my computation, made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the south-east; my course was due east. I hailed her, but could get no answer; yet I found I gain'd upon her, for the wind slack'd. I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spied me, then hung out her antient, and discharged a gun. It is
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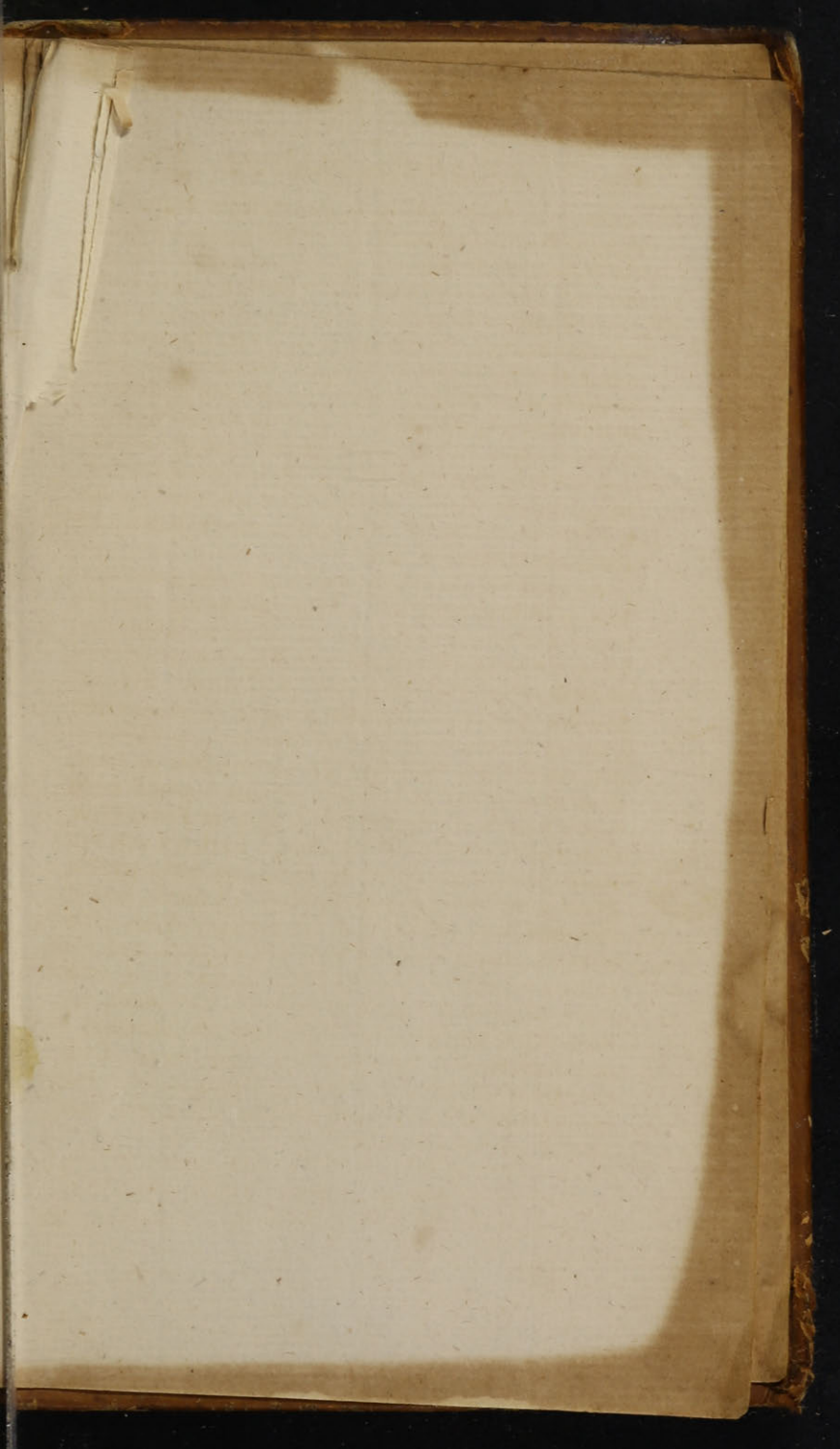
not easy to express the joy I was in upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country, and the dear pledges I left in it. The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, Septembr 26; but my heart leapt within me to see her English colours. I put my cows and sheep into my coat pockets, and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions. The vessel was an English merchant-man returning from Japan, by the North and South-seas; the captain Mr. John Biddel of Deptford, a very civil man, and an excellent sailer. We were now in the latitude of 30 degrees south, there were about fifty men in the ship; and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentleman treated me with kindness, and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had underwent had disturbed my head; whereupon I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket, which, after great astonishment, clearly convinced him of my veracity. I then shewed him the gold given me by the Emperor of Blefuscu, together with his Majesty's picture at full length, and some other rarities of that country. I gave him two purses of two hundred *sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in England, to make him a present of a cow and a sheep big with young.

I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part. We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April 1702. I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my sheep; I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the flesh. The rest of my cattle I got safe ashore, and set them a grazing in a bowling-green at Greenwich, where the fineness of the grass

made

made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary: neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me some of his best biscuit, which, rubbed to powder, and mingled with water, was their constant food. The short time I continued in England, I made a considerable profit by shewing my cattle to many persons of quality, and others; and before I began my second voyage, I sold them for six hundred pounds. Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineness of the fleeces.

I stayed but two months with my wife and family: for my insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good house at Redriff. My remaining stock I carried with me, part in money and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortune. My eldest uncle John had left me an estate in land, near Epping, of about thirty pounds a-year: and I had a long lease of the Black-bull in Fetter-lane, which yielded me as much more: so that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the parish. My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the grammar-school, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty, (who is now well married, and has children) was then at her needle-work. I took leave of my wife, and boy and girl, with tears on both sides, and went on board the Adventure, a merchant-ship of 300 tons, bound for Surat, Captain John Nicholas of Liverpool commander. But my account of this voyage must be referred to the second part of my travels.



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