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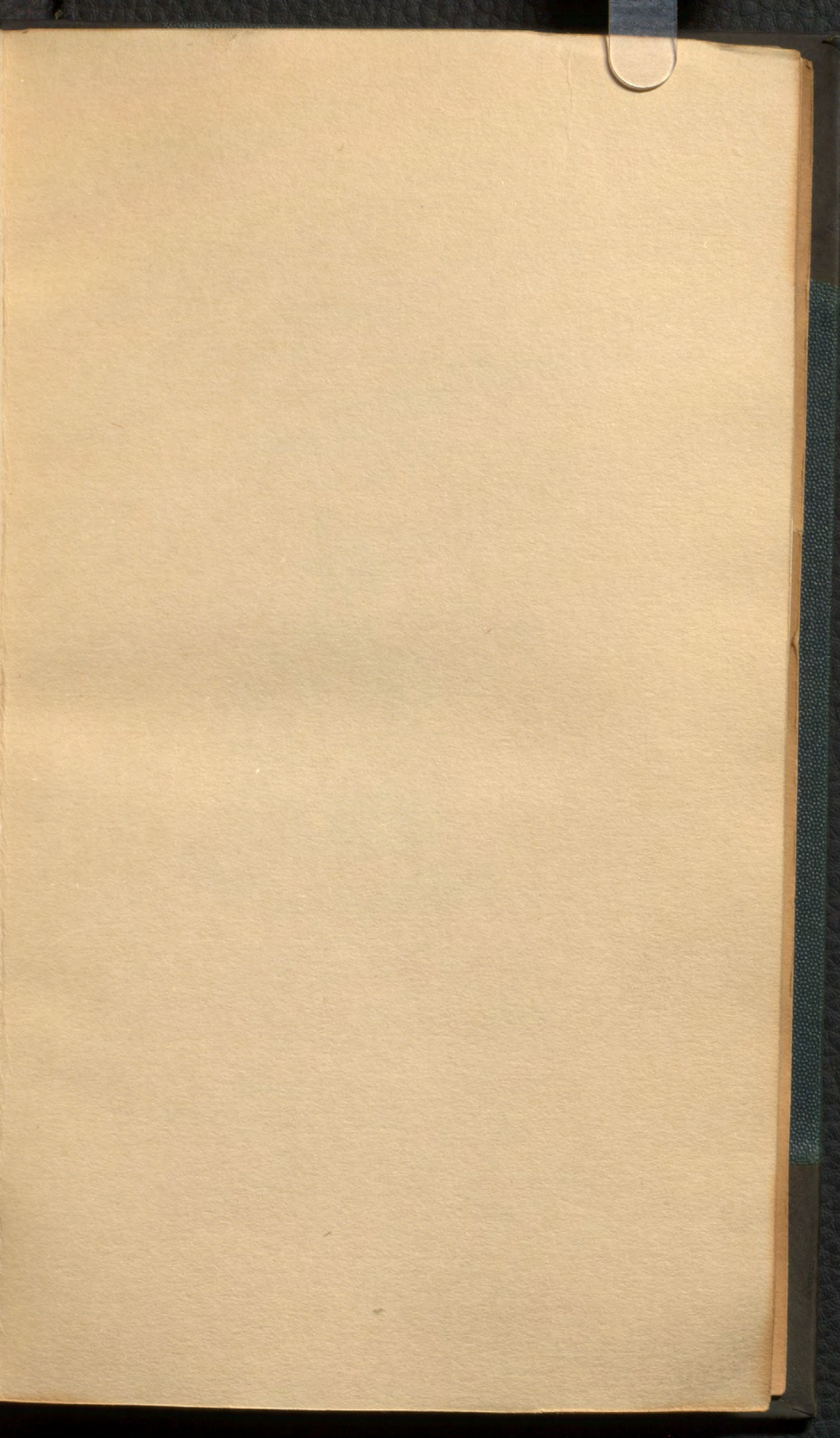
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Historical Tracts

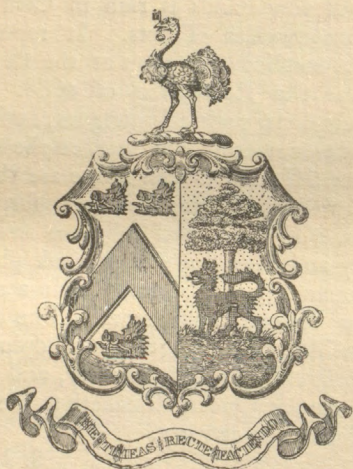
1561-1800

COLLECTED AND ANNOTATED BY

STUART J. REID

Volume CCCLXIII.

1727 (1)



THE GIFT OF MRS PETER REDPATH TO THE REDPATH
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M C M I

THE basis of the present collection of Historical Tracts was a group of State pamphlets in forty volumes, gathered by Sir John Bramston, M.P. (1611-1700), Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons in the early years of Charles II.'s reign. The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston was printed by the Camden Society in 1845. The collection as it now stands is rich in Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts. It represents vividly the conflict of opinion at the Restoration and at the Revolution of 1688. The military conflicts, political intrigues, and theological controversies which marked the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne are thrown into relief by many rare and forgotten brochures. The civil and religious struggles for liberty and toleration which took place in the Georgian Era are reflected as in a mirror by many curious manifestoes. The whole collection illustrates the growth of opinion in matters religious, political, literary, and social, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the dawn of the nineteenth century.

S. J. R.

East Grinstead, Sussex.

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REIGN OF GEORGE II

(1727-1760)

VOLUME CCCLXIII

1727 (1)

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2. Reasons against a War. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament. By an Old Whig.

3. A Defence of an Essay on the Publick Debts of this Kingdom, &c. In answer to a Pamphlet, entitled, A State of the National Debt &c. By the Author of the Essay.

4. A Letter to the People of England occasion'd by the Falling away of the Clergy from the Doctrines of the Reformation.

[c. 1727.]

5. An Answer to Mr Mist's Journal of

the 28 of Jany. No. 93. In a Letter to the Author.

The 'Weekly Journal' or 'Saturday's Post' was a Tory organ published by Nicholas Mist, in which Defoe, though a Whig, wrote for a time anonymously with Lord Sunderland's approbation.

6. An Essay upon the Civil Wars of France, and also upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations. By Voltaire.

François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778). French poet, historian, and philosopher. One of the great masters of French literature, and perhaps the most brilliant iconoclast of the eighteenth century, in whom the revolutionary aspirations of that age found their foremost and most fearless exponent. Great force of character, wide range of ability and knowledge, immense powers of work and a terrible gift of sarcasm, were united in him with a spirit of revolt and a moral courage which served him well in attack. His works fill seventy volumes, and his career was as full of dramatic incidents as his character was full of surprises.

7. Lettre Du P. Le Courayer Chanoine Regulier et Bibliothecaire De Ste. Geneviève De Paris à Mylord Percival. Au sujet de la nouvelle accusation de faux . . .

An Exact and Correct

L I S T

OF THE 363

Lords Spiritual and Temporal,

As Likewise

Of the Knights and Commissioners of
Shires, Citizens, and Burgeses, chose to
serve in the ensuing Parliament.

Being The First Parliament of his Majesty
KING GEORGE II. and the Seventh of
Great Britain since the *Union*.

Wherein every Member is justly and properly
describ'd by his Title, Honour, Dignity, or
Publick Employment, &c.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Pote at the Golden Door over-against
Suffolk-Street, and N. Blandford at the *London-Gazette*,
near *Charing-Cross* ; Sold also by J. Roberts in *War-*
wick-Lane, W. Meadows at the *Royal-Exchange*, and
A. Dodd without *Temple-Bar*. 1727. [Pr. 14.]

An Act and Covenant

DECLARATION

OF THE

Lords Spiritual and Temporal

As they are

Of the Rights and Liberties of the Church
and King's Majesty and their Heirs
and Successors in the Kingdom of Great Britain

Being the First Parliament of his Majesty
James the First in the seventh
Year of his Majesty's said Majesty's

Whom every Man is bound to obey
as his lawful King
In the first Parliament of his Majesty's said Majesty's

LONDON

Printed for I. Baskin at the Sign of the
Three Kings in St. Dunstons Church
Lane near St. Dunstons Church
in the City of London
1603

An Exact

L I S T

OF THE

LORDS Spiritual and Temporal.

Note, Those mark'd thus ☼ are the present Knights of the Garter; and those with the Asterisk * are under Age.

☼ * **H**IS Royal Highness Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, and of Brunswick Lunenburg, Duke of Edinburg, Marquis of the Isle of Ely, Earl of Eltham in the County of Kent, Viscount of Launceston in the County of Cornwall, and Baron of Snaudon in the County of Caernarvon, eldest Son of his most sacred Majesty King George II.

* His Royal Highness William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, Marquis of Berkhamstead in the County of Stafford, Earl of Kenington in Surrey, Viscount of Trematon in the County of Cornwall, Baron of the Isle of Alderney, and Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, second Son to his most sacred Majesty.

☼ His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus, (Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburg, Bishop of Osnaburgh) Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster in Ireland.

Peter King, Lord King, Baron of Ockham, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, one of the Governors of the Charter-House. P. C.

☼ William Cavendish, Duke and Earl of Devonshire, Marquis of Hartington, and Baron Cavendish of Hardwick, Lord President of the Council, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Derby. P. C.

Thomas Trevor, Lord Trevor of Bromham, Lord Privy-Seal. P. C.

- ☼ Lionel Cranfield Sackville, *Duke of Dorset, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Viscount Wilton, Baron Buckhurst, and Baron Cranfield of Cranfield, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover-Castle, and Lord High Steward of Stratford upon Avon.* P. C.
- ☼ Charles Fitz Roy, *Duke of Grafton, Earl of Arlington and Euston, Viscount Thetford and Ipswich, and Baron of Sudbury, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, Ranger of Whittlewood Forest in the County of Northampton, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Suffolk.* P. C.

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- † Thomas Howard, *Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, Norfolk, and Norwich, and Baron Howard Mowbray, Segrave, Brewse of Gower, Fitz Allen, Warren, Clun, Oswalstree, Maltravers, Graystock, Ferdon, Lovetot, Strange of Blackmere, and Howard of Castlerising; Earl Marshal, and Hereditary Marshal of England.*
- ☼ Charles Seymour, *Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount and Baron Beauchamp of Hache, Baron of Sudley, and Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, and Lord of the Honour of Cockermouth and Petworth, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and one of the Governors of the Charter-House.* P. C.
- ☼ Charles Fitz Roy, *Duke of Cleveland and Southampton, Earl of Chichester and Southampton; and Baron of Newbury and Nonfuch.*
- ☼ Charles Lenox, *Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Earl of March and Darnley; Baron of Setrington and Methuen, Aid de Camp to his Majesty, and Captain in the Royal Regiment of Horse-Guards Blue.*
- * Henry Somerset, *Duke of Beaufort, Marquis and Earl of Worcester, Earl of Glamorgan, Viscount Gresmont, and Baron Herbert of Ragland Chepstow and Gower, and Baron Beaufort of Caldecot Castle.*
- Charles Beauclair, *Duke of St. Albans, Earl of Burford, and Baron of Heddington, Knight of the Bath, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Bucks, and Register of the High Court of Chancery, Master of the Horse to the Queen.*
- ☼ Charles Powlett, *Duke of Bolton, Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, and Baron St. John of Basing, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse-Guards Blue, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Southampton; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Dorset, Custos Rotulorum of the County of Carmarthen, Bailiff of Burley, Warden and Keeper of the New Forest in the County of Southampton;*

ton; Governor of Milford in the County [of] Pembroke, and Governor of the Isle of Wight, and Vice Admiral of South Wales, County of Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, and Lord High Steward of the City of Winchester. P. C.

Peregrine Osborne, Duke of Leeds, Marquis of Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, Viscount Latimer and Dumblaine, Baron Osborne of Kiveton, and Baronet.

* Wriothesly Ruffel, Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Baron Ruffel of Thornhaugh, and Baron Howland of Stretham.

* Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, and also Duke and Marquis of Normandy, Earl of Mulgrave, and Baron of Butterwick.

☉ John Manners, Duke and Earl of Rutland, Marquis of Granby, Baron Roos of Hamlake, Trusbul, and Belvoir, and Baron Manners of Haddon, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Leicester. P. C.

John Montagu, Duke and Earl of Montagu, Marquis and Viscount of Mounthermer, and Baron Montagu of Boughton, Great Master of the Order of the Bath, Master of the Great Wardrobe, Master Forester to his Majesty, Warden of Rockingham Bailiwick and of Goddington Woods in the Forest of Rockingham in the County of Northampton, and Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Northampton and Warwick. P. C.

§ James Graham, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Montrose, Marquis of Graham, and Lord of Eskfdale, Dundaff and Kincairn, Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. P. C.

Charles Douglas, Duke of Dover and Duke of Queensbury, Marquis of Beverly, and Baron of Rippon, Lord Admiral of Scotland. P. C.

☉ Henry de Grey, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Kent, Earl of Harold, Viscount Goodrick of Goodrick Castle, Baron Hastings and Baron Lucas of Crudewell, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Bedford. P. C.

James Hamilton, Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Aran, Lanerck and Cambridge, Lord of Avon, Poimont, Markinshire, Innerisdale, and Baron Dutton, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle.

Robert Bertie, Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, Marquis and Earl of Lindsey, and Baron Willoughby of Eresby, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, Keeper of Waltham Forest, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lincoln. P. C.

• Evelyn Pierpoint, Duke and Earl of Kingston, Marquis of Dorchester, Viscount Newark, and Baron Pierpoint of Holme-Pierpoint.

- ☼ Thomas Holles Pelham, *Duke of Newcastle, Marquis and Earl of Clare, Viscount and Baron Pelham of Laughton and Bar, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Middlesex, Westminster, and Nottingham, Keeper of his Majesty's Forest of Sherwood, and Park of Tolewood, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and one of the Governors of the Charter House.* P. C.
- * William Bentinck, *Duke and Earl of Portland, Marquis of Titchfield, Viscount Woodstock, and Baron of Cirencester.*
- † Philip Wharton, *Duke, Marquis and Earl of Wharton, Marquis of Malmsbury, Viscount Winchendon, Baron Wharton, and Lord of Heleigh, also Marquis of Catherlough, Earl of Rathfernham, and Baron of Trim in Ireland, extra Regnum.*
- William Montague, *Duke and Earl of Manchester, Viscount Mandeville, and Baron Montague of Kimbolton, Knight of the Bath, Collector of the Customs outward in the Port of London, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Huntingdon.*
- James Brydges, *Duke of Chandos, Marquis and Earl of Carnarvon, Baron Chandos of Sudley, and Baronet, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews in North Britain, one of the Governors of the Charter House, and Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Hereford and Radnor.* P. C.
- ☼ John Campbel, *Duke and Earl of Greenwich, Baron Chatham, and Duke of Argyll, Master General of the Ordnance, Colonel of her Majesty's own Regiment of Horse, Lord High Steward of the Borough of Malmsbury in Wiltshire, Hereditary Lord Lieutenant of the Shires of Argyll and Dumbarton.* P. C.
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M A R Q U I S S E S 2.

- † William Herbert, *Marquis and Earl of Powis, Viscount Montgomery, Baron Powis of Powis, and Bart.*
- § John Hay, *Marquis and Earl of Twedale, Viscount Peebles, Lord Lockerrit and Yester, and Bailiff of Dumfermling.*

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- † George Talbot, *Earl of Shrewsbury, and Baron Furnival, also Earl of Waterford and Wexford in Ireland.*
- James Stanley, *Earl of Derby, Baron Stanley, Strange of Knockyn and Mohun, Lord of Man, and the Isles, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lancaster.* P. C.

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- William Fielding, *Earl of Denbigh, Viscount and Baron Fielding of Newnham Padox, and Lord St. Liz, also Earl of Desmond, Viscount Callen, and Baron of Caghe in Ireland.*
- Thomas Fane, *Earl of Westmoreland, Baron le Dispenfer, and Burgherth, First Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. P. C.*
- Henry Bowes Howard, *Earl of Berkshire, Viscount Andover; and Baron Howard of Charlton.*
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- Thomas Tufton, *Earl of Thanet, Baron Clifford, and Baron Tufton, and Baronet.*
- Robert Spencer, *Earl of Sunderland, and Baron Spencer of Wormleighton.*
- Nicholas Leak, *Earl of Scarfsdale, Baron Deincourt of Sutton, and Baronet.*

- Edward Montague, *Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron Montague of St. Neots.*
- Henry Hyde, *Earl of Clarendon and Rochester, Viscount Cornbury, and Viscount Hyde of Kenelworth: Baron Hyde of Hindon and Wotton Bassett, Lord High Steward of the University of Oxford.*
- William Capel, *Earl of Essex, Viscount Malden, and Baron Capel of Hadham, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle, Lord of the Bed Chamber to the King, Chief Ranger of St. James's Park, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Hertford.*
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- William Paston, *Earl of Yarmouth, Viscount Yarmouth, Baron Paston of Paston, and Baronet.*
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- Montague Venables Bertie, *Earl of Abingdon, and Baron Norris of Rycot, High Steward of the City of Oxford. P. C.*

- * Baptist Noel, *Earl of Gainsborough, Viscount Campden of Campden, Baron Noel of Ridlington, Baron Hicks of Ilmington, and Baronet.*
- * Robert D'Arcy, *Earl of Holdernefs, Baron D'Arcy Menil and Conyers.*
- * Other Windsor Hickman, *Earl of Plymouth, and Baron Windsor of Bradenham.*
- † William Stafford Howard, *Earl and Baron of Stafford.*
- ☉ Richard Lumley, *Earl of Scarborough, Viscount Lumley of Lumley-Castle, and Baron Lumley of Lumley, also Viscount Lumley of Waterford in Ireland, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, Colonel of the Second Regiment of Foot-Guards, Vice Admiral of the County of Durham, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Northumberland. P. C.*
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- William Anne Van Keppel, *Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, and Baron of Ashford; Knight of the Bath, Aid de Camp to his Majesty, Colonel in the Second Regiment of Foot-Guards, and one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to the King.*
- William Coventry, *Earl of Coventry, Viscount Deerhurst, and Baron Coventry of Allesborough, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Worcester. P. C.*
- Edward Ruffel, *Earl of Orford, Viscount Bartsleur, and Baron of Shingey, his Majesty's Game Keeper at Newmarket, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Cambridge. P. C.*
- * William Villiers, *Earl of Jersey, Viscount Villiers of Dartford, and Baron of Hoo.*
- Henry D'Averquerque, *Earl of Grantham, Viscount Boston, and Baron of Alford, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. P. C.*
- ☉ John Poulet, *Earl, Viscount and Baron Poulet of Hinton St. George.*
- Francis Godolphin, *Earl and Baron Godolphin, and Viscount Rialton, Groom of the Stole to his Majesty, first Lord of the Bed-chamber, High Steward of the Corporation of Banbury, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Oxon. P. C.*
- George Cholmondeley, *Earl of Cholmondeley, Viscount Malpas; Baron Cholmondeley of Wich-Malbank, and Baron Newburgh, in the Isle of Anglesey; also Viscount Cholmondeley of Kells, and Baron Newburgh in Ireland; General of the Horse, Governor of Kingston upon Hull, Captain of the Third Troop of Horse*

- Horse-Guards, and Lord Lieutenant of the County and City of Chester; and also of North-Wales.*
- § John Sutherland, *Earl of Sutherland, and Baron Strathnaver, one of the Commissioners of Trade in Scotland, and Lord Lieutenant of the Shires of Ross, Cromarty, Nairn, Caithness and Sutherland, and of the Isles of Orkney and Zetland, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle. P. C.*
- § John Leslie, *Earl of Rothes, Lord Leslie and Bambrugh, Lieutenant Colonel of Foot, Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of Aberdeen, and Hereditary Sheriff of the Shire of Fife.*
- § David Areskine, *Earl of Buchan, and Baron Cardross and Auchterhouse, one of the Commissioners of Trade in Scotland, Lord Lieutenant of the Shires of Sterling and Clacmannan.*
- § Thomas Hamilton, *Earl of Haddingtown, and Baron of Binny, one of the Commissioners of Trade in Scotland, Lord Lieutenant of East-Lothian. Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle.*
- § Hugh Campbel, *Earl of Loudoun, Baron of Loudoun, and Lord Machline, and Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of Air, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle. P. C.*
- § James Ogilvy, *Earl of Finlater, Earl and Viscount of Seafield, Baron of Deskford, his Majesty's High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland, and Sheriff of the County of Bamff, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle. P. C.*
- § Charles Hamilton, *Earl of Selkirk, and Lord Dair, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Clydesdale, and the Shire of Lanerk.*
- § George Hamilton, *Earl of Orkney, and Lord Shetland, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot, and Governor of Virginia, Constable, Governor and Captain of Edinburgh Castle, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle.*
- § John Dalrimple, *Earl and Viscount of Stair, Viscount Dalrimple, and Baron of Genluce, and of Stranraar, and Baronet, Colonel of Dragoons, and Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of Gallo-way, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle. P. C.*
- § Charles Hope, *Earl of Hopton, and Lord Hope, Hereditary Sheriff of West-Lothian, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Linlithgow.*
- § Henry Scot, *Earl of Deloraine, Viscount Hermitage, and Baron Scot of Goldylands, Knight of the Bath, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King, Major-General of his Majesty's Forces, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*
- § Archibald Campbel, *Earl and Viscount of Ila, Baron Ornsay, Danoon, and Aross, Lord Justice General, Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of Midlothian, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal of Scotland. P. C.*

§ Alexander

- § Alexander Hume, *Earl of Marchmont, Viscount Glaffonbury, Lord Polwarth of Redbrays and Greenlaw, Lord Polwarth of Polwarth, and Baronet, Sheriff and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Berwick, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle.* P. C.
- § John Murray, *Earl of Dunmore, Lord Blair and Fincastle, Colonel of the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards.*
- Edward Harley, *Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and Baron Harley of Wigmore.*
- ✱ Thomas Wentworth, *Earl of Strafford, Viscount Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, Baron of Stainborough, Raby, Newark, and Oversley, and Baronet.*
- Washington Shirley, *Earl Ferrers, Viscount Tamworth, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Stafford.*
- William Legg, *Earl of Dartmouth, Viscount Lewisham, and Baron of Dartmouth, one of the Governors of the Charter-House.*
- Henry Paget, *Earl of Uxbridge, Baron Paget of Beaudefert, and Baron of Burton, Recorder of the City of Litchfield.* P. C.
- * Lewis Watson, *Earl and Baron of Rockingham, Viscount Sonds, Baron of Trowley, and Baronet.*
- Charles Bennet, *Earl of Tankerville, and Baron Offulston of Offulston, Colonel of the Red Regiment of Middlesex Militia.*
- Heneage Finch, *Earl of Aylesford, and Baron Guernsey of Guernsey.*
- John Hervey, *Earl of Bristol, and Baron Hervey of Ickworth.*
- George Montague, *Earl of Halifax, Viscount Sundbury, and Baron Halifax of Halifax, Knight of the Bath, Auditor of the Exchequer.* P. C.
- Talbot Yelverton, *Earl of Suffex, Viscount Longueville, Baron Grey of Ruthen, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet, Deputy Earl Marshal of England.* P. C.
- * William Cowper, *Earl Cowper, Viscount Fordwich, Baron Cowper of Wingham, and Baronet.*
- * Philip Stanhope, *Earl Stanhope, Viscount Stanhope of Mahone, and Baron of Elvahton.*
- Thomas Coningsby, *Earl and Baron Coningsby of Coningsby and Baron of Clanbrazil in Ireland.*
- Bennet Sherrard, *Earl and Baron of Harborough; Viscount Sherrard of Stapleford, and Baron Le Trim in Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Rutland, Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre, North of Trent.*
- Thomas Parker, *Earl and Baron of Macclesfield, and Viscount Parker of Ewelme, High Steward of the Town and Corporation*

of Henley upon Thames, and one of the Governors of the Charter-House.

Thomas Farmer, *Earl of Pomfret, alias Pontefract, and Baron Lempster of Lempster, Master of the Horse to her Majesty, Knight of the Bath, and Bart.*

David Graham, *Earl and Baron Graham of Belford, (Marquis of Graham.) Son and Heir apparent of the Duke of Montrose.*

* Robert Ker, *Earl and Baron Ker of Wakefield, (Marquis of Beaumont,) Son and Heir apparent of the Duke of Roxburgh.*

VISCOUNTS 15.

Price Devereux, *Viscount Hereford, Baron Devereux, and Bart.*

† Anthony Brown, *Viscount Montacute, and Baron Brown of Cowdershaw, and Baronet.*

Lawrence Fienes, *Viscount and Baron Say and Sele.*

* † Thomas Bellaffys, *Viscount Fauconberg of Henknowle, and Baron of Yerham, and Baronet.*

☉ Charles Townshend, *Viscount Townshend of Raynham; and Baron Townshend of Lyn-Regis, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Norfolk, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and one of the Governors of the Charter-House. P. C.*

* Thomas Thynne, *Viscount Weymouth, Baron Thynne of Warminster, and Baronet, extra Regnum.*

William Hatton, *Viscount Hatton of Gretton: and Baron Hatton of Kirby.*

Henry Lowther, *Viscount Lonsdale, Baron Lowther of Lowther, and Baronet, Constable of the Tower of London.*

Henry Obrian, *Viscount Tadcaster, Earl of Thomond, and Baron of Ibrican, in the Kingdom of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Essex.*

Henry St. John, *Viscount St. John, and Baron of Batterssea, and Baronet.*

Richard Temple, *Viscount and Baron Cobham, and Baronet, Governor of the Island of Jersey, and Colonel of his Majesty's own Royal Regiment of Horse. P. C.*

Hugh Boscawen, *Viscount Falmouth, and Baron Boscawen Rose, Lord-Warden of the Stannaries, one of the Vice-Treasurers, and Paymasters General of Ireland, and Recorder of the Borough of Tregony in Cornwall. P. C.*

John Wallop, *Viscount Lymington, and Baron Wallop of Wallop.*

* Simon Harcourt, *Viscount and Baron Harcourt of Stanton-Harcourt.*

George Byng, *Viscount Torrington, Baron Byng of Southill, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet, First Commissioner of the Admiralty, Admiral of the Red, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Fleet, and Rear Admiral of England.* P. C.

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William Nevil, *Lord Abergaveny.*

James Touchet, *Lord Audley of Heleigh, and Earl of Castlehaven in the Kingdom of Ireland.*

Algernoon Seymour (*Earl of Hertford*) *Baron Piercy of Alnewick, and Baron Lucy of Egremont, Fitzpayne, Poynings, Brian, Latimer, Son and Heir apparent to his Grace the Duke of Somerset, Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces, Governor of Tinnmouth Fort, Captain of the Second Troop of Guards, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Suffex.*

John West, *Lord De la War, Knight of the Bath, Lieutenant Colonel of the first Troop of Horse Guards.*

Charles Mildmay, *Lord Fitzwalter.*

Hugh Fortescue, *Lord Clinton, Knight of the Bath, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Devon, and one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to the King.*

Edward Ward, *Lord Ludley and Ward of Birmingham.*

† Thomas Stourton, *Lord Stourton of Stourton.*

Dr. George Verney, *Lord Willoughby of Brook, Dean of Windsor, and Registry of the Garter.*

* Hugh Willoughby, *Lord Willoughby of Parham.*

Francis Howard, *Lord Howard of Effingham.*

† William North, *Lord North of Kirtling, Mudo, and Carthage, and Lord Grey of Rolleston, extra Regnum.*

William Ferdinand Carey, *Lord Hunsdon.*

John St. John, *Lord St. John of Bletsho, and Baronet.*

* † Robert Petre, *Lord Petre of Writtle.*

† Philip Gerrard, *Lord Gerrard of Gerrards Bromley.*

† Henry Arundel, *Lord Arundel of Wardour, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire.*

* Edward Blythe, *Baron Clifton of Leighton Bromswold.*

† Charles Dormer, *Lord Dormer of Wenge, and Baronet.*

* Henry Roper, *Lord Tenham of Tenham.*

* Francis Greville, *Lord Brook of Beauchamp's Court.*

* Nevil Lovelace, *Lord Lovelace of Hurley.*

Henry Maynard, *Lord Maynard of Estaines parva, Baron Maynard of Wicklow in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Baronet.*

Charles Bruce, *Lord Bruce of Wharton, Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of Ailesbury.*

Edward Leigh, *Lord Leigh of Stonely, and Baronet.*

William

- William Byron, *Lord Byron of Rochedale.*
 † Marmaduke Langdale, *Lord Langdale of Holme.*
 William Berkeley, *Lord Berkeley of Stratton. P. C.*
 Charles Cornwallis, *Lord Cornwallis of Eye, and Baronet, and Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre, South of Trent.*
 Charles Townshend, *Lord Townshend of Lynn Regis, Son and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend.*
 John Arundel, *Lord Arundel of Trerice,*
 William Craven, *Lord Craven of Hampsted Marshal.*
 † Hugh Clifford, *Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.*
 Peregrine-Hyde Osborne, *Lord Osborne of Kiveton, (Marquis of Carmarthen) Son and Heir apparent of the Duke of Leeds.*
 John Carteret, *Lord Carteret of Hawns, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Bailif of the Island of Jersey. P. C.*
 William Stawell, *Lord Stawell of Somerton.*
 Francis North, *Lord Guilford.*
 James Waldgrave, *Lord Waldgrave of Chewton, and Baronet, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Vienna.*
 Edward Griffin, *Lord Griffin.*
 John Ashburnham, *Lord Ashburnham of Ashburnham.*
 Charles Butler, *Lord Butler of Weston, and Earl of Arran, in the Kingdom of Ireland, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Lord High Steward of Westminster.*
 Henry Herbert, *Lord Herbert of Chisbury.*
 Maurice Thompson, *Lord Haversham of Haversham, and Baronet.*
 Gilbert Vane, *Lord Barnard of Barnard's Castle. P. C.*
 John Leveson Gower, *Lord Gower of Sittenham, and Baronet.*
 Francis Seymour Conway, *Lord Conway of Ragley, and Baron of Killutagh in Ireland.*
 Charles Boyle, *Lord Boyle of Marston, Earl of Orrery, and Baron of Broghil in the Kingdom of Ireland, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle. P. C.*
 George Hay, *Lord Hay of Pedwardin, Earl of Kinoul, and Viscount Duplin.*
 Thomas Windsor, *Lord Mountjoy of the Isle of Wight, and Viscount Windsor of the Kingdom of Ireland.*
 * Thomas Mansel, *Lord Mansel of Margam, and Baronet.*
 Thomas Willoughby, *Lord Middleton of Middleton, and Baronet.*
 George Granville, *Lord Lansdown of Biddiford.*
 Samuel Masham, *Lord Masham of Oates, and Baronet, Remembrancer of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer.*
 Thomas Foley, *Lord Foley of Kidderminster.*

Allen Bathurst, *Lord Bathurst of Battleſden.*

Robert Benſon, *Lord Bingley.*

Thomas Onſlow, *Lord Onſlow of Onſlow and Weſt-Clandon; and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Surrey, and one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.*

Charles Cadogan, *Lord Cadogan of Reading, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*

* Robert Marſham, *Lord Romney, and Baronet.*

Matthew Ducie-Moreton, *Lord Ducie de Moreton.*

Robert Walpole, *Lord Walpole, Knight of the Bath, Clerk of the Pells-Office.*

ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS 261

Dr. William Wake, *Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Preſident of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, and one of the Governors of the Charter Houſe. P. C.*

Dr. Lancelot Blackburn, *Lord Archbiſhop of York, and Lord High Almoner to the King. P. C.*

Dr. Edmund Gibſon, *Lord Biſhop of London, and Dean of the Chapel, one of the Governors of the Charter Houſe. P. C.*

Dr. William Talbot, *Lord Biſhop of Durham, Lord Lieutenant of the ſaid County, and one of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe.*

Dr. Richard Willis, *Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter, Prelate of the Order of the Garter, and Clerk of the Cloſet.*

Dr. John Hough, *Lord Biſhop of Worceſter.*

Dr. John Wynn, *Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and Prebendary of Weſtmiſter.*

Dr. John Potter, *Lord Biſhop of Oxford, Canon of Chriſt-Church, and King's Profeſſor in Divinity.*

Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, *Lord Biſhop of Sarum, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.*

Dr. Edward Chandler, *Lord Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield.*

Dr. Samuel Bradford, *Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, Dean of Weſtmiſter, and the Order of the Bath.*

Dr. White Kenner, *Lord Biſhop of Peterborough.*

Dr. Thomas Green, *Lord Biſhop of Ely.*

Dr. Richard Reynolds, *Lord Biſhop of Lincoln.*

Dr. Joſeph Wilcox, *Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter, and Prebendary of Weſtmiſter.*

Dr. William Baker, *Lord Biſhop of Bangor, Lord Almoner to the King.*

Dr. John Waugh, *Lord Biſhop of Carlisle.*

Dr. John Leng, *Lord Biſhop of Norwich.*

Dr. Henry Egerton, *Lord Biſhop of Hereford.*

Dr. Richard Smallbroke, Lord Bishop of St. Davids, and one of the Canons of Hereford.

Dr. Edward Waddington, Lord Bishop of Chichester.

Dr. William Bradshaw, Lord Bishop of Bristol, and Dean of Christ-Church.

Dr. Stephen Weston, Lord Bishop of Exeter, and Archdeacon of Cornwall.

Dr. Robert Clavering, Lord Bishop of Landaff, Dean of Hereford, his Majesty's Hebrew Professor in the University of Oxford, and one of the Canons of Christ-Church.

Dr. Samuel Peploe, Lord Bishop of Chester, and Warden of Manchester-College.

Dr. Francis Hare, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

N. B. Dele Master of the Horse to her Majesty from after the Duke of St. Albans.



An Exact

L I S T

OF THE

*Knights and Commissioners of Shires,
Citizens and Burgesses.*

Note, *Those Gentlemen with this Mark * before them, were
not Members of the last Parliament.*

Bedfordshire 4

Honourable Pattee Byng of Southhill, *in this County, Esq;*
Treasurer of the Navy, eldest Son and Heir apparent of
the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Torrington.
Serv'd last Parliament for Plymouth.

Sir Rowland Allston of Wodehull *in this County, Bart.*

Town of Bedford.

John Thurloe Brace of Ashwood, *in this County, Esq;*
* John Orlebar of Hennick, *in this County, Esq;*

Berks 9.

Sir John Stonehouse of Radley, *in this County, Bart.*
Robert Packer of Shellingford Castle, *in this County, Bart.*

Borough of New Windsor.

Right Honourable George Lord Viscount Malpas, *Knight of the
Bath, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Governor of the
City*

City and Castle of Chester, eldest Son and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable the Earl of Cholmondeley: Serv'd last Parliament for Eastlow.

Right Honourable Lord Vere Beauclair, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Lyme Galley, Brother of his Grace the Duke of St. Albans.

Borough of Reading.

- * *Richard Pottenger of the said Borough, Esq; and Recorder of the same.*
- * *Richard Thompson of Coley, in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Wallingford.

- * *George Lewen of Ewell, in the County of Surrey, Esq;*
- William Hucks of St. Giles's in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; Brewer to his Majesty's Household.*

Borough of Abingdon.

Robert Hucks, Esq; Son of the abovesaid William Hucks, Esq;

Bucks 14.

Honourable Sir William Stanhope of Ethrup, in this County, Knight of the Bath, first Brother of the Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield, chosen also for the Borough of Ailesbury: Serv'd last Parliament for Leftwithiel.

Richard Hampden of Hampden Magna, in this County, Esq; chosen also for Wendover, for which Borough he served last Parliament.

Town of Buckingham.

Honourable John Fane of Merrywith, in the County of Kent, Esq; Colonel of the First Troop of Grenadier Guards, Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of Westmorland.

Thomas Lewis of Soberton, in the County of Southampton, Esq; chosen also for New Sarum: Serv'd last Parliament for the Town of Southampton.

Borough of Chepping-Wycombe.

Harry Waller of Lincolns-Inn, Esq;

- * *Thomas Lee of the Inner-Temple, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law.*

Borough

Borough of Ailesbury.

Honourable Sir William Stanhope, Knight of the Bath aforesaid.

Philip Lloyd of Bradwin, in the County of Northampton, Esq; Captain in her Majesty's Royal Regiment of Dragoons: Serv'd last Parliament for Saltash.

Borough of Agmondesham.

Mountague Gerrard Drake of Shardeloes, in this County, Esq; Serv'd last Parliament for the said County.

* *Honourable Baptist Leveson Gower, Esq; youngest Brother of the Right Honourable the Lord Gower, chosen also for Newcastle Underline.*

Borough of Wendover.

* *Right Honourable James Hamilton, Lord Viscount Limerick in the Kingdom of Ireland.*

Richard Hampden of Hampden Magna, Esq; aforesaid.

Borough of Great Marlow.

Edmund Waller of Hall-Barn, near Beconsfield, in this County, Esq; Brother of the aforesaid Harry Waller, Esq;

* *John Clavering of Chopwell, in the Bishoprick of Durham, Esq; Uncle to the Right Honourable the Earl Cowper.*

Cambridgeshire 6.

Samuel Shepherd of Botsham, in this County, Esq;

* *Henry Bromley of Horseheath, in this County, Esq;*

University of Cambridge.

* *Honourable Edward Finch, Esq; his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Poland, fifth Son to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham.*

Honourable Thomas Townshend, Esq; one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, second Son to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend, chosen also for Haltings; serv'd last Parliament for Winchelsea.

Town of Cambridge.

Sir John Hynde Cotton of Madingley-Hall, in this County, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for the said County.

Thomas Sclater Bacon of Catley, in this County, Esq;

Cheshire 4.

- * Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton of Llewenny, in the County of Denbigh, Bart.
- Charles Cholmondeley of Vale Royal, in this County, Esq;

City of Chester.

- Sir Richard Grosvenor of Eaton Hall, in this County, and of the City and Liberty of Westminster, Bart.
- * Thomas Grosvenor of the Inner Temple, Esq; Brother of the said Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart.

Cornwall 44.

- Sir William Carew of East-Anthony, in this County, Bart.
- Sir John St. Aubin of Clowance, in this County, Bart.

Borough of Dunhivid, alias Launceston.

- * Honourable John King, Esq; Out Ranger of Windsor Forest, eldest Son and Heir apparent of the Right Honourable the Lord King, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.
- * Arthur Tremain of Sydenham, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Leskard.

- Thomas Clutterbuck of Monkton in the Isle of Thanet, in the County of Kent, Esq; Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Carteret, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
- John Cope of Whitacre, near Beccles, in the County of Norfolk, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel to the Second Troop of Grenadier Guards: Serv'd last Parliament for Queenborough.

Borough of Lestwithiel.

- * Dorrell Trelawney of Southwell, in this County, Esq; Son to the late Dean of Exeter.
- * William Bridges of Treworgan, in this County, Esq; Lisbon Merchant.

Borough of Truro.

- * Honourable Hugh Boscawen, Esq; eldest Son and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Falmouth.
- Sidney Meadows, Esq; Son of Sir Sidney Meadows of Whitehall, Knt. and Knight-Marshal.

Borough

Borough of Bodmyn.

- John la Roch of Combs, near Maidstone, in the County of Kent, Esq; one of the Corporals to the Yeomen of the Guard.
 * Honourable Robert Booth of the Inner Temple, Esq; Son to the Reverend the Dean of Bristol, and Nephew and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable the Earl of Warrington.

Borough of Helston.

- * John Evelyn, Esq; Son of Sir John Evelyn of Wotton, in the County of Surrey, Bart.
 * John Harris of Haines, in the County of Devon, Esq;

Borough of Saltash.

- * Right Honourable John Lord Glenorchy, Knight of the Bath, Master of the Horse to their Royal Highnesses the three eldest Princesses, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Denmark, Son and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable the Earl of Broadalbine.
 Edward Hughes of Hertingford-Bury, in the County of Hertford, Esq; Advocate General, or Judge Marshal of his Majesty's Forces.

Borough of Camelford.

- Thomas Hales of ——— in the County of York, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Green Cloth, Son of Sir Thomas Hales of Bucksbourn, in the County of Kent, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Minehead.
 John Pitt, Esq; Colonel in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of Londonderry; serv'd last Parliament for Old Sarum.

Borough of Portpigham, alias Wellow.

- John Willes of Lincolns-Inn, Esq; second Justice of Chester, and one of his Majesty's Council at Law; serv'd last Parliament for Weymouth.
 Edward Trelawney, Esq; one of the Commissioners for Victualling the Royal Navy, Brother of Sir John Trelawney of Trelawney, in this County, Bart.

Borough of Grampound.

- Humphrey Morrice of Clapham, in the County of Northampton, Esq; Governor of the Bank of England.
 * Philip Hawkins of Telawarren, in this County, anl of the Middle Temple, Esq;

Borough of Eastlow.

Sir John Trelawney of Trelawney, in this County, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Westlow.

Charles Longueville of the Middle Temple, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Great Bedwin.

Borough of Penryn.

* *Sir Cecil Bishop of Parham in the County of Suffex, Bart. Son-in-Law to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Falmouth.*
Edward Vernon of Naeton, in the County of Suffolk, Esq; late a Commander in the Royal Navy.

Borough of Tregoney.

* *Thomas Smith of St. James's, in the Liberty of Westminster, Esq; Vice Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, Son of the late Rt. Hon. Mr. Speaker Smith, and Brother to Mrs. Jane Smith, Lady Governess to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*
* *John Goddard, Esq; Merchant at Falmouth, in this County.*

Borough of Bosiney.

John Hedges of Finchley, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; his Majesty's Envoy at the Court of Turin.

Robert Corker, Esq; Merchant at Falmouth, in this County.

Borough of St. Ives.

Henry Knollys of Grove Place, in the County of Southampton, Esq;
Sir Robert Rich of Stondon Massey, in the County of Essex, Bart. Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the King; serv'd last Parliament for Beer-Allston

Borough of Fowey.

Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliams of Merion, in the Kingdom of Ireland.

* *Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly, in this County, Esq;*

Borough of St. German.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote of Low-Layton, in the County of Essex, Kn^t. Senior Alderman, and Father of the City of London, one of the Directors of the Bank; serv'd last Parliament for Lyvington.

Sidney

Sidney Godolphin of Thames-Ditton, in the County of Surrey, Esq; Auditor of the Principality of Wales, Governor of the Island of Scilly, and one of the Governors of Greenwich Hospital; serv'd last Parliament for St. Maws.

Borough of St. Michael.

Henry Kelsall of Colkirk, in the County of Norfolk, Esq; one of the chief Clerks of the Treasury: serv'd last Parliament for Bofiney.

Thomas Farrington of Chislehurst, in the County of Kent, Esq; Brother to her Grace the first Dutchess of Ancaster: serv'd last Parliament for Whitchurch.

Borough of Newport.

* Sir Will. Morrice of Werrington, in the County of Devon, Bart. Son-in-Law to the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke.

Honourable Thomas Herbert, Esq; fourth Son of the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, Captain in the Guards.

Borough of St. Maws.

Right Hon. Henry Vane, Esq; eldest Son and Heir apparent to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Barnard; serv'd last Parliament for Launceston.

John Knight of Gosfield Hall, in the County of Essex, Esq; chosen also for Sudbury; for which Borough he serv'd last Parliament.

Borough of Callington.

* Sir John Coryton of Newton, in this County, Bart.

Thomas Copleston of Bowden, in the County of Devon, Esq;

Cumberland 6.

Gilfred Lawson of Brayton, in this County, Esq;

James Lowther of Whitehaven, in this County, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Apulby.

City of Carlisle.

* Honourable Charles Howard, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of the said City, and of the Castle thereof, Colonel in the Second Regiment of Foot-Guards, youngest Son of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.

* John Hilton of Hilton Castle, and of Great Ursworth, in the County of Durham, Esq;

Borough of Cockermouth.

Sir Wilfred Lawson of Isel, in this County, Bart.

Hon. William Finch, Esq, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States General, second Son to the Rt. Hon. the E. of Nottingham.
Derbyshir

Derbyshire 4.

Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Whaley, in the County of Lancaster,
Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Clithero.
Godfrey Clark of Chilcote-Hall, in this County, Esq;

Town of Derby.

Right Honourable Lord James Cavendish of Sutton-Hall, in this
County, only Brother to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire.
Right Honourable William Stanhope of Elverston, in this County,
Esq; Vice Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household. P. C.

Devonshire 26.

Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, in this County, Bart.
John Rolfe of Stevenstone, in this County, Esq; serv'd last Parlia-
ment for the City of Exeter.

City of Exeter.

Honourable Samuel Molyneux of Kew-Green, in the County of
Surrey, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty: serv'd
last Parliament for St. Maws.
Francis Drew of the Grange, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Totness.

Right Honourable Sir Charles Wills of Windsor, in the County of
Berks, Knight of the Bath, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance,
and Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot-Guards. P. C.
Exton Sayer, L. L. D. Chancellor of Durham, Commissary of Ef-
sex, and Advocate for the Admiralty in Matters relating to the
Crown: serv'd last Parliament for Helston,

Borough of Plymouth.

George Treby of Plympton, in this County, Esq; late one of the
Tellers of the Exchequer; chosen also for the said Borough of
Plympton, and for Clifton Dartmouth Hardness, in this
County; serv'd last Parliament for Plympton.

* Arthur Stert of Membland, in this County, Esq; Lisbon Mer-
chant,

Town of Okehampton.

* Thomas Pitt of Stratford, in the County of Wilts, Esq;
Grandson of the late Governor Pitt, chosen also for Old Sarum.
* William Northmore of the said Town, Esq;

Borough

Borough of Barnestable.

- * Richard Coffin of Portlidge, in this County, Esq;
- * Honourable Theophilus Fortescue, Esq; only Brother to the Right Honourable the Lord Clinton.

Borough of Plympton.

- Richard Edgecumbe of Mount Edgecumbe, in this County, Esq;
one of the Vice Treasurers and Paymasters General of Ireland,
and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Cornwall.
- George Treby, Esq; late a Teller of the Exchequer, as aforesaid.

Borough of Honiton.

- Sir William Yonge of Colliton, in this County, Knight of the Bath, Son of Sir Walter Yonge of Escot, in this County, Bart. chosen also for Tiverton.
- * James Sheppard of the said Borough, Esq; one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law, and Recorder of this Borough.

Borough of Tavistock.

- Sir John Cope of Bramsell, in the County of Southampton, Knt. and Bart. chosen also for the said County of Southampton.
- Sir Francis Henry Drake of Buckland Monarchorum, in this County, Bart. chosen also for Beer-Alston.

Borough of Ashburton.

- Roger Tuckfield of Raddon-Court, in this County, Esq;
- Richard Reynell of West Oghwell, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Clifton Dartmouth Hardness.

- Honourable Walter Cary of West Sheen, in the County of Surrey, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and a Clerk of the Privy-Council in Extraordinary; serv'd last Parliament for Helston.
- George Treby, Esq; late a Teller of the Exchequer, as aforesaid.

Borough of Beer-Alston.

- Sir Francis Henry Drake of Buckland, &c. Bart. aforesaid.
- Sir John Hobart of Blickling, in the County of Norfolk, Bart. and

and Knight of the Bath, Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber, and Vice Admiral of the County of Norfolk, chosen also for the said County of Norfolk; serv'd last Parliament for St. Ives.

Borough of Tiverton.

Sir William Yonge, Knight of the Bath, aforesaid, Recorder of the said Borough.
Arthur Arscott of Tescot, in this County, Esq; Brother-in-Law to the said Sir William Yonge.

Dorsetshire 20.

* *Edmond Moreton Pleydel of St. Andrew-Melbourn, in this County, Esq;*
George Chaffin of Chettle, in this County, Esq;

Town of Poole.

Dennis Bond of Grainge, in this County, Esq; Recorder of this Town, and also of the Borough of Wareham, Carrier of all his Majesty's Letters and Dispatches between his Court or Palace of Residence, and the first Postage or Post Office.
George Trenchard of Litchet Matravers, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Dorchester.

William Chapple of Upway, in this County, Esq; one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law.
 * *John Brown of the said Borough, Esq; Barrister at Law.*

Borough of Lyme-Regis.

* *Henry Drax of Ellerton Abbey, in the County of York, Esq;*
John Burrige, jun. of the said Borough, Esq; Merchant in London.

Borough of Weymouth.

Edward Tucker of the said Borough, Esq;
Thomas Pearse of Chatham, in the County of Kent, Esq; one of the Commissioners for Viſtualling the Royal Navy.

Borough of Melcombe-Regis.

Sir James Thornhill of Thornhill, in this County, Knt. his Majesty's Serjeant Painter.
William Betts of Epsom, in the County of Surrey, Esq; Merchant in London.

Borough

Borough of Bridport.

James Pelham, *Esq*; Kinsman to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and Secretary to his Grace the Duke of Grafton, as Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, chosen also for Newark, for which Town he served last Parliament.

* William Bowles, *Esq*; Merchant in London, one of the Directors of the South-Sea Company.

Borough of Shafton, alias Shaftsbury.

Sir Edward Desboverie of Langford, in the Parish of Burford, in the County of Wilts, *Bart*.

Stephen Fox of Cricklade, in the County of Wilts, *Esq*;

Borough of Wareham,

Sir Edward Ernle of Charborough, in this County, and of Mad-dington, in the County of Wilts, *Bart*.

Joseph Gascoigne of St. Bennet Gracechurch Parish, in the City of London, and of Weybridge, in the County of Surrey, *Esq*;

Borough of Corfe-Castle.

John Banks of Kingston-Hall, in this County, *Esq*;

* John Bond of Grainge, in this County, *Esq*, Brother of Dennis Bond, *Esq*; *aforsaid*.

Durham 4.

John Hedworth of Chester Lee Street, in this County, *Esq*;

* George Bowes of Streetland, in this County, *Esq*;

City of Durham.

Charles Talbot of Lincolns Inn, *Esq*; his Majesty's Solicitor General, eldest Son of the Rt. Reverend the Bishop of Durham.

* Robert Shafto, *Esq*, High Sheriff, Son of Sir Robert Shafto of Whitworth, in this County, *Knt*.

Essex 8.

* Right Honourable Sir Richard Child of Wansted, in this County, Lord Viscount Castlemain, in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Baronet.

* Sir Robert Abdy of Abyns, in this County, *Bart*.

Borough of Colchester.

- * Stamp Brooksbank of Hackney, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; Turkey Merchant.
- * Samuel Tuffnell of Langley, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Malden.

- Thomas Bramston of Waterhouse, in this County, Esq;
- Henry Parsons of Wickham, in this County, Esq; one of the Commissioners for Victualling the Royal Navy, and Purveyor to Chelsea Hospital, Brother to Humphrey Parsons, Esq; one of the Aldermen, and Members of the City of London.

Borough of Harwich.

- * Right Honourable Sir John Percival of Charleton, in the County of Kent, Lord Viscount Percival in the Kingdom of Ireland.
- Sir Philip Parker of Arwerton, in the County of Suffolk, Bart.

Gloucestershire 10.

- * Sir John Dutton of Sherborne, in this County, Bart.
- Honourable Henry Berkeley, Esq; Colonel of the second Troop of Grenadier Guards, and first Equerry to his Majesty, second Brother of the Right Honourable the Earl of Berkeley.

City of Gloucester.

- Honourable Matthew Ducy Moreton, Esq, Son and Heir apparent to the Right Honourable the Lord Ducy Moreton; serv'd last Parliament for Calne.
- Charles Selwyn of Richmond, in the County of Surrey, Esq; first Equerry to the Queen, Brother to John Selwyn, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for St Michael, [Double Return.
- Benjamin Bathurst of Lydney, in this County, Esq; youngest Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Bathurst; serv'd last Parliament for Cirencester.
- * Thomas Chester of Knowle, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Cirencester.

- Thomas Maisters of the Abbey, in the said Borough, Esq;
- * Peter Bathurst of Clarendon Park, in the County of Wilts, Esq; first Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Bathurst.

Borough of Tewksbury.

- Rt. Hon. Thomas Gage of High Meadow, in this County, Lord Viscount Gage, in the Kingdom of Ireland, chosen also for Arundel.

George

George Read of Shipton, in the County of Oxon, Esq; Colonel
in the Foot Guards, Brother of Sir Thomas Read of Thame, in
the said County of Oxon, Bart.

Herefordshire 8.

Veltus Cornwall of Mockas Court, in this County, Esq;
* Edward Harley of Eyewood, in this County, Esq; eldest Son of
Edward Harley, Esq; one of the Auditors of the Imprest.

City of Hereford.

* Rt. Hon. Henry Brydges, Marquis of Carnarvon, only Son and
Heir apparent to his Grace the Duke of Chandos.
* Thomas Geers of the Marsh, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Leominster.

* Rt. Hon. William Bateman of Shobdon-Court in this County,
and of Tooting, in the County of Surrey, Lord Viscount Bateman
in the Kingdom of Ireland.
Sir George Caswall of the said Borough, Knt. Banker in London.

Borough of Weobly.

John Birch of Garnstone, in this County, Esq; Serjeant at Law.
* Uvedal Price of Foxley, in this County, Esq; only Son of the
Hon. Robert Price, Esq; one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court
of Common-Pleas.

Hertfordshire 6.

* Charles Cæsar of Bennington-Place, in this County, Esq;
Sir Thomas Sanders Sebright of Beachwood, in this County, Bart.

Borough of St. Albans.

* Rt. Hon. William Grimstone of Gorhambury, in this County,
Lord Viscount Grimstone in the Kingdom of Ireland.
* Caleb Lomax, Esq; Son of Joshua Lomax of this Borough, Esq;

Borough of Hertford.

Sir Thomas Clerke of Brickenden Bury, in this County, Knt.
George Harrison of Kew-Green, in the County of Surrey, Esq;
first Brother to Edward Harrison of Balls, in this County, Esq;
one of the Postmasters General.

Huntingdonshire 4.

Rt. Hon. William Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington, Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, eldest Son and Heir apparent to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire; serv'd last Parliament for Grampond.

John Bigg of Eaton, in the County of Bedford, Esq;

Borough of Huntingdon.

Hon. Edward Wortley, alias Mountague, of Wortley, in the County of York, Esq; Son of the Hon. Sidney Wortley, alias Mountague, Esq;

* *Roger Handasyde of Great Stoughton, in this County, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*

Kent 10.

* *Sir Roger Meredith of Leeds-Abbey, in this County, Bart. Recorder of the Town of Maidstone.*

Sir Robert Furnese of Walderthare, in this County, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for New Romney.

City of Canterbury.

Sir Thomas Hales of Beaksbourne, in this County, Bart.

* *Sir William Hardres of Hardres Court, near the said City, Bart.*

City of Rochester.

Sir John Jennings, Knt. Admiral of the White Squadron of England, Master of Greenwich Hospital, one of the Commissioners or Governors the est, and Housekeeper of his Majesty's Palace of Greenwich Park.

David Polhill of Chipsted, in this County, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Bramber.

Borough of Maidstone.

Hon. John Finch, Esq; second Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ailesford.

* *Thomas Hope of the said Borough, Esq;*

Borough of Queenborough.

- * *Sprig Manesty, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, and a Director of the African Company.*
- John Crowley of Greenwich, in this County, Esq; Merchant in London, and one of the Aldermen of the said City; serv'd last Parliament for Oakhampton.*

Lancashire 14.

- * *Sir Edward Stanley of Bickerstaff, near Ormskirk, in this County, Bart. Heir apparent to the Rt Hon. the Earl of Derby.*
- Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp-Hall, in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Preston in Amoundernefs.

- Sir Henry Houghton of Houghton Tower, in this County, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Eastlow.*
- Daniel Pulteney of Harefield, near Uxbridge, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; Clerk of the Privy-Council in Ireland.*

Borough of Lancaster.

- Sir Thomas Lowther of Hooker, in this County, Bart.*
- Christopher Towers of Houghton-Regis, in the County of Bedford, Esq; eldest Son of Christopher Towers of Huntsmore, in the County of Bucks, Esq; Deputy Collector inwards in the Port of London.*

Borough of Newton.

- William Shippen of the Middle Temple, Esq;*
- * *Lee Masters of Ashton, in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Wigan.

- Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, in this County, Bart.*
- * *Peter Bold of Bold, near Warrington in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Clithero.

- Thomas Lister of Westby, in the County of York, Esq;*
- * *Rt. Hon. John Monckton of Serlby, in the County of Nottingham, Lord Viscount Gallway in the Kingdom of Ireland.*

Borough of Liverpoole.

- Thomas Bootle of the Inner Temple, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law.*
- Thomas Brereton of the said Borough, Esq;*

Leicestershire 4.

Rt. Hon. Lord William Manners, only Brother of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, and one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to the King.

* *Sir Clobery Noel of Kirkby, in this County, Bart.*

Town of Leicester.

Sir George Beaumont of Stoughton-Grange, in this County, Bart.

* *George Wright of Brooksby, in this County, Esq; Grandson of the late Sir Nathan Wright, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England.*

Lincolnshire 12.

Hon. Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderson, Knight of the Bath, first Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Scarborough; serv'd last Parliament for Arundel

Robert Vynor of Tupham, in this County, Esq;

City of Lincoln.

Sir John Monson of Northop, in this County, Knight of the Bath, and Bart.

* *William Hall of Harrington, in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Boston.

Sir Richard Ellis, of Nocton Hall, in this County, Bart.

Henry Pacey of the said Borough, Esq;

Borough of Great Grimsby.

* *John Page of the City of Chichester, in the County of Suffex, Esq;*

* *George Monson, Esq; Brother of Sir John Monson, Bart. aforesaid.*

Borough of Stamford.

* *Hon. Robert Shirley, Esq; Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Earl Ferrers.*

William Noel, Esq; Recorder of the said Borough, Brother of Sir Clobery Noel, Bart. aforesaid.

Borough of Grantham.

Rt. Hon. Sir John Brownlow of Belton-Hall, in this County, Lord Viscount Tyrconnel in the Kingdom of Ireland, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet.

Sir Michael Newton, Knight of the Bath, Son of Sir John Newton of Barrs-Court, in the County of Gloucester, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Beverly.

Middlesex 8.

Hon. James Bertie of Stanwell, in this County, Esq; first Brother to the Rt Hon. the Earl of Abingdon.

Francis Child of Osterly-Park, in this County, Esq; Deputy Surveyor of the Meltings to his Majesty's Mints, one of the Aldermen of the City of London, and a Director of the East-India Company: serv'd last Parliament for the said City of London.

City of Westminster.

Rt. Hon. Lord James Cavendish, third Son of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire; serv'd last Parliament for Heitesbury.

Hon. William Clayton of Sundon, in the County of Bedford, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; serv'd last Parliament for St. Albans.

City of London.

Rt. Hon. Sir John Eyles, of Giddy-Hall, in the County of Essex, Bart. Turkey Merchant, Lord Mayor of the said City, and Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company: serv'd last Parliament for Chippenham.

John Barnard, of the said City, Esq; Turkey Merchant.

** Micajah Perry, of the said City, Esq; Virginia Merchant.*

Humphry Parsons, of Rygate, in the County of Surrey, Esq; Brewer at St. Catherine's, near the Tower, one of the Aldermen of the said City: serv'd last Parliament for Harwich.

County of Monmouth 3.

Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, in this County, Knight of the Bath, Lord Lieutenant of the said County, and of the County of Brecon.

John Handbury of Pont Pool, in this County, Esq; one of the Directors of the South-Sea Company.

Borough of Monmouth.

Edward Keymeys of Bartholey, in this County, Esq,

Norfolk 12.

Sir Thomas Coke of Holkham, in this County, Knight of the Bath.

Sir John Hobart of St. Ives, in the County of Cornwall, and of Blicking, in this County, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet, Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber, and Vice Admiral of this County; chosen also for Beer-Alston.

City of Norwich.

Waller Bacon of Earlham, in this County, Esq; Commissary of the Musters and Stores of War at Minorca.

Robert Brittiffe of Baconsthorp, in this County, Esq;

Town of Lyn-Regis.

☉ *Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Walpole of Houghton, in this County, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, first Commissioner of the Treasury, and one of the Governors of the Charter-House P. C.*

Hon. Sir Charles Turner of Wareham, in this County, Bart. one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

Town of Great Yarmouth.

His Excellency Horatio Walpole, Esq; Auditor of the Trade and Plantation Accounts, Coadjutor Secretary to the Treasury with John Scrope, Esq; Ambassador Extraordinary at the Court of France, and only Brother of Sir Robert Walpole aforesaid

Hon. William Townshend, Esq; Aid de Camp to his Majesty, and Captain in the Regiment of Horse commanded by Lieutenant General Wade, third Son of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend.

Borough

Borough of Thetford.

Sir Edmond Bacon of Gillingham in this County, Bart.
Robert Jacombe Esq; Deputy Pay-Master of the Forces.

Borough of Castrerising.

Right Hon. Algernon Coote, Earl of Montrath, in the Kingdom of Ireland.
Charles Churchill, of St. James, Westminster, Esq; Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces, Governor of the Town of Plymouth, and of the Royal Citadel there, and of all Forts, Fortresses, and Fortifications thereunto belonging; Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty, and Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons.

Northamptonshire 9.

Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport in this County, Bart.
Thomas Cartwright of Aynhoe, in this County, Esq;

City of Peterborough.

Right Hon. John Fitz-Williams of Milton, in this County, Earl Fitz-Williams of the Kingdom of Ireland.
** Sir Edward Obrian of the Kingdom of Ireland, Bart.*

Town of Northampton.

Hon. Edward Mountague, of Chipping Warden, in this County, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, only Brother to the Right H. n. the Earl of Halifax.
Hon. George Compton Esq; Brother to the Right Hon. the Earl of Northampton, serv'd last Parliament for Tamworth.

Town of Brackley.

Hon. William Egerton, of Great-Billing in this County, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, second Brother to his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater.
Right Hon. Sir Paul Methuen of Bishop's Cannings in the County of Wilts, Knight of the Bath, Treasurer of his Majesty's Household. P. C.

Borough of Higham-Ferrers.

Hon. John Finch Esq; third Son of the Right Hon. the Earl of Nottingham, one of his Majesty's Council at Law.

Northumberland 8.

*Sir William Middleton of Bessy-Castle in this County, Bart.
Ralph Jeniton of Ellwick, in this County, Esq;*

Town of New-Castle upon Tyne.

*Sir William Blacket, of the said Town, Bart.
* Nicholas Fenwick Esq; of the said Town, Mercht.*

Borough of Morpeth.

*Right Hon. Henry Howard, of Long-Oreton in the County of Northampton, Lord Viscount Morpeth, Son and Heir apparent to the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.
* Thomas Robinion of Rookby-Park, in the County of York, Esq; Cornet in the Regiment of Horse commanded by Lieutenant General Wade.*

Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

** Joseph Sabine of Tuing, in the County of Hertford, Esq; Lieutenant General, of his Majesty's Forces, Governour of Berwick, and of Holy Island, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Welch Fuzilliers.
* George Liddell, Esq; Uncle to Sir Henry Liddell, of Ravensworth-Castle in the County of Durham, Bart.*

Nottinghamshire 8.

*Right Hon. Emanuel Scroop How, of Langor-Castle in this County; Lord Viscount How of the Kingdom of Ireland.
Right Hon. Sir Robert Sutton of Broughton in the County of Lincoln, Bart. and Knight of the Bath, Sub-Governour of the Royal African Company. P. C.*

Town of Nottingham.

** Hon. John Stanhope Esq; second Brother to the Right Hon. the Earl of Chesterfield.
* Burlace*

* Burlace Warren of Stapleford in this County, Esq;

Borough of East-Retford.

* Sir Robert Clifton, Knight of the Bath, eldest Son of Sir Gervase Clifton of Clifton, in this County, Bart.
Thomas White of Walking-Wells in this County, Esq; Clerk of the Ordnance of Great-Britain.

Town of Newark upon Trent.

Hon. Richard Sutton of Scofton in this County Esq; Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces, Envoy extraordinary to the King of Prussia, and the Land-grave of Hesse-Cassel.
James Pelham Esq; Secretary to his Grace the Duke of Graton, as Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, as aforesaid.

Oxon 9.

* Sir William Stapleton of Bray, in the County of Berks, Bart.
Henry Perrot of North-Leigh in this County, Esq;

Univerfity of Oxford.

William Bromley of Bagington in the County of Warwick Esq;
George Clark, L. L. D. Fellow of All-Souls College.

City of Oxon.

Thomas Rowney of the said City, Esq;
Francis Knollys of Winchendon in the County of Bucks, Esq;

Borough of New Woodstock.

* Right Hon. William Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Marlborough, Viscount Rialton, and Baron of Sandridge, Heir to the Title of Duke of Marlborough, as also to the Manor and Park of Woodstock, Blenheim House, and the Hundred of Wotton, in this County; Grandson of the late Duke of Marlborough, and only Son and Heir Apparent to the Right Hon. the Earl of Godolphin.

Samuel Trotman of Bucknal in this County, and of Siston-House, in the County of Gloucester, Esq;

Borough of Banbury.

* Hon. Francis North Esq; only Son and Heir apparent of the Right Hon. the Lord Guilford.

Rutlandshire 2.

Right Hon. Daniel Lord Finch eldest Son and Heir apparent to the Right Hon. the Earl of Nottingham, and Comptroller of his Majesty's Household. P. C.

* John Noel of Walcott in the County of Northampton Esq; Son of the Right Hon. the Viscountess Dowager Irwin, and Nephew to the Right Hon. the Earl of Harborough.

Salop 12.

* William Layconchild, of the Birch in this County, Esq;

* John Walcot, of Walcot, in the Parish of Libbery in this County, Esq;

Town of Salop.

* Sir John Astley of Pateshall in the County of Stafford, Bart.

* Richard Lyfter of Rowton-Castle in this County, Esq;

Borough of Bruges, alias Bridgnorth.

John Weaver of Morvill in this County, Esq;

St. John Charlton of Apley, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Ludlow.

Henry Arthur Herbert of Oakley-Park in this County, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Blechingly.

Richard Herbert Esq; Brother of the said Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq;

Borough of Great Wenlock.

Samuel Edwards of Frogley, in this County, Esq; Deputy to the Right Hon. the Lord Onslow, as one of the Tellers of his Majesty's Exchequer.

John Sambroke of Gubbins in the County of Hertford, Esq;
Turkey Merchant, and one of the Gentlemen of His Majesty's
Privy-chamber, serv'd last Parliament for Dunwich.

Town of Bishops-Castle.

John Plumptree of the Town of Nottingham, Esq; Treasurer of
His Majesty's Ordnance, and Pay-master of the same, serv'd
last Parliament for the said Town of Nottingham.

* Robert Moore of Linley-hall in this County, Esq;

Somersetshire 18.

Sir William Wyndham of Orchard-Wyndham in this County, Bart.

* Thomas Horner of Mellis in this County, Esq;

City of Bristol.

John Scrope of Walmisly in the County of Oxford, and of Earls-
Court near Kentington in the County of Middlesex, Esq;
joint Secretary to the Treasury with Horatio Walpole, Esq;
ch sen also for Winchelsea. Served last Parliament for Rippon.

Abraham Elton, Esq; Son of Sir Abraham Elton of this City,
Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Taunton.

City of Bath.

George Wade of the said City, Esq; Lieutenant General of his
Majesty's Armies, Commander in chief of all and singular,
His Majesty's Land Forces employed, or to be employed in
North Britain, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse.

* Robert Gay of Hatton-Garden in the Parish of St. Andrew-
Holburn, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; Surgeon to St.
Bartholomew's Hospital, F. R. S.

City of Wells.

Thomas Edwards jun. of the Middle Temple, Esq;

* Edward Prideaux Gwyn of the Inner-Temple, Esq; Son of
Francis Gwyn of Ford-Abbey in the County of Devon, Esq;

Borough of Taunton.

George Speke of White-Lackington in this County, Esq; serv'd
last Parliament for Milbourn-Port,

* Francis

- * Francis Fane of the Middle Temp'le, Esq; one of His Majesty's Council at Law, and standing Council to the Board of Trade and Plantations.

Borough of Bridgewater.

Hon. George Doddington of Gunvill in the County of Dorset, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, Lord Lieutenant and Admiral of this County.

- * Sir Hallswell Tynte of Halliwell in this County, Bart.

Borough of Minehead.

- * Alexander Lutterell of Dunstar-Castle in this County, Esq;
Hon. Francis Whitworth of Leyburne in the County of Kent, Esq;

Borough of Ivelchester.

- * Charles Lockyer of Ealing in the County of Middlesex, Esq;
chief Accomptant to the South Sea Company.
* Thomas Crispe of Parhole in the County of Lancaster, and of Chipping-Norton in the County of Oxford, Esq;

Borough of Milbourn-Port.

- * Thomas Medlycott of the said Borough, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.
Michael Harvey of Clifton in this County, Esq; Sⁿ and Heir of Edward Harvey of Comb in the County of Surrey, Esq;

Southampton 26.

- Right Hon. Lord Henry Powlett, first Brother of his Grace the Duke of Bolton.
Sir John Cope of Bramfel in this County, Bart. chosen also for Tavistock, for which Borough he serv'd last Parliament.

City of Winchester.

- Right Hon. Lord William Powlett, Uncle to his Grace the Duke of Bolton, and one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.
George Rodney Bridges of Avington in this County, Esq;

Town

Town of Southampton.

- * Robert Eyre of New-house in the County of Wilts, Esq; Barrister at Law, one of the Filazers in the Court of Common Pleas for London, Middlesex and Suffolk, Recorder of this Town, and eldest Son of the Right Hen. Sir Robert Eyre Knt. Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas.
- * Anthony Henley of the Grainge in this County, Esq;

Town of Portsmouth.

- Hon. Sir John Norris of Hempsted-place in the County of Kent, Knt. Admiral of the Blue Squadron of England, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Deputy-Governor of Dover Castle.
- Hon. Sir Charles Wager of Parsons-Green in the County of Middlesex Knt. Vice Admiral of the Red Squadron of England, and one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Borough of Yarmouth.

- Paul Burrard of Wall-Hampton in this County, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Lymington.
- Maurice Morgan, Esq; Colonel in the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, Son of Anthony Morgan, Esq; Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight.

Borough of Petersfield.

- Norton Powlet of Rotherfield in this County, Esq;
- * Joseph Taylor of Stanmore in the County of Middlesex, Esq; Chief Clerk of the Hospital of Bridewell in the City of London.

Borough of Newport alias Medena.

- George Huxley of Stoke in the County of Bucks, Esq; one of the Commissioners for Victualing the Royal Navy.
- * William Fortescue of Buckland Filleigh, near Great Torrington in the County of Devon, Esq; Secretary to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole as Chancellor, and under Treasurer of the Exchequer.

Borough of Stockbridge.

Hon. John Chetwynd, Esq; Second Brother of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Chetwynd, and one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Hon. Martin Bladen of Sunbury in the County of Middlesex, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Borough of New Town.

* *James Worsley of Pylewell in this County, Esq;*

* *Thomas Holmes of the Isle of Wight, Esq; Son of the late Major General Holmes.*

Borough of Christ's-Church, Twynham.

* *Charles Withers of Hall near Basingstoke in this County Esq; Surveyor General of all His Majesty's Woods on the North and South Side of Trent.*

* *Joseph Hinxman of the New Forrest in this County, Esq; His Majesty's Wood-ward, and Keeper of the under Wood and Trees in the said Forrest, and in the Forrests of Chute-Pambear, Ailshort, Eastbear and Westbear in this County.*

Borough of Lymington.

Right Hon. Lord Nassau Powlett, Knight of the Bath, youngest Brother of his Grace the Duke of Bolton, serv'd last Parliament for this County.

Anthony Morgan, Esq; Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight; serv'd last Parliament for Yarmouth, in this County.

Borough of Whitchurch.

John Conduitt of Cranbury-Lodge, in the Parish of Hursley, in this County, Esq; Master and Worker of His Majesty's Mints.

* *John Selwyn of Matson in the County of Gloucester, Esq; late Receiver General and Cashier of His Majesty's Customs.*

Borough of Andover.

Hon. James Brudenel of Stocken-Hall in the County of Lincoln, Esq; Master or Treasurer of His Majesty's Jewels, only Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of Cardigan.

* *Hon.*

* Hon. Charles Collyear, Esq; youngest Son of the Right Honourable the Earl of Portmore.

Staffordshire 10.

Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot of Blythfield in this County, Bact. serv'd last Parliament for Newcastle, under Line.

Hon. William Leveson Gower, Esq; Second Brother to the Right Honourable the Lord Gower.

City of Litchfield.

Richard Plummer of Blakefware in the County of Hertford, Esq; late one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Walter Chetwynd of Grendon in the County of Warwick, Esq; Paymaster of certain of His Majesty's Annual Pensions and Bounties.

Borough of Stafford.

Right Hon. Walter Chetwynd of Ingestree in this County, Lord Viscount Chetwynd in the Kingdom of Ireland, High Steward of the said Borough.

* Joseph Galcoigne Nightingale of Enfield in the County of Middlesex, Esq; Son-in-law to the Right Honourable the Earl Ferrers.

Borough of Newcastle Under-Line.

* Hon. Baptist Leveson Gower of the Inner Temple, Esq; youngest Brother of the Right Honourable the Lord Gowers chosen also for Agmondesham.

* John Ward of Sedgley-Park in this County, Esq;

Borough of Tamworth.

Right Honourable William Obrian, Earl of Inchiquen, and Baron of Burren, in the Kingdom of Ireland, Knight of the Bath, Son-in-Law to the Right Honourable the Earl of Orkney, serv'd last Parliament for New Windlor.

Honourable Thomas Willoughby, Esq; second Son to the Right Hon. the Lord Middleton, serv'd last Parliament for the University of Cambridge.

Suffolk 16.

Sir William Barker, of Ipswich, in this County, Bart.
Sir Jermyn Davers, of Rushbrook-Hall, and of Rougham, in this County, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for St. Edmund's Bury.

Borough of Ipswich.

Hon. Sir William Thomson, of the Inner-Temple, Knt. Curator, Baron of the Exchequer, and Recorder of the City of London.
Francis Negus, of Dallingoe, in this County, Esq; Avener, and Clerk Martial, and Master of His Majesty's Buck-hounds, and a Director o the East-India Company.

Borough of Dunwich.

* *William Branthwayte, of Hethill, in the County of Norfolk, Esq; Serjeant at Law.*
Joseph Banks, of Revesby-Abbey, in the County of Lincoln, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Totness. Since dead.

Borough of Orford.

Dudley North, of Glemham-Hall, in this County, Esq;
Hon. Price Devereux, of Vaynor, in the County of Montgomery, Esq; Son and Heir Apparent of the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Hereford, chosen also for the County of Montgomery, for which he serv'd the last Parliament.

Borough of Alborough.

Samuel Lowe, of the said Borough, Esq; Comptroller of the Ordnance in Ireland
William Wyndham, of Earsham, in this County, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, serv'd last Parliament for Sudbury.

Borough of Sudbury.

John Knight, of Gosfield-Hall, in the County of Essex, Esq; chosen also for St. Maws.
 * *Cartwright Leathes, of Oakley House, near Harwich, in the County of Essex, Esq;*

Borough

Borough of Eye.

- * *Hon. Stephen Cornwallis, Esq; Lieutenant Col. to the Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Col. Hayes, and first Brother to the Right Hon. the Lord Cornwallis.*
- * *Hon. John Cornwallis, Esq; second Brother of the Right Hon. the Lord Cornwallis aforesaid.*

Borough of St. Edmund's-Bury.

- Right Hon. John Lord Hervey, eldest Son and Heir apparent to the Right Hon. the Earl of Bristol.*
- * *Thomas Norton, of Ickworth-Abbey, in this County, Esq;*

Surry 14:

- Arthur Onslow, of Ember-Court, in this County, Esq; chosen also for Guilford, for which Borough, he serv'd the last Parliament.*
- Thomas Scawen, of Carshalton, in this County, Esq; Son of Sir Thomas Scawen, Knt. one of the Aldermen of the City of London.*

Borough of Southwark.

- Edmund Halsey, Esq; of the said Borough, Brewer, one of the Directors of the South-Sea Company.*
- Sir Joseph Eyles, of Chigwell, in the County of Essex, Knt. Turkey-Merchant, Brother to Sir John Eyles, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for the Devizes.*

Borough of Blechingly.

- Hon. Sir Orlando Bridgman, of Great-Lever, in the County of Lancaster, Bart. one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, serv'd last Parliament, for Lestwithiel.*
- William Clayton, of Marden, in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Rygate.

- Right Hon. Sir Joseph Jekyll, Knt. Master of the Rolls, P. C.*
- James Cocks, of the Middle-Temple, Esq;*

Borough of Guilford.

- Arthur Anslow, of Ember-Court, in this County, Esq; aforesaid, Recorder of the said Borough.*

* Richard Onslow. of the Liberty of Westminster, Esq; Col. in the first Regiment of Foot Guards, only Brother of the said Arthur Onslow, Esq;

Borough of Gatton.

Hon. Paul Dcominque of Chipsted in this County, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.
William Newland of the said Borough, Esq;

Borough of Haslemere.

James Oglethorp of Godalming in this County, Esq;
Peter Burrel of Beckingham in the County of Kent, Esq; one of the Directors of the South Sea Company.

Suffex 20.

Right Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, of Eastbourn-place in this County, Knt. of the Bath, Paymaster General of His Majesty's Forces, and of Chelsea Hospital, Uncle to the Right Honourable the Earl of Northampton, P. C.

Right Hon. Henry Pelham, Esq; Secretary at War, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, only Brother of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, P. C.

City of Chichester.

Right Hon. Lord William Beauclair, eldest Brother of his Grace the Duke of St. Albans.

* Hon. Charles Lumley, Esq; one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to His Majesty, Second Brother of the Right Honourable the Earl of Scarborough.

Borough of Horsham.

Hon. Henry Ingram, Esq; Commissary of the Stores of War, and Provisions for the Forces at Gibraltar, Brother of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Irwin.
Charles Eversfield of Denn in this County, Esq;

Borough of Midhurst.

Right Hon. Allan Broderick, Viscount and Baron Broderick of Middleton in the Kingdom of Ireland,

Bul.

Bullstrode Peachy alias Knight, of Stedham in this County,
Esq;

Borough of Lewes.

Hon. Thomas Pelham of this Borough, Esq; one of the Com-
missioners of Trade and Plantations, eldest Son of Sir Nicho-
las Pelham of Westling in this County Knight.

* Thomas Pelham of Stanmere in this County, Esq;

Borough of New-Shoreham,

Sir Nathaniel Gould of Newington in the County of Middle-
sex, Knt. Governor of the Mulcovy Company, and one of the
Directors of the Bank of England.

Francis Chamberlain of Thorpe in the County of Warwick,
Esq; Merchant in London.

Borough of Bramber.

Sir Richard Gough of Chelsea in the County of Middlesex,
and of Edgebarton in the County of Warwick, Knt. Merchant
in London.

Joseph Danvers of Swithland, in the County of Leicester, Esq;
serv'd last Parliament for Borough-brigg.

Borough of Steyning.

* Right Hon. William Vane, of Fair-Lawn in the County of
Kent, Lord Viscount Vane, in the Kingdom of Ireland.

* Thomas Bladen of St. James's in the Liberty of Westminster,
Esq; Nephew to Martin Bladen, Esq;

Borough of East-Grinstead.

* Right Hon. Henry Temple of East-Sheen in the County of
Surrey, Lord Viscount Palmerstoun in the Kingdom of Ire-
land, chief Remembrancer of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer
in the said Kingdom.

Right Hon. Richard Boyle of Ashley in the Parish of Walton,
in the County of Surrey, Lord Viscount Shannon in the King-
dom of Ireland, Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces,
and Captain of the Fourth Troop of Life Guards.

Borough of Arundel.

Right Hon. Thomas Gage of High-Meadow in the County of Gloucester, Lord Viscount Gage of Castle-Island in the Kingdom of Ireland, chosen also for Tewkesbury, for which Borough he serv'd the last Parliament.

* *Sir John Shelly of Mitchel-Grove, in this County, Bart. Brother-in-law to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.*

Warwickshire 6.

William Peytoe of Chelerton in this County, Esq;
Hon. Edward Digby Esq; Third son of the Right Honourable the Lord Digby.

City of Coventry.

Sir Adolphus Oughton of Tetch-Brook in this County, Knt, and Bart. Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Regiment of Foot Guards.

John Neale of Allesly in this County, Esq; Comptroller of the Household to their Royal Highnesses the Three eldest Princesses.

Borough of Warwick.

Sir William Keyt of Stratford upon Avon in this County, Bart.

William Bromley jun. Esq; only Son of William Bromley of Bagington in this County, Esq; serv'd last Parliament for Fowcy.

Westmoreland 4.

Hon. Anthony Lowther, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, only Brother of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Lonsdale.

* *Daniel Wilfon of Dallam-Castle in this County, Esq;*

Borough of Apulby.

Hon. Sackville Tufton of Newbottle in the County of Northampton, Esq; Nephew to the Right Honourable the Earl of Thanet.

* *John*

- * John Ramsden Esq; Son of Sir William Ramsden of Byram in the County of York, Bart.

Wiltshire 34.

- * Sir James Long of Draycot-Cerne in this County, Bart.
- * John Talbot of Laycock in this County, Esq;

City of New Sarum.

Anthony Duncomb of Barford in this County Esq;
Thomas Lewis of Soberton in the County of Southampton Esq;
chofen also for Buckingham. Serv'd last Parliament for Southampton.

Borough of Wilton.

- Hon. Robert Sawyer Hebert of High-Clear in the County of Southampton, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, second Son to the Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke.
- * Thomas Martin of Clapham in the County of Surrey, Esq; Goldsmith in London.

Borough of Downeton.

- Hon. John Verney Esq; one of the Welch Judges, and one of his Majesty's Council at Law, youngest Son of the Right Hon. the Lord Willoughby of Brook.
- Giles Eyre of Brickworth in this County, Esq; Serjeant at Law and Recorder of the City of Bath.

Borough of Hindon.

- * George Heathcote of Earls-Stoke in this County, Esq;
- * Townshend Andrews of Coulstone in this County, Esq;

Borough of Heitesbury.

- Hon. Edward Ashe of this Borough, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.
- * Hon. Horatio Townshend Esq; one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, and one of the Directors of the Bank of England, only Brother to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Townshend.

Borough of Westbury.

- Francis Annesly of the Inner-Temple, Esq;
* John Gifford of Bemister in the County of Dorset, Esq;

Borough of Calne.

- * William Duckett of Hartham in this County, Esq; Major to the second Troop of Granadier Guards, Brother of George Duckett Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Excise.
* William Wardour of Whitney in the County of Hereford, Esq;

Borough of Devizes.

- Benjamin Haskyn Stiles of Bowden-Park in this County, Esq;
* Francis Eyles Esq; Son of John Eyles of the said Borough, Esq; and kinsman to Sir John Eyles, Bart. Sub-Governor of the South-Sea-Company.

Borough of Chippenham.

- Gabriel Roberts of Ampthill in the County of Bedford, Esq; one of the Directors of the South-Sea Company, serv'd last Parliament for Marlborough.
* Rogers Holland of the Middle-Temple, Esq;

Borough of Malmsbury.

- Giles Erle of Escot, in this County, Esq;
* William Rawlinton Erle Esq; Son of the said Giles Erle, Esq;

Borough of Cricklade.

- Sir Thomas Read of Thame in the County of Oxford, Bart. one of the Clerks of the Green-Cloth, and a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.
* Christopher Tilson of Hampton-Court in the County of Middlesex, Esq; one of the chief Clerks of the Treasury.

Borough

Borough of Great Bedwin.

- * *Right Hon. William Lord Viscount Lewisham, Sen and Heir apparent to the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth.*
- Sir William Willis of Fen-Ditton in the County of Cambridge, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for Newport in the County of Southampton.*

Borough of Ludgershall.

- Borlace Richmond Webb of Biddefden in this County, Esq; Sen of the late Lieut. General Webb.*
- * *Charles Boone of Rooksnest in the County of Surrey, Esq; late Govern.r of Bombay in the East-Indies.*

Borough of Old Sarum.

- Right Hon. Thomas Pitt of Woodcote in the County of Dorset, Earl of Londonderry in the Kingdom of Ireland; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Governor of the Leeward-Islands.*
- * *Thomas Pitt of Camelford in the County of Cornwall, and of Stratford in this County, Esq; Nephew to the said Earl of Londonderry, chosen also for Okehampton.*

Borough of Wotton Bassett.

- * *Hon. John St. John of Lydiard Tregoze in this County, Esq; second Sen to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount St. John of Battersea.*
- * *John Cross, of the City of Westminster, Esq; Son to Sir Thomas Cross of the said City, Bart.*

Borough of Marlborough.

- Thomas Gibson Esq; of the City of London, Money Scrivener*
- * *Edward Lisle of Crook-Hampton, in the County of Southampton, Esq;*

Worcestershire 9.

- * *Sir Herbert Perot Fackington of Westwood, in this County, Bart.*

Hon. Sir Thomas Littleton of Hagley-Hall, in this County, Bart. one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

City of Worcester.

* *Sir Richard Lane, of the said City, Knt.*
Samuel Sandys of Ombersley-Court in this County, Esq;

Borough of Droitwich.

Richard Foley Esq; one of the Prothonotaries of the Court of Common-Pleas, Brother to the Right Hon. the Lord Foley.
Thomas Winnington of Holme-Castle, in this County, Esq; Son to Salway Winnington of Stanford-Court, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Evesham.

John Rudge Esq; Mercht. in London, Deputy-Governor of the South-Sea-Company.
Sir John Rulhout of Northick in this County, Bart.

Borough of Bewdley.

Crew Offley of Whichnor, in the County of Stafford, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

Yorkshire 30.

Hon. Sir Thomas Watson Wentworth, of Wentworth-Wood-House, in this County, Bart. and Knt. of the Bath, serv'd last Parliament for Malton.
Cholmondeley Turner of Kirkleatham, in this County, Esq;

City of York.

Sir William Milner of Nun-Appleton, in his County, Bart.
Edward Thompson of Marlden, in this County, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

Town of Kingston upon Hull.

*Right Hon. Joseph Micklethwaite, of Swine, in this County,
Lord Viscount Micklethwaite in the Kingdom of Ireland,
serv'd last Parliament for Arundel.*
George Crowle of the said Borough, Esq;

Borough of Knaresborough.

*Hon. Richard Arundel of Allerton Maulvelerer, in this County,
Esq; Surveyor General of his Majesty's Works, Uncle to the
Right H n. the Lord Arundel of Trerice.*
Sir Henry Slingsby of Red-Houle in this County, Bart.

Borough of Scarborough.

*Sir William Strickland of Boynton, in this County, Bart. Treasur-
er of her Majesty's Household.*
*John Hungerford of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; Curfitor of Yorkshire and
Westmorland, and standing Council to the East-India Com-
pany.*

Borough of Rippon.

* *John Aillabie of Studley, in this County, Esq; late Chancel-
lor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer.*
William Aillabie Esq; Son of the said John Aillabie Esq;

Borough of Richmond.

* *Sir Marmaduke Wyvill of Constable-Burton in this County,
Bart.*
* *Charles Bathurst of Scuffleskelf in this County, Esq; High-
Sberiff of Yorkshire.*

Borough of Heddon.

*Right Hon. William Pulteney of St. James's at Westminster,
Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the East-Riding of this County.*
P. C.
*Harry Pulteney of the Meuse, at Charing-Cross, Esq; Colonel
of the Foot Guards, and Equery to his Majesty, Brother of
the said William Pulteney Esq;*

Borough of Boroughbrigg.

James Tyrrel, of Shot-over, in the County of Oxford, Esq;
George Gregory, of the Town of Nottingham, Esq; Store-
keeper of His Majesty's Ordnance, serv'd last Parliament for
the said Town of Nottingham.

Borough of Malton.

Hon. Henry Finch, Esq; fourth Son to the Right Hon. the
Earl of Nottingham.

* Wardell George Weitby, of Revensfield, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Thirsk.

Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirklebury, in this County, Bart.
one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

* Thomas Robinson, Esq; Secretary to his Excellency Horatio
Walpole, Esq; as Ambassador Extraordinary at the Court of
France, youngest Son of Sir William Robinson, of Newby, in
this County, Bart.

Borough of Aldborough.

William Jessop, of Broom-hall, in this County, Esq; one of the
chief Justices of Wales, and one of the Commissioners and Re-
ceivers General of Alienation.

Charles Stanhope, of St. James's at Westminster, Esq; Bro-
ther to the Right Hon. Mr. Vice Chamberlain Stanhope.

Borough of Beverly.

Charles Pelham, of Brockelsby, in the County of Lincoln, Esq;
serv'd last Parliament for Great Grimsby.

* Elisha Bradshaw, of Risby, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Northallerton.

Leonard Smelt, of Kirby-Fleetham, in this County, Esq; Clerk
of the Deliveries of his Majesty's Ordnance, and Secretary to
the Master General thereof.

Henry Pieres, of Bedal, in this County, Esq;

Borough of Pontefract.

Sir William Lowther, of Swillington, in this County, Bart.
John Lowther, of Ackworth, in this County, Esq;

Barons of the Cinque-Ports, 16.

Port of Hastings.

Sir William Ashbournham, of Guirtling, in the County of Suffex, Bart. one of the Chamberlain's of the Exchequer and one of the Commissioners of Alienation.

Hon. Thomas Townsend, Esq; one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, second Son of the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Townsend, chosen also for the University of Cambridge, serv'd last Parliament for Winchelsea.

Port of Dover.

Hon. George Berkeley, Esq; Master of the Hospital of St. Katherine near the Tower, youngest Brother of the Right Hon. the Earl of Berkeley.

Henry Furnese, Esq; of London Merchant.

Port of Sandwich.

Hon. Sir George Oxenden, of Dean-Court, in the County of Kent, Bart. one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

Josiah Burchett, Esq; Secretary to the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Port of Hyeth.

Sir Samuel Lennard, of West-Wickham, in the County of Kent, Bart. Lieutenant Col. to the second Troop of Guards.

Hereules Baker, of the Town of Deal, Esq; lately a Commander in the Royal Navy.

Port of New Romney.

David Papillon, Esq; Son of Philip Papillon, of Auckridge, in the County of Kent, Esq;

* *John Essington, of Point-Ladies, in the Parish of Wandsworth in the County of Surrey, Esq;*

Town of Rye.

Phillips Gibbon, of Rolvendon, in the County of Kent, Esq;
Surveyor General of the Crown-Land, Revenue.

* John Norris, Esq; only Son of Sir John Norris, Knt. Admiral
of the Blue Squadron of England.

Town of Winchelsea.

Robert Bristow, of the City of London, Esq; Clerk Comptroller
of the Green Cloth.

John Scrope, of Walmesly, in the County of Oxford, Esq; Joint
Secretary, to the Treasury, with Horatio Walpole, Esq; chosen
also for Briitol, serv'd last Parliament for Rippon.

Town of Seaford.

Sir William Gage, of Furl, in the County of Suffex, Bart. and
Knt. of the Bath.

Sir Philip York, of Bell-bar, in the County of Hertford, Knt.
His Majesty's Attorney General.

W A L E S 24.

Anglesey.

Hugh Williams of the City of Chester, Esq;

Borough of Beaumares.

Watkin Williams Wynne of Wynstay in the County of Den-
bigh, Esq; chosen also for the said County of Denbigh, for
which he serv'd last Parliament.

Brecon 2.

William Gwyn Vaughan of Trebaried in this County, Esq;

Town.

Town of Brecon.

Thomas Morgan of Ruperta in the County of Glamorgan, Esq;
only Brother of Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, Knight of
the Bath.

Cardigan 2.

* Right Hon. John Vaughan of Trawscod in this County,
Lord Viscount Lisburne in the Kingdom of Ireland; Lord
Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the said County.

Town of Cardigan.

Francis Cornwallis of Albemarle in the County of Carmarthen,
Esq; serv'd last Parliament for this County.

Carmarthen 2.

Sir Nicholas Williams of Rhyd-Odin in the said County, Bart;

Town of Carmarthen.

* Arthur Bevan of Laughern in this County, Esq;

Carnarvon 2.

John Griffith of Llyn in this County, Esq;

Town of Carnarvon.

Thomas Wynn of Bodyan in this County, Esq; Clerk of the
Green-Cloth to the King.

Denbigh 2.

Watkin Williams Wynne of this County, Esq; aforesaid.

Town of Denbigh. *

Robert Middleton of Chirk-Castle in this County, Esq;

Flint

Flint 2.

Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn-Hall in this County, Bart. Custos Rotularum of the said County.

Town of Flint.

* George Wynne, Esq; }
* Salusbury Lloyd, Esq; } Double Return.

Glamorgan 2.

Sir Charles Keymeys of Keven-Mabley in this County, Esq;

Town of Cardiffe.

Hon. Buffy Mansel of Margam in this County, Esq; Uncle to the Right Honourable the Lord Mansel.

Merioneth 1.

Richard Vaughan of Korfygedol in this County, Esq;

Montgomery 2.

Hon. Price Devereux of Vaynor in this County, Esq; Son and Heir apparent of the Lord Viscount Hereford, chosen also for Orford in Suffolk.

Town of Montgomery.

* Robert Williams Esq; Brother to Watkin }
Williams Wynn, Esq; *aforsaid.* } Double Return.
* William Corbet Esq; Son of Sir Robert Corbet of Stoke
in the County of Salop, Bart.

Pembroke 3.

* John Campbell of Stackpole-Court in this County, Esq;

Town of Pembroke.

William Owen, Esq; eldest Son of Sir Arthur Owen of Orielt-
ton, in this County, Bart.

Town of Haverford-West.

Erasmus Philips of Lincolns-Inn, Esq; Son and Heir of Sir
John Philips of Picton Castle, in this County, Bart.

Radnor 2.

Sir Humphrey Howarth of Maesfyllwich, in this County,
Baronet.

Town of New Radnor.

Thomas Lewis of Harpton, in this County, Esq;

SCOTLAND 45.

Shire of Aberdèen.

Sir Archibald Grant of Monymoske, Bart.

Shire of Aïr.

* Honourable James Campbell of Rowallen, Esq; Colonel of the
Regiment of Scots Greys, Groom of the Bed-chamber to his
Majesty, and only Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Loudoun.

Shire of Argyll.

Sir James Campbell of Arkinglafs, Bart.

Shire of Bamff.

* William Duff of Bracco, Esq;

Shire of Berwick.

George Bailie of Jerwiswood, Esq;

Shires of Bute and Cathness.

* Peter Dunbar of Bowermaden, Esq;

Shires of Nairn and Cromartie.

* Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Granville, Knt.

Shire of Dunbarton.

Hon. John Campbell, jun. of Mamore, Esq; Groom of the Bed chamber to his Majesty; serv'd last Parliament for the Burghs of Elgin, Cullen, &c.

Shire of Dumfries.

Charles Areskine of Burjarg, Esq; his Majesty's Sollicitor General for Scotland.

Shire of Edinburgh.

Robert Dundas of Arnistoun, Esq;

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Lord Lyon King of Arms in Scotland.

Shire of Fife.

Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther, Bart. Master of the King's Works in Scotland.

Shire of Forfar.

James Scot, jun. of Logie, Esq;

Shire of Haddingtoun.

Hon. John Cokburne of Ormstoun, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Shire of Inverness.

James Grant of Grant, Esq;

Shire of Kincardin.

James Scot, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards.

Shires of Kingrofs and Clacmanan.

The Return not yet made

Stewartry of Kirkenbright.

* Patrick Herron of Herron, Esq;

Shire of Lanerk.

Rt. Hon. Lord Archibald Hamilton of Motherwell, Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earls of Selkirk and Orkney, and Uncle to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.

Shire of Linlithgow.

* Alexander Hamilton of Inverweek, Esq;

Shires of Orkney and Zetland.

Hon. George Dowglafs, only Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Moreton.

Shire of Peebles.

Hon. John Dowglafs, Esq; Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of March.

Shire of Perth.

Mungo Haldane of Glenagies, Esq;

Shire of Renfrew.

Sir John Shaw of Greenock, Bart. serv'd last Parliament for the Shires of Clacmanan and Kingrofs.

Shire of Ross.

* *Hon. Charles Ross of Balnagoun, Esq; only Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Ross.*

Shire of Roxburgh.

* *William Dowglass, jun. of Cavers, Esq;*

Shire of Selkirk.

John Pringle of Haining, Esq;

Shire of Stirling.

Henry Cunningham of Balquhan, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters in Scotland; chosen also for the Burghs of Innerkithen, Dumfermline, &c.

Shire of Sutherland.

* *Rt. Hon. William Sutherland, Lord Strathnaver, Grandson and Heir apparent to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Sutherland.*

Shire of Wigton.

Hon. William Dalrymple of Glenmure, Esq; second Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Stair; chosen also for the Burghs of Wigton, New Galloway, &c.

City of Edinburgh.

John Campbel of Calder, Esq; late Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

Burghs of Tain, Kirkwall, Week, Dornock, Dingwall.

Robert Monroe of Foulis, Esq;

Burghs of Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn, &c.

Duncan Forbes, Esq; Lord Advocate for Scotland.

Burghs

Burghs of Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, Inverurie, Kintore.

Hon. William Stuart, Esq; Secretary to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty; chosen also for the Burghs of Air, Irwin, &c.

Burghs of Aberdeen, Inverbervy, Montrose, &c.

John Middleton, Esq; Colonel of Foot, and Deputy Governor of Tinmouth Fort.

Burghs of Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Coupar, St. Andrews.

* *John Drummond of Ealing, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; one of the Directors of the East India Company.*

Burghs of Craill, Killrenny, Anstruther-Easter, &c.

Philip Anstruther of Ardris, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, now at Gibraltar.

Burghs of Dysart, Kirkcaldie, Kinghorne, Burnt Island.

Hon. James Sinclair of Ravenscraigh, Esq; Major to the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards, second Son of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Sinclair.

Burghs of Innerkithen, Dumferline, Queens Ferry, &c.

Henry Cunningham of Balquhan, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters in Scotland, as aforesaid.

Burghs of Glasgow, Renfrew, Ruglen, Dumbarton.

* *John Blackwood, Esq, Merchant in London.*

Burghs of Haddingtoun, Dumbart, North Berwick, &c.

Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart. Auditor General of Scotland.

Burghs of Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow, Lanerk.

John Murray of Philliphaugh, Esq;

Burghs

Burghs of Dumfries, Sanquar, Annan, &c.

William Dowglas, *Sen. of Cavers, Esq;*

Burghs of Wigtoun, New Galloway, Stranraver, &c.

Hon. William Dalrymple of Glenmure, *Esq, second Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Stair, as aforesaid.*

Burghs of Air, Irwin, Rothesay, Campletoun, Inverary.

Hon. William Stuart, *Esq, as aforesaid.*

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Commons, exclusive of the double Returns — 558.

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As Likewise

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ſerve in the entuing Parliament.

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OF THE

Lords Spiritual and Temporal

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Of the Knights and Commanders of
Shires, Citrons, and Burghes, chose to
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Being The First Parliament of his Majesty
KING GEORGE II. and the seventh of
Great Brittain since the Union

Wherein every Member is truly and properly
determ'd by the Right, Liberty, or
Publick Employment, &c.

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Town of Pembroke.

*William Owen, Esq; eldest Son of Sir Arthur Owen of Orielt
ton, in this County, Bart.*

Town of Haverford-West.

*Erasmus Philips of Lincolns-Inn, Esq; Son and Heir of Sir
John Philips of Picton Castle, in this County, Bart.*

Radnor 2.

*Sir Humphrey Howarth of Maesyllwich, in this County,
Baronet.*

Town of New Radnor.

Thomas Lewis of Harpton, in this County, Esq;

SCOTLAND 45.

Shire of Aberdeen.

Sir Archibald Grant of Monymoske, Bart;

Shire of Air.

* *Honourable James Campbell of Rowallen, Esq; Colonel of the
Regiment of Scots Greys, Groom of the Bed-chamber to his
Majesty, and only Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Loudoun.*

Shire of Argyll.

Sir James Campbell of Arkinglass, Bart;

Shire of Bamff.

* *William Duff of Bracco, Esq;*

Shire of Berwick.

George Bailie of Jerwiswood, Esq;

Shires of Bute and Cathness.

* Peter Dunbar of Bowermaden, *Esq;*

Shires of Nairn and Cromartie.

* Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Granville, *Knt.*

Shire of Dunbarton.

Hon. John Campbell, *jun.* of Mamore, *Esq;* *Groom of the Bed chamber to his Majesty; serv'd last Parliament for the Burghs of Elgin, Cullen, &c.*

Shire of Dumfries.

Charles Areskine of Burjarg, *Esq;* *his Majesty's Sollicitor General for Scotland.*

Shire of Edinburgh.

Robert Dundas of Arnistoun, *Esq;*

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Brodie of Brodie, *Lord Lyon King of Arms in Scotland.*

Shire of Fife.

Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther, *Bart.* *Master of the King's Works in Scotland.*

Shire of Forfar.

James Scot, *jun.* of Logie, *Esq;*

Shire of Haddingtoun.

Hon. John Cokburne of Ormiston, *Esq;* *one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.*

Shire of Inverness.

James Grant of Grant, *Esq;*

Shire of Kincardin.

James Scot, *Esq;* *Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards.*

Shires of Kingrofs and Clacmanan.

The Return not yet made

Stewartry of Kirkenbright.

* Patrick Herron of Herron, *Esq;*

Shire of Lanerk.

Rt. Hon. Lord Archibald Hamilton of Motherwell, Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earls of Selkirk and Orkney, and Uncle to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.

Shire of Linlithgow.

* Alexander Hamilton of Inverweek, *Esq;*

Shires of Orkney and Zetland.

Hon. George Dowglafs, only Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Moreton.

Shire of Peebles.

Hon. John Dowglafs, Esq; Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of March.

Shire of Perth.

Mungo Haldane of Glenagies, *Esq;*

Shire of Renfrew.

Sir John Shaw of Greenock, Bart. sero'd last Parliament for the Shires of Clacmanan and Kingrofs.

Shire of Ross.

* *Hon. Charles Ross of Balnagoun, Esq; only Brother of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Ross.*

Shire of Roxburgh.

* *William Dowglas, jun. of Cavers, Esq;*

Shire of Selkirk.

John Pringle of Haining, Esq;

Shire of Stirling.

Henry Cunningham of Balquhan, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters in Scotland; chosen also for the Burghs of Innerkithen, Dumfermline, &c.

Shire of Sutherland.

* *Rt. Hon. William Sutherland, Lord Strathnaver, Grandson and Heir apparent to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Sutherland.*

Shire of Wigtoun.

Hon. William Dalrymple of Glenmure, Esq; second Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Stair; chosen also for the Burghs of Wigtoun, New Galloway, &c.

City of Edinburgh.

John Campbel of Calder, Esq; late Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

Burghs of Tain, Kirkwall, Week, Dornock, Dingwall.

Robert Monroe of Foulis, Esq;

Burghs of Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn, &c.

Duncan Forbes, Esq; Lord Advocate for Scotland.

Burghs of Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, Inverurie, Kintore.

Hon. William Stuart, Esq; Secretary to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty; chosen also for the Burghs of Air, Irwin, &c.

Burghs of Aberdeen, Inverbervy, Montrose, &c.

John Middleton, Esq; Colonel of Foot, and Deputy Governor of Tinmouth Fort.

Burghs of Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Coupar, St. Andrews.

* *John Drummond of Ealing, in the County of Middlesex, Esq; one of the Directors of the East India Company.*

Burghs of Craill, Killrenny, Anstruther-Easter, &c.

Philip Anstruther of Ardrie, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, now at Gibraltar.

Burghs of Dysart, Kirkcaldie, Kinghorne, Burnt Island.

Hon. James Sinclair of Ravenscraigh, Esq; Major to the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards, second Son of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Sinclair.

Burghs of Innerkithen, Dumferline, Queens Ferry, &c.

Henry Cunningham of Balquhan, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters in Scotland, as aforesaid.

Burghs of Glasgow, Renfrew, Ruglen, Dumbarton.

* *John Blackwood, Esq, Merchant in London.*

Burghs of Haddingtoun, Dumbart, North Berwick, &c.

Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart. Auditor General of Scotland.

Burghs of Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow, Lanerk.

John Murray of Philliphaugh, Esq;

Burghs

Burghs of Dumfries, Sanquar, Annan, &c.
William Dowglas, *Sen. of Cavers, Esq;*
Burghs of Wigtoun, New Galloway, Stranraver, &c.
Hon. William Dalrymple of Glenmure, *Esq,* *second Brother to*
the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Stair, as aforesaid.
Burghs of Air, Irwin, Rothesay, Campletoun, Inverary.
Hon. William Stuart, *Esq;* *as aforesaid.*

Lords Spiritual and Temporal ————— 222.
Commons, exclusive of the double Returns — 558.

F I N I S.



REASONS

AGAINST A

WAR.

In a LETTER to a Member of
PARLIAMENT.

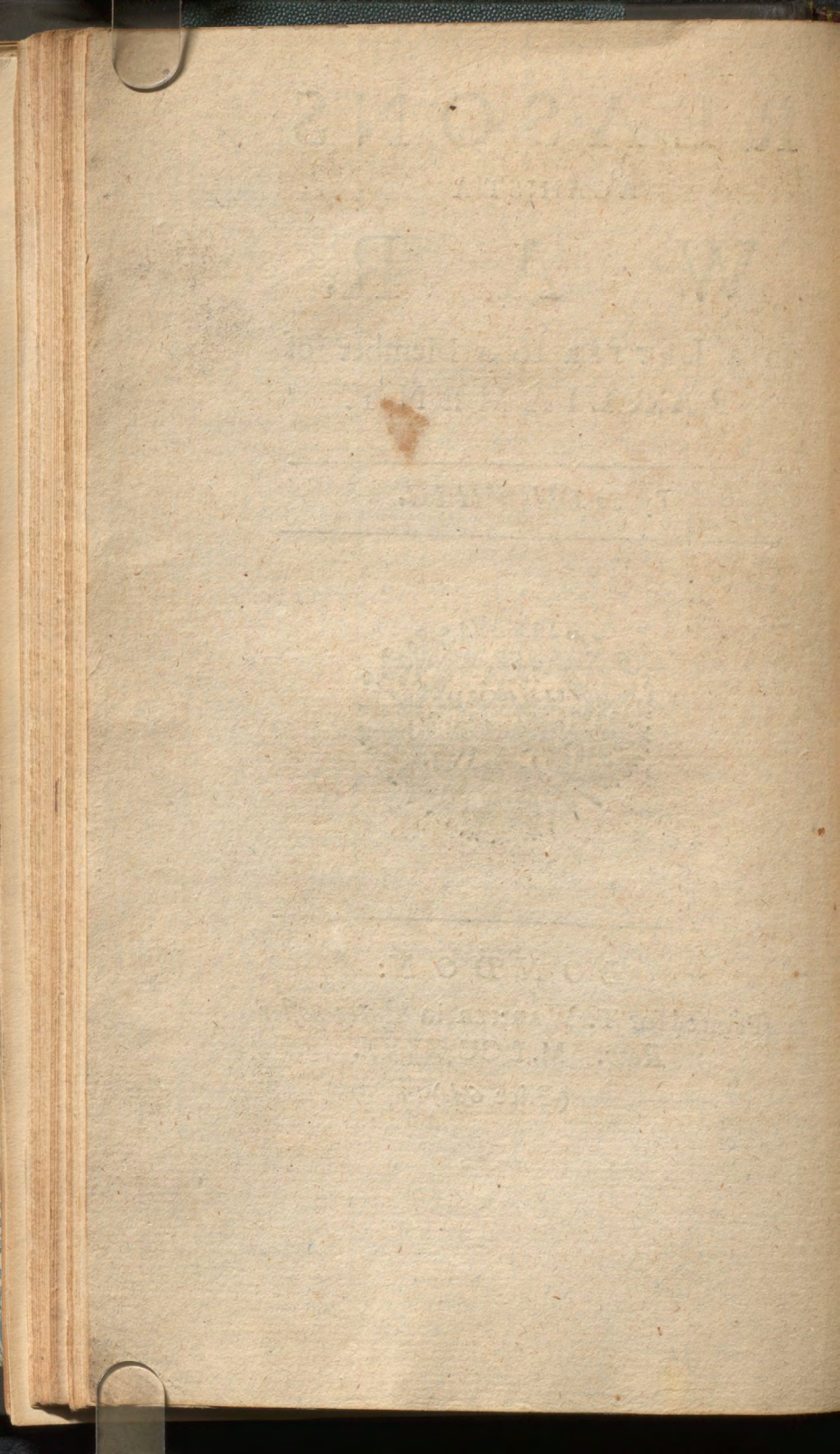
By an *Old WHIG.*



L O N D O N :

Printed for T. WARNER in *Pater-noster*
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(Price 6d.)





REASONS

AGAINST A

WAR, &c.

SIR,



THE loud Complaints of the People in general for want of Trade; the great fall of the public Stocks, thro' the appearance of a War, to the ruin of some hundreds of Families, and the universal Poverty, which the Nation seems to labour under, through a vast Debt of several Millions, renders it entirely necessary for every thinking Man to consider with himself, whether we are at present in a proper Condition to open a new scene of War in *Europe*, with any probability of Success; wherefore, as an old Whig and a sincere Friend to my King and Country, I humbly presume, in the following Lines, to

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send

send you my honest Thoughts touching the present situation of Affairs; in confidence, that as you are a Whig in Principle, and not in Name only, you will duly weigh the consequences of Things in such a manner, as not unadvisedly to give your Vote for a War in the ensuing Session of Parliament, if this evil may be avoided with any prospect of Safety to your Country.

In this Letter I propose, Sir, to shew, and (I hope) to do it beyond Contradiction, that nothing can be a greater Disservice to his Majesty's Interest, more fatal to his Ministry, or more destructive to his People, than to engage them in a new War, if there be but a bare possibility of preventing it, let the Pretences be what they will. A new Fire seems to be now kindling in *Europe*, which in all likelihood will bear out far and wide, and without doubt, many Princes will warm their Hands at it, whilst their poor Subjects will be burnt to Death. But, I hope, we shall have Wit enough to keep out of its reach,
and

and not be scorch'd with its Flames; but like some of our wiser Neighbours, shall lie still, and know how to make our Markets of the Follies and Misfortunes of others. We have been Heroes long enough for Glory and Reputation, and have paid the price of our Gallantry and Credulity. We are now got near sixty Millions in Debt, and have nothing for it but *Gibraltar* and *Port-Makon*; and it is said, that some of our Allies have had the Presumption to expect, that we should part with those two important Places of Strength, either to the King of *Spain*, or to some other of our Rivals in Trade; and I am sure, if they shou'd be lost, or given away, we have nothing left wherewith to compensate any Power which we shall vanquish hereafter.

'Tis to be hoped, that no Man will ever attempt to make any Proposition to us for entering into a new War; nor can I guess at any one Argument for it, but what (I hope) will be called Treason to his Sovereign and his Country.

try. Old thread-bare Reasons will hold no longer; for People will not always like Children deceive themselves, nor be deceiv'd by others. We shall not bear being told again, *That England need but send a Message, or a Bucket full of Water, and the Fire will be soon extinguished.* That Argument has already cost us the Terror and Expence of providing against two Invasions, or intended Invasions; has lost or spoiled several great Fleets, destroy'd numbers of our Merchant Ships, encreas'd our National Debts many Millions, and (perhaps) brought upon us that noble Project of paying them off, which has ruin'd so many Families, and has created a general want of Trade, and I doubt, that general Disaffection which is so often complain'd of, and all the Reward we have met with, has been a struggle to keep what we were in Possession of before, what was yielded to us by Treaties, and what there was no pretence for demanding, if we had thought it our Interest to have lain still. For *Spain* had then in all likelihood

lihood been very well contented to have left us in the quiet Possession of *Gibraltar*, to have continued an open Trade with us to old *Spain*, and to have performed the Treaties she had made and entered into with us, for carrying on a Trade to the South-Seas.

But further yet, it is to be hoped we shall never engage in a new War, before we have well considered all the Consequences which will necessarily or probably happen from such an Engagement; and have thought how we shall get out of it, as well as how to get into it: For the first step draws in all the rest, and when we are in, we must go thorough; we may begin with Thousands, but must go on with Millions, as it happen'd to our great cost in the late most necessary War against *France*. A Message will produce a Quarrel, but Fleets and Armies must end it. We well know, and have long since seen the Moderation of our Allies, when they can prevail upon us to espouse their Quarrels: For we can no sooner engage in their Squabbles, but they immediately become

become our own ; and then we must pay them for doing their own Business, or else they threaten to leave the War upon us : And when it is ended through our Means, they always divide the Spoil among themselves, and endeavour to make us pay likewise for the Peace. The Pretence for an ensuing Rupture with the Emperor is his drawing of the *East-India* Trade into the *Austrian Netherlands* thro' the Canal of *Ostend*, contrary to solemn Treaties, as affirm'd : But I wou'd be glad to know, how such an Infraction of a solemn Treaty, if any such were stipulated, can affect the whole Body of the *British* Nation in their Interest? It may probably injure our own *East-India* Company in their high Prices set upon Goods at Home, and compel them to lower the Value thereof to the Buyer, whereby their Dividend wou'd probably sink to five or six *per Cent.* but is the bulk of the Nation concern'd in their Dividend or Trade? what is consum'd at Home is (perhaps) to the great Detriment of our own manufactur'd Commodities ; and in
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what we re-export to Foreigners of *East-India* Goods, we may undersel all our Rivals in that Trade by the help of a Draw-back on the Customs, if the Company will be satisfy'd with a moderate Profit. But if it shall happen that the *Dutch* are the greatest Gainers by this Trade, as is most certainly true, because they consume but few of these Commodities among themselves in a luxurious manner, then are they the most concern'd to have the *Ostend-Company* suppress'd, and ought to be the foremost in this War: Whereas they have delay'd the Business of acceding to the *Hanover* Treaty till very lately; and Peradventure, had not come into our Measures at all, if they could have secur'd their Frontier Garrisons without Augmentation of their Forces. But I wou'd be glad to learn, what any of them have ever done for us, or wou'd suffer us to do for ourselves, in return for all that we have done for them; or what Courtesy have they ever shewn us *Englishmen*, as *Englishmen*? I hope therefore that

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we shall at last, in our Turn, consider only our own Interest, and think what is best for our selves, and not ruin our selves yet further, and let others have the whole Advantage,. I will say nothing of *France* as yet, tho' they have as great a concern as us to put an end to this *Ostend-Company*; but consider them as Allies hereafter: For our just Complaints are against the *Dutch*, if we may be allow'd to complain of our own Weakness; that they have placed us in the Front of the Battle to fight their Cause for them, and have kept themselves as a Body of reserve in case of the utmost Danger to their Trade. But if we had no occasion given us for these Complaints, we have another and a shorter Answer to give our good Allies, namely, that by helping them so long, we are render'd incapable of helping them any longer; and that all Treaties must cease and become void, when it is impossible to perform them without utter ruin to one of the Parties, and destroying all ends for which these Treaties were made.

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Indeed, it must be acknowledg'd, that the Emperor, after so many great Services done him by us, has acted a very unworthy Part, in granting his Charter to the *Ostend-Company*: But shall we enter into a War to punish the Ingratitude of Princes? Before we make such a Step, let us take a short Prospect of the Journey we are to go, and of what will be the result of such an Undertaking. All Naval Armaments must be made at our Charge, and employ'd at a great distance from Home, to the ruin of our Ships and our Seamen, and the Obstruction of our Commerce: Armies must be sent Abroad, or Money in the name of Subsidies found out to pay those which are there already: More Armies must be kept at Home to oppose Invasions, and to keep the People quiet: Great Land-Taxes must be raised, our publick Funds be every Year increas'd, the People frighten'd with the perpetual Alarms of the Pretender, which will sink the Price of the old Stocks, and consequently set an exorbitant Price up-

on the raising of new ones: We shall lose a beneficial Trade to *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*; and probably *Portugal* will take that Opportunity to execute what they lately attempted, being now in close Alliance with *Spain*. The *Czarina* too may think it a favourable one to acknowledge some past Obligations; and other Nations may judge it a proper Time to bite the Stone that was thrown at them, and then we shall have little or no Trade at all, and all our Commodities and Manufactures will lie upon our Hands, and the People must be starved, or subsist by ways which no honest Man can wish, and all Men ought to dread.

But we are not fully assur'd of the *French* King's Alliance, in case we shou'd think fit to begin a War with the Emperor, or the King of *Spain*, notwithstanding the Engagement of his Friendship to us by the Treaty of *Hanover*: For we are inform'd, that that Court has lately declar'd to the Emperor's Minister, that the *French* King does only think

think himself oblig'd by that Treaty to furnish his *Quota* thus stipulated, if the King of *Great Britain* shall begin the Attack, and not the Emperor or King of *Spain*; so that the whole burden of the War will in a great Measure rest upon us, if we shou'd on our side make such a Rupture. Therefore, if *France* shou'd think it her Interest to lie still in all other Respects, than what has been stipulated between the two Nations of *Great-Britain* and *France*; she, who is next Neighbour to the Emperor, and is vastly more concern'd in the Event of the *East-India* Trade to the *Austrian Netherlands* than we are; I say, what have we to do with the *Ostend-Company*, whether it sinks or subsists? We have an *East-India* Company of our own, if that be a valuable Branch of Commerce to us, which may at any Time undersel them, or the *Dutch*, by the great quantity of Goods brought Home in our own Bottoms: But if our Company shall expect such unreasonable Gains by their Trade, as to keep up the Price of their Goods

to

to an exorbitant height, we have then more Shops than one to apply to; which ought to be the case of all free Traders. But what if *France* should entirely drop us in a War upon our Hands, and engage in a different Side, as it may be the case of two rival Nations contending in Trade and Riches; we may then probably have her too for our Enemy, which may be more than an equal Match for us and the *Dutch*, if they shall think fit to join with us in the War against the Emperor for suppressing the *Ostend-Company*. Indeed, there have been some Bickerings of late between the two Courts of *France* and *Spain*, the Emperor's new Ally, about the return of the *Infanta* to *Spain*, which may possibly incense the King of *Spain* to seek Revenge for such a high Affront put upon the Honour of his Nation: But what shall we get by embroiling our selves in the Quarrels of other Nations? Will such feats of Knight-Erantry be of any Glory or Advantage to us? We may, 'tis true, acquire the Character of pious Christians, in treating those

those kindly, who have not long since despitefully used us; but we shall pay dearly for this Christian Temper.

I do not apprehend, that we have any thing to fear from the King of *Spain*, if we do not give him Provocation: For a Secretary of State but a few Years ago assur'd the then Lord Mayor, in a Letter since printed, that no foreign Potentate did abet, or give any countenance to the last intended Infurrection; and if he wou'd not assist a Conspiracy then actually, and as we have been told, very deeply laid, there can be no Reason to believe, that he will form a new one against a State that intends him no Harm, and can do him a great deal of Good. And surely it is not our Interest at this time of Day to provoke him to do it in his own Defence. He may draw his Forces into *Andalusia* to defend his own Dominions against Foreign Invasions dreaded, if we send great Fleets, and Land-Forces aboard them, into the *Mediterranean*; for he can have no Pretensions unto *Gibraltar*, or to besiege the
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the same, he having parted with it to us by a solemn Treaty: And, I hope, it will be made High-Treason in any Minister of State to give Advice about quitting it either to the King of *Spain*, or any other Power, even though it shou'd not be annex'd to the Crown of *Great Britain* by Act of Parliament; for taken from us it cannot be, unless we are consenting thereunto, which is absurd for any one to imagine. For if it cost the *Spaniard* seven or eight Months Siege, and more than the loss of 15000 Men, as we are inform'd it did in a late War, without the least Success, what Probability is there, that the *Spaniard* shou'd be so mad as to make the like Attack again, when it has been since so well fortify'd by Land, as to render the same impregnable in case of a new War with *Spain*, especially since we have the superiority of the Sea by our great Fleet?

But if such a War was ever so necessary, how shall it be supported? We find by woful Experience, that two Shillings in the Pound, together with the Malt-

Tax have not maintain'd the Current yearly Expence of the Government, but we have still run in Debt. The Money given for the Civil List has not defray'd that charge, but new and large Sums have been given to pay off the Arrears, which it is said are not yet paid off. New Salaries and new Pensions have been found necessary to satisfy the Clamours of those who will never be satisfy'd; and the greater Occasions the Courtiers have, and the greater Necessities they are in, more will be found necessary still: For it is no new Thing for artful Men to engage their Superiors in Difficulties, and then to be largely paid for helping them out of them again. War has heretofore been the Harvest of the wicked Ministry, wherein they have involved their Sovereign with a design of growing rich thereby themselves: But this cannot be laid to the Charge of the present Men in Power, since it is well known, that they are against a new War, if it may be prevented; and they are already become so rich by the favours of

a bountiful Master, that they do not stand in need of the mean Arts of every hungry Courtier. They consult more the Good of their Country, than the Interest of themselves; and had rather sacrifice their ease and quiet to new Troubles than suffer their Prince to be insulted by any Potentate whatsoever. They know very well, that the Customs and Excise are already anticipated and mortgag'd beyond Redemption: The Salt, Leather, Windows, and almost every thing else that can be tax'd, is already burthen'd with heavy Duties, and some of them so high as to lessen the Produce, and are appropriated to pay off Debts due to private Men: And therefore, it cannot be imagin'd, that these Men shou'd be fond of a new War. For,

What new Sources can they find out to maintain a foreign War, and a much larger Expence in our own Country, which will be necessary to defend us against Enemies Abroad whom we shall provoke, and against discontented People at Home, who, it is to be feared, may

may say that they are oppress'd and starv'd? one Additional Shilling in the Pound upon Land, if the Parliament can be persuaded to grant it, and the People be easy in paying it, will be but as a drop of Water thrown into the Ocean, whatever may be pretended at first; and then for all the Remainder we must run further in Debt, if we can get any one to trust us; and, where shall we raise new Funds? Here I doubt our Publicans and Inventors of new Grievances will be at their Wits end. It is certain the greater the Difficulty is in raising, the greater must be the Price for raising them, and the present Stocks will be less valuable in Proportion, as new Demands make them more necessary. I know of none that will be Gainers hereby, besides some rich overgrown Citizens, that have already devour'd the Landed Interest, and swallow'd down almost all the little Fry of Stock-jobbers. They have had the *Item* given them to sell out their Stocks at high Prices, and to lie ready with their Money to lend it

to the Government at high Interest upon such an Emergency. And can it be to the Safety of any People, that is a free and trading Nation, to have the whole Wealth of the Kingdom brought into so few Hands? I hope the Wisdom of this Parliament is such, that we shall see the Projects of these Muck-worms baffled and disappointed. Besides, all our ancient Gentry are grown miserably poor by the Burthens of the two last great Wars; and are in no Condition to bear one Shilling in the Pound more upon their Land without an absolute necessity.

But suppose, to the infinite Dissatisfaction of the People, and to the utter Ruin and Destruction of Trade, the little which is not already taxed, cou'd be taxed and turn'd into Funds to create new Markets for Stock-jobbers, and enough cou'd be rais'd to maintain a War for two or three Years; what shall we do next? It is a certain Truth, that the Difficulty of obtaining a Peace will grow in exact Proportion, as we become less capable to carry on the War; and what

Assistance do you think shall we have from our good Allies to procure a Peace? Without doubt we shall pay the Piper at last, as we have hitherto done, and they will parcel out the contended Advantages among themselves, and attempt to make us deliver up *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to bind the Bargain; and to pay besides a large Sum of Money for the Ships we shall have destroy'd, and for the other Mischiefs we have done, and need not do. I hope it will never be our lot to assist some of our Neighbours at a vast Expence, and then reward them at a further Expence for accepting our Assistance; and to beat other of our Neighbours to our own loss as well as theirs, and to pay them afterwards for having beat them. What wou'd the World think of us in this case, but that as *France* had lately got the Plague among them, *Great Britain* has now got the Frenzy, and that we were weakening our selves as fast with our own Hands, as the divine Hand had weaken'd that unhappy People? Which God grant may never come to pass! But

But if after all we shou'd not be able to procure a Peace, or shall think fit not to submit to the honourable Conditions, which our honest faithful Allies or Confederates shall judge good enough for Hereticks, what shall we do then? They will have no Motives to serve us when they have done their own Business, or rather when we have done it for them; and they have sufficiently shewn already what Inclination they have to serve us; and if ever they have done it, they have been well paid for their Pains: what Condition shall we then be in to oppose one or more powerful Neighbours, and perhaps victorious ones too, when we are enervated and exhausted of all our Strength, when our People are discontented at Home, and we have no regular Means to maintain large Fleets and Armies, who must be forced to maintain themselves if we cannot maintain them? These Mischiefs (and terrible ones they are) may be easily foreseen, and ought to be prevented by a wise Parliament, if we wou'd prevent absolute and conclusive Ruin. What do you think

think must become of the Funds in such a Circumstance of Affairs? If we lie still, they are lost of Course, and if we apply them to our necessary Defence, thousands and ten thousands of innocent Persons must be entirely undone and become desperate, and infinitely inflame the popular Discontents; and still make more Taxes, and more Oppressions necessary: And yet who will be found so hard-hearted as not to sacrifice the Interests of Thousands to the Safety of Millions, when no other Resource is left? These are Things that ought to awaken a *British* Parliament. And,

Therefore, Sir, beware of the first Step you take, and know the whole Journey you are to go, before you move one Foot; when you are up to the Ears in Mire and Dirt, it will then be too late to look back and repent. At first we may be told by our Confederates and their Creatures, peradventure, that we need only bounce a little and make a Shew of Force, and every Thing will happen to our Mind, but a burnt Child will dread the Fire: when we are
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engaged in a War, we cannot well retreat ; one Step will draw on another, it will not depend upon ourselves whether we shall go on or not ; the Game will be then in other Hands, who will play it to their own Advantage, without shewing the least Regard to ours ; and what we begin in Wantonness, will probably end in our Confusion. What then must we think of any Men amongst us, who would draw all these Mischiefs, these inevitable Mischiefs upon their Country ? They must certainly be egregiously foolish, or else we must conclude them to be consummately wicked. I hope and believe there are no such Persons ; but if there are, without Doubt they have taken their Measures before this Time, and have thought how to save themselves, whatever becomes of their Country, but in that to they may happen to be mistaken. In the Reign of King *Charles* the second, we had a Set of Men among us, who advised that indolent Prince to declare War against the *Dutch* in Conjunction with his good Friend the *French* King ; but the Parliament

ment then in being made a brave and resolute Stand in the next Session, and wou'd give no more Money till such Time as the King shou'd make an End of the War, which he had so weakly and impolitickly entred into; and if that Prince himself had not skreen'd his evil Counsellors from the Justice and Vengeance of his faithful Commons by his frequent dissolving of Parliaments, and at last by wholly laying them aside, the Authors of that destructive Advice had surely felt the Wrath of an offended People.

But God bethanked, we have a Prince now on the Throne of great Wisdom and Goodness, tender of the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects at Home, and revered abroad for his Justice and Magnanimity to foreign States. He has a Ministry no less vigilant and careful of the publick Interest, than they are of their own, and therefore, we can fear no Dangers of this Kind from them: But yet notwithstanding, it is not good Policy to be too secure, or to rely too much on the Abilities of any Set of Men, since

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they may be deceiv'd themselves in all the Good they design us ; and, therefore, the Advice of Parliament has been always thought necessary among good Princes, before they engage in any War. It has been said among some People, with how much Truth I will not take upon me to aver, that these Menaces of a War might have been prevented, if some Men had been as truly watchful of the Measures concerted and taken between the Emperor and King of *Spain* at *Cambrai*, as they ought to have been : But if this be true, surely some Enquiry ought to be made into the Management of that Treaty before we begin a War, that we may rectify the Mistakes then committed without any Effusion of Blood, if such Errors are not above Correction and Amendment.

But we are told, that we can by our Fleets and Armies compel the Emperor and King of *Spain* both to hear Reason, if they have outwitted us at this Congress ; that the Emperor is poor and indigent in his Finances ; and that the King of *Spain*
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wants both Men and Money to carry on or begin a War. But is this a just and sufficient Reason for one Prince to fall upon another, though it be often true in Fact? Princes have heretofore sent raw and unskilful Men on their Errands, and have afterwards been contented to abide by the consequences of their Negotiations, if they have been circumvented in the Business they were employ'd in; for it is, or (at least) ought to be with publick States, as with private Men, for the Good and Peace of Mankind, that if they are overreached or foreseen in their Politicks, they ought to acquiesce and submit, lest a worse Thing comes of it. For War is like a long and expensive Law-suit, which whoever gets the better in, must at last be satisfy'd to sit down a great Loser by it, thro' the immense Charge he has been at in subduing the adverse Party.

If it has been thought a necessary point of Wisdom to the publick Safety to keep eight or ten Camps in a Readiness for Action in Times of full Peace, and when there was no outward Ap-

pearance of publick Disturbances in the Kingdom, and when there was no foreign Power to promote or abet any such: How many Camps will be judged necessary when we have Enemies Abroad to assault us, combining and intriguing with our own Native Traitors at Home; especially if the People should be still made more uneasy by laying heavier Burthens upon them than they are able to bear or stand under? For my own Part, I can see no steady Source or continuing Cause for the present Disaffection to the Government, so much complain'd of, but the great and heavy Variety of publick Taxes, of which our Ancestors knew nothing, and which it is now a sort of Science to know in these Times; and I doubt that Disaffection will not be cur'd or remov'd by adding to the Number.

If a War be absolutely necessary for our own Safety, or for the Preservation of our Allies, is there a Man of Honour or Honesty that will not give his Suffrage to enter into it forthwith?

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We may be divided in other Matters, but sure we shall be united in this Point, and not suffer our Trade or our Dominions to be given up to foreign Powers. I may go yet further and say, that he does not deserve the Name of an *Englissman* who is not desirous to obviate remoter Fears, and who is not willing to spill his last drop of Blood, rather than see the King of *Spain* insult us in our Commerce. Popular Assemblies are generally most captivated with those Councils that have the Appearance of being generous and martial, such Assemblies especially as represent a Warlike People; and I do not remember above one Instance in all our Records of History, where the Parliament declin'd engaging in a War when it was thought necessary, which was in the Time of *Henry* the Third, who had the Misfortune to have a constant Succession of ill Ministers during his whole Reign: And it was out of hatred to this sort of Men, that the Barons and great Men of that Time refus'd to join in the Expedition *Henry* made

made against *France*. If any among us seem at present willing to embrace peaceful Councils, and to decline entering upon immediate Action, 'tis not that they dread the adverse Strength, or that they have any Affection for the *Spanish* Interest, or Respect for the Emperor's Friendship, who has treated us with great Contempt after so many past Services done him: But if any appear less forward than the rest to engage in a new War, 'tis upon Considerations of another kind; which as I have already observed to you, I will not here repeat. Shew us that a War is necessary, and who will not sound the Trumpet unto Battle? But

They who have any Tenderness or Compassion for their Fellow-Subjects will never be able to behold the Calamities which a new War must bring upon their Country, plunged already into such immense Debts, if a War be not entirely Necessary: Their Ears can never endure the Cries of the Poor for want of Trade and Work: They will not easily be brought to load the Kingdom with
any

any more remote Funds, for the Profit of Foreigners and our Ruin: They will tremble to ask for; and be ashamed to consent to Sums which others may think absolutely needful for themselves, and to enrich their Friends. And therefore, Sir, you can never behave your self with more true Duty to his Majesty, give better Advice and Assistance to his Ministry, or acquit your self with more Fidelity to your Country, than by opposing, in the most vigorous Manner, such Measures as threaten them all with Ruin; and by shewing the utmost Resentment against any ill designing Persons, who wou'd wickedly and traiterously sacrifice a great, free, and trading Kingdom to their mad Whimsies of living by the Spoil of it.

F I N I S.

E R R A T U M.

Page 4. line 21. the last Word, for *bear* read *break*.

(31)

any more, not for the sake
of Foreigners and our Ruin: They will
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vigorous Manner, such Measures as shall
conduce to the Ruin of the Kingdom; and by showing
the utmost Resistance against any ill
designing Proposals, who would wickedly
and unreasonably transfer a great part
and trading Kingdom to their hands,
Whence of living by the Spoil of it.

FINIS

ERRATA

Page 4. Line 22. the last Word, for two read three.

A 363-3

DEFENCE

OF AN

ESSAY

ON THE

PUBLICK DEBTS
of this Kingdom, &c.

In Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled,
A State of the National Debt, &c.

By the Author of the ESSAY.

*Et Patriæ muros & Te servabimus Hanno.
Sil. Ital.*

LONDON:

Printed for J. PEELE, at *Locke's Head*
in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1727.

(Price One Shilling.)

A
D E F E N C E

O F A N

E S S A Y

O N T H E

P U B L I C K D E B T S

o f t h i s K i n g d o m &c.

In Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled,

A State of the National Debt, &c.

By the Author of the ESSAY

On the Nature and Extent of the Publick Debt, &c.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Parker, at Ludlow's Head

in Water-Land-Row, 1777.

(Price one shilling)



A DEFENCE of an ESSAY
on the Publick Debts, &c.

IT is now almost Ten Months since I published a Pamphlet, entitled, *An Essay on the Publick Debts of this Kingdom*; a Subject, that notwithstanding the Importance of it, seemed to me to be generally but little understood; and a Subject which farther recommended itself to me upon this Account, That whatever I had to advance about it, as Matter of Fact, might be stated, or corrected, with as much Exactness as I pretended to, from our Acts of Parliament, and with the Evidence of those publick Records; or whatever Inferen-

ces I had to make from Facts of this Nature, were generally to be supported by the Certainty of Demonstration. From the same Confinement, on Account of my Health, that was the Occasion of my writing that Essay, I was for some time hindred from knowing the Sense of the Town about it, farther than I could collect it from observing that the Letter-Writer in the *London Journal* had taken me into his Protection, and by his Civilities, as I supposed, exposed me to the Resentments of a Correspondent of Mr. *Mist*, who in great Heat tells his Reader, *that he had not, and would not read me; and that what the London Journal had represented me to say, was false, if that was true which an honest Gentleman, a Neighbour of his in the Country, told him.* I did not from this contemptible Attack upon me, conjecture at any general Sense about my Performance, or yet in the least suspect that my Book was to become the Subject of a Party Dispute amongst us. What I had any where asserted in it, I knew to be true, and, as I thought, had made appear to be so; and whatever I have any where persuaded to, I was induced to it from no Motive in Nature, but that I thought it reasonable.

As far therefore as I could presume that any thing which I had advanced was new, or Matter of Information to any Reader, I concluded it would be agreeable to him, whatever Party he was of; with an Exception only to such Persons amongst us, as are too apt, on some Occasions, to betray real Impatience at the Welfare and Prosperity of their own Country; and from whose Dislike of me, as far as I may at any time be known to them, I find no Inclination to withdraw myself.

My Subject, where it led me to speak of our Ministry, furnished me with no just Occasion for complaining of them. But from hence I could not imagine it would be inferred that I wrote to flatter them, or to recommend what might be thought to be their Sentiments in particular, only because they were theirs; and this too against the Evidence of those Proofs to the contrary that might be produced from the Book itself, nay, that in Fact have been produced by the Writers against me themselves, tho' not, as far as I can judge, admitted by them to clear me from this groundless Imputation.

I have carefully reviewed every thing in my Treatise that I have heard objected to, and can't find the least Foundation

dation for that ridiculous Charge upon me, of proposing or recommending the Increase of our Publick Debts. I can defy my Adversaries to produce one single Sentence truly quoted from me, where I have mentioned it as upon any account eligible, but as the Means of effecting the speedier Reduction of them, and consequently as the least expensive Method to the Publick of supplying their own Necessities.

Let me ask the warmest Patriot, what more could be said about the Inconvenience of misapplying the Sinking Fund, upon the Supposition that it was probable that it would be misapplied, than what might be produced for the same Purpose, in proving that the Misapplication of it was improbable, under the Direction of the present Ministry?

Was it possible for me so long to survey the Burthen of our present Debts without Emotion? Is it true, that I have not frequently expressed my Concern upon this Subject? But yet I must profess myself to believe, and would have the Enemies of *Great-Britain* hear it, “ that her
 “ Lands, Estates, Expence and Commerce
 “ will yet easily admit of farther Duties,
 “ sufficient to furnish new Funds to an-
 “ swer the Interest of whatever Sums may
 “ be

“be for the future necessary for her Defence and Safety.” And it is with Pleasure that I reflect upon it, that they must soon hear that her Quarrels will be supported without suspending the Provisions made for the Payment of her Debts, or even, as I hope, without any Addition made to them.

Is it to be doubted for the future if the Lands, Estates, Expence and Commerce of *Great-Britain* could yet furnish the Interest of a new Debt upon Emergencies, after the Resolution of her Parliament lately taken to supply the principal Sum that is this Year wanted, beyond our ordinary Supplies, by a further Tax upon Land only, and from one only of those Funds to which I have referred myself?

This is, I think, as much as need to be said in answer to any Exceptions that I have yet seen in print to my Performance, till the Publication of a late Pamphlet, entitled, *A State of the National Debt*, &c. containing, besides the same general Reflections upon me, which I have hitherto proposed to obviate, a laboured Representation of the State of our Debts at present; by which he would have it understood, at least, by his Readers, That in my Essay upon
this

this Subject, I have greatly misrepresented it. As this Author agrees with me, that it very much concerns the Publick to be truly informed in this Particular, he must excuse me, if I take all the Freedom upon this Occasion, that I think is any ways necessary for determining the Question, Whether he or I have deceived, or endeavoured to deceive, the Publick in what either of us have printed upon this Subject.

The most important Debate between the Author and myself, is, Whether our Debts have increased or decreased since the Provisions made for the Reduction of them from the Sinking Fund? Those Provisions I have represented to have been made after the 25th of *December*, 1716. and to have been the Appropriation of what should from thenceforth arise as the Surplusses of several Funds to that Purpose; and I have proceeded to state the Amount of the Publick Debts at *Christmas*, 1717. (before which Time, no Payment of any Part of them was in Fact, or perhaps could be made in Consequence of these Provisions) and then to state (what was then only in my Power) the Amount of our publick Debts at *Christmas*, 1724. and proposed that these different Amounts should

should be compared together, and their Difference be determined to be the Increase or Decrease of the Publick Debts between those two Periods of Time.

The Author of the *State of our Debts* begins first to differ with me about the Time of the Sinking Fund's Commencement, for a Reason which I could not discover till I read on to the Place * where he charges me with *want of Truth and Candor, in attempting a sly Compliment, made at the Expence of the Honour and Memory of the Dead, to those whose Merits do not stand in Need of such low Artifices to gild them.* And to support this Charge, he takes Notice, That I have said, that *the first material Provision that was made for discharging the Publick Debts, was by several Acts passed 3^o Georgii;* whereas he says, That *the Aggregate Fund* (one of those Funds whose Surplusses are appropriated to the Payment of the Publick Debts) *was established by an Act passed 1^{mo} Georgii.* And *this Aggregate Fund, he says, is the first great Branch and Foundation of the Sinking Fund.* From whence it is, as I suppose, that he states the Commencement of the Sinking Fund

* Page 21.

from *Michaelmas* 1715, the Commencement of the Aggregate Fund, as established by that Act of Parliament, 1^{mo} *Georgii*.

I profess sincerely, that I did not know, nor do yet know, that the Act of Parliament 1^{mo} *Georgii*, and those which I have referred to as passed 3^o *Georgii*, were passed under the Direction of different Persons at those different Times in the Management of our Finances. But what Temptation does my Subject offer me to enquire into this Particular? For though the aforesaid Act, 1^{mo} *Georgii*, establishes the Aggregate Fund for the Purposes therein mentioned, it does not establish it for the Purpose of reducing the Publick Debts, nor contain the least Provision, that I know of, for appropriating the Surplus of it to this Purpose in particular. This Appropriation was first made in the Act which I have cited 3^o *Georgii*, and was therefore the first Provision for Discharging the Publick Debts, and the first Foundation of what has been since called the Sinking Fund; and from thence therefore, and not from *Michaelmas* 1715, (as this Gentleman would have it) is the Progress or Effect of the Sinking Fund to be computed.

(II)

To the Method which I have above-mention'd, for determining whether our Debts are indeed diminish'd from *Christmas* 1717 (the true Time from whence the Progress of the Sinking Fund is to be computed) to *Christmas* 1724, *viz.* of comparing the Amount of our Publick Debts as they really were at those Two different Times together, and stating the Difference to be the real Decrease of our Publick Debts, I have yet added another, *viz.* of comparing the Amount of the several Articles of Addition to our Publick Debts from one Time to the other, with the Amount of all such Payments, as have within the same Time been made, in Discharge of any Principal Sums of which those Debts consisted; and have stated the Difference of those Amounts to be the real Decrease of our Publick Debts from *Christmas* 1717, to the same Time in the Year 1724. I then thought, and yet think, that these Methods in the proposed Enquiry, were each of them separately the plainest and most intelligible that could be for this Purpose thought of, and true with all the Evidence of a Demonstration. But I have for the Reader's farther Satisfaction, if it could be possibly wanted, by the Use of both these Methods, added a farther Proof of them

from their Agreement with each other. I must leave it therefore to the Reader to judge why this Writer, after professing the same Enquiry with mine, and contradicting me so materially, in his Report about the Matter, upon the Credit of another Method of stating this Account, is pleased to take no other Notice of my Methods of accounting, than to call them ** confused, and disguised with little Shifts and Distinctions made use of for such a Purpose*; or has satisfied himself in declaring me to be so widely and grossly mistaken, as the Ballance of his Accounts have represented me, without attempting to point out the Falshood of any Facts advanced by me in my Accounts, or any of the Shifts he mentions to disguise them, that will any way account for the prodigious Difference between us. After he had found out the Truth, he might have found out too, where I had been mistaken, or, as he charges me, had endeavoured to mislead my Readers; and by these Means, to the Reader's Satisfaction and my Ease, put an End to this Dispute at once, or brought it at least to its proper Issue, upon the Foot of those Accounts which I had proposed for the Pur-

pose of this Enquiry. I had, perhaps, reason to expect that my Accounts or Facts should be examined before they were contradicted; but that he should leave the Reader to chuse his Opinion in a Controversy of this Importance, by suffering the Evidence of my Accounts to remain in full Force against the Truth of his, will, I hope, be a Presumption in Favour of my Accounts, and lead the Reader to infer, that he could not discover the Shifts which he has accused me of, and that he expresses his own Conviction, and not mine, when he says, *That Facts and Figures are the most stubborn Evidences.*

But when I regard the Importance of this Subject, I think my self obliged, however unreasonable it may be in him to expect it of me, to attend this Author through his own Accounts; and endeavour to explain to the Reader the various Mistakes committed in them, as far as such a Task is practicable, in examining Accounts made up of Assertions and States, which are neither true nor false, and where, I begin to perceive, my greatest Difficulty will be to find his Meaning.

The Reader will, I believe, most easily judge of the Plainness, Truth or Evidence of the manner in which these

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Accounts are carried on, after he has attended to the Design of them, or the Enquiry which he proposes to satisfy from stating of them; and this I believe he would have us understand to be, if our Debts have been increased from *Christmas* 1716 to *Michaelmas* in 1725, and what has been within that Time the real Increase of them; and he explains himself in one Place* by the increased Debt within that Time, to mean *the Sum more than the National Debt would have been at Michaelmas 1725, in case no Additions had been made to it since the Year 1716.*

The Sum more than the National Debt would have been at *Michaelmas* 1725, in case no Additions had been made to it since the Year 1716, is plainly the same and no other than the Sum or Amount of the Additions that have been made to it from the Year 1716, to *Michaelmas* 1725; and I could wish that this had been indeed his Meaning, or that he would have confined himself to it. If this had been what he proposed to represent or state to us, he must, I think, have seen immediately that the shortest and plainest Way to do so, was to give us an Account of those particu-

lar Sums that, within this Interval of Time, have been added to the Publick Debts, and a Computation of the total Amount of those Additions; nor had any thing that I had advanced been contradicted by his producing 7,764,037 *l.* or any greater Sum to be the Amount of those Additions. I have sufficiently described and explained my Enquiry to be after the neat Decrease of the Publick Debts, or the Sum by which the Payments within the Interval of Time which my Accounts refer to, exceed the Additions within the said Time made to them; which might well enough be what I stated it to be, though the Additions were as great as, or greater than he has here described them; nay, the Truth of what I have advanced, if this was all his Meaning, would be, in a great measure, confirmed by his own Accounts; in the first of which he reckons up 6,081,188 *l.* as the Amount of several Discharges of the Publick Debt from 1716 to *Michaelmas* 1725; to which in his second Account he adds, as further, within the same Period of Time, discharged of the Publick Debt, the Sum of 3,069,353 *l.* 2 *s.* The Amount of which together to 9,150,541 compared with 7,764,037 *l.* will give a considerable Sum for the neat Decrease
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of the Publick Debts, within the Time which his Accounts refer to, and a greater than I should ask for, if 3,155,158 *l.* the Increase of our Debts in the publick Accounts, from the Subscription of the Irredeemables, were allowed me to be no real Increase of the true Quantity of our Incumbrances.

But this Testimony of his about his own Meaning, is too much in my Favour to be depended on from this Author, who has taken so much Pains to prove the Falseness of what I have advanced about the Publick Debts; and who, referring himself to what he calls the increased Debts, as he has stated it from his own Accounts, tells his Reader, ** That we should differ by upwards of the Sum of six Millions, tho' he should allow me what I have asked from the Subscription of the Irredeemables.*

From hence therefore I have been driven from the Body of his Treatise to the Accounts that he refers to in his *Appendix*, to find what other Meaning he might possibly have in what he calls the *Increase of our Publick Debts.* And here I find the aforesaid Sum of 7,764,037. the Ballance of his second Account,

and there described to be *the Debt increased since December, 1716. over and above all Payments out of the Sinking Fund, &c.*

Here I must confess myself more at a Loss than ever for the Author's Meaning. The Words in which he has chosen to express himself about the aforesaid Ballance, *that it was the Increase of our Debts, over and above all Payments from the Sinking Fund*, led me to suppose he meant, that all Payments out of the Sinking Fund were a still farther Increase of our Publick Debts, beyond that Ballance. But this Conjecture about his Meaning the Absurdity of it soon removed, and put me upon supposing that he would have said, That this Ballance was the neat Increase of our Publick Debts, or the Difference or Excess of the Additions made to them, within the Time that those Accounts refer to, above the Payments in the same Time from the Sinking Fund, &c. But that this should be his Meaning, it was as difficult for me to believe, from the surprising Falshood of it.

In this Perplexity about what this Writer understands himself, or would have us understand by this Ballance of his Accounts, I must propose it to the
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Reader to look into the Accounts themselves; from which, if we do not find out what he means himself, I am in hopes however we may make out the only Inference that can be truly made from them, and consequently what he only should have meant and recommended to the Belief of his Readers upon the Evidence of these Accounts. And that we may make all the use that can be of this necessary Labour of attending to the various Confusion of what he has here put together for the Purpose of confuting me, I shall endeavour to prove, from the Authority of his own Papers, the Truth of that Particular which I have advanced relating to the Decrease of our Publick Debts, and about which he has taken so much seasonable Pains to contradict me. I shall beg Leave to repeat what I have stated to be the Fact, which he proposes to prove the Falseness of.

I have said, that from *Christmas* 1716, to the same Time in 1724, (beyond which Time I had no Materials to carry forward this Account) our Publick Debts were diminished by about the Sum of 2,100,000 *l.* about which I have both in stating the Design of my Enquiry, and in the manner of proving what I have

reported from it, fully explained myself to mean the neat Decrease of our Publick Debts, or the Excess of those Payments by which our Debts had been diminished, beyond those Additions by which they had been within the same Time encreased; and I can hardly believe that my Meaning can have been mistaken, but by Persons, who, like this Gentleman, seem not to understand their own. To bring this State of the Decrease of our Debts within the Reach of all the Evidence that can possibly arise from my Answerer's Computation, I shall carry it forward to *Christmas* 1725, to be nearer the Time that his Accounts refer to: And here I have the Pleasure of informing the Reader, that from *Christmas* 1724. to *Christmas* 1725. by several Payments made, consisting principally of Exchequer Notes from the Income of the Sinking Fund, the neat Decrease of our Debts, clear of a trifling Addition in the same Time made to them upon the Fund for building Churches, was 1,247,152 *l.* and which, in order to state the neat Decrease of our Debts from *Christmas* 1717 to *Christmas* 1725, must be added to the same Decrease of 2,100,000 *l.* at *Christmas* 1724, and will make it about 3,347,152 *l.*

I shall

I shall proceed to find how this State of the near Decrease of our Publick Debts is contradicted by the Accounts before us.

In the first Account referred to in his *Appendix*, (stated by way of *Debtor and Creditor*, as he expresses himself, * and calls it the most plain and intelligible manner of drawing up Accounts) in that Column which he entitles *Debtor*, he gives us his State of the Publick Debts, as they stood in *December 1716*. and makes the Amount of them to be 51,640,934 *l.* 17 *s.* The Author, by mistaking almost equally on both Sides of the Question in Debate between us in the particular Articles of the Publick Debt, has produced a Total, to which I have little or no other Exception, but his refusing to allow my Addition to it of the Increase of our Debts in the Exchequer Accounts from the Subscription of the Irredeemables; but this, together with my Exceptions to particular Articles in this Account, I shall reserve for future Notice.

In the Column which he entitles *Creditor*, he has placed several Payments of our Publick Debts, from 1716 to *Michaelmas 1725*, and which, † he says, are all

* Page 5.

† Ibid.

the Payments, which since that Time have been made at the Exchequer, out of the Produce of any of the Taxes and Duties appropriated to the Payment of any Part of these Debts, and then such farther Sums as have been applied towards the Discharge of them out of the Money of the Sinking Fund, from Michaelmas 1715, the Time of its Commencement, to Michaelmas 1725.

The Ballance of this Account, thus stated, he says, (and I must here particularly desire the Reader's Attention) *will be well understood, and undeniably granted to be the Total National Debt which would have been owing at this Time, viz. at Michaelmas 1725, in case no Addition had been made to it since the 24th of December, 1716. And this Sum, he says, appears to be 45,559,746 l.*

The Ballance of this Account, thus stated, the Reader will observe to be the Remainder of 51,640,934 l. 17 s. stated by him to be the Amount of our Publick Debts at *Christmas 1717*, after a Deduction of the Amount of such Payments made from that Time to *Michaelmas 1725*. in Discharge thereof, as he has specified on the Credit-side of his Account, and computes to amount to about 6,081,188 l.

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But what he expects here should be undeniably granted him, *viz.* That this Ballance or Remainder is the Total National Debt, which would have been owing at this Time, in case no Additions had been made to it since *December, 1716*, it is most unreasonable to ask, for a plain Reason that could not but lay before him; I mean, that those Payments by the Amount of which he reduces the Publick Debt in 1716. to 45, 559,467 *l.* were in a great Part made by Money raised, from equal Additions to our Debt made at the same Time, and for the Purpose of making those Payments, and which could not have been made, if those Additions had not been made likewise. Most certainly the Debt reduced by Payments made from equal Additions to it at the same Time, Payments which could not have been made but by those Additions, must never be called what that Debt would have been if those Additions had not been made to it; nor could it, I believe, have been called so, even by this Author, till he had confounded himself with those Formalities, which he depends upon as the plainest Method of drawing up Accounts.

But I have it in view to help this Writer to a Meaning, if I can possibly, and would

would not have it my Fault, if after all the Reader should not understand him. I shall therefore admit, that if he had confined himself to the Deduction of such Payments only as were made without the Assistance of Additions, from the Amount of the Publick Debt, as it stood in 1716, the Remainder would have been, I was going to say, the Remainder; (for I can make nothing more of it,) but to oblige the Author, I am content to call it *the Total National Debt, which would have been owing, in case no Additions had been made to it since 1716.* And I heartily congratulate him upon his Success in the Use of this plain and easy Method of discovering it.

But the most notable Use of this Discovery is made in his Account, N^o II. Here the Author seems to me almost to have found out (for I can't admit him to be fully satisfied about the Matter) That if our Debts, as they stood in 1716, would have been by Payments since made reduced to about 45 Millions; the difference between that Sum and the Amount of them at *Michaelmas 1725*, must consist of Additions made to them within that Interval of Time.

If I allow him to make this Inference from a true State of the Amount of our
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Publick Debts in the Years 1716 and 1725, it must be upon these express Conditions, 1. That he confines himself in reducing the Debt as it stood in 1716. by such Payments only as have been made without the help of any Additions made to it: And, 2. That he contents himself with calling what he finds to be the Difference, on a Computation of this Nature, the Sum of the Additions made to our publick Debts from 1716. to 1725: For I can be upon no Terms with him, if he persists in calling any Ballance, he may draw from an Account of this kind, *the Debt increas'd since 1716, over and above all Payments made from the Sinking Fund, &c.* or pretends that the Increase of our Debt, this way stated, is in the least a Contradiction to what I have advanced about it.

Nor can I by any Means allow him, that this is either a plain or easy Way of stating the Additions to the Publick Debt, by inferring and computing it from the Payments in Discharge of it. The Additions of the Publick Debt, whatever they are, must necessarily have been made publickly, and the Quantity of those Additions determined by such Acts of Parliament as those additional Debts have been contracted by; from whence the
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Particulars of those Additions might have been at once stated with the greatest Evidence and Propriety, and would have required no further Computation, than that of the Amount of them, for his Reader's Satisfaction; and if he really intended to state the Additions to the Publick Debt only from 1716 to 1725, I should be concerned to find him, for want of thinking of this easier and more obvious Method of doing so, obliged to infer and compute them from Payments at the *Exchequer* in discharge of them; his Account of which, he says, ** is rather Guess than Certainty; nay which for many Reasons he supposes to be not true. But for which, after condemning his Friend's Friend as guilty of Ignorance or Negligence, in making the necessary Enquiry on this Occasion, he makes this Apology for himself, That the only Difference will be, viz. from his Mistakes about it, that in Case the Sums which he has set down on these Heads as paid off, are not so, the Debt is the greater.*

I have hitherto been induced to account for most of this Author's Mistakes from his Ignorance of the Subject only,

* Page 15.

and his want of all Conception of the Matters which he has engaged himself in a Dispute about: But I wish here he don't design to impose upon us. The only Mistake which he would have us suppose the Ignorance and Negligence of the Person employed could lead him into here is, of letting down *a greater Sum as paid off, than really was so*; and if this should be the Case, he tells us, *the Debt will be the greater*: About which I would desire the Reader to determine, if he does not mean *that our present Debt will be the greater, and the Increase of our Debts greater than he has represented it*. But can it be allowed the Author to be so ignorant of his own Accounts, as not to know that the Increase of our Debts from 1716 to 1725, as he has inferred and stated it from the Payments made in discharge of them within the same Time, will be greater in proportion as those Payments are stated to be greater, and greater than it really is, as those Payments are stated to be greater than they really are; and that that Ballance which he calls the *Increased Debt*, &c. as it is form'd from his Accounts, increases by all the Sums that he sets down as paid in discharge of the Publick Debts.

I must

I must confess myself to have been for this Reason greatly at a Loss to account for it, why this Author has not placed all the Sums which he states to have been paid off from 1716 to 1725, on the Credit Side of his first Account. He produces us in his two Accounts together, several Particulars of Money paid in discharge of our Debts from 1716 to 1725, amounting to 9,150,541 *l.* the whole of which the Reader will, I believe, perceive should be placed on the Credit Side of his first Account, and deducted from the Amount of our Debts in 1716. for the same Reason that any Part of it is so. But instead of this the Author has chose to pick out of it 6,081,188 *l.* to place on the Credit Side of his first Account, where it serves to aggravate the Increase of our Publick Debts; and has reserved 3,069,353 *l. 2. s.* to place on the Credit Side of his second Account, where it serves a quite contrary Purpose, and is a Deduction from what would otherwise come out as the Ballance of his second Account for the Debt increased, &c. And for this Distinction between the same kind of Payments, and within the same Time made, I do not find that he any where assigns the true Reason. But having, as I believe, at

last found out what really induced him to it, I think myself obliged to let the Reader into it. I take it, that the Author having set down as many particular Payments as amounted to upwards of six Millions, began to consider that he had sufficiently, and fully to his Satisfaction, provided for the Increase of the National Debt to 1725; and wisely recollected, that, if he went on to place the whole there, he should have nothing left to place on the Credit Side of his second Account, but that single Article which he calls the Ballance of his first Account. This, the Reader will observe, would have looked but awkwardly, to be placed by it self in a whole Column provided for it, and that too under the Title *Creditor*, when it was necessary to describe it not to be Credit, in any Sense that is familiar amongst Accountants, but the Reverse of it, a Debt, and a Debt unpaid too.

But I can't but observe, that this Motive, trifling as it may appear, has been of no little Service to the Publick; for had the Author went on as he had begun to the End of his first Account, and placed the Whole 9,150,541 *l.* on the Credit Side of it, and the Ballance of it by this Means; the only Article of Credit

dit in the next Account, had been reduced to 42,490,393 *l.* the fatal Consequences of it are too obvious to want explaining. Our Debt had been increased by those Means by almost fourteen Millions, instead of 7,764,037 *l.* to which in his great Moderation he has thought proper to confine it.

I have pointed out in general the Absurdity of this Attempt, to infer and compute a Ballance at the Foot of these Accounts, as an Addition and Increase of the Debt from 1716 to 1725, from Payments within that Time made, without distinguishing between such Payments as have been without Additions to it, and such Payments as have been made by and from Additions to it, and could not have been made otherwise. But from the Idea I have collected of this Author's Capacity as an Accountant, I believe it will be further necessary for his Conviction, to explain my self upon some one particular Instance of this kind in his own Accounts.

For this Purpose I would desire him to observe, That amongst the Articles on the Credit Side of his first Account, by the Amount of which he reduces the Publick Debts as they stood in 1716 to 45,559,746 *l.* he mentions by the Name of
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Lottery-Annuities unsubscribed to the *South-Sea* Company, paid out of the Sinking Fund, an Article of 1,204,786 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* He knows very well, that the Money for making this Payment was raised partly by a new Loan upon *Exchequer* Bills, and partly by Money then remaining in the Sinking Fund, *viz.* by 1,000,000 *l.* borrowed upon *Exchequer* Bills, and 204,786 *l.* remaining in the Sinking Fund; and accordingly in his State of the Debt at *Michaelmas* 1725, on the Debtor Side of his second Account, he mentions this Million of *Exchequer* Bills as a Debt created 9^o *Georgii* to redeem Annuities. I do not enough understand his Accounts, to determine for him, whether he supposes this Million to be or not to be Part of our Debts at *Christmas* 1725; but let him suppose which he pleases, this Sum amongst others is manifestly to be deducted from that 7,764,037 *l.* the Ballance of his second Account, which he calls the Debt increased since 1716. If this Sum was paid on the 24th of *December* 1725, he ought not to have stated it as part of our Debts at that Time, and then it is to be deducted from that 56,393,137 *l.* which he represents on the Debtor Side of his second Account to be at that Time the Total of them. If it

it was not paid, it ought not to have been deducted by him from the 51,640,934 *l.* which he describes to be the Amount of our Debts in 1716. And either his Total of our Debts in 1725 should be made by one Million less, or the Ballance of his first Account placed in his second, as the first Article on the Credit Side of it, should be one Million more; in either of which Cases, the Ballance of his second Account, whatever he means by it, would be by one Million less.

But, upon a Presumption that he may still persist in his good Opinion of that plain Method which he has fallen into of drawing up Accounts, I can't forbear the Vanity of showing him how far I could exceed him in the Use of it, for this useful Purpose of increasing our Publick Debts.

After I had stated with him in his first Account the Amount of our Debts in 1716 to be 51,640,934 *l.* I could for the same Reason that he deducts from it any Part of those Payments amounting to 6,081,188 *l.* which were made with Money raised upon new created Debts, proceed further to deduct in his Manner,

By

By *Exchequer* Bills paid
off and cancelled by the *Bank*
of *England* since *Dec. 1716*,
in Consideration of a redeem-
able Debt added to their Stock
and Funds, } 2,000,000

By several Debts at 6 *per*
Cent. Interest since the same
Time discharged by Annuities
at 5 *per Cent.* commonly call-
ed *Lottery Annuities* and re-
deemable by Parliament, } 9,534,357

From hence I might, with as much Reason, advance to the Discharge of various Incumbrances by their Subscription into the *South-Sea* Company, to the Payment of 4,000,000 *l.* to that Company, by the Addition of an equal Debt to the *Bank of England*; from whence, together with several other Items formed from Variations in the Form of our present Debts, without any Variation in their real Quantity, I should not doubt my Abilities to prove, in the Author's Manner, that the Whole of our Debt in 1716, has been since paid off; and with the same Evidence that he produces, proceed to infer from it, that the

the whole, or even more than the Amount of our Debt at present, is the Debt increased, or an Addition made to it from 1716 to 1725.

I have, I fear, trespassed upon the Reader's Patience, in remarking upon Accounts formed, as it seems to me, by the Author, upon no one intelligible Design, unless it be that of making them unintelligible, and securing himself from any Reply to his Pretences of having contradicted me, by drawing Conclusions from them without any distinct, and, as I think, without any kind of Meaning in them, which he has not himself somewhere or other in the Body of his Book, or in some Part or other of his Accounts, expressly contradicted. If there is indeed any Inference to be truly made from those Accounts, or either of them, that is any way inconsistent with what I have advanced about the Decrease of our Publick Debts, I must desire he would explain himself upon it; and in the mean time I must submit it to the Reader how far the Account that I have given of the neat Decrease of our Debts from 1717 to 1724, by the Sum of 2,100,000 *l.* or thereabouts, and from the same time to 1725, by about the Sum of 3,347,152 *l.* is contradicted by the States this Author

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has

has produced of the Amount of our Debt in 1716, and in 1725.

In 1716, he says, our Debts amounted to 51,640,934 *l.* to which, if he will allow me, for the present only, to add the Increase of our Debts in the *Exchequer* Accounts from the Subscription of the Irredeemables, as I have computed it to be, 3,155,858 *l.* the total Amount of our Debts will be in 1716, 54,796,792 *l.* and by about 327,172 *l.* more than 54,469,620 *l.* which I have stated it to be in 1717. The general Reasons of this Difference between us are, that he has reckoned amongst our Publick Debts, as well in 1716 as in 1725, 248,550 *l.* the Equivalent due to *Scotland*, which not being in my Account, was left out by me both in 1717 and 1724. He has likewise reckoned as Part of the Debt in 1716, a Debt to the Navy of 334,139 *l.* which if he will look again into that Act 3^o *Georgii*, which he quotes as a Proof of this Arrear, and of the Satisfaction of it by Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* he will find to be included in what he has charged in another Article of the same Account, and calls Deficiency of Grants, 1716. These two Sums together should make his State of the Debts in 1716, exceed mine in

1717,

1717, by the Sum of 582,789 *l.* or thereabouts; but he has omitted in his Account of the Debt in 1716, to charge, as any Part of it, 110,312 *l.* Navy Annuities, and represents the Amount of the Debt on the Four Class Lotteries and Bankers Annuities together, to be 9,426,888 *l.* only; which, however it may be charged in the Papers he made use of, was then, and is frequently recited in several Acts of Parliament to have been 9,534,357 *l.* and by 107,469 *l.* more than he has stated it to be. He has therefore charged as due in 1716 582,789 *l.* which I have omitted, and omitted what I have charged to have been due about the same Time 217,781 *l.* The difference of which two Sums is so nearly equal to the Sum, by which his State of the Debt in 1716, with the Addition of what I have asked with regard to the Irredeemables, exceeds my State of the Debt in 1717; that if, with regard to these Observations, the Reader will correct his State of the Debts and mine, he will find them, though computed for different Times, agree nearly enough for our proceeding together in our Enquiry after the Decrease of them to *Christmas* 1725. The Difference of what he has overcharged in 1716, *viz.*

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334,239 *l.*

334,239 *l.* and what he has omitted to charge 217,781 *l.* is 116,458 *l.* which I propose should be deducted from 54,796,792 *l.* and the Remainder will be 54,680,334 *l.*

To my State for *Christmas* 1717, of 54,469,620 *l.* I must add, to bring my Accounts as near to his as may be, the Equivalent Debt of 248,550 *l.* and then my State will be 54,718,170 *l.* and the Difference between us will be little more than 38000 *l.* which, whether it be from my Mistake or his, the Reader will I believe excuse me from contending with him, when he considers our Accounts are taken from different Papers, and refer to different Points of Time.

The Equivalent Debt was not in my Accounts, either of the Debt in 1717 or 1724, about which likewise no Dispute that is material to the present Question can be started; since if it be considered and accounted for as a Publick Debt both in 1717 and 1725, it can occasion no Variation in the Sum that shall be from thence computed to be within that Time the Decrease of our Publick Debts.

The Author, in his Second Account, which he calls a State of the National Debt, as it stood in *December* 1725, has
not

not, as I think, stated any Sum at all to be then, or at any other Time, the Amount of our Publick Debt. He does indeed cast up the several Articles on the Debtor Side of his Account, and makes them amount to 56,393,137 *l.* but this I think he does not give us for the Amount of our Debts at *Christmas* 1725; for the Creditor Side of his Account admits that several Articles on the Debtor Side were not due at *Christmas* 1725, but before that Time paid off and satisfy'd. The Amount of these Articles taken from the Creditor Side of this Account is 3,069,353 *l.* which I should presume upon his Leave to deduct from 56,393,137 *l.* and to take the Remainder 53,323,784 *l.* for what he would give us for the Debt in 1725, if it was not for the contrary Use which he makes of Payments in the same manner, and under the same Title enter'd in his first Account of Increasing the Publick Debt by them: However, since he admits himself to be uncertain about his Payments, he will give me leave to settle them from my Papers.

The whole Remainder of what was due at *Christmas* 1725 for the *Exchequer* Bills, or any other *Exchequer* Bills (exclusively of what had been then lately made

made out to supply his Majesty's Civil List Expences, and which have been since discharged from the Contributions on the last Lottery) was 560,312 *l.* 10 *s.* The Author therefore in charging 3,000,000 *l.* under this Head, charges 2,439,687 *l.* 10 *s.* more than was really due.

The whole Remainder of what was unpaid at *Christmas* 1725 of Money at any Time advanced for building Churches, was 68,665 *l.* This Debt the Author in charging at 380,787 *l.* charges it at too much by 312,122 *l.*

Of the Debt on the second Lottery 1719, all that was not subscribed to the *South-Sea* Company was paid off before *December* 1725. The Author therefore wrongly charges, under this Article, 65,395 *l.*

He should not have reckoned amongst our Debts in 1725, 2,510 *l.* Navy Annuities, for that Sum was before paid off.

And from the Sum of 192,152 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* placed against the *Item* of Annuities for two and three Lives, the Sum of 4,102 *l.* is to be deducted on account of such Annuities as before *Christmas* 1725 were reverted to the Crown.

If the Amount of these Sums with which he has overcharged the Publick, and which as I compute it, is 2,823,816 *l.*

10 s. be deducted from 56,393,137 *l.* 10 s. the Remainder is 53,569,321 *l.* to which is to be added, what he has omitted, a Debt on the Lottery 1713, at *Christmas* 1725, of 32,260 *l.* This added to the last Remainder of 53,569,321 *l.* will make it 53,601,581 *l.* and will be his State of the Publick Debt at *Christmas* 1725, if he will admit of my Assistance in correcting those Particulars in his Accounts where he supposes himself mistaken.

But to bring his Accounts and mine together, I must further deduct from his, which were not charged as Publick Debts in the Papers which I made use of, 1,000,000 *l.* charged by him for the Civil List Debt, and 1,255,491 *l.* 9 s. which he calls the Debt of the Navy; and then his State of the Debts at *Christmas* 1725 will be reduced to 51,346,089 *l.* 11 s. And this Sum I would propose should be compared with the abovementioned Sum of 54,718,170 *l.* the Amount of the Debt in 1717, and the Amount in 1725 thus reduced to 51,346,089 *l.* deducted from it, in which Case the Remainder 3,372,081 *l.* thus produced as the Neat Decrease of our Debts at *Christmas* 1725, and compared with 3,347,152 *l.* which I have from my Papers described to be the
Decrease

Decrease of them in the same Time, will show what Shifts or Disguises I have any where made use of, to impose upon my Readers a false Account of the Decrease of our Publick Debts.

I followed indeed the Accounts as made up at the *Exchequer*, in not charging the Sum of One Million borrowed to supply the Deficiencies of the Civil List, and charged in a particular Manner upon the Payments from that Revenue, amongst our Publick Debts. But I was so far from attempting to conceal it, that I have, in my *Essay upon the Publick Debts*, produced and mentioned it, and by no means opposed the Deduction of it from what I then just before stated to be the Decrease of our Debts, within the Time referred to.

No Body, I believe, will wonder that I did not, in a State of our Debts at *Christmas* 1724, mention a Debt to the Navy, stated, as he says, to *Christmas* 1725. The Truth is, I had no Account of any Debt upon the Navy at the Time of publishing that Essay; but if I had, I should, perhaps, have thought it improper to call it a Publick Debt, or stated it amongst Debts provided for by Parliament, till the Legislature had made it so. And if I could take this Gentle-

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man's Word for the Quantity of it at *Christmas* 1725, I should be at a Loss in what manner to state it for the Purpose of my Enquiry, unless he had informed me what Part of it was incurred before 1717, and what Part of it since that Time. But what I have a little Reason to be surpris'd at, is, that this Gentleman, who informs us he has been employed *in providing Necessaries for the Navy*, should seem to be no more apprized of the necessary Uncertainty of the precise State of the Debt upon this Score, to the very Time of making-up any Account of it that may be enquired for. I know not from what Papers he may have taken the Sum, which he says is the State of this Debt to *Christmas* 1725; but I could almost venture to refer my self to his own Papers for the Proof of it, that he has taken this Sum not from a State, but from an Estimate of the Navy Debt.

The Author * has refused me a Place for 110,312 *l.* Navy Annuities, in the Account of our Debts before 1716; for he says, *whoever reads the Act 4^o Georgii, or 5^o Georgii, referred to in his Margin, will see no Reason to believe that the Arrear*

* Page 16.

of Interest, which this Debt was created to satisfy, was grown due before the Year 1716; but for this, he says, he has made amends in allowing a like Arrear to the East-India Company, to be due before that Time, though above 127,500 l. of it has been contracted since. Here this Gentleman seems to me determined to proceed in his own Way; he will not allow me one Debt to be due before 1716, for he does not know whether it was so or no; but another greater Debt he will allow me to be so, though he pretends to know the contrary. In the next Page he asks Leave to set me right in one Thing, and tells me, that 544,142 l. advanced by the South-Sea Company, was not employed in Aid of the Sinking Fund, because 188,296 l. was allowed out of it to the Company, to make good an Arrear of Interest incurred in 1719, and 1720, about which he adds, that when Interest is turned into Principal, he supposes it may be called a Debt. I can't see that what he supposes done in the Case before us, viz. the discharging an Arrear of Interest in making up an Account between the Government and this Company, is turning Interest into Principal, and therefore I do not know what he aims at here; but
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if this was the Case, I agree with him, that when Interest is turned into Principal, that Principal may be called a Debt; and in return for this Concession, I hope, he will allow me, that the Interest was a Debt likewise before the turning it into Principal: And then with regard to this Arrear, the Arrear discharged by Navy Annuities, and the Deficiency in the Payment of the *East-India* Company's Annuity, if the Time when these Debts were contracted becomes the Question; the Answer, I think, must be the Time when the Contract was made to pay them, which was then only, when the Government contracted with these Companies to pay them Interest, and which I suppose is well enough known to have been before 1716. And if the Author will not take my Sense about this Matter, I must refer him to that of the Legislature, as it is expressed upon the Subject of the *East-India* Company's Deficiency, now in Question before us, in the Act 7^o *Georgii*, Pag. 498. But what can be the Meaning of any Dispute about this Particular; or who ever expected more from the Surplusses called the Sinking Fund, to the Discharge of our principal Debts, than

what was more than sufficient to pay their Interest?

As to the Author's Objections, or rather unmeaning Opposition, to what I have advanced relating to the Subscription of the Redeemables, I must leave the Difference between us to the Reader's Judgment, upon the Evidence of what I have already represented upon this Subject. I have said, that the Sums originally contributed for the Purchase of these Annuities, and by which they were described in the *Exchequer* Accounts, before their Subscription into the *South-Sea* Company, did not truly describe the Quantity of these Incumbrances upon the Government; that they were before that Subscription an Incumbrance at least, to the full Value or Price of them at Market, which was, before that Subscription, greater than the redeemable Debt for which they were exchange'd; and consequently that our Debts, when the Quantity of our Incumbrances is to be attended to in the Description of them, were not increased by that Subscription. Is there any-body, but this Author, who does not assent to this, as soon as it is proposed to him? Or is this less true, because the *South-Sea* Scheme

Scheme was an ill-contrived, or an ill-executed one upon any other Accounts?

This Author asks a great many Questions foreign to the Subject I have treated of, and which, weary of the Difficulty of finding out his Meaning, I must excuse myself at once from answering, as by no Means contradicting me, or as stated from Papers that I know nothing of; but there is one of them, which though not objected to me, relates to the Account of our Debts in Dispute between us, and as it seems, has been one great Occasion of this Gentleman's Perplexity in stating of it.

He has proposed it in different Places in his Performance, but has at last placed it at the Head of a long Complaint, and formal Reasoning about the Inconvenience of Mistakes in our National Accounts: * *It is plain, he says, that there is an Omission of 1,500,000 l. in the Account of the Sinking Fund, there being no Notice taken of the 500,000 l. raised of the Lottery 1719, for paying of Exchequer Bills, nor of 1,000,000 l. Exchequer Bills made out for the Navy Debt; and without supplying these Defects, every-body who*

* Page 74.

tries, will find (as I did) that neither the Account of the Publick Debt, nor the Produce of the Sinking Fund, can be truly stated.

I should sooner have understood the Grievance he here complains of, if instead of saying, *that every-body who tries, will find (as I did)*, he had express'd it by saying, *every one who tries (as I did) will find, &c.* and I could almost leave him in his Perplexity upon this Account, but that I find he thinks he has got over it, and throws the Blame of it upon other People. He does not find this 1,500,000 *l* in the Account of the Sinking Fund: Why does he want to find it there? Was it the Produce of the Sinking Fund; or was it, as he says, raised upon the Lottery 1719, and in 1722, upon the Credit of *Exchequer Bills*? I who know his Accounts, know it would answer his Purpose, to have it (though falsly) represented, to be the Produce of the Sinking Fund; and he has in his first Account accordingly supposed it to be so, and from that very Circumstance inferred these, amongst other Articles, to be an Increase of our Publick Debts.

* Another Thing which he complains of as a Trespafs upon *the great and essential Part of our Constitution*, is, that last Year a Million was raised to pay off the Civil List Debt, contracted the Year before upon the Credit of *Exchequer Bills*, of which 990,000 *l.* he says, was all that then remained unpaid; and from hence he infers, that a new Debt of 10,000 *l.* for the Service of the Civil List, was at this Time contracted, *without any Message from the Crown, &c.* This is likewise a Complaint that I am not concerned in, and should not therefore answer, but that it is in my Power to do so, by appealing to the Act of Parliament by which he supposes this Debt to be contracted.

I must propose it to him, to turn over the Act of Parliament, for raising this Million upon the last Lottery; he will find there, that the Commissioners of the Treasury are empowered to reward the Managers, and to make Allowances for prompt Payment, out of the Monies contributed upon that Act. One Million of Money was all that was to be raised in Pursuance of it, and 990,000 *l.* to be paid out of it, and the

Remainder, 10,000 *l.* all that would be left, for the Charges of the Lottery, and Allowances for prompt Payment. Let him adjust by himself, what he pleases to allow for these Purposes, and then consider what Part of this 10,000 *l.* he is so much in haste for an Account of.

It may be expected from me possibly, that I should take some Notice of this Author's third Account, after he has been at so much Pains about it; but he must excuse me in making what haste I can from it, when he reflects on the Pains I have been at already, to make any Thing of his two first Accounts. He calls it *a View of that Part of the Debt called Redeemable, with the Sums which might have been applied towards the Payment of it, &c. by Michaelmas 1726, in Case no Alteration had been made in it by the South-Sea Scheme.*

I expected from this Title, to find *the Sums that might have been applied towards the Payment of it*, accounted for as the Produce of the Sinking Fund, in which the Amount of the Surplusses of almost every particular Fund was brought together; but instead of this, the Author gives an Account of several Surplusses and Savings, variously mistaken

ken in the Particulars, both previously too, and as the consequence of that Provision, and produces an Account of them greatly exceeding the Produce of the Sinking Fund within the Time that he refers too. This Circumstance, I think, sufficiently proves the Falshood of his Account in general, unless he would represent to us, that the aggregating particular Surplusses in the Provisions of the Sinking Fund has diminished the Total Quantity of them; which, it is impossible, I should think, he can suppose, after declaring with such an Appearance of being in earnest, *That he has † hitherto looked upon the Establishment and Appropriation of the Sinking Fund to the Payment of our National Debts, as the wisest and most beneficial Provision, which in our Circumstances could have been thought of.*

This Author * has charged me with presuming upon my Skill in Figures, to impose upon my Readers at Pleasure, and proceeds to say, *That I have told them that the Benefit of reducing the Interest of the present Debt from 4 to 3 per Cent. would only be to discharge the Debt in about four Years and a half*

† Page 25.

* Page 38.

sooner: And this I am represented to say would be the *only* Benefit of this Reduction, for no other Reason that I can think of, but because it just then occurred to the Author, that I had likewise stated the Benefit of this Reduction with regard to the Publick Expence of coming at it in another Manner; which, as he immediately reports himself, I have said, would be 322,000 *l. per Annum* for about 23 Years. I can't enter into his Reasons for rebuking me † for not having used my Arithmetick for ascertaining the Total of this Expence in 23 Years. But from his strange Report about this Matter, that it would amount to upwards of 30 Millions, I have been induced to multiply this annual Sum by 23, and find the Produce to be 7,406,000 *l.* the Amount of this Annuity, and 4,765,600 *l.* to be about the present Value of it at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Interest. What this Gentleman means therefore, by his 30 Millions, I can't imagine, unless he has computed the Amount of this Annuity at Compound Interest, and wisely supposed, that if the Government raised this Sum annually, the Consequence would be (what can't possibly be supposed, but as the

 † Page 39.

Consequence of their not raising it,) I mean, that they must pay Interest upon Interest, to be computed upon this Annuity. From whence he must, as I conceive, have proceeded to this further Mistake of supposing, that because the Benefit of 500,000 *l. per Ann.* gained to the Publick, by reducing Interest, was equal to the Benefit of 322,000 *l. per Ann.* without reducing it, it was therefore equal to the Amount of both together, and has upon this Foundation added to the Amount of the first Annuity, the Amount of this last too, computed in the same manner. What a Misfortune is it, to understand Arithmetick with no better luck in the Application of it!

But what Reason has this Gentleman (unless from the Authority of another Pamphlet published against me) for supposing, that I propose this Addition precisely to be really made to the Annual Expence of the Publick for the Reduction of our Debts? I have mentioned it only as a different Method of stating the Advantage to the Publick, from the Reduction of Interest from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* upon Fifty Millions, supposed to be the Amount of our present Debts, and which I had just before stated in another manner.

It can't, I think, be expected that I should take particular Notice of several other Instances, where this Author has seem'd to me to misrepresent purposely my Meaning, for his own or his Readers Diversion or Amusement only. I hope they have entertained his Readers, but I can't apprehend they have impos'd upon them.

I can't but be serious upon this Subject of our Publick Debts, and therefore wish this Author had gravely endeavour'd to show me where I have myself objected to the Payment of them; or if I any where appear to admit or foresee an Objection to it, which I have not endeavour'd to remove and answer. I never thought, nor have I any where supposed, that the Money due to Foreigners from the Publick was an Objection to it; or that we should suffer from hence any Inconvenience from discharging it. This is a Circumstance attending our present Debts, which in my Opinion makes the Payment of them, as soon as it can be reasonably effected, more eligible, if possible, than it would be otherwise. I have indeed met with this Objection, and often accounted for it from a prevailing Habit amongst us, of refining too much upon Subjects of this Nature, and paying too lit-
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tle regard to the plainer Truths that offer themselves in the usual Scenes of Business. What other *Quarter* Insinuations of this kind arise from, I am at a Loss to know, unless I could see any Designs going forward, that these Opinions would have any Tendency to promote amongst us.

Nor have I used this, or indeed any other Argument against the Reduction of Interest, as far as it is reasonable to expect it may be supported amongst us afterwards; but should, on the contrary, for this Reason amongst others, while we remain indebted to Foreigners, wish for it as much as this Author can do. I have no where opposed the Reduction of Interest, but where I have explained my self to mean the sudden Appearance only of reduced Interest amongst us, produced by such Views and Adventures as I have described to be not long likely to be continued, or to support any Reduction of Interest that may seem for a Time to be effected by them: From which the only Inconvenience that I have hinted at, with regard to our Debt to Foreigners, I have supposed to arise from our being, upon such an Occasion, induced to purchase of Foreigners their Interest in our Funds, upon such Terms as may soon afterwards oblige us to offer

fer it to them again at much lower Prices.

This Author, who, I suppose, thinks it below him to receive any Information from *the Principles and Practices of Stock-jobbing*, however material it may be, in judging of the Reasonableness of reducing Interest for the Publick Service, has found out another way of determining, that *it will be most agreeable to Justice and Policy, to keep even the Interest of the Funds near what Mr. Locke calls the Natural Interest of Money.*

Justice and Policy, I think, join in directing us to keep the Interest of the Funds, at that Rate which the Government has contracted to pay the Publick Creditors, till a reasonable Method or Occasion shall be found out or offer it self, of obtaining their deliberate Consent to the Reduction of it. Such a Reduction would certainly be a Convenience to the Publick: And for this Reason, Policy directs us to every reasonable Expedient for reducing the Natural Rate of Interest. And if I do not think this likely to be effected by Schemes formed from a confined Attention to our Funds and Money only; we may, however, in my Opinion, most reasonably expect it from such Policies, as shall preserve our Tranquility,

ty, secure our Commerce, assure our Properties inviolably, support the Credit of our Government, and enforce the Punctuality of private Persons in their Contracts with one another. From such Causes as these, the Author very much mistakes me, if he thinks I fear a Reduction of the Rate of Interest. But when he gives us his Advice upon this Subject, does he conceive that the Common Rate of Interest is to be determined absolutely by the Choice of our Superiours? I always took it for granted, that when we considered the Provision of the Sinking Fund, and the Reduction of Interest from 6 to 5 *per Cent.* together, we regarded that Provision as the Effect of Interest reduced amongst us, and not the Cause of it: Whoever thinks otherwise, differs from what appears to have been at that Time, the Sense of the Legislature, which the Reader will find by turning to those Acts of Parliament, which I have referred to as the first Provision of the Sinking Fund: There he will observe, *the Common Interest of Money being very much lessen'd under his Majesty's most auspicious Government*, recited as the Foundation of the Provisions made by those Acts of Parliament. And of this Reduction of Interest,

terest, as far as our Debts were then redeemable, the proper Advantage for the Publick Service was then reasonably and wisely taken, and will, I hope, be always for the future taken, of every farther Reduction of the Common Rate of Interest.

This Author has, I think, unjustly charged me, in several Places, with Intimations and Insinuations which I never thought of. All that I have meant any where, I have endeavoured to explain as expressly as I could. But in return for it, I think, I meet with several intire Pages in this Author, which are only Intimations. I can't suppose, that they relate to me; but, if they should do so, till I am let into the Drift of them, they must remain unanswered.

As to what I have advanced, that it is more eligible *to raise what Money may be farther wanted, by increasing the Publick Debts with farther Loans upon Interest, provided for by New Duties, than to supply the same Sums from the Sinking Fund*: It is true, it is a Truth of Publick Consequence to be attended to, and what I have therefore explained and proved to be a Truth; and it must therefore out-live all the Pleasantries that have been excited by it. Nor

can I think that there can be any great Difficulty in understanding it, by any Person who will attend to the Difference of the Increase of the same Sum at the same Rate of Simple and Compound Interest. If the Government, by the Addition of a new Debt for the Publick Service, pay Simple Interest for it only, and by supplying it from the Sinking Fund, lose the Benefit of Compound Interest for the same Sum, can it be long doubted, which of these Methods of supplying our Necessities are least expensive to the Publick, or will longest delay the Total Payment of our Debts? I have not in any Part of my *Essay* recommended an Addition to our Debts, but upon an Occasion when it would be absolutely necessary, to prevent the Misapplication of the Sinking Fund: And if the Interest of this Kingdom in these different Measures, upon any such Occasion, was not before generally attended to, or understood, I have so much the greater Reason to be satisfied in having recommended it to the Publick Notice.

I can hardly believe, that any of my Countrymen are more sensible than I am of the Burthen of our present Debts, or wish more sincerely for the Reduction of them. Such Thoughts as these were

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in reality my greatest Inducements to the Publication of my *Essay*; in which, if I have (as this Author says) discovered an extraordinary Zeal for the Preservation of the Sinking Fund, I have given, in my Opinion, a sufficient Proof of my Aversion to the Increase of our Debts, whenever it can by any reasonable Expedient be avoided.

If it is indeed for me (as this Author is pleased to say it is) that he has given us his fourth View, or Abstract of the present Taxes, I can assure him he never more misapplied his Time. I have often attended to them with as much Concern as he can have upon this Account, and almost as often, in the most comprehensive Views I have been capable of, considered the Manner and Degree, in which the Estates of Gentlemen, and the Rewards of Industry amongst us, are affected by them. But I know no Foundation for an Outcry upon this Subject, or any Measures going forwards, but what are consistent with the same Sentiments in the Gentlemen in the Administration, and their really desiring the Reduction of our Debts as soon as possible. If this was otherwise, or ever should be so; should I ever see any Measures remarkably neglected,

glected, that would contribute to this Purpose, or any Measures enter'd upon that had a Tendency to obstruct or delay the Payment of our Publick Debts, this Author could not, I believe, be readier than I should be to advertise the Publick of it.

I account for it from this Author's Mistake about me, that he chuses for his Diversion to represent me, as objecting the Interest of the Ministry to the Payment of the Publick Debts. I have mention'd it as an Objection I had heard made to the Probability of their being paid; an Objection that I have not made; that I have stated only with a Design to answer it: And in this I would willingly be thought to have succeeded. But this Author, I hope, reasons in a Manner peculiar to himself, when from hence he infers, that I have a Share in any Advantage that may arise from those Necessities of the Publick, or supposes that, if I had so, I should chuse unnecessarily to excite a general Attention to it.

I have taken Notice of as much of this Author's Performance, as I have hitherto thought material, or, at least as much, as amidst the necessary Avocations of a particular Employment, my Leisure would by any Means admit of,

consistently with that dispatch with which I judged it reasonable, that so great a Misrepresentation of the Increase of our Debts under the present Reign ought at this Time to be publickly contradicted. This I thought it my Duty in particular to attempt, as my Treatise had been the Occasion of it. And if I should, from the Diversion given me from my ordinary Business, and in a Matter which requires so much distinct and deliberate Attention, have any where committed a Mistake in it, I hope the Reader will regard it with all reasonable Indulgence.

I could not possibly find out the Means of accommodating to an Enquiry after the Diminution of our Debts from any one Time to another, the Method which this Gentleman calls *the plainest Manner of drawing up Accounts by way of Debtor and Creditor*. Nor do I know any Use of Forms in the drawing up Accounts, which the Design of our Enquiries from them does not point out to us. In the Computations I have made of the Progress of the Sinking Fund, I must appear, to Persons versed in Affairs of this Nature, to have taken more Pains, for the Purpose of being generally understood, than was necessary for my own Satisfaction, as to the Truth of what I have

have advanced about it; and this too, at the Expence of appearing less skilful in Numbers than I should do otherwise. Nor would I have avoided the Pains or at least the Pomp of a long Account, if I thought it could be of the least Use to explain, that the Difference of the Amount of our Debts in 1716, and the Amount of them in 1724, rightly computed, was a true State of the real or neat Increase or Decrease of them, within those two Periods of Time.

I find, by the Conclusion of this Author's Treatise, he expects to be rail'd at for it, and calls this Usage *the usual Treatment of Mercenary Malice upon these Occasions*. If this Description is intended as a Compliment to me, I am pleased to think that he will find himself disappointed. I have met, throughout the whole Book, with so much Reason for believing, that this Gentleman was in reality himself mistaken, or imposed upon, before this Attempt to mislead his Readers, that I can't prevail upon myself, to dispute with him the Account he gives of his Views in the Publication of it. If he *indeed* thought I had so grossly abused the Publick, in my Account of their Debts, as he says I have done, let it be *Love* and *Duty* to his

his Country (if he pleases) that prompted him in this manner to oppose me in it; but let me assure him, the same laudable Inclination, the same Sense of Duty to my Country, led me to the Publication of the Treatise which he is so angry with. I know what little Credit is to be given to an Author upon his own Word as to this Particular; nor can I expect to be sooner believed than other People in these Pretensions, after so much Pains taken to represent me differently to the Publick: But true it is, that a real and sincere Regard to the Publick Interest was my Inducement to the writing the *Essay upon our Debts*; and from the same Motive I would, as far as possible, support the Credit of it against this prevailing Method of interpreting a Book wrote upon any Publick Subject, not from the plainest Expressions in it, but an idle Conjecture about the Author's Design in the Publication of it. I must declare therefore, that as I intended only the Publick Service in writing it, without any regard to the Sentiments or Convenience of any particular Persons or Party whatsoever, so I never produced myself as the Author of it, with a View to any Advantage of my own from any Person, or on any one Account soever. I had, I have

have no Engagements or Dependance that should prejudice me on any Side of a Question of general Importance in this Country. A disinterested Regard to our common Safety and Happiness has indeed long since attached me to the Protestant Succession, as established amongst us in his Majesty and his Royal Family, and made me a determined Enemy, as far as my Condition of Life would to any purpose admit of it, to those who would disturb us in it: Whatever Partiality therefore against the Interest of my Country, any Party Engagements might render me suspected of, I have no other but this, and from this I have no Apprehensions that it can mislead me.

I some Years since published a Pamphlet, recommending to the Proprietors of the *South Sea* Company the Proposals made them for an Engraftment; and though I have since observed some Mistakes in it, owing to my then wanting sufficient Information upon those Subjects, I have had however an Opportunity of observing, that my Sentiments were agreeable to the Sentiments of the Legislature, as appears by two Acts of Parliament made afterwards, which proved to be of the greatest Service to the General Credit of the Publick; one of them
for

for transferring four Millions of the *South-Sea* Company's Funds to the Bank of *England*, to raise Money for the Discharge of the *South-Sea* Company's Incumbrances ; and the other of them for separating from their Stock one Moiety of their Annuities.

The Success of my *Essay upon our Publick Debts*, with the more reasonable and unprejudiced Part of my Fellow-Subjects ; the Satisfaction of hearing from the Throne, that what this Author calls my extraordinary Zeal for the Preservation of the Sinking Fund, cannot have been disagreeable to his Majesty, give me a Pleasure that certainly those Gentlemen never knew, who will not allow me that this alone is a sufficient Inducement to it, an ample Reward for an Attempt to serve their Country.

I know nothing of what this Author means * by *Secret Motives*, or *pretended Confidences*. *Standing Armies*, and *Badges of Slavery*, have been so often repeated lately without a Meaning to them, that I have almost forgot to receive the least Impression from them. But let this Author explain himself, from whence he thinks the Liberties, the Ease,

* Pag. 58.

the Honour of his Country, to be indeed in Danger. I cannot be *afraid*, I hope I should not be *ashamed*, to appear early in the Defence of them, in this way at least, in this, in which *only I am in Circumstances* to serve the Publick.

This Author and I have differed about a Representation of our Circumstances, in which I thought the Honour of our Country concerned. But had I at any Time the same Occasion, I see no reason for his inferring from hence, that I should appear more indifferent about her Liberties, her Ease or Safety. To preserve these, I entirely agree with him, That it requires our utmost Care to prevent the unnecessary Increase of our Debts, and to promote, as much as possible, the Reduction of them; a Matter of that Consequence to this Kingdom, that if I should ever see it neglected, no Considerations in Nature, could restrain me from exposing it; upon such an Occasion I should think

*Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere jura,
Fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras.*

I have added, to relieve the Reader from the Perplexity which the Dispute between this Author and my self may have given him upon the Face of his Accounts, a new, and, I think, an exact

State of our Debts in 1717, with the Increase from the Subscription of the Irredeemables added to it; and on the other Side, a State likewise of our Debts at *Christmas* 1725: And the Difference of their Amounts, I have added to the Debt in 1725, as the Ballance of an Account, and stated to be the neat Decrease of our Publick Debts within that Time. This Ballance, the Reader will undeniably grant me to be the real Decrease of them, with a Reserve to his own Opinion about the Navy Debt at that Time, or the Million borrowed for the Service of the Civil List; and excuse me for the Future from taking Notice of any Objections to me, but what shall be made upon the Face of this Account, and by Exceptions either to such Articles in particular, as are contained or omitted in it, or to the Computation made by me of the Amount of them. As I have taken all possible care about the Truth of what I have now stated to be the Quantity of the Debts mentioned in it, at the two different Times referred to, I hope the Reader will be able from it to correct such Mistakes, as either my Adversary or I may have before committed, and render it unnecessary for me to point out the less material Particulars, in which my former

mer Account of the Debt in 1717 may differ from this, either from any Mistake made in it, or such Variations in the Account of our Debts from *Christmas* 1724, to 1725, as make this Difference at present necessary. I shall therefore mention the chief Occasion only of the Difference of what I have before stated, and what I now state to be the Debt in 1717.

I have before stated the Debt in 1717 to be 54,469,620 *l.* and by the Addition of the Equivalent Debt to be 54,718,170 *l.* I now state it to have been only 54,636,912 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ and from this different Sum Amount of our Debts in 1717, a different Sum comes out for the neat Decrease of them at *Christmas* 1725.

This Difference arises principally from my having stated 100,000 *l.* raised for immediate Service upon the Credit of *Exchequer* Bills, tho' at the same Time the early Discharge of it was provided for by a Tax on *Roman Catholicks*, to be a Debt at *Christmas* 1717. I found it in the Account of our Publick Debts; but as it was no real Increase of them, or at least was to remain so only till that Tax could be collected in, or the Deficiency of it, when ascertain'd, be made good by Parliament, I therefore carry'd it to the Account of our Debts in 1717, by which the same Purpose, only in the Enquiry I propos'd, was answer'd, as if I had (which I must have done otherwise) deduct'd it from the Amount of our Debts, amongst which it then stood in 1724.

This indeed was a *Shift*, as the Author of the *State* calls it; but I hope he will see it was necessary to me, in order to avoid what I find him full as angry with, *distinguishing* about this

Article. This for the Reader's Ease only, and to prevent Perplexity, in the Way to what I had more generally in View to represent to him, I chose to avoid in this Place, by a Method that could occasion no Difference in the Sum which I was to produce, as the Decrease of our Debts to *Christmas* 1724, but in carrying this Account forwards, to *Christmas* 1725, I think it necessary for the Reader's Satisfaction to state this particular Article by it self distinctly.

I found this Sum in the Account of our Publick Debts, but could upon the Whole have wished that this, any more than the Loans upon any other of the Annual Grants, had not been there. It was a Sum voted for the Service of the Year 1723, and a Provision was made for raising it by a Tax for that Year upon the Estates of *Roman Catholicks*, and the further usual Provision made about it, that the Deficiency of that Tax should be supplied out of such Aids as should be granted by Parliament next after that Deficiency should be ascertained. But it was further provided, for the immediate Service of the Government, that it might be raised upon the Credit of *Exchequer Bills*, payable from the Sinking Fund. And in Consequence of this, what should be collected from this Tax, or granted afterwards by Parliament to supply the Deficiency of it, would belong to the Sinking Fund, to replace the Sum that should be in this Manner taken from it. With regard to this Provision for it, the same in reality as is annually made for the Loans on the Land or Malt Tax, I could not consider this Sum amongst the Amount of our Publick Debts at *Christmas* 1724, when it was not probable that any Part of it was discharged

charged from the particular Tax provided for it. But at *Christmas* 1725, it is to be presumed that the greatest Part of what could be collected from the Tax on *Catholicks* was brought to the *Exchequer*, placed in the Sinking Fund, and from thence reissued in Discharge of such *Exchequer* Notes as were uncanceled at *Christmas* 1724, and of which this Article in particular was then a Part.

It appears from the Act for laying a Duty on Victuallers, Page 318. that the Sum of 44,621 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.* was supplied out of the Aids for the Year 1726, to make good the Deficiency of this Tax on *Papists*; from whence it is to be inferred, that 55,378 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* was collected from that Tax, and, together with the Produce of the Sinking Fund, applied to the cancelling of *Exchequer* Notes before *Christmas* 1725. As much therefore of this Sum as at *Christmas* 1725, is stated to have been discharged from the general Provision for the Reduction of our Publick Debts; must be allowed to have been before a Part of them. But the Remainder 44,621 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.* part of 560,312 *l.* *Exchequer* Bills stated in the Schedule annexed to be unsatisfied at *Christmas* 1725, is still to be objected to as no part of those Debts which our Enquiry here relates to, and may be added to the Ballance there produced, to form the exact State of the Decrease of our Publick Debts at *Christmas* 1725.

I endeavour to be as intelligible as I can upon this Subject, and hope the Reader will make all reasonable Allowances for the real Difficulty of settling so long and various an Account of our Incumbrances, in one View, with great Exactness, for the Purpose of an Enquiry that appears hitherto to have been so much neglected by us.

A State of our Publick Debts at Christmas 1717, with the Increase of them from the Subscription of the Irredeemables.

	l.	s.	d.
O Riginally contributed for sundry Annuities for long Terms of Years	9,859,617	7	1
Ditto for Annuities of Survivorship	108,100	0	0
Ditto on Annuities on 2 and 3 Lives	192,152	6	3
Ditto for the 9 per Cent. Annuities	900,000	0	0
Ditto for the commonly call'd Lottery 1710 Annuities	1,500,000	0	0
Annuities at 5 per Cent. commonly call'd Lottery Annuities	9,534,357	13	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
The same commonly called Bank Annuities	1,079,000	0	0
The same commonly called Navy Annuities	110,312,	17	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Annuities at 4 per Cent. on Tallies of Sol.	947,514	7	8
The same for Army Debentures	2,152,927	0	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Debentures to the Sufferers at <i>Nevis</i> and <i>St. Christopher's</i>	141,093	15	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Equivalent Debt	248,550	0	9
A Deficiency on the Duty of Hops	12,480	9	1
The same on the <i>East-India</i> Company's Fund	191,028	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Debt on the Lottery 1713	588,120	0	0
The same on the Lottery 1714	1,779,020	0	0
<i>Exchequer</i> Bills	2,561,025	0	0
Debt to the Bank of <i>England</i>	5,375,027	17	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
The same to the <i>South-Sea</i> Company	10,000,000	0	0
The same to the <i>East-India</i> Company	3,200,000	0	0
An Arrear to the Navy since paid from the Sinking Fund	1,000,000	0	0
Increase of the Debt in the Publick Accounts, from the Subscription of the Irredeemables which I have since with more Exactness computed to amount to	3,156,585	5	0
Total	34,636,912	17	4 $\frac{1}{4}$

A State of our Publick Debts at Christmas 1725.

	l.	s.	d.
Due to the <i>South-Sea Company</i> and their Annuitants	33,802,483	14	0
The same to the Bank of <i>England</i>	9,375,027	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
The same to the <i>East-India Com-</i> <i>pany</i>	3,200,000	0	0
<i>Debts remaining unsubscrib'd into the</i> <i>South-Sea Company in 1720, and</i> <i>unsatisfy'd at Christmas 1725, viz.</i>			
Annuities on Tallies of Sol.	198,958	8	3
Army Debentures	942,134	6	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Debt remaining on the Lottery 1713	32,260	0	0
The same on the first Lottery 1719	58,300	0	0
<i>Exchequer Bills</i>	560,312	10	0
Annuities on the Duties on wrought Plate	312,000	0	0
<i>Nevis and St. Christopher's Debentures</i>	141,093	15	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Loans on Coals for Building Churches	68,665	0	0
Originally contributed for the Pur- chase of 131,458 l. 12 s 8 d. per <i>Ann.</i> Annuities, for long Terms remaining unsubscrib'd into the <i>South-Sea Company</i>	1,837,533	0	9
The same for 29,925 l. 1 s. 1 d. An- nuities for short Terms	272,620	11	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
The same for Annuities on Survi- vorship	108,100	0	0
The same for Annuities for Lives subsisting at <i>Christmas 1725</i>	188,050	6	3
Equivalent Debt	248,550	0	9
Total	51,346,089	11	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ballance the neat Decrease of our Publick Debts from <i>Christmas</i> 1717, to <i>Christmas 1725</i>	3,290,823	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	54,636,912	17	4 $\frac{1}{4}$

P. S. Amongst the various Exceptions taken to my *Essay upon the Publick Debts*, there is but one, and that repeated by two Writers against me, that have induced me to propose an Amendment to it. This is in *Page 106*, where I do not know how it happen'd that I have, *Line 15*, said, That the Danger *seems to me*, by no means inconsiderable. Whoever consults the general Intention of that Paragraph, will find I should have said, the Danger *may seem to them* by no means inconsiderable. In this manner, I hope the Reader will be so good as to correct my Copy, without insisting that I should charge that as a Mistake upon the Printer, which I indeed suspect I was guilty of my self. There are so many other Instances, in which my Sense has been misrepresented, by Methods that I believe yet want a Description in the Art of Criticism, that it would be an endless Labour, (at least, it is what my Employment will not admit of) to attempt to explain upon them. My Sense is open to every reasonable and unprejudiced Reader, and as far as it is of any Consequence either to him or me to know, whether I have been fairly quoted or not, I doubt not but he will attend to it; but I am sorry that I have Reason to advertise him, that I have seen my self quoted even with Words foisted in upon me, and which I have not used in the Passages quoted from my *Essay*, and this very Forgery afterwards used as the only Cause of railing at me.

F I N I S.

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A

LETTER
TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
ENGLAND;

Occasion'd by the Falling away of the
CLERGY, from the Doctrines of the
REFORMATION.

*That ye should earnestly contend for the
Faith, which was once delivered unto the
Saints, Jude ver. 3.*

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N.

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LETTER

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF ENGLAND

Containing the History of the
Constitution of the Kingdom of Great Britain
from the first Settlement of the Saxons
to the Present Time

By JOHN HALLAM, Esq.
of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law

LONDON: Printed by G. ALLEN, in Pall Mall

1830

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(L. 11)



A

L E T T E R

TO THE

People of *England*, &c.

Gentlemen and Brethren,



T ought to be some Point of great Importance, that can sufficiently justify so general an Address as *this*, which is laid before you. You will say, likewise, an Author should seriously weigh the Liberty he takes upon him of presuming to impeach the

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pre-

present State of doctrinal preaching in the Church. These Things *have* been well consider'd.

Since the Rights, or rather the Necessities of Mankind, in the Affair of Salvation, do call for some *Remark* on this head; and nothing ought to deter either *You* or *Me* from entertaining and advancing Truth; I shall endeavour to *execute* what I have judg'd necessary on the present Occasion, with the strictest Impartiality and Justice.

That the cause of Religion has declined for many Years, every Person appears sensible. Amongst the various Reason assign'd for it, I happen to think, many *false* Ones have been started, but the *princi-*
pal

pal Reason not yet hit upon. In my Apprehension, the establish'd Ministers have suffer'd the cause to *die* in their *own* Hands: By departing from the *Old Method* of Preaching, for the sake of a dangerous Politeness; and further, by departing from their first and original Tenets; which has given Countenance to what is called Natural Religion, in *such* a Measure, as to shut out Reveal'd Religion, and *superfede* the GOSPEL.

It will be found, by a diligent Observer, that there are not only *Fashions* of the World, but it may be seen there have been *Fashions* of Religion, unhappily led up by those Persons, who should be suppos'd in this Point, never to vary.

Reli-

Religion, from several Incidents which I shall touch upon in these Papers, is become a *new* Thing. It is in vain to cry out against Deists and Infidels when the Protestant Watchmen have deserted their Post, and themselves have open'd the Gap to the Enemy.

This Consequence could not but follow, and, I dare say, was discern'd by serious Persons a Century ago, when Ministers taken upon them to leave the *Bible*, and, rather than with that, are delighted in the curious Fields of Learning, Oratory, Pomp, and Power. Learning and Oratory, it must be own'd, are arriv'd at great Perfection; but our true *Old Divinity* is gone. Amidst these splendid
Trifles,

Trifles, the GOSPEL is *really* lost.
I shall set this Matter in a full
Light, by opening *two* material
Articles.

First, The Method of obtaining
Heaven. And,

Secondly, Man's Power in him-
self, or not Power, to be virtuous.

It was an universal Belief among
Protestants at the Reformation,
and the Pulpit knew no other
Language, that *Faith only* is the
genuine Method of Salvation : Not
Faith and Works together, or Works
more properly, as hath been held
forth within seventy or eighty
Years last past. This latter Way,
indeed, is no Way at all ; rightly
con-

considered, it carries with it a Contradiction to itself. For if Works are join'd to Faith, not as Proofs of Faith, but as Means together, or rather the principal Means of Salvation, as now our Pulpits do almost universally represent; the Matter is resolv'd finally into Works *merely*, and *not* Faith. This Notion, in Effect, excludes Christ. There cannot be a mix'd Way to Acceptance: It must be by Christ *wholly*, or our selves *wholly*; not our selves in Part, and Christ in Part, with a View to make up our Defects. Indeed, such a Notion carries a plausible Appearance at first View; but the Truth is a stranger to it: The Reformation discern'd better; and the Scripture, where it principally treats this Subject, I

mean

mean St. *Paul's* Epistles, declares otherwise. *If by Grace* (that is, by God's free Favour through Christ, Election to Life arises) then is it no more of Works; otherwise Grace is no more Grace. But if it be of Works then is it no more Grace; otherwise Work is no more Work.

The *Place* of Works in a Christian Man's Salvation, is, that they are *Marks* and *Proofs* of Faith. They are Signs of Justification; not the *Cause* or *Motive* of Justification, in any Measure. Christ's Works, which alone were perfect in their Kind, are, with God, that Motive entirely. Morality, and Piety of conversation, may, and ought to be recommended in Ser-

B

mons,

mons, as whereby a Christian should demonstrate his Faith; but, at present, they are generally recommended upon a different Foot. Mankind are led to understand, and apprehend, that they are principally to be sav'd by repentance and other moral Endeavours. These Things are good; but in a wrong View they are ruinous. A View undesign'd by the new Dispensation. This is not to preach the GOSPEL. It is *Moses* still, the Rod of the moral Law, still held over Man; which, in the End can do on other than condemn. This may be called a bringing back the old Dispensation, a reviving Sin and misery, provided Persons go to the Issue of the Argument. Whereas, *Christ was the*

End

[II]

End of the Law, the complete Fulfiller of it, for *Righteousness to them who believe*. No man contributes properly the *least Grain* to his own Salvation.

If we read *Luther's Sermons*, *Calvin's Institutions*, or any of the old Doctors of the Reformation, we find *such* their invariable Language. This Language yielded real Incouragement to an Audience. It convey'd no confus'd, but a distinct Idea. In brief; this renders Salvation a practicable matter, which modern Preaching makes a Thing impracticable. The Nature of our Case calls for so much, we *owe* so much to the *Glo-ry of the GOSPEL*.

I know the Precaution of the Pulpit raises many *Objections* against such a Language: But it is not for man to form Schemes of Salvation. Scripture certainly is *Wiser*, and generally Antiquity is *wiser* than modern Times, in *these* matters.

There appear to me many Reasons why *Faith only* can obtain Salvation. Some I will mention. God is *pure beyond* all Imagination or Thought. The best Livers are *imperfect* in their *best* Performances. The Messiah, by his personal Virtue, *fulfilled* the moral Law *perfectly*, instead of *fallen*, and still *corrupted* Man. By a Cloathing form'd out of his Righteousness,
 Man

Man *may* be saved *indeed*. Now upon *this* Prospect, human Nature receives proper Incouragement, and exerts readily its moral Endeavours upon a Foot of Gratitude, upon a Foot of Thankfulness, upon a Foot of glorifying God before Men. The Salvation of a Christian is *already* effected, is *already* finish'd, if at all, by Jesus Christ, even before Mens Works were wrought, or themselves born into the World.

This Assertion may sound oddly at present (there having been a *Disuse* of such Doctrines, and *contrary* Notions, now introduced, for many Years) but the Church Articles hold out *this* Sense : And, perhaps, in some future Time, it
may

may become customary, and acceptable again.

Who would imagine, if he only hears Discourses in the CHURCH of *England*, and takes the Matter implicitly, that there is *some Article* constantly in the Common Prayer Book, *expresly contrary* to what engages the Person in the Pulpit ? Who would imagine (I am sorry to say these Things) that many Clergymen *subscribe* to the *Thirty Nine* Articles, and profess to *believe* them before the People, at Admission into a Living, yet *secretly disbelieve* the very chief of them, and Preach *against* them all their Lives ? I call that disbelieving, when Persons deny a genuine and obvious Sense A Case
which

which affords no *large Proof* of that *Integrity* and *Honesty*, which ought to be expected at *such Hands*. A Case which merits to be consider'd, and which may justly teach the Laity *Precaution* and *Care*, in a View which so highly concerns them.

The *eleventh Article* of the Church
of England

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by Faith, and not for our own Works or Deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of
Com-

*Comfort, as more largely is expressed
in the Homily of Justification.*

It appears hence that Faith and Works together, and with some Preachers Works only ; as now a-days generally urged, is a remarkable *Variation* from the supposed *Standard* of Doctrine. The Method of urging Salvation upon the modern Foot, is vain and delusive. The other will bear the Test, and yields Satisfaction to the intelligent and serious Christian.

It is observable, in the *same* Sense with this eleventh Article, are most of the *old Books* which filled the Press an hundred and fifty Years after the Reformation.

Of

Of this Kind are several large *Folio's* (though defaced and neglected) still appearing in our Parish Churches. These Monuments of Truth, and Antiquity, for the most Part are *Fox's Martyrology*, in three Volumes, *Bishop Jewel's Apology*, *Erasmus's Paraphrase* on the *New Testament* : These with the *Book of Homilies* (which, by the Way, are excellent Compositions) are all upon the Plan, and in the Sense I am here reasoning for the Revival of. In my humble Opinion, till the Use, at least the Sense of these Writings is restor'd, there will be no *substantial* Preaching, nor *real* Morality, either amongst *Clergy* or *Laity*.

The *Second* material Point I shall instance, wherein the Clergy have fallen away, both from the Doctors of the Reformation, and *their own* Articles, is, the ascribing to Man a *Power* of being virtuous, by the *Strength* of his own *Reason* and *Free-Will*.

Luther, Calvin, and most Part of the Doctors, who had the Province of Writing and Preaching, at, and presently after, the Reformation, declared entirely against such Power: So *does* the Article I shall now subjoin.

The tenth Article of the CHURCH
of England.

Of Free-Will.

The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural Strength, and good Works, to Faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no Power to do good Works, pleasant and acceptable to God without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good Will, and working with us when we have that good will.

It is observable, since the Time of Archbishop Laud, the Clergy have taken up a different Language. From their manner of speaking

on this Subject (I always mean as to the Main, and Drift of it) an Audience is led to apprehend, that every Person *may* be converted, and *come* into Belief, and into Virtue, by the Use of his Faculties and Reason : By which *Representation*, the Doctrine of *supernatural Assistance* has been exploded, and is look'd upon as little better than Cant and Enthusiasm. Indeed, under this artful Term, most of the old doctrines have suffer'd, and been obliged to betake themselves into *Corners* and *Obscurity* : Yet, in my humble Opinion, there can be no other *real* Foundation of true Religion. For if human Nature, by virtue of Free-Will (which no Protestant ever deny'd, so far as it can go) has an Ability,

or

or *Possibility*, of believing, and of being virtuous, let the Upholders of the new System render a Reason why Mankind is not more believing, and more virtuous, than in Fact *we find* them to be. In Case it be here said, some Persons will not use Reason, I ask again, must there not be a Cause of this unhappy Turn in the Mind? Must not the Cause be some *secret Corruption* in the Condition of Nature?

Most Persons do think, indeed, that they have Strength to Knowledge, and to Practice, when they *please* to exert it: Alas! a Piece of Self-Flattery, which proceeds from this *very* Corruption, and is a *Part* of it. I apprehend, according to
the

the present Condition of Nature, we may affirm, that it hath Freedom to *some Degree*, but not to *such* a Degree as to reach real Virtue, and true Light, without a *new and extraordinary* Assistance. It has Freedom enough to condemn it, for folly and Immorality ; but not so much as whereby to render it self *acceptable* to the supreme Being. We have all a Will that is *free*, but not a Will that is *good*.

A Neglect of this Consideration has render'd *modern Sermons* of a Kind with the Lectures of *Seneca*, or *Epictetus*. They are moral Essays, and that without real Foundation. Here we may justly date that Passion for *Natural Religion*

gion which has amus'd the World of late Years. 'Tis true, the Clergy, though they allow and hold this Notion, yet they join Reveal'd Religion with it. Herein, as seems to me lies a *great Error*, just the *Error* which I before mention'd, of holding Faith and Works together. If natural Religion exists, which the Clergy do evidently allow, will it not follow, according to the Deists, that Reveal'd Religion is a Matter *unnecessary*? If Reveal'd Religion is *unnecessary*, as it must be, if the other is *possibly sufficient*, I own I cannot well see how the all-wise Being, who does nothing in vain, can be supposed to have made it. So that in Case Deism is the *Crime* of the Age, it involves not the C——ns's, the T——ls only, but
the

the Consequence unexpectedly reaches *much farther*: Nay, the Former are more consistent in their Pretensions, than some other Persons. In my humble Opinion, the Clergy are palpably in the wrong, in holding *two* Pretensions, which mutually *overthrow* one another. I cannot but think, that Natural Religion ought absolutely to be deny'd. Yet, far be it from us to cramp the divine Mercy, or Favour. In Heathen Countries, and under States where the GOSPEL never reach'd, the supreme Being *can* communicate the supernatural Assistance, of which I am speaking, if he pleases, to *particular* Men.

Against

Against any Power of this Kind in Nature, the *Scripture*, as well as the Article I have quoted, appears exprefs. *The natural Man discerneth not the Things which be of God. Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God ; that is, he cannot be a real Member of the Church of CHRIST here, nor an inheritor of that Happinefs which will be hereafter. No Man can come to me except the Father who hath sent me draw him.*

Towards making and forming a Christian, if *supernatural Assistance* of the divine Spirit was necessary at the Beginning of the GOSPEL, I do not see what should render it *less* necessary at any Time since ;

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nor

nor why it may not be *expected now*, but that Persons want Faith. Human Learning, and human Wisdom, have rashly and vainly usurped the *Place* of it.

It is observable, these *Old Principles* are still to be found amongst Dissenters, in good Measure ; which, I fear, may be Part of the Reason why the *Clergy* have dropt the Use of them.

In regard these Doctrines were the Principles and Language of the *Dissenters*, and others, who follow'd the Standard of the Parliament against King CHARLES the First ; though they were not the particular Motives of the War, nor could contract any just Blame from

From the unhappy Issue of that War ; yet, at the *Restoration* of King *Charles* the Second, the Resentment which took Place against the Persons of the *Dissenters*, and ran high, I apprehend, led the Church *Clergy* not only to be angry with the *Men*, but to forsake their *Principles* too, though right and innocent in themselves, and afore-time held in common amongst all Protestants. This appears, in my Opinion, the Beginning of Natural Religion, and Moral Preaching. Every Thing besides began to be *branded* with the odious Term of *Enthusiasm*, and *Hypocrisy*. Hence Mankind lost Sight of former Principles ; and a *new Plan* of Preaching found Applause, from that Time to the

present. This total Change in the Language of Preaching, no Doubt, cannot bear a just Vindication. It was a running into *Extremes*, which 'tis high Time to rectify and adjust. I am not here insinuating any Apology for Principles which tend to Resistance of the supreme Power; only for the *Revival* of *such* Principles which are essentially Protestant, and uncontestable.

The unhappy Mistake, which *Naturalists* fell into, has, by Degrees, affected the *Taste* of Mankind. All Manner of *old* Writings are *now* disdain'd. The Sermons of *Luther*, the Sermons of *Latimer* and *Ridley*, would, at present, find little quarter amongst us. Yet such Discourses have the only real

Re-

Recommendations to Esteem; they are founded in *Truth*, and have *good Sense* at the Bottom.

Perhaps nothing but Use and Custom renders the various Manner of Persons Writings either displeasing to us, or pleasing. In any Kind of Philosophy give me a *new* Writer, in Religion give me an *Old* Writer. In this Case, *no Man having drank old Wine, straightway desireth new; for he saith, the old is better.* Experience declares against modern Divinity: That is, it has no proper *Substance* in it, to *influence* the Actions of Mankind. 'Tis impossible it should. It *wants* Power, it *wants* the indispenfable Assistance and Strength of the *Holy Scripture*, If am not mistaken, *Luther*

ther was wont to wish there was no Book in the World besides the *Bible*. Perhaps many Persons begin to be the *same Opinion*.

Happy would it be for the Protestant World, would all Men hold their grand Principles *consistently*. The Reformers declar'd the Scriptures a *sufficient Rule* of Faith, and Manners; and yet, how *largely* have after Times taken upon them to *add!* how unaccountably, if we observe seriously the *Bulk* of some national Establishments! But be this as it may be: Doubtless the *Minsters* of our Establishment ought not to hold the Parts of that Establishment *fast and loose*, This will admit no Apology. If the Church *be* a Congregation

of

of faithful Men) as our Establishment affirms) *where the pure Word of God is preach'd, &c.* Let the pure Word *be* preach'd : Otherwise, according to Acknowledgment, it is *not a Church.*

I do not say the *Clergy* have advanced any Branches of *Popish* Corruption. *Popery* seems not now the Danger, let Reverend Politicians give themselves what *Airs* they please, our Danger is, *no real Religion* at all.

In the mean Time, since a *Famine of the Word*, as the Prophet expresses it, prevails in the Land, every private Christian has a Right, and, I am sorry to say so, has a Necessity, in my Apprehension, to
seek

seek his Bread in desolate Places.
 The Laity has a Right to hear the
 Truth, and, instead of vain and
 barren Amusement, to reap true
 Edification and Knowledge,
Wherever they can find it.

The same Rule will hold in
 any *future* Time, should Corrup-
 tion, as to Fundamentals, ever hap-
 pen again. Suffer in your selves
 no ridiculous Terrors, or false No-
 tions about *Church Communion*. All
 real Christians go where they
 will, are of *one* Communion.

The *Christian* Church does not
 properly consist of persons, form'd
 under this or that Model of Wor-
 ship ; but of *particular* persons,
 out of *infinite* Churches. If the
 Doc-

Doctrines of the Reformation had been follow'd in all their just Consequences, there would have been no *Term of Communion* except the *Scripture*. But be this at it may be.

In case you have no Opportunity of hearing the genuine GOSPEL, 'tis my sincere Opinion, you had better tarry at home, and read a Chapter in the *Bible*, than be *beguiled* with tinkling Sounds, and plausible Absurdities. *What is the Chaff to the Wheat?* It avails not to be fed with Chaff, even out of a Dish of Gold.

I would not here insinuate, or mean, that every Lay-man ought to leave his Church, *directly* or *absolutely*

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solutely, but that it may be expedient for him to leave it in Part, *or for an Hour, it may be*, with a View to necessary Edification. If CHRIST be preach'd, it matters not where. If in the *Church*, 'tis well; if in the *Meetings*, 'tis well; but that he be Preach'd and fully known, seems, in my Opinion, the *great Point needful*. Every Person is to do as he is persuaded in his own Mind.

I generally think most Men too much attached to a single Communion, through the Force of Education ~~and~~ Custom. If every Party would *relax* somewhat in this Point, perhaps it would be *better*.

With

With Regard to the Affair of Communion, I shall relate a Particular of *Grotius*. When that wise and judicious Person lay upon his Death-Bed, a Crowd of Company who stood by, was solicitous to know, from his own Mouth, what *Communion* he might be said to die in: Each of them secretly hoping some signal Advantage to their Party, from the Credit of so eminent a Member, on whose side soever he should happen to declare. All the Answer *Grotius* thought fit to return, was, that *he should die in the Communion of JESUS CHRIST.*

Ecclesiastical Persons may multiply the heads of Christian Belief in Church *Creeds* (for there is scarcely any end of enumerating
 . Gospel

Gospel Truths) to as great Number as they please, still the principal Point will be, to *believe in CHRIST* for *Justification*. Keep this in Sight. The Gospel does not appear to me, so much a Mystery in any respect, as that it may be justly esteemed a Mystery of *Compassion* and *Beneficence* in the World's Sovereign Creator.

In Case a *Christian's* Faith be the Effect of divine Assistance, and not the Effect of human Art, or of Education, or Custom, it will have a *Fruit* attending it, of *Piety*, and *Sobriety* in Life. No *Christian* can have a License to sin. 'Tis a sufficient Happiness to him, that Faith fully understood, gives his religious Performances a comfortable

able Foundation to go upon; and that such a Person's Duties in Life proceed henceforward, not with Uncertainty and Doubt, but with Cheerfulness and Satisfaction.

In order to so clear a Discernment of Things, it seems necessary, that all persons amongst us, as well Laymen as Ministers, should be conversant in the Scripture, and *search* every Page with their *own Eyes*. Few Persons come to real Religion by *Hearsay*.

'Tis high Time you enquire after the *Old Way*. Have Recourse to *Old Books* in all religious Matters, and especially to the *Holy Scriptures*.

I hope I have at least open'd a *Door* this Way. Experience *declares* against every *other* Scheme. *What* have they brought forth? A false Taste in the present Age, with respect to Wit or Learning, may be tolerably conniv'd at; a false Taste in Religion must not be conniv'd at, it requires to be *remedied* by having Recourse to *first* Principles. This hath seem'd to me the *only* Method of *restoring* Religion.

I cannot conclude better than with the Words of the Apostle Jude, *It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the Faith which was once deliver'd unto the Saints* : That is to say, in the
Time,

Time, and at the forming of the first *Churches*; and, give me leave to *immind* you, was *again* deliver'd to the Protestant World, at the important Time of the Reformation.

I am,

Gentlemen and Brethren,

Your Faithful

Humble Servant,

PAULINUS.

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and at the same time
the Church; and give me leave
to thank you, as you have delivered
to the Protestant World, at this
important Time of the Reformation.

I am,

Gentlemen and Brethren,

Your Obedient

Humble Servant

PAULINUS

AN

363-5

A N S W E R

T O

Mr. *MIST*'s JOURNAL

O F T H E

Twenty-Eight of *January*, N^o. 93,

In a LETTER to the Author of it.

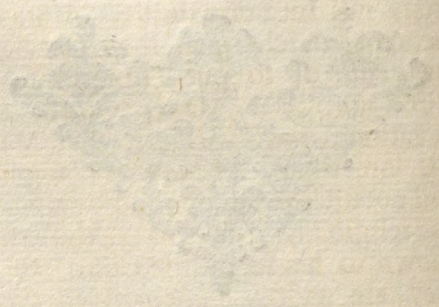


L O N D O N :

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AND
W. S. W. B. R.
TO
MR. ALISTAIR'S JOURNAL
OF THE
Twenty-Eight of January, 1852.

Printed by the Author of it.



Printed by the Author of it.
London, 1852.



The COPY of a LETTER publish'd
in MIST'S JOURNAL of Jan.
28. 1726-7.

BY reading the Memorials, Answers, &c. which have been given in at the several Courts of Europe, since the present Misunderstandings have been working up to a War, a Man may conceive a pretty just Idea of Ministers of State; and the Arts which upon such Occasions are made use of to put Things into a certain Light, is a Matter worthy of Observation; nay, we find, that Memorialists sometimes, as well as Pamphleteers, will not stick much upon advancing Things not religiously true; nay, tho' they are known to be so by the Courts to whom they are address'd; provided they will but pass upon their own People at Home, for deceiving whom these Things seem to be calculated,—As if the Vanity of setting off his own Actions was the chief Business of a Minister, and the publick Good was no Way concern'd in the Affair.

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' A Writer in great Esteem amongst the
 ' Whigs, I mean the Lord Shaftsbury, speak-
 ' ing of Ministers of State, says, *That it*
 ' *would be strange if a whole Nation should im-*
 ' *PLICITLY repose their Wit and Judgment on the*
 ' *Report of Men who are obliged to colour over*
 ' *Things, not only to keep off Contempt, but to*
 ' *avoid Punishment.*—For as no Man's Word
 ' is of any Weight where either his Interest
 ' or his Reputation is concern'd, the noble
 ' Author, for that Reason, is of Opinion,
 ' that Ministers of State should produce clear
 ' and demonstrable Proofs, that their Pro-
 ' ceedings were not only intended for the
 ' publick Good, but were also grounded
 ' upon the best Principles of true Policy
 ' and good Sense, especially in Countries
 ' where the People have a Right to demand
 ' and receive Satisfaction for all the Proceed-
 ' ings of those in the Administration of pub-
 ' lick Affairs.

' Indeed in Countries where the People
 ' have no Share in the Government, if Mi-
 ' nisters should make false Steps, they have
 ' nothing to do but to flatter, cajol, and
 ' some way or other blind the Eyes of the
 ' Prince, and then all is safe.—But even
 ' here, tho' the People neither have it in
 ' their Power to reward or punish, you will
 ' find these Gentlemen pushing a false Idea
 ' of their Capacities upon the World, by all
 ' the little Artifices their inferior Tools can
 ' think of for them. Every Man would
 ' fain pass for *Machiavel* in his Way; and
 ' as Governments were instituted for the
 ' Peace

Peace of the World, and for rendering Mankind happy; and as he who discovers great Abilities for so glorious a Task, will find his Merit known and acknowledged by the World, Bunglers will for this Reason put in for the Bays without any Degree of Merit, ——— for Vanity is always strongest in the weakest Minds.

Reason is the great Prerogative of Man above the Brute Creation; but it is a Gift which Nature is pleas'd to dispense by very unequal Portions, amongst her Children, yet such is the Pride seated in the Heart of Man, or else such the peculiar Happiness which attends Ignorance, that no Man ever complained of a Want of Sense in himself; nay, there are a thousand Instances of Persons who have not only own'd, but even boasted of their Rogueries, when there has been any Thing either bold or ingenious in the Contrivance or Execution of them; but I believe from the Beginning of the World to this Day there is not an Example of one who ever confess'd himself a Blockhead.

We will suppose then, that in the present Crisis of political Affairs, it may be as much against the true Interest of *Spain* to come to a Rupture with *Great-Britain*, as it can be opposite to that of *Great-Britain* to quarrel with *Spain*, and that the Marquis *De las Paz* presuming upon his own Sufficiency and great Genius, should promise the King his Master to take such Measures as should effectual disperse these

Clouds, and silence the Murmurs of his
 Neighbours.—To this Purpose he augments
 the Troops, puts the Armies in Motion,
 and brings a great Expence upon his Coun-
 try; however, he answers it very well, by
 saying, that it is an Expence, which is to
 save a much greater Expence, *viz.* that of
 a War; wherefore he supposes that every
 Man will chearfully submit to it; yet if
 the whole World should afterwards be
 convinced that these Measures had intan-
 gled his Master's Affairs, and the Insults he
 had offer'd his Neighbours, were the only
 Cause of rendering a friendly Accommo-
 dation impossible, we must not expect that
 he should frankly own, that it was his
 Ignorance, and Want of Understanding
 which had brought all these Troubles up-
 on his Countrey; that he meant well in-
 deed, but it was his Misfortune to meddle
 in Affairs for which he had no Capacity.—
 No, on the contrary, he will have Re-
 course to some Subterfuges, cover himself
 with a Thousand palliating Excuses, and
 pretend to maintain that he had acted wise-
 ly, but that the Nature of those Things
 will not suffer his declaring his true Rea-
 sons.—An Answer (if it be allowed to
 be good) that will serve for excusing all the
 Blunders that ever were committed from
 the Beginning of the World.

On the other Side, we shall sometimes
 see the Conduct of Men in Power misre-
 presented by Insinuations and Innuendo's,
 even where they have acted with great

Pru-

' Prudence and Foresight ; but of all Ways
 ' of traducing, the most artful and cunning
 ' seems to be by vile Encomium and
 ' wretched Panegyrick ; for what can be
 ' a greater Abuse or more severe Satyr than
 ' a bad Defence? Therefore he that has a
 ' Mind effectually to ruin the Reputation of
 ' another, must seem to take his Part. — It
 ' is like a treacherous Ally, who under Pre-
 ' tence of defending you, marches with you
 ' into the Field, disarms you by Stealth, and
 ' delivers you into the Hands of the Enemy.

' The Reader no doubt will guess, by this
 ' Comparifon, that I have my Eyes upon a
 ' late Pamphlet, whose Author very officiously
 ' (for I dare believe he had no Call for it)
 ' presents himself as the Champion of cer-
 ' tain Persons, who want no Seconds. The
 ' Arms he is pleas'd to make use of, are a
 ' Heap of Fictions back'd with no Proofs,
 ' nor so much as supported by Appear-
 ' ances ; but indeed, in the Beginning of
 ' his Fable, when he speaks of the strange
 ' Alteration lately happened in the Face of
 ' publick Affairs, he tells us, that every Man
 ' will expect or *invent* some Account of so sur-
 ' prizing a Scene ; so that, if you often find
 ' him advancing Things that never were, or
 ' never will be, you are to consider them
 ' only as the Sallies of a quick Imagination,
 ' and a peculiar Happiness at *Invention*.

' But we every now and then find him
 ' taking off a little of his Disguise, and dis-
 ' covering the Enemy under the Mask of
 ' Friendship, as where he is inculcating a
 ' Notion

' Notion which he often repeats. — That
 ' whenever the Pretences made for such
 ' Actions appear upon Examination to be
 ' groundless, we are to suppose, there must
 ' be some secret unjustifiable Reason behind,
 ' not fit to be declared; immediately after
 ' which, he begins to advance some strange
 ' improbable Causes, for sending Fleets to
 ' the *Baltick*, and elsewhere.

' No Doubt this is a cunning Way of at-
 ' tacking Peoples Reputations, but I cannot
 ' hold it either generous or fair, where he
 ' says, that somebody *should report that the*
 ' *Duke of Ripperda should say such and such*
 ' *Things*; Nobody will suppose that the *Bri-*
 ' *tish* Nation should engage in a War upon
 ' Account of the Duke of *Ripperda's* Table-
 ' Talk, tho' it were true, that he said what
 ' is reported. — But tho' I do not believe
 ' this, I am not therefore to conclude, that
 ' the true Reasons of the War are such as
 ' cannot be justified; for I consider, that
 ' when a Writer of this kind aims at ex-
 ' posing the Reputation of Men in Power,
 ' by a counterfeit Defence, the worst Argu-
 ' ments his Invention can furnish him with,
 ' are the best for that Purpose.

' *Alexander* the Great gave Orders, that
 ' none but *Lysippus* should make his Statue,
 ' and no Man besides *Apelles* should presume
 ' to draw his Picture; our Ministers cannot
 ' pretend to issue out such arbitrary Com-
 ' mands; it is therefore no Wonder that
 ' Bunglers and false Friends should some-
 ' times intrude themselves upon this Task,
 and

and supply the Places of honest and ingenious *Artists*; however, this can do them no great Harm, for good Conduct will prove itself by good Effects; and the great Cardinal *Richlieu* said, that all Designs were successful or otherwise, just as they were managed with Prudence or with Folly.





A N

A N S W E R

T O

Mr. M I S T.

S I R,

AMONG the many Truths in sacred Writ, the following is demonstrably certain, That *altho' Light is come into the World, there are many who love Darknes, rather than Light, because their Deeds are Evil.* This, notwithstanding it originally alluded to the Light of the Gospel by our Saviour, and the Lovers of Darknes to his Enemies; yet that pathetic Saying is often verified in other Affairs of Life: Of which I observed a very pregnant Instance in your

B Journal

Journal of the 28th of *January*, N^o. 93. which seems to have been publish'd with Design to infuse additional Poison into the Minds of so many disaffected People in our Island, who on every Occasion appear not only to be at Enmity with the present Government, and Administration; but at Variance with our Religion, Liberties, and every Thing valuable among us. The chief Scope of your above-mentioned Libel, favour'd as if intended to expose and vilify the late Pamphlet publish'd in Vindication of the present Ministry's Procedure in this critical and alarming Conjunction of a threatening War. In order to which, you struggle to make appear, that what is asserted in it as Fact, are only political Inventions, Fable, and Falshood. And in order to screen your self from a Punishment which you have Reason to dread from those who hitherto have let such Invectives pass with too great Impunity, in one Part of your Journal you pretend (with what Art you can) to lay the Scene in *Spain*, while in the mean-time, 'tis plain, you design it should be under-

understood *London*, and make the Marquis *de las Pas* seem to act what you insinuate, is perform'd by our present *British* Administrators. Among your Observations, you quote some of my Lord *Shaftsbury's* political Maxims, viz. " *That Ministers of State should produce clear and demonstrable Proofs, that their Proceedings were not only intended for the Publick good, but were also grounded upon the best Principles of true Policy and good Sense, especially in Countries where People have a right to demand, and receive Satisfaction, for all the Proceedings of those in the Administration of publick Affairs*". I am amazed, that you should have been so imprudent as to single out that particular Quotation, and thereby to furnish Weapons for effectually disarming, if not destroying, your self; since it appears evident, that as we do live in a free Country, where Satisfaction is demanded of the Proceedings of those in the Administration of publick Affairs; by the Publication of the late Pamphlet, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Con-*

duct of Great-Britain, with Relation to the present State of Affairs in Europe, against which you shoot your Bolt; by it, I say, the Publick has obtained that Satisfaction you mention, yea, in the most ample Manner that could be desired; the whole in it supported with Truths demonstrable, and irrefragable. I confess if our present Ministry was so corrupt and base as to permit and countenance the publishing of what was false and spurious, the very free People you mention could not resent it with sufficient Indignation: But why don't you, with your Art of sly Innuendo's, point out one single Falshood in all that's asserted? For my Share, I have such Charity for that Spirit with which you write, that did you know any one Untruth in the Whole, you would not scruple to expose it to the Publick *totidem Verbis*, and well you might in this free Country, were not your Insinuations malicious and ill-grounded; for if, I say, one single Falshood could be produced, it would not be like a lighted Candle hid under a Bushel, seeing Care would be taken
by

by Incendiaries to make it blaze forth even to a Conflagration. But these Things called Facts, are hard Morfels for the Enemies of our Government to digest, except by some of our own home-bred *Ostriches*, who have Gullets capable to swallow, and Stomacks apt to digest the hardest Metal. It would be surely strange (even according to my Lord *Shaftsbury's* own Assertion) to imagine that a whole Nation, especially *Britain*, would *implicitly repose their Wit and Judgment on the Report of Men, who were obliged to colour over Things to keep off Contempt and avoid Punishment.* If this was the Case of our present Ministry, as indeed it is not, they must be the most artful Colourists that ever were heard of, especially when all that they assert is back'd with such distinct Circumstances of the precise Time and Place, and the very Day in which they were transacted. It is also unaccountable that other Countries, independent of our Ministers, should tacitly suffer themselves to have been impos'd upon by them; but so far

far it is from this, that before the Publication of the Pamphlet, call'd the *Enquiry*, others Abroad had declared the same Facts to the World which we afterwards found therein confirm'd: And still more strange would it have been, if the opposite Powers did not detect any such Falshoods in their *Gazettes*; and yet no Denials of these Facts have ever appeared to the World except in your Journal: Never, I say, by any, even the greatest Enemies to the *Hanover Alliance*. But to come to Particulars; if the Insults and Infractions of solemn Treaties receiv'd from the Emperour and Court of *Spain* are not Facts; it is wonderful that the most Christian King should particularize so many, in his Answer to the Complaints of *Spain*, delivered him by the Pope's Nuncio; namely, that the King of *Spain*, in his Conduct with *Great-Britain*, was manifestly the first Aggressor and Infringer of the Treaties which subsisted between *Britain* and him; by the Confiscation of a great Number of *English* Ships, and many other Occasions of Complaints given, and Injuries

juries receiv'd, for many Years from *Spain*. All which were laid open by Mr. *Stanhope* in his Memorial to the *Spanish* Ministers; and that *Spain*, instead of redressing these Grievances, on the contrary did encrease and augment them daily. If these I say are not Facts and Truths, 'tis amasing that the *French* should as well as we publickly assert them as such. But being so glaring in themselves, and uncontestedly true, they had the Power effectually to silence the Nuncio, and even those who were conscous of the Veracity of them and their own Guilt: Those I mean, who had employ'd the Nuncio to address the *French*. But since you are contending for Facts, let me but ask you in few Words, if the Emperor's setting up a Company at *Ostend*, to trade to the *East-Indies*, is a Violation of a solemn Treaty to the contrary, or not? And if the Assistance given him therein by the King of *Spain*, is not in like Manner a Breach of publick Faith, and a contradicting the very Sentiments which he had given out to the World before on that Subject? I think the denying of this, would be as ridiculous, as to assert that the

Spaniards

Spaniards are not this Moment in an hostile Manner before *Gibraltar*; which Place, with all imaginable Solemnity, they freely gave to *England* for ever. These and many other Facts contain'd in the *Enquiry*, are among those, which will, I dare say, puzzle you and your Party to deny; tho' it will clearly show to the World, that the only Motive you have in disputing demonstrable Truths, is, because you unquestionably have *some secret and unjustifiable Reasons behind not fit to be nam'd.* But this peculiar Method you've got in denying Facts, is something like the stupid Philosopher, who would not believe that there was any Motion, until he found himself in an Error, by another's giving him a Blow on the Face; and indeed I think there is a Sort of Necessity to cudgel some People into good Manners when too insolent. But, pray Sir, with what Confidence can you thus spread abroad your ill-grounded Innuendo's, as if our Ministry had not produced clear and demonstrative Proofs, that their Proceedings were intended for the publick Good, or *grounded upon the best Principles of Policy and good*

good Sense? Or how can your Conscience permit you to insinuate, that they have been in any Respect wanting to give the free People of *Britain* the Satisfaction which was requisite or could be desired? Besides, what may we reasonably suppose would have been the Consequences, had our Ministry acted in another Manner than what they did? Suppose we had not sent a Fleet to the *West-Indies* to hinder the Arrival of the Galleons; had their Treasure been brought into *Spain*; their Money, which is the Nerves and Sinews of War; what might we reasonably expect would the Consequences have been then? Why, evidently certain it is, that they, the Enemies of *Great-Britain*, would have been put in a Capacity before now to have acted with proportionable more Vigour against the true Interest of *Great-Britain*, and more able to put in Execution their deep Designs against our Nation; deep, I say, like Hell, and cruel like the Grave, to the total Subversion of our Government, Laws, Religion, and Liberties, Destruction of our Com-
C
merce,

merce, and what sums up the whole, and would be the Complication of all our Woes, to force a Popish Pretender upon the Free Protestant People of *Great-Britain*. I now appeal to your own Breast; have not then our Ministry, by warding off these fatal Blows, in every Respect fulfill'd Cardinal *Richlieu's* Maxim concerning Designs, which prove themselves to have been well-conducted, seeing hitherto (by the special Blessing of Providence) ours have been managed with such Prudence as have made them successful, and our Conduct prov'd good, by the good Effects they have already produced. Where then does it appear that our Ministers have been *pushing false Ideas of their own Capacities upon the World? What are the little Artifices you mention? who are those inferior Tools? the pretended Machiavels in their Way?* as you unjustly insinuate. For if according to your own Words, *Government was instituted for the Peace of the World, and rendring Mankind happy*: Is it not clear that our present Administrators have, and are struggling for nothing else but to pre-
serve

serve and maintain that Peace and Happiness which others are unjustly endeavouring to disturb and usurp; contrary to all right and the most solemn Engagements of publick Faith, having laid Schemes for disturbing not only *Britain*, but the Tranquility of all *Europe*? But to proceed; among the many sly and unjust Innuendo's scatter'd every where through your Journal, there is one hinted at, and couch'd with more Guile, but argued with greater Sophistry than any of the others, namely, as if the *British* Nation was so imprudent to commence a War upon Account of the Duke of *Ripperda's* Table-Talk. Sir, give me Leave to assure you, this Innuendo is the very cunning Way, which you your self mention that some have in attacking People's Reputations; this is the very Artifice named by you of *blaming Men in Power by Misrepresentations, Insinuations, and Innuendo's*, even when they are known to have acted with Prudence and Foresight. Are you not aware, Sir, that by such false Aspersions, you offer an Indignity and Affront to the whole Nati-

on of *Britain*? As if her People and Legislatures were so foolish as to establish on so small a Foundation the Superstructure of a dangerous and expensive War. I confess you have Cunning enough to hide your self from their immediate Resentments, by saying no Body will suppose they would engage in it for so trivial a Reason: At the same Time I appeal to your own Heart, if you do not insinuate, as if that was one of the principal Reasons for *Britain's* commencing a War? But if it be Fact; as indeed the consequent Actions prove it to have been so, that the Duke *de Ripperda* did express himself in an open Manner about the *Spanish* Designs against *Britain*, although we never made that the sole Reasons for commencing a War; yet if Prime Ministers are but the Echoes of their respective Courts; had we not then Reason to take due Umbrage at such publick Declarations, and accordingly prepare for our Defence? Were we to suffer our selves and Allies to be insulted with the impertinent Names of *Petite Messieurs*, and not vindicate our Honour

nour by our Power? Were we to permit *Gibraltar*, the chief Support of our Trade, founded upon Right as our Property; were we, I say, from the Effect of the Emperor's Secret Treaty with the King of *Spain*, to suffer it to be unjustly demanded by, and as easily granted to, the very Nation, who was once glad of the Articles to give it to *Britain* for ever? More than that, were we to suffer any Potentate in *Europe* openly to threaten the forcing a Popish Pretender upon us? Those, I say, who in the Face of the Sun have dar'd to cherish his Adherents, Aiders and Abettors. How could we possibly continue Friendship with those, who notwithstanding they were smiling in our Faces, were however privily smiting us under the Fifth Rib? Or were we tamely to see another ungrateful Prince, who, to the Blood and Treasure of *Britain*, owes his Hereditary Dominions and Imperial Diadem; were we to see him forming offensive Alliances against us, we, the very Nation that from his Infancy nursed, and protected him from the Jaws of Perdition? Were
we

we tamely to see a Serpent bred in our own Bosom sting us, and we not feel and resent it? Or could we, or can we, cancel out of our Memories the late Services done him at Cape *Passaro* by our Fleet, in securing to him all he has in *Italy*, and the additional Donative of a new Crown to him, *Sicily*, for a New Years Gift; are we calmly to succumb, and be obedient to his Imperial Nod, in letting him rattle us of our Property, strip us and our faithful and inseparable Allies the *Dutch*, of the most valuable Jewel we have, our Commerce, and in Time, if not prevented, rival us in Trade and Shipping, even within our own Seas in the very Face of *Great Britain*, notwithstanding the Honour and Faith of himself and Family, have been pledg'd to the contrary, and determinately fixt by the most sacred Tye of the solemnest Treaties? Or can we pretend to have the least Bowels of Compassion for our distressed *Protestant* Brethren Abroad, who, in the Face of Heaven, have been lately led out like Sheep to the Slaughter by their inhumane Butchers, and

we

we not sympathize with their hard Fate, and fetch one Sigh for their Calamities, and even expect the same Destruction our selves from the diabolical Principles of *Popish* Persecution; did we not take Care (by the Blessing of God) to prevent it? Say then Journalist? Are these or are they not Facts, most of which are so recent as we cannot cancel the Horror of them yet out of our Minds, and many others besides these, fully illustrated in the above-mentioned Pamphlet, which you challenge? If so, which the World cannot without downright Perjury deny; are they not just Motives for Resentment? Can we see a Dagger at our Breast and not endeavour to hold the Hand of our Murderer? For according to what you your self have asserted, *if Reason be the Prerogative of Man above the Brute Creation*", could we have any Pretence to it; should we willingly forsake the natural Principles of Self-Preservation, and suffer ourselves to be bereaved of what is nearest and dearest to us? Let me then, Mr. Journalist, tender
you

you this wholesome Advice; Search your own Heart, and *root out that Pride seated there,* and not indulge yourself in the Happiness which you say attends Ignorance, for at the Bottom it will favour of a want of Sense, to asperse other People by furnishing them with Characters drawn from your own Breast: For your Innuendo's, sly Hints, unfathomable Insinuations, if you'll pardon the Simile, is like a common Courtesane's insulting an honest Woman; for the former is sure to upbraid the Woman of Virtue with her own Character. As for those Rules laid down by you for carrying on Deceit, *viz. of flattering and cajoling, and blinding the Eyes of a Prince,* or I may say a Party, and making then all safe, as you express it; why, all this shows you are a compleat Master of the Subject, and that you may indeed *put in for the Bays;* nay, I can't help thinking, but your Party esteem you a *Machiavel* in your Way; but if you yourself fancy so, depend on't, you'll make good your own Assertion, *viz. That Vanity is always the strongest in weak Minds.*

Minds. For I apprehend the great Abilities you speak of, will not be acknowledg'd by the World in you. It would likewise seem you do not keep the very best of Company, since it appears, that among them you know a *Thousand Instances of Persons, who, you say, have not only owned, but even boasted of their own Rogueries*: Nor do I think, that the Boldness or Contrivance of the Execution of them, can palliate their Deformity. I shall lose no more Time in resum'g the Candour of some other of your ingenuous and well-concered Hints of the admirable Maxims of *traducing in the most artful and cunning Ways, by vile Encomium and wretched Panegyrick*: For as they seem dictated out of the abundance of your Heart, by them it appears your Mouth speaketh: Among the Number of which, you do the *Hanover Alliance* the Honour of saying you are *not to conclude, that the true Reasons of the War are such as cannot be justified.* If this be the *counterfeit Defence* you mention, I know not; and if

D

you

you are not conscious that all you have said, are indeed the *worst Arguments you could furnish your self with*. However, give me Leave to put you in Mind, that one very unfair Way you have taken in representing Things, by making appear an exact Parallel, drawn out of the Reasons and Interests of *Britain* and *Spain*, and their coming to a Rupture with one another, insinuating thereby, as if *Britain* had given the same Grounds for quarrelling with *Spain*, as *Spain* has given *Britain*: Whereas I defy you and your Party to instance one Provocation given by *Britain* to *Spain*, but where we were forced to it by their Injustice and the Honour and Engagements we lay under: Nor can you instance one Treaty between *Spain* and Us that we have infring'd, or one single Case in which we have been the first Aggressors. I own, nor will any Mortal deny, but it is our Interest to have the Friendship of *Spain*, by Reason of the Trade we have had with that Kingdom. But are we to buy these Advantages at the Price of giving up these

these very strong Holds which will
 secure our Trade to us in Spight
 of their Schemes to the contrary?
 Are we always to lay ourselves
 open to the Mercy of *Spain*, either
 to receive, or not receive, Injuries
 and Incroachments, when we can
 keep a Rod of Iron in our Hands
 to force them to do us Justice?
 Are We to trade to their South-Seas,
 and yet not be sure that the very
 Ships and Cargoes we send, will
 ever be suffer'd to return to *Britain*,
 without being seized and made Prize
 of, under Colour of a Thousand false
 Pretences? Are We to purchase the
 Trade of *Spain* at the Expence of
 seeing them support a Confederate
 Prince of their's in an unjust Traf-
 fick, navigated in our own Seas?
 Or are We to court the Friend-
 ship of a Nation, which we on all
 Occasions find that, in their Hearts,
 they will never be at ease, 'till they
 place on our Throne a King, forsooth,
 of their giving, a Man according to
 their own Heart, a Worshipper of
 graven Images? What a Sight would
 it be to a *True Briton's* Eye, to see
Jesuits and *Capuchines* in their Ha-
 bits, walking freely in the Streets of
London,

London, damning the whole Race of Mankind, who would not adore the God of Nature in the Shape of a Pancake of their own consecrating? Why, really Sir, if you are an Advocate for such a Cause, unveil your Disguise fairly, and no more *discover the Enemy under the Mask of Friendship*, as you express it; declare openly for the Triple Crown, preach up *Transubstantiation* to be the most rational Doctrine upon Earth, and that both Reason and our Senses conspire to prove the Wafer a God. For if you continue under the Protestant Veil, with which at present you cover yourself, you'll need no *Lysippus* to make a Statue of you, nor an *Apelles* to draw your Picture; for you'll spread abroad to the World so perfect an Idea of your Person and Inside, as will make you as well known in *Britain*, as a Hackney Coach is distinguish'd by its Mark and Number. Now I have mention'd a Hackney Coach, I cannot but say that it and a Hackney Writer are much of a-Kin; they are both adapted for the Service of any Kind of Species that
 are

are desirous to employ, or be driven in them. What will not the quotidian stipendiary Hireling do for discontented Courtiers and abortive Politicians who employ him? What will not a Papist or a Favourer of them give to any who will exalt the Doctrine of indefeasible Right, passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance, the Power of the Keys, &c. or a Drunkard the Power of the Bottle.

Discarded Courtiers put me always in Mind of the fallen Angels; they cannot help being enraged at those who possess the Paradise, from which, for their Pride and ill-Conduct, they were banished: Whatever Hackney Scribler they can get, he'll be sure of a Reward, if he stick at nothing that will flatter their shatter'd Party, and propogate their Revenge, being keen to muster up their broken Legions, in order to battle it with Liberty, Goodness, or Heaven itself, provided they have it in their View to destroy the Reputation very often of the wisest Legislatures, that by traducing and undermining them, they may the easier make way for being reinstated in their former Places and Pen-

Pensions, being envious of those, who by their Merit and Honesty do justly enjoy the Rewards of their Fidelity and true Patriotism.

I shall only add, that as what I have written on this Subject, are the disinterested and pure Dictates of my Mind, being willing to throw in my Mite for Liberty, and show my good Will for supporting a Cause which I think has the Regard of Heaven attending it; so I have the Charity to add my hearty Wishes for you and your Party's Conversions. And

am, &c.

BRITANNUS.

P. S. Since the printing of most of the foregoing Pages, I am glad to acquaint you, that I had the Satisfaction of seeing a Pamphlet just now publish'd, entitled, *Letters and Memorials which have pass'd between the Ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain*; in which is contained, not only an ample Confirmation of the Facts asserted in the *Enquiry*, &c. which you challenge, but also corroborates what at present I have asserted in its Defence; the Particulars of which I refer to Page 29 to 40, in the above-mentioned Pamphlet, of *Letters and Memorials*, &c.

F I N I S.

363-6

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

CIVIL WARS

OF

FRANCE,

Extracted from curious MANUSCRIPTS.

AND ALSO UPON THE

EPICK POETRY

OF THE

EUROPEAN NATIONS

From *HOMER* down to *MILTON*.

By *Mr. de VOLTAIRE*.

LONDON:

Printed by SAMUEL JALLASSON,
in *Prujean's Court Old Baily*, and sold
by the Bookfellers of *London* and *West-*
minster. M DCC XXVII.

ESSAYS

UPON THE

CIVIL WARS

BY

JOHN MILTON

OF

THE POETRY

OF

THE CIVIL WARS

IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY

JOHN MILTON

OF

THE POETRY

OF



ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

R E A D E R.

It has the Appearance of too great a Presumption in a Traveller, who hath been but eighteen Months in England, to attempt to write in a Language, which he cannot pronounce at all, and which he hardly understands in Conversation. But I have done what we do every Day at School, where we write Latin and Greek, tho' surely we pronounce them both very pitifully, and should understand neither of them if they were uttered to us with the right Roman, or Greek Pronunciation.

I look upon the English Language as a learned one, which deserves to be the Object of our Application in France, as the French Tongue is thought a kind of Accomplishment in England.

Besides, I did not learn English for my Private Satisfaction and Improvement only, but out of a kind of Duty.

I am ordered to give an Account of my Journey into England. Such an Undertaking can no more be attempted without un-

derstanding the Language, than a Scheme of Astronomy could be laid without the help of Mathematicks. And I have not a Mind to imitate the late Mr. Sorbieres, who having staid three Months in this Country without knowing any Thing, either of its Manners or of its Language, thought fit to print a Relation which proved but a dull scurrillous Satyr upon a Nation he knew nothing of.

Our European Travellers for the most Part are satyrical upon their neighbouring Countries, and bestow large Praises upon the Persians and Chineses, it being too natural to revile those who stand in Competition with us, and to extol those who being far remote from us, are out of the reach of Envy.

The true Aim of a Relation is to instruct Men, not to gratify their Malice. We should be busied chiefly in giving faithful Accounts of all the useful Things and of the extraordinary Persons, whom to know, and to imitate would be a Benefit to our Countrymen. A Traveller who writes in that Spirit is a Merchant of a nobler Kind, who imports into his native Country the Arts and Virtues of other Nations.

I will leave to others the Care of describing with Accuracy, Paul's Church, the Monument, Westminster, Stonehenge, &c. I consider England in another View; it strikes my Eyes as it is the Land which hath produced a Newton, a Lock, a Tillotson,

son, a Milton, a Boyle, and many great Men either dead or alive, whose Glory in War, in State-Affairs, or in Letters, will not be confined to the Bounds of this Island.

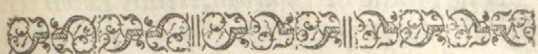
Whosoever had the Honour and the Happiness to be acquainted with any of them, and will do me the Favour to let me know some notable (tho' perhaps not enough known) Passages of their Lives, will confer an Obligation, not only upon me, but upon the Publick.

Likewise if there are any new Inventions or Undertakings, which have obtained or deserved Success, I shall be obliged to those who will be so kind as to give me an Informations of that Nature. And shall either quote my Authors, or observe a religious Silence, according as they think it proper.

As to this present Essay, it is intended as a kind of Preface or Introduction to the *Henriade*, which is almost entirely printed, nothing being wanting but the printing of the Cuts which I must recommend here as particular: Master-Pieces of Art in their Kind 'tis the only Beauty in the Book, that I can answer for.

ERRATA.

Page 7. Line 5. Annarchy read Anarchy. P. 21. l. ult.
an his read and his. P. 23. l. 20. to little read too lit-
tle. Pag. 28. lin. 9. lage read Village. Pag. 30. lin. 21.
her Grandeur read its Grandeur. Pag. 31. lin. 24. Elisa-
beth read Elizabeth. Pag. 34. lin. 1. fed on read fed on.
Pag. 35. lin. 4. Mimick of a King read Mock-King. Pag.
46. lin. last but one, raising read rising. Pag. 51. lin. 1.
rouse her read rouse it. Pag. 53. lin. 7. Minds read Mind.
Pag. 65. lin. 24. Norihen read Northern. Ibid. lin. 25. were
read was. Pag. 66. lin. 2. Italian read Italians.. Pag. 68.
lin. 24. put on read puts on. Ibid. lin. 25. enumerations
read enumeration. Pag. 75. lin. 9. to the Christ read to
Christ. Pag. 83. lin. 2. Olinda read Olindo. Pag. 79. lin. 6.
Shake of, read Shake off. Pag. 99. lin. 9. Spiritous read
Spiritous. Pag. 103. lin. 24. the last read the first. Pag.
124. lin. 10. are infinite Things read is an infinite Num-
ber of Things. Ibid. lin. 12. Paraphase read Periphraze.
Ibid. lin. 26. Skin read Chin.



THE
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 CIVIL WARS
 OF
 FRANCE,

Upon which the HENRIADE
 is grounded.

HENRY the Great King of *France*,
 was born in the Year 1553. in
Pau, a small Town, the capital
 of *Bearn*; his Father, *Anthony* of *Bour-*
bon Duke of *Vendome*, was of the Royal
 Blood, and the Head of that Branch
 call'd *Bourbon*, which formerly signified
Muddy from a Place so call'd, which fell
 to their Family by a Marriage with an
 Heirefs of that Name.

A

The

The House of *Bourbon*, from *Lewis* the Ninth down to *Henry* the Fourth, had been almost always neglected, and reduced to such a degree of Poverty, that the famous Prince of *Conde*, Brother to *Anthony* of *Navarre*, and Uncle to *Henry* the Great, had not Six hundred Pounds a Year of his own.

The Mother of *Henry* was *Jeanne d'Albret* Daughter to *Henry d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, a good Man and a worthless Prince, rather slothful than peaceable; who bore with too much resignation the privation of his Kingdom, which had been taken from his Father, by the *Pope's Bull* supported by the arms of *Spain*.

Jeanne, Daughter to so weak a Prince, had yet a weaker Husband, to whom she brought for a Portion, her little Principality of *Bearn*, and the empty Title of King of *Navarre*.

This Prince, who liv'd in a time of Factions and Civil Wars, which required a steady Mind, was always fickle and wavering in his Conduct; he never knew of what Party he was, nor of what Religion; neither fit for a Court, nor qualified to be a General; He spent all his Life in courting his Enemies, and in undoing his Servants; deceived by *Catharine* of *Medicis*, baffled and oppressed by the *Guises*, nay, cheated always by himself.

self. He was mortally wounded at the Siege of *Rouen*, where he was fighting the Cause of his Enemies against the Interest of his own House; and he died, as he had liv'd uncertain and anxious.

Jeanne d'Albret was quite of an opposite Temper, full of Courage and Resolution, feared by the Court of *France*, beloved by the Protestants, esteemed by both. She knew all the superior parts of Policy, but never the mean craft of Intrigue. It is very remarkable, that she turned Protestant at the very time her Husband turned Catholick; but from that Day she was as firmly attached to her new Religion, as *Anthony* was wavering in his. By these means she became the Head of one Party, whilst her Husband was the Slave and Bubble of the other.

She took the Education of her Son entirely in to her own Hands. *Henry* was born with all the Endowments of his Mother, and he improved 'em eminently afterwards. He had nothing of his Father, except that Easiness of Temper, which in *Anthony* was Uncertainty and Weakness, but proved in *Henry* Benevolence and good Nature.

He was not brought up like a Prince, in that effeminate Pride, which enervates the Body, weakens the Understanding, and hardens the Heart. His Food was

course, his Cloaths plain ; he went always bareheaded, was sent to School with the young Companions of his Age, climbed up with them among Rocks and Woods to the Tops of the neighbouring Mountains, according to the Custom of that Country, and of those Times.

While he was thus bred up with his Subjects in a sort of Equality, without which a Prince is too apt to forget he is born a Man ; Fortune opened in *France* a bloody Scene, and through the ruins of that Kingdom almost overturned, and over the Graves of many Princes untimely cut off, prepared him a way to a Throne, which he was in time to conquer, and to restore to its Grandeur.

Henry the Second King of *France*, the Head of the Branch of *Valois*, was killed at *Paris*, in a Turnament, which was the last in *Europe* of these romantick and dangerous Sports.

He left four Sons, *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third, and the Duke *d'Alençon*, all the unworthy Posterity of the great *Francis* the First, all (except *Alençon*) ascended the Throne one after another ; all lived shamefully, died untimely, and without Issue.

The Reign of *Francis* the Second was short, but made famous by the first breaking out of those Factions, and by the be-

beginning of those Calamities, which laid waste the Kingdom of *France* Thirty Years successively.

He was married to that famous and unfortunate *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*, whom her Beauty and Weakness led afterwards into great Faults, greater Miseries, and at last to a dreadful Death. She governed entirely her young Husband *Francis*, a Boy of Eighteen, without Vice, and without Virtue, born with an infirm Body and a weak Mind.

Incapable of Governing by her self, she was totally directed by the Duke of *Guise* her Mother's Brother; he influenced the King by her means, and laid deep the Foundations of the Grandeur of his own House. *Catherine de Medicis*, the late King's Widow, and the present King's Mother, began now to shew the first sparks of her Ambition, which had been stifled during the Life of her Husband: But being unable to prevail with her Son against a young Wife, whom he loved passionately, and against the powerful Credit of the House of *Guise*, she thought fit rather to be their Tool for a Time, and to establish her own Authority by the help of their Power, than to contend in vain against it.

Thus the *Guises* domineered over the King, and the two Queens; and being

Masters of the Court, were by course Masters of the Kingdom, the one in *France* being generally a necessary Consequence of the other.

The House of *Bourbon* was groaning under the Oppression of the House of *Lorrain*; *Anthony* of *Navarre* bore patiently many scandalous Affronts; the Prince of *Conde*, his Brother, still more bitterly abused, endeavoured to shake off the Yoke. He united in his great Designs with the Admiral *Coligny*, the Head of the House of *Chatillon*: These two Men were the most terrible Enemies that the Court had to fear; *Conde* more ambitious, more forward, more restless; *Coligny* of a more sedate Temper, stricter in his Behaviour, fitter to be the Head of a Party, indeed as unsuccessful in War as *Conde*, but repairing often by his Wisdom what seemed irreparable, more dangerous after a Defeat, than his Enemies after a Victory; endowed besides with as great a share of Virtue as those Times could permit, and as the Spirit of Faction could allow.

The Protestants began then to grow numerous, and to be conscious of their Strength.

The Superstition, the dull ignorant Knavery of the Monks, the overgrown Power of *Rome*, Mens Passion for No-
vel.

velty, the Ambition of *Luther* and *Calvin*, the Policy of many Princes, all these had given Rise and Countenance to this Sect, free indeed from Superstition, but running as headlong towards Annarchy as the Church of *Rome* towards Tyranny. The Protestants had been unmercifully persecuted in *France*; but it is the ordinary effect of Persecution to make Profelytes; their Sect increased every Day amidst the Scaffolds and Tortures. *Conde*, *Coligny*, the two Brothers of *Coligny*, all their Adherents, all who were oppressed by the *Guises*, turned Protestants at once; they united their Grievs, their Vengeance, and their Interests together, so that a Revolution both in the State and in Religion was at hand.

The first Enterprize was a Plot to seize the *Guises* at *Amboise*, and to get the Person of the King into their Hands: The Plot boldly contrived, secretly carried on was discovered just as it was ready to be put in Execution; the *Guises* punished the Conspirators in the most cruel Manner, in order to terrify their Enemies from the like Attempts hereafter; more than Seven hundred Protestants were executed. *Conde* was made Prisoner, impeached of High Treason, tried and sentenced to Death.

During his Trial, King *Anthony* of *Navarre* his Brother, stirred up by his Wife, and by the *Coligny's*, raised in *Guinne* a powerful Number of Gentlemen, as well Protestants as Catholicks, attached to his House ; he went with this Army through *Gascogne* ; but upon a single Message that he received in his way from the Court, he dismissed 'em all with Tears ; *I must submit*, says he, *but I will obtain your Pardon from the King. Go, and ask Pardon for your self*, answered an old Officer, *our Security is in the Point of our Swords*. Whereupon the Nobility, who followed him, returned home with Scorn and Indignation: *Anthony* pursued his Journey to the Court, there he solicited for the Life of his Brother, being not secure of his own ; and he intreated every Day the Duke and the Cardinal of *Guise*, who received him sitting with their Caps on, whilst he was bareheaded and standing.

Every Thing was now ready for the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, when on a sudden the King fell sick and died. The Circumstances, the Suddenness of this Accident, the Propensity of Mankind to believe that the untimely Deaths of Princes are never natural, gave course to the general Opinion, that *Francis* the Second had been poisoned.

His

His Death gave a new turn to Affairs ; the Prince of *Conde* was set at Liberty, his Party began to breath, his Religion was propagated more and more, the Authority of the *Guises* declined, tho'not pulled down : *Anthony* of *Navarre* recovered a shadow of Authority, which was enough for him ; *Mary Stuart* was sent away into *Scotland* ; and *Catherine de Medicis*, who now began to act the first part on the Stage, was declared Regent of the Kingdom during the Minority of *Charles* the Ninth her second Son.

She found her self intangled in a labyrinth of inextricable Difficulties, between two Religions and several Factions struggling with each other, and contending for the Power.

She resolved to destroy them all, if she could, by their own Arms ; she cultivated the Hatred of the *Condes* against the *Guises* ; she promoted the Civil Wars, indifferent and impartial between the Church of *Rome* and that of *Geneva*, jealous only of her own Authority.

The *Guises*, who were zealous Catholics, because *Conde* and *Coligny* were Protestants, were a long while at the head of the Catholick Troops : Many Battles were fought, the Kingdom was laid waste by three or four Armies at a time.

The

The Constable, *Anne de Montmorency*, was killed at the Battle of *St. Denis* in the Eightieth Year of his Age. *Francis Duke de Guise* was assassinated by *Poltro* at the Siege of *Orleans*; *Henry the Third*, then Duke of *Anjou*, a great Prince in his Youth, tho' a mean King in his Maturity; gained the Victories of *Jarnac* against *Conde*, and of *Moncontour*, against *Coligny*.

The Behaviour of *Conde*, and his Death in the Battle of *Jarnac*, are too remarkable not to be mentioned: He had been wounded in his Arm two Days before, and when he was just upon the point of engaging the Enemy, had the Misfortune to receive a Kick from a vicious Horse of one of his Officers; his Leg was broken by the blow: the Prince, without expressing the least concern, said to those who were about him, *Gentlemen, learn by this Accident, that prancing Horses are more dangerous than useful in a Day of Battle; let us go on, pursued he, the Prince of Conde, tho' with a broken Leg, and an Arm wound up, will engage without Fear, when followed by you.* His Courage was not attended with Success, he lost the Battle, all his Army run away; his Horse being killed under him, he stood upright as well as he could, against a Tree, alone, fainting with the smart of

of his Pain, but still undaunted, and his Face turned towards the Ennemy: *Montesquiou*, Captain of the Guards to the Duke of *Anjou*, passed by the Place where the unfortunate Prince was standing; he asked, Who he was; and being told, 'Twas the Prince of *Conde*, shot him dead in cold Blood.

After the Death of *Conde*, *Coligny* had upon him all the burthen of the Party. *Jeanne d'Albret*, then a Widow, committed her Son to his Care; the young *Henry* at Fourteen years of Age, went with him through all the Toils of War, and Hardship and Adversity were his Tutors.

His Mother and the Admiral had no other view, than to settle their Religion in *France* independant from the Church of *Rome*, and to secure their own Authority from the Power of *Catherine de Medicis*.

Catherine had got rid already of many of her Rivals; *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, who was the more dangerous and obnoxious to her, as he was of the same Party had been assassinated before *Orleans*. His Son, *Henry de Guise*, who made afterwards so great a Figure in the World, was but young; the Prince of *Conde* was dead, *Charles* the Ninth her Son, was broken

to her Hand, and submissive to her Will; the Duke *d'Anjou*, afterwards *Henry* the Third, was intirely in her Interest. She feared no other Enemies but *Jeanne d'Albret*, *Coligny*, and the Protestants: She thought one Blow could destroy them all, and fix her own Power for ever.

She worked up the King, and even the Duke *d'Anjou* to her Design; all Things were agreed on, and the Snares prepared; an advantageous Peace was proposed to the Protestants; *Coligny* tired with the Civil War accepted of it eagerly; *Charles*, in order to leave no room for any Suspicion, gave his own Sister in Marriage to young *Henry* of *Navarre*. *Jeanne d'Albret* allured by those deceitful Appearances, went with her Son, with *Coligny*, and with all the chief Protestants to Court. The Marriage was celebrated with Pomp, all the Endearments. all the assurances of Friendship, all the Oaths which are sacred among Men, were profusedly bestowed by *Catherine*, and by the King; the rest of the Court thought of nothing but Feasts, Plays, and Masquerades: At last, one Night (which was the Eve of *St. Bartholomew*, in the Month of *August* 1572.) at Twelve a Clock, the Signal is given, all the Houses of the Protestants are forced open at once; the Admiral *Coligny*, alarmed by
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the uproar, rises out of Bed; a Troop of Assassines rush into his Chamber; one *Besme*, a *Lorrainer*, bred up a Servant in the Family of *Guise*, was at their Head; he thrusts his Sword into the Admirals Breast, and gives him a back stroke on the Face.

Henry, the young Duke of *Guise*, the same who framed afterwards the Catholick League, and who was murdered at *Blois*, was at the Door of *Coligny's* House, waiting for the Assassination; and cried aloud, *Besme*, is it done? Immediately the Assassines threw the Body out of the Window. *Coligny* fell and expired at the Feet of *Guise*; the young Man trampled upon him, not that he was drunk with the furious Catholick Zeal of Persecution, which at that time intoxicated half *France*, but he was prompted by the spirit of Revenge, which, tho' not generally so unmerciful as the fury of Religion, yet leads often to more base Actions.

Mean while all the Friends of *Coligny* are assaulted throughout *Paris*; Men, Women, and children are promiscuously slaughtered; every Street was strown with expiring bodies: Some Priests holding up a Crucifix in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, ran at the head of the Murderers, and encouraged them in
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the Name of God, to spare neither Relations nor Friends.

Tavannes, Mareſhal of *France*, an ignorant and ſuperſtitious Soldier, who joined the fury of Religion to the rage of Party, rid a Horſeback through *Paris*, crying to his Soldiers, *Let Blood, let Blood, bleeding is wholeſome in the Month of Auguſt as well as in May.*

The King's Palace was one of the chief Theatres of Murder, for the Prince *Henry of Navarre* had his Lodgings in the *Louvre*, and all his Domesticks were Protestants; many of them were killed in their Beds with their Wives; others were flying naked, and purſued by the Soldiers on the Stair Caſes; through all the Rooms of the Palace, nay even to the King's Antichamber. The young Wife of *Henry of Navarre* awakened by the dreadful Uproar, fearing for her Husband, and for herſelf, ſtruck with Horror, and half dead, runs from her Bed in order to throw herſelf at the feet of the King her Brother; ſhe ſcarce had opened the door of her Chamber; when ſome of her Protestant Servants ruſh into it for refuge; the Soldiers enter after them; they purſue them in the ſight of the Princeſs, one who crept under her Bed was killed there; two others pierced
with

with Halleberts fell at her Feet, and she was all covered with their Blood.

There was a young Nobleman, very much in the King's Favour for his comely air, his Honesty, and a certain peculiar Happiness in the turn of his Conversation

'Twas the Earl of *la Rochefoucault*, Great-grandfather to the present *Marquis of Montendre*, who came over into *England* during another Persecution, less cruel but not less unjust. *La Rochefoucault* had spent the Evening till Eleven a Clock with the King in a pleasant Familiarity, and had given a Loose to the sallies of his Imagination with the utmost Mirth and Alacrity.

The King felt a Remorse, and was struck with a start of Compassion towards him; he bid him two or three Times not to go home, but to lie in his Chamber. *La Rochefousault* answered he should go to his Wife. The King pressed him no further and said, *Let him go, I see God has decreed his Death.* The young Man was massacred two Hours after.

Few escaped in the general Slaughter; among these, the Deliverance of the young *la Force*, is a strange Instance of what Men call *destiny*. He was a boy of Ten years old. His Father, his Elder Brother, and he were seized together by the Soldiers of the Duke of *Anjou*. These
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Murderers fell upon all three promiscuously, and struck them at random, the Father and the Sons covered with Blood fell and lay upon one another. The Youngest received not one Blow, counterfeited to be dead, and made his escape the next Day; his Life so wonderfully preserved lasted Fourscore and Five years. He was the same famous Marshal *de la Force*, Uncle to the Dutches of *la Force*, who is now in *England*.

Mean while many of those miserable Victimes fled to the River Side; some were swimming over to the *Fauxbourg S. Germain*. The King saw them from his Window, which look'd upon the River, and (what is almost incredible but too true) he fired upon them with a Carabine. *Catherine de Medicis*, undisturbed and serene in the midst of the Slaughter, look'd down from a Balcony situated towards the City, encouraged the Assaffins, and laugh'd at the dying Groans of the murdered; her Maids of Honour and some Ladies of the Court went down into the Street, and with an impudent Curiosity tallying with the Abominations of that Age, observed the naked Body of one *Soubise*, who had been suspected of Impotency, and was just then killed under the Queen's Windows.

The Court reeking with the Blood of the Nation tryed some Days after to palliate such a Crime with Forms of Law. They justified the Massacres with a Calumny, they imputed to the Admiral, a Conspiracy which no Body believed. The Parliament was ordered to proceed against the Memory of *Coligny*, his dead Body was hanged in Chains at the Gallows of *Montfaucon*. The King himself went to see that lothsome Spectacle, and as one of his Courtiers advised him to retire, and complain'd of the stench of the Corps, the King answered, *A dead Enemy smells sweet.*

That the Head of the Admiral was sent afterwards to the Pope, is a Thing which cannot be proved. Certain it is that the Massacres of *St. Bartholomew's Day* are painted at *Rome* in the Royal Hall of the *Vatican*, with these Words under the Picture, *Pontifex Colignii necem probat.*

Young *Henry* of *Navarre* was spared rather by the Policy than by the Pity of *Catherine*, who detained him a Prisoner, till the King's Death, in order to make him a Security and a Pledge for the submission of the Protestants who should escape.

As to *Jeanne d'Albret*, she dyed suddenly two or three Days before, and tho'

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perhaps her Death was natural, 'twas not a rash Opinion to believe her to have been poison'd.

However the Execution was not confin'd alone to the City of *Paris*, the same Orders were sent from the Court to the Governors of all the Provinces of *France*; so that in a Week's time, more than a hundred thousand Protestants were massacred all over the Kingdom.

Two or three Governors only refus'd to comply with the King's Orders; one among others, call'd *Montmorrin* Governor of *Auvergne* wrote to the King the following Letter, which deserves to be transmitted to Posterity;

Sir,

“ I have received an Order under your
 “ Majesties Seal to put to Death all
 “ the Protestants in my Province. I
 “ have too much Respect for your Majes-
 “ ty not to believe the Letter is counter-
 “ feited; but, if (what God forbid) the
 “ Order is truly yours, I have too much
 “ Respect for your Majesty to obey it.

Those Massacres, wrought in the Protestants who escaped, Rage instead of Terror; their irreconcilable Hatred against the Court seem'd to supply them with new Vigour, and the Spirit of Revenge increas'd their Strength.

Not

Not long after the King was taken with a strange Sickness which carried him off in two Years. His Blood was daily stealing out, and gushing through the Pores of his Skin, such an unaccountable Distemper, which was so much above the Knowledge and the Skill of Physicians, was look'd upon as a Divine Vengeance, as if the Blood of a Prince could atone for the Blood of so many thousand innocent Men.

During the Sickness of *Charles*, his Brother *Anjou* had been elected King of *Poland*, on account of the great Reputation which he had happily obtain'd when he was a General, and which he lost, when a King.

As soon as he knew of his Brother's Death, he stole away from *Poland* and ran into *France* to enjoy the dangerous Inheritance of a Kingdom shattered by Factions, fatal to its Sovereigns, and stained with the Blood of its Inhabitants. He found at his Arrival nothing but Parties and Calamities, which he increas'd to the last Degree.

Henry, then King of *Navarre*, headed the Protestants, and gave new Life to their Party. On the other Side the young Duke of *Guise* began to dazzle the Eyes of the World with his great and dangerous Qualities, he had a Genius more enter-

prizing then his Father. He seem'd besides to have a fair Opportunity of aiming at that pitch of Grandeur to which his Father had opened the Way.

Anjou, now *Henry* the third, was reputed unable to get Children, because of the Infirmities, which the debauches of his Youth had brought upon him. *Henry* of *Navarre* was the lawful Heir of the Crown. *Guise* try'd to secure it to himself, (at least after the Death of *Henry* the Third) and to wrest it from the House of *Capets*, as formerly the *Capets* had usurped it from the Descendants of *Charlemagne*, and as the Father of *Charlemagne* from his lawful Sovereign.

Never did so bold an Undertaking seem so well and so happily laid. *Henry* of *Navarre*, and all the House of *Bourbon* were Protestants. *Guise* began to ingratiate himself with the Nation by the outward Shew of a Catholick Zeal. His liberality secured to him the common People, he had all the Clergy at his devotion, Friends in the Parliament, spies at Court, Servants throughout all the Kingdom. His first politick Step was to make an Association under the Name of the *Holy League*, against the Protestants for the Security of the Catholick Religion, half the Kingdom came with Eagerness into that new Project.

Pope

Pope *Sixtus Quintus* blessed the League, and supported it as a new *Romish Militia*. *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, according to the Policy of all Sovereigns, who always help on the Ruin of their Neighbours, gave all sorts of Encouragement to the League, in order to rent *France* to pieces, and enrich himself with its Spoils.

Thus *Henry* being still an Enemy to the Protestants, found himself betray'd by the Catholics, surrounded with secret and open Foes, and overpower'd by a Subject, who, tho' submissive in Appearance, was really more King than himself.

The only Way perhaps to emerge from these Difficulties, was to join with *Henry* of *Navarre*, whose Fidelity, Courage, and indefatigable Spirit, was the only Match for *Guise*, and who could secure to the King all the Protestant Party, which would have thrown much Weight into the Ballance.

The King overrul'd by *Guise* (whom he distrusted, but durst not provoke,) terrified by the Pope, betray'd by his Counsellors, and by his wrong Policy, took the contrary Way. He put himself at the Head of the *Holy League*, in hopes to master it; he united with *Guise* his rebell Subject against his Successor an his Brother-in-law,

whom Nature and true Policy pointed for his Ally.

Henry of Navarre was now in *Gascoigne* at the head of a little Army, while a strong body of Troops was coming to his Relief from the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, through the Borders of *Lorraine*.

The King imagined that he could at once reduce the *Navarrois*, and sink *Guise*; in order to that he sent the latter with a small inconsiderable Army against the *Germans*, by whom he had like to have been overcome.

At the same Time he caus'd his Favourite *Joyeuse* to march against the *Navarrois*, with the Flower of the *French Nobility*, and with one of the strongest Armies that had appear'd in the Field since *Francis the First*. He was disappointed in all his Hopes, *Henry of Navarre* defeated intirely at *Coutras* his powerful Army, and *Guise* got the better of the *Germans*.

The only Use the *Navarrois* made of his Victory, was to offer a sure Peace to the Kingdom, and his Assistance to the King; but he was refus'd, tho' Conqueror, because the King was still more afraid of his Subjects than of him.

Guise return'd victorious to *Paris*, he was receiv'd like the Saviour of the Nation, his Party grew more audacious, the King more despis'd, in so much that
Guise

Guise seem'd to have triumph'd over him more than over the *Germans*.

The King press'd on every Side, awak'd from his Lethargy, but too late; he try'd to humble the League, he design'd to seize some of the most seditious Citizens, he had the Courage to forbid *Guise* to come to *Paris*; but he felt at his own Expense what it is to command without Power. *Guise* came to *Paris* in defiance of his Orders, the Citizens rose up in Arms, the King's Guards were taken Prisoners, and himself invested in his Palace. Men are seldom good or bad enough. Had *Guise* attempted that Day against the Liberty or the Life of the King, he had been in all Likelihood Master of *France*: but he let him escape after having besieg'd him; and thus he did too much and to little.

Henry the Third fled to *Blois* where he held the general States of the Kingdom.

These States resemble the Parliament of *Great Britain* in their Convocation, but are very different from it in their Operations; as they are very seldom call'd, they have no Rules to guide them, they are generally made up of Men who never having been in any regular Meeting, know not how to behave themselves, and 'tis rather a Confusion than an Assembly.

Guise did not stick at going to *Blois* to defie his Sovereign before the representatives of the Nation, after having expelled him from his Capital.

Henry and he made a solemn Reconciliation. They went together to the same Altar, they receiv'd the Communion together, the one swore to forget all the past Injuries, the other to be for ever true and obedient : And at that very time the King intended to put *Guise* to Death, and *Guise* to dethrone the King.

Guise was sufficiently warn'd to beware of *Henry*, but he despis'd him so much as not to think him bold enough, even to attempt an Assassination. This Rashness betray'd him. The King was resolv'd to be revenged on him, and upon his Brother the Cardinal of *Guise*, the Partner of his ambitious Designs, and the most ardent Promoter of the League: he provided Daggers himself, and distributed them to some *Gascoons*, who offered to be the Ministers of his Vengeance. They murdered *Guise* in the King's Clofet ; but these very Men who ponyarded him refused to embrue their Hands in the Blood of his Brother, because he was a Priest and a Cardinal ; as if the Life of one who wears a Band and a Cassock were more sacred, than that of one who wears a short Vest and a Sword.

The King met with four common Soldiers, who, as *the Jesuit Maimbourg* says, having not so much Honour as the aforesaid Gentlemen, killed the Cardinal for an Hundred Crowns a piece.

The two Brothers were put to Death under *Catherine of Medici's* Apartment; but she was totally ignorant of her Son's Design, being at that Time distrusted by all Partys, and forsaken even by the King.

Had such a Vengeance been perpetrated with the Formalities of the Law, which are the natural Instruments of the Justice of Kings, or the natural Veil to their Iniquity, it had terrified the League; but as it wanted that solemn Form, it was look'd upon as a villanous Murder, and did but exasperate the Party. The Blood of the *Guises* invigorated the Strength of the League, as the Death of *Coligny* had given a new Life to the Protestants. Many Towns in *France* declared openly against the King, he went immediately to *Paris*; but he found the Gates shut against him, and all the City in Arms.

The famous Duke of *Mayenne*, younger Brother to the late Duke of *Guise*, was then in *Paris*. He was eclips'd by the Glory of *Guise* during his Life; but after his Death he prov'd as dangerous a Foe

Foe as his Brother; for all his Qualities were as great tho' not so shining.

The House of *Lorraine* was very numerous in *Paris*. The mighty Name of *Guise*, their Magnificence, their Liberality, their apparent Zeal for the Catholic Religion, had made them the Darlings of the City. Priests, Burgesſes, Women, Magiſtrates, Soldiers, all united vigorously with *Mayenne* in the purſuit of a Vengeance that was thought very juſt.

The Duke's Widow preſented a Petition to the Parliament againſt *Henry* as a Murderer. The Tryal begun according to the common form of Law, two Counſellors were appointed to draw up the Articles of Impeachment againſt the King; but the Parliament did not proceed further, the Heads of that Aſſembly being firmly attached to the Royal Cauſe.

The Doctours of *Sorbonne* were not ſo cautious, ſeventy of that Society iſſued forth a Writ, by which *Henry de Valois* was deprived of his Right to the Crown, and the Oaths of Allegiance were diſſolv'd.

But the moſt dangerous Enemies to the Royal Authority, were ſome private Burgeſſes of *Paris*, called *the Sixteen*, not becauſe of their Number, for they were forty; but from the Sixteen Wards of *Paris* which

which they had divided among themselves to rule over. The most considerable of these Citizens, was one *le Clerc*, who had assumed the great Name of *Bussi*. He was a bold Burges and a bad Soldier like his Associates. These Sixteen had got an absolute Power, and grew at last as insupportable to the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, as terrible to the King.

Moreover, the Priests, who have ever been the Trumpeters of all the Revolutions in the World, thundered in the Pulpit, and assured in the Name of God, that whosoever should attempt to kill the Tyrant, should go infallibly to Heaven. The sacred and dangerous Names of *Ebud* of *Judith*, and all the Assassinations which the Holy Scripture hath consecrated, were then cryed out every where into the Ears of the Nation.

The King in such an Extremity was forced at last to call to his Aid the same *Navarrois*, whose Help he had refused before. This Prince was better pleased to support his Brother and his King than to have vanquish'd him.

He brought his Army over to the King, but before his Troops were arriv'd, he went forward to him, follow'd by a single Page. The King was amazed at such a piece of Generosity, which he had himself been incapable of.

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However the two Kings marched to *Paris* at the Head of a powerful Army. The Town was not in a condition to resist. The League was upon the brink of Ruin, when a young Fryar of the order of *St. Dominic* chang'd the whole face of Affairs.

His Name was *James Clement*, born in a lage of *Burgundy* call'd *Sorbonne*, and then Four and Twenty years of Age. His surly piety and melancholy Mind had been work'd up to *Enthusiasm* by the common cry of the Priests: He took upon him to be the Deliverer and the Martyr of the holy League. He discovered his Design to his Friends and to his Superiors, all encouraged him and made a Saint of him beforehand. *Clement* prepar'd himself for his Undertaking, he fasted, spent whole Nights in Prayer, confess'd his Sins, receiv'd the Sacrament, bought a good Dagger and went away to *S. Cloud*, where the King had his Quarters. He asked for Admittance to the King under pretence of revealing an important Secret, which could allow of no Delay. Being brought before his Majesty, he kneel'd down, and with a blushing Modesty delivered into his Hands a Letter which he pretended was writ by the first President *Achilles de Harlay*. As the King was perusing the Letter, the Fryar stabb'd him

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in the Belly, and left the Dagger sticking in the Wound, then with an unconcerned Look crossed his Hands over his Breast, and lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, waiting for the Event without stirring.

The King cries out, rises up, snatches the Dagger from his own Belly, and thrusts it into the Forehead of the Murderer.

Many Courtiers rush in at the Noise. It had been their Duty to secure the Fryar, and reserve him for Examination and Torture, in order to a Discovery of his Accomplices. But they kill'd him on the spot with a Precipitation that laid them under the suspicion of having known too much of his Design.

Henry of Navarre was now King of France by his Birth-right, Part of the Army acknowledged him, and Part forsook him.

Duke d'Epemon and some others retired, alledging they were too good Catholicks, to fight for a King who did not go to Mass. They secretly hoped that a total Subversion of the Kingdom (which they wish'd for, and relyed on,) would give them an opportunity of making themselves Sovereigns in their respective Mannors.

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Mean while the Deed of *Clement* was approved at *Rome*; and himself worshipped in *Paris*. The holy League acknowledged for their King the Cardinal of *Bourbon* an old Priest, Uncle to *Henry* the Fourth in order to show the World that it was the Hereticks and not the House of *Bourbon*, which their Hatred pursued.

Thus the Duke of *Mayenne* was wise enough not to assume the Title of King, yet to get all the Royal Power in his Hands, while the miserable Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whom the League call'd King, was kept Prisoner by *Henry* the Fourth during the remainder of his Life, which lasted but two Years.

The League more supported than ever by the Pope, assisted by the *Spaniards*, and extremely powerful by itself, was at the hight of her Grandeur, and look'd down upon *Henry* the Fourth with that Hatred which Religion inspires, and with a Contempt begot by their Successes.

Henry had few Friends, few great Towns, no Money, a small Army; but his Courage, his Activity, his Policy supplied all those Wants. He gained several Victories, especially that of *Ivry* against *Mayenne*. This Battle was one of the most remarkable that ever was fought.

fought. The two Generals exerted on that Day all their Art, the Soldiers all their Courage, few Faults were committed on either Side. *Henry* ow'd at last the Victory to the Superiority of his Knowledge and Valour; but he confess'd that *Mayenne* had fulfill'd all the Duties of a great General. He *was*, said the King, deficient only *in his Cause*.

He prov'd as clement in the Victory as he was terrible in the Battle. He knew besides, that Power is often lessened by the full use of it, and extended by Moderation. He stopp'd the Fury of the Soldiers who were pursuing the Ennemy, he took care of the wounded, set at Liberty many Prisoners. Yet so much Valour, and so much Generosity did not mollify the Heart of the League.

The Civil Wars of *France* were now become the Quarrel of *Europe*. King *Philip* the Second was eagerly engaged in the defence of the League: Queen *Elisabeth* gave all sorts of Assistance to *Henry*, not because he was a Protestant; but because he was an Ennemy to *Philip* the Second, whose incroaching Power was dangerous to herself: She sent him Five Thousand Men under the command of the Earl of *Essex* her Favourite, the same whom she caused afterwards to be beheaded.

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The King continued the War with various Success: In one Day he took by Storm all the Suburbs of *Paris*. He had taken the Town perhaps likewise, had he had no other View but to conquer. But he was afraid of giving up his Capital as a prey to the Soldiery, and of destroying the City which he had a Mind to save. He besieged *Paris*, he raised the Siege, he begun it again, at last he block'd it up, and cut off all the Communications to the Town, hoping that the Scarcity of Provisions would force the *Parisiens* to surrender without Bloodshed.

But *Mayenne*, the Priests, and the *Sixteen* Burgeffes managed so dexterously the Spirits of the People, work'd up their Hatred against the Hereticks to such a Degree, and fool'd their Imagination to such an Enthusiasm, that they chose rather to dye by Hunger, than to submit.

The Fryars and the Monks made a Show, which, as ridiculous as it was in itself, was yet of great use to animate the People. They made a kind of military Muster, marching in Rank and Files, wearing rusty Armour over their Cowles, having at their Head the Figure of the Virgin Mary, wielding Swords in their Hands, and crying, *they*
were

were all ready to fight and to dye in the Defence of Faith. So that the Citizens who saw their Confessors in Arms, thought really that they fought the Cause of God.

However Scarcity occasioned soon an universal Famine. That prodigious multitude of Citizens had no other Support but the Sermons of their Priests, and the fictitious Miracles of Fryars, who, by the way had all Things in Plenty in their Convents, while all the Town was reduced to starve. The miserable *Parisiens* lull'd at first by the hopes of being soon reliev'd, were singing Ballads in the Streets, and Lampoons against *Henry*, a Fact not to be related with Probality of any other Nation, but suitable enough to the Genius of the *French* even in so desolate a Condition. That short-liv'd wretched Mirth was stopp'd quickly by the most serious and the most inexpressible Misery. Thirty thousand Men dyed of Hunger in a Month's Time. The poor starv'd Citizens tryed to make a sort of Bread with the Bones of the Dead, which being bruised and boil'd, were reduc'd to a kind of Gelly. But such an unnatural Food afforded them no other manner of Benefit than to kill them the sooner. It is recorded and confirmed by all the Testimonies which can be credible, that

a Woman kill'd and fed on her own Child. Moreover the stubborn Obstinacy of the *Parisiens* was equal to their Calamities. *Henry* pityed their Condition more than they did themselves; his good Nature prevail'd over his Interest.

He suffered his Soldiers to sell privately all sorts of Provisions to the Town; thus it happened, what was never seen before, that the Besiegers fed the Besieged. 'Twas a singular Spectacle to see the Soldiers from the bottom of their Trenches send up Victuals to the Citizens, who were throwing down Money to them from the Ramparts. Many Officers prompted by the Licentiousness common to a military life, bartered a Sirloin of Beef for a Wench, so that one might have seen Women getting down in Basquets, and the Basquets hoisted up again full of Provisions. By these Means the Officers were taken up with an unseasonable Licentiousness, the Soldiers got too much Money, the Besieged were reliev'd, and *Henry* lost the Town. For in the mean time an Army of *Spaniards* came from the low Countries; the King was obliged to raise the Siege, and run again through all the Toils and Vicissitudes of War, till at last the *Spaniards* being driven out of the Kingdom, he came a third Time before

fore *Paris*, that was still more strongly bent against receiving him.

Now the Cardinal of *Bourbon* that Mimick of a King was dead : An Assembly was held in *Paris* under the Name of the General States of the Kingdom to proceed to the Election of a new King. *Spain* influenced powerfully those States. *Mayenne* had a strong Party, who would have plac'd the Crown on his Head. At last *Henry* tired with the cruel Necessity of waging an eternal War against his Subjects, knowing besides they hated his Religion, not him, resolved to turn *Roman* Catholick ; for the Priests were the only Enemies he was afraid of. Few Weeks after *Paris* opened its Gates to him, and what his Valour and his Magnanimity could never bring about, was easily obtain'd by going to Mass, and by receiving Absolution from the Pope.





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O N
E P I C K P O E T R Y .

WE have in every Art more Rules than Examples, for Men are more fond of teaching, than able to perform ; so there are more Commentators than Poets, and many Writers who could not make two Verses, have over-charg'd us with voluminous Treatises of Poetry. All those Teachers seem to have much labour'd by their Definitions, Distinctions, &c. to spread a profound Obscurity over Things in their own Nature clear and perspicuous ; and 'tis no wonder if such Lawgivers, unequal to the Burthen which they took upon themselves, have embroil'd the States which they intended to regulate.

The greatest Part of the Criticks have fetch'd the Rules of *Epick* Poetry from the Books of *Homer*, according to the Custom, or rather, to the Weakness of Men, who mistake commonly the Beginning of an Art, for the Principles of the Art itself, and are apt to believe, that every Thing must be by its own Nature, what it was, when contriv'd at first. But as *Homer* wrote two Poems of a quite different Nature, and as the *Eneid* of *Virgil* partakes of the *Iliad*, and of the *Odyssey*, the Commentators were forc'd to establish different Rules to reconcile *Homer* with himself, and other new Rules again to make *Virgil* agree with *Homer*: Just as the Astronomers labour'd under the Necessity of adding to, or taking from their Systems, and of bringing in concentric, and excentric Circles, as they discover'd new Motions in the Heavens.

The Ignorance of the Astronomers was excusable, and their Search after the unfathomable System of Nature, was to be commended; because it is certain, that Nature hath its own Principles unvariable, unerring, and as worthy of our Search, as remote from our Conceptions.

But it is not with the Inventions of Art, as with the Works of Nature. The same Fancy which hath invented Poetry,

try, changes every Day all its Productions, because it is liable itself to eternal Vicissitudes. The Poetry and Musick of the *Persians*, differ as much from ours, as their Language. Even a Nation differs from itself, in less than a Century. There are not more Revolutions in Governments, than in Arts. They are shifting, and gliding away from our Pursuit, when we endeavour to fix them by our Rules and Definitions.

If I am to give a Definition of a Suit of Cloaths, I ought not to describe any particular one. Neither the *Roman* nor the *Greek*, nor the *French* ought to be set up for a Pattern. A Suit of Cloaths in itself, is the covering of the Body, that is all that is essential to it. The rest is but accessary Ornament, which Fancy and Custom create, preserve, and destroy at their Will; and if we like one Fashion best, we are not to exclude every other.

So 'tis perhaps with *Epick* Poetry. The Word *Epick* comes from *Epos*, which signifies Discourse. An *Epick* Poem is a Discourse in Verse. Use alone has prefix'd the Name of *Epick*, particularly to those Poems which relate some great Action. Let the Action be single or complex, let it lie in one single Place, as in

the *Iliad*, or let the Hero wander all the World over, as in the *Odyssey*; let there be one single Hero, or a great many; happy, or unfortunate; furious as *Achilles*, or pious as *Aeneas*; let them be Kings, or Generals, or neither of them; let the Scene lie upon the *Indian Ocean*, as in the *Lusiada* of *Camouens*; in the *West-Indies*, as in the *Araucana* of *Alonzo of Ereilla*; in Hell, in Heaven, out of the Limits of our Nature, as in *Milton*; the Poem will equally deserve the Name of *Epick*, unless you have a Mind to honour it with another Title proportionable to its Merit.

In so boundless a Career, the Point of the Question, and of the Difficulty, is to know what all polite Nations agree upon, and in what they differ.

An *Epick* Poem ought to be grounded upon Judgment, and embellish'd by Imagination; what belongs to good Sense, belongs to all the Nations of the World. The *Greeks*, the *Romans*, the *Italians*, *French*, *English* and *Spaniards*, tell us in all their Works, that they chiefly like *Unity of Action*, because the Understanding is better satisfy'd when it reposes upon a single Object, adequate to our View, and which we may take in easily, than when it is lost in the Hurry of Confusion.

They

They tell us, that such an *Unity* ought to be attended with *Variety*, as a *Body* is made up of *Members*, all different, and all conducive to the same *End*; That the *Action* should be *great*, to strike us with *Awe*, *interesting*, because we delight in being mov'd, *entire*, that our *Minds* may be wholly satisfy'd.

These, and the like, are a Kind of eternal *Laws*, submitted to by all *Nations*, because enacted by *Nature*. But the *Machinery*, the *Episodes*, the *Style* itself, and all that depends upon that instinct call'd *Taste*, and upon the *Tyranny* of *Custom*, that is the *Point* in which there are too many *Opinions* and no *Rules*.

It is true, there are *Beauties* which the *Taste* of every *Nation* equally relish. Since all *Europe* hath set up the *Greek*, and *Roman* Authors for *Models* of *Writing*, *Homer* and *Demosthenes*, *Virgil* and *Tully*, have in some *Measure* united under their *Laws* our *European* Nations, and made of so many and different *Countries*, a single *Commonwealth* of *Letters*. But still our particular *Customs* have introduc'd among them all, a new *Sort* of *Taste*, peculiar to each *Nation*.

The best modern *Writers* have mix'd the *Taste* of their *Country*, with that of the *Ancients*. Their *Flowers*, and their
Fruits,

Fruits, warm'd and matur'd by the same Sun, yet draw from the Soil they grow upon, their different Colours, their Flavours and their Size. It is as easy to distinguish a *Spanish*, an *Italian*, or an *English* Author, by their Stile, as to know by their Gate, their Speech, and their Features, in what Country they were born.

The *Italian* Softness, their Witticism, so often degenerating into Conceit, the pompous and metaphorical Stile of the *Spaniard*, the Exactness and Perspicuity of the *French*, the Strength peculiar to the *English*, their Fondness of Allegories, their running into Similes, are so many distinguishable Marks, which do not escape the Observation of proper Judges.

From their different Characters flows that dislike that every Nation shows for the Taste of its Neighbour. Hence it is that the Battle of the Angels in *Milton*, would not succeed among the *French*. Hence it is that the long, but noble Speeches of *Cinna*, and *Augustus*, in *Cornelle*, could not be tolerated upon the *English* Stage.

These

These following Lines of *Tasso*, are admired in *Italy*, learnt by Heart, and in every Body's Mouth,

*Colei Sophronia, Olindo egli S'apella,
D'una cittade entrambi, e d'una fede.
Ei che modesto é si com' essa e bella,
Brama assai, poco Spera, e nulla chiede,
Ne sa Scoprirsi, o non ardisce; e ella,
O lo Sprezza, o no'l vede, o non s'avede;
Così fin hora il misero ha servito,
O non visto, o mal noto, o mal gradito.*

There is nothing in these Lines, that offends against good Sense; but such a gingling of Words, that overnice Symmetry of Expression, that curl'd Thought revolving on itself, won't methinks be applauded by a *French*, or an *English* Reader, who require a more serious and more majestick Simplicity in *Heroic* Poetry.

Among many Passages of *Milton*, which every *French* Reader would startle at, I beg leave to quote one, which has here more Partisans than Criticks; 'tis in the first *Canto*,

*At once as far as Angels Ken, he views
The dismal Situation, waste and wild,*

*A Dungeon horrible, on all Sides round,
As one great Furnace flam'd; yet from those*
[Flames
*No Light, but rather a Darknes visible,
Serv'd only to discover Sights of Woe.*

Antonio de Solis, in his excellent History of *Mexico*, hath ventur'd on the same Thought, when speaking of the Place wherein *Montezuma* was wont to consult his Deities; " 'Twas a large dark subterraneous Vault, says he, where some dismal Tapers afforded just Light enough to see the Obscurity. "

Such daring Thoughts would be look'd upon as Nonsense, by a *French* Critick, whose Exactness is often call'd in *England* Timidity. And since the greatest Poet among the *English*, and the best Writer among the *Spaniards*, have not scrupl'd to indulge now and then such Flights bordering on Bombast, that proves at least, that in their Countries, the Authors have a more free Scope than in *France*.

I need no more Examples to demonstrate, that there is such a Thing as a National Taste.

This once granted, if we have a Mind to get a true Knowledge of *Epick* Poetry, it would be worth our while to take a Survey of all the different Poems of that Kind,

Kind, which have succeeded in different Ages, and in different Countries.

'Tis not enough to be acquainted with *Virgil*, and *Homer*. As in regard to Tragedy, a Man who has only perus'd *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, could not have an entire Notion of the Stage. We should be their Admirers, not their Slaves. We do not speak the same Language. Our Religion (the great Basis of *Epick* Poetry) is the very Reverse of their Mythology: Our Battles, our Sieges, our Fleets, are more different from theirs, than our Manners from those of *America*. The Invention of Gun-Powder, that of the Compass, that of Printing, so many Arts besides newly emerg'd into the World, have alter'd the Face of the Universe; and an *Epick* Poet, being surrounded with so many Novelties, must have but a small Share of Genius, if he durst not be new himself.

We send our Children to travel into neighbouring Countries, after they have read *Virgil* and *Homer* at School. Should their Time be ill employ'd in getting a thorough Knowledge of *Milton* in *England*, or of *Tasso* in *Italy*? Where are Monuments to be found, which better deserve the Observation of a Traveller?

Our

Our just Respect for the Ancients, proves a meer Superstition, if it betrays us into a rash Contempt of our Neighbours and Countrymen. We ought not to do such an Injury to Nature, as to shut our Eyes to all the Beauties that her Hands pour around us, in order to look back fixedly on her former Productions.

'Tis a Pleasure, no doubt, and a great Improvement of our Mind, to survey all the *Epick* Writers in their respective Countries, from *Homer* down to *Milton*, and to observe the different Features, and the various Dresses of those great Men.

'Tis a Task beyond the Reach of my Capacity, to give a full Prospect of them. I shall but faintly touch the first Lines of their Pictures. Some abler Hand will add the finishing Strokes to this imperfect Drawing.

The judicious Reader will supply the Defects, and inforce the feeble Hints he will find in this Essay. My Part is to propose, his to judge; and his Judgment will be right, if he attends without Partiality, laying aside the Prejudices of the School, or the over-bearing Love of the Productions of his own Country.

He will mark the Progresses, the Sinking of the Art, its raising again, and pursue it through its various Changes.

He

He will distinguish the Beauties, and the Faults which are such, every where, and in all Ages, from those doubtful Things which are call'd Blemishes by one Nation, and stil'd Perfections by another.

He will not be tyranniz'd by *Aristotle*, *Castelvetro*, *Dacier*, *Le Bossu*; but he will extract his own Rules from the various Examples he shall have before his Eyes, and govern'd by his good Sense alone, be a Judge between the Gods of *Homer*, and the God of *Milton*, and between *Calipso*, *Dido*, *Armida*, and *Eve*.

But if the Reader be so just, as to make Allowances for the Time, in which those different Authors have writ, it is to be hoped, he will look with some Indulgence on the Diction of this Essay, and pardon the Failings of one who has learn'd *English* but this Year, of one who has drawn most of his Observations from Books written in *England*, and who pays to this Country but Part of what he owes to her. A Nurse is not displeas'd with the stammering Articulations of a Child, who delivers to her with much ado his first undigest-ed Thoughts.

H O M E R.

IT would seem too assuming, and prove very useles, to expatiate upon *Homer* and *Virgil*, especially in *England*, where there is scarce a Gentleman unacquainted with *Latin* and *Greek*.

As to *Homer*, those who cannot read him in the Original, have Mr. *Pope's* Translation, they may discern the Fire of that Father of Poetry, reflected from such a polish'd and faithful Glass. I will neither point out his Beauties, since none of them are lost in the Translation, nor cavil at his Faults, which are for the most Part lessen'd or embellish'd.

Let every Reader consult himself, when he reads *Homer*, and reflect how that Poem works upon his Mind; then he will judge if *Homer* hath reach'd to the utmost Pitch of the Art, in any Thing else but in that predominant Force of *Painting* which makes his peculiar Character.

Notwithstanding the Veneration due, and paid to *Homer*, it is very strange, yet true, that among the most learn'd, and the greatest Admirers of Antiquity, there is scarce one to be found, who ever read the *Iliad*, with that Eagerness and Rapture, which a Woman feels when she reads the Novel
of

of *Zaida*; and as to the common Mafs of Readers, lefs converfant with Letters, but not perhaps endow'd with a lefs Share of Judgment and Wit, few have been able to go through the whole *Iliad*, without ftugling againft a fecret Diflike, and fome have thrown it afide after the fourth or the fifth Book. How does it come to pafs, that *Homer* hath fo many Admirers, and fo few Readers? And is at the fame Time worfhipp'd and neglected?

I'll endeavour to give fome Reafons for this Paradox. The common Part of Mankind is aw'd with the Fame of *Homer*, rather than ftuck with his Beauties. The judicious Reader is pleas'd no doubt with the noble Imagination of that great Author, but very few have command enough over their own Prejudices, and can transport themfelves far enough into fuch a remote Antiquity, as to become the Contemporaries of *Homer* when they read him: Good Sense bids them to make Allowances for the Manners of his Time, but 'tis almoft impoffible to bring themfelves to a quick Relifh of them. The Rays of his Light tranfmitted to their Eyes through fo long a Way, afford them but a feeble glimmering Twilight, and no Warmth. They are like the old Counfellors of

D Priam,

Priam, who confess'd without any Emotion of Heart, that *Helena* was a Beauty.

A second Reason of their Dislike, is that Uniformity which seems diffused through all the Work. The Battles take up three Parts of the whole *Iliad*. The Reader is more likely to be disgusted by the continual Glare of that predominant Colour which is spread over the Poem, than to be pleas'd with the Variety of Taints, and Shades, which require a refin'd Sight to perceive them.

Thirdly, the Poem is certainly too long, and 'tis an Exception, that all the *Epick* Poets are liable to; for there is no *Epick* Poetry without a powerful Imagination, and no great Imagination without overflowing.

I wave here all the Quarrels rais'd by the Enemies of *Homer*, to such Parts of his Poems, as may be the Objects of our Criticism, but never the Cause of our Sleep.

His Gods are perhaps at once absurd and entertaining, as the Madnefs of *Aristo* amuses us with a bewitching Delight. And for his other Faults, the Majesty, and the Fire of his Stile, brightens them often into Beauties.

But in my Opinion, the best Reason for that languour which creeps upon the Mind of so many Readers, in Spight of the

the

the Flashes which rouse her now and then, is, that *Homer* interestes us for none of his Heroes. *Achilles* is too boisterous to inspire us with a tender Concern for him. And suppose his very Fierceness could extort from us that favourable Disposition which the overpowering Idea of Valour generally forces us into, his long Idleness wears away the Thought of him, and as the Poet lays him aside, so does the Reader.

Menelaus, who is the only Occasion of the War, and in whom of Course our Affections ought to center, is very far from being a shining Character. *Paris*, his Rival, excites our Contempt. *Menelaus* is in the Poem, but the Brother of *Agamemnon*, and *Paris* the Brother of *Hector*. *Agamemnon*, King of Kings, shocks us with his Pride, without giving us any great Idea of his Conduct. I do not know how it comes to pass, but every Reader bears secretly an ill Will to the wise *Ulysses*. The fair *Helena*, the Cause of so great Mischiefs, is insignificant enough. No-body cares whose Share she will fall to, since she seems herself indifferent between her two Husbands.

When two Warriors fight in the *Iliad*, we are aw'd indeed with the Description, nay often transported with their

Fury, but we feel neither Hope nor Fear for any of them.

We are like *Juno* in the *Æneid*,

Tros rutulus ve suat, nullo discrimine habeo.

We pity indeed the Misfortunes of *Priam*, nor will I quarrel with the Tears that we give to his Afflictions. I wish only that *Homer* would have interested us for the *Greeks*, throughout all the Poem, since he intends to praise them, and since they are the Heroes of the Poem; but I'll go no further than to observe, that if we are mov'd with the Sorrow of *Priam*, at the very End of the Poem, we are indifferent towards him in the Course of the Action.

Of all the Warriors, the couragious, the tender, and the pious *Hector*, deserves most our Affections. He hath the best Character, though he defends the wrong Cause; and he is betray'd by the Gods, though he hath so much Virtue.

But our Concern for him is lost, in the Crowd of so many Heroes. Our Attention is divided, and lessen'd, like a Stream cut into many Rivulets.

Thus the Reader's Imagination is often fill'd with great and noble Ideas, while the Affections of the Soul stagnate;

nate; and if in any long Work whatever, the Motions of the Heart do not keep Pace with the Pleasures of the Fancy, 'tis no Wonder if we may at once admire and be tir'd.

If all these Reasons are contested (for what Assertion of our Minds is undisputable?) I must add a further Observation, which is a Matter of Fact out of the Reach of Dispute. Many of the Books of the *Iliad* are independent from one another; they might be transpos'd without any great Alteration in the Action: And perhaps, for that Reason, they were call'd Rapsodies. I leave to the Judgment of the Reader, if such a Work, let it be never so well written, never so teeming with Beauties (can be interesting) and win our Attention.

VIRGIL.

MR. *Addison* was the first who considered in their proper View the Materials which compos'd the Structure of the *Aeneid*.

It is certain *Virgil* fram'd his Poem out of many Fables concerning the Settlement of *Aeneas* in *Italy*, handed down to his Time, which were credited by the People, with a Kind of superstitious Belief.

In the like Manner, it is probable, *Homer* founded his *Iliad*, upon the Tradition of the *Trojan War*.

For to believe *Homer* and *Virgil* submitted before-hand, to the Rules laid down by *Le Bossu*, who bids an *Epick* Poet invent, and dispose the Constitution of his Fable, before he thinks of the Name of his Heroes, is not indeed natural: In all likelihood they did not cut the Coat, without knowing whose shape it could fit. Such a Rule may be observ'd in Comedy, which deals chiefly in the Exposition of the Manners, and of the Ridicule of the Age; or Delights in a Plot, made-up of surprising, but little Incidents, which never require the Testimony of History, or the Weight of any celebrated Name.

But the *Epick*, as well as the *Tragick* Poets, generally pitch upon a Subject, and a Hero well known, whose single Name must strike the Reader with Awe, and command his Attention. They adapt their Invention to the History, for if one should begin by laying down a Fable intirely of his own Imagination, all the Records in the Universe could not afford him an Event, adequate to his Plan; he must needs alter it. And I cannot apprehend why Mr. *Le Bossu*, advises

advifes to build what muft neceffarily be
deftroy'd.

Whatever it be, Part of the Events
included in the *Æneid*, are to be found
in *Dionysius Halicarnaffus*. He mentions
with Accuracy, the Course of the Navi-
gation of *Æneas*. He does not omit the
Fable of the *Harpies*, the Predictions ut-
tered by *Celeno*, the eating up of the
Cakes, &c.

As to the Metamorphofe of the Ships
into Nymphs, if *Dionysius* does not men-
tion it, *Virgil* himfelf takes care to jufti-
fy fuch an Abfurdity, by telling us, that
it was an ancient Tradition;

Prifca fides facto, fed fama perennis.

It feems that *Virgil* afham'd of fuch a
fairy Tale, hath a Mind to excufe it by
the common Belief.

Many Paffages of *Virgil* confidered in
this View, are intirely vindicated againft
his Criticks, whofe good Sense was mif-
led in that Particular by their Inatten-
tion.

If an Author among the *French*, at-
tempts a Poem on *Clovis*, he is allow'd
to fpeak of the Holy Vial, brought down
from Heaven, in the Bill of a Dove, in-
to the Church of *Rheims*, for the Coro-
nation of the King. If an *Englifh* Wri-

ter takes King *Arthur* for his Subject, he may without Censure bring in the Incantations of *Merlin*, it being the Fate of all those antient Fables, which the Beginning of every Nation is involv'd in, to be rever'd for their Antiquity, when they are laugh'd at for their Absurdity; but upon the Whole, it would be better to omit them, though we are allow'd to mention them; for a single Reader of Sense, who will be shock'd at such Stories, deserves more Respect, than the Crowd which gives them Credit.

As to the Construction of his Fable, he is accus'd by some, and commended by others, for having follow'd *Homer* closely; but if I dare speak my Opinion, he deserves neither such an Injury, nor such a Compliment. He could not avoid introducing the Gods of *Homer*, who were the *Roman* Gods too, nor talking of the Siege of *Troy*, since *Aeneas* was a *Trojan* Hero.

Those Things were common to the *Greek* Author, and to him. He draws his Richesses from the same Source, but not at the Expence of his Predecessor.

Virgil, 'tis true, hath translated some Passages of the *Iliad*, and of the *Odyssey*; he hath borrow'd some little Descriptions, some obvious Similes, which surely

ly his great Genius did not want, by which but a little Glory could acruē to him, and which are rather an Honour paid by him to *Homer*, than a Proof of his standing in Need of Help.

'Tis pleasant to see how some Criticks have triumph'd, in the Discovery of those Trifles. Those who take up Arms for *Homer*, against *Virgil*, and who sacrifice the Pleasure of being pleas'd with both, to the chimerical Fancy of raising the Glory of the one, at the Expence of the other, pretend that *Dido* is the Copy of *Calipso*. That *Aeneas* is sent to the Shades after *Ulysses*, and the like. Let the Readers compare those pretended Copies with the suppos'd Original, they will find a wonderful Difference.

The Passion of *Dido*, her Misfortune, her Death, brought in as the Cause of that everlasting Hatred between *Carthage* and *Rome*; and *Anchises* calling forth from the Womb of Time, the Fate of the *Roman* Empire, all these Beauties are not certainly owing to *Homer*.

It is not in the Nature of a Genius, to be a Copist. Wherever *Virgil* is great, he is himself; but in those little Passages borrow'd from *Homer*, he commonly falls short of the Original; and 'tis a just Punishment for having clogg'd the
Liberty

Liberty of his Genius, with the Fetters of Imitation.

Some Criticks proceed further, they tell us, *Virgil* has copied his second Book from *Pisander*, and the fourth after *Apollonius*.

If he has stolen from them, then he hath not robb'd *Homer*. But all that ought to be flatly deny'd; and the only Answer which is to be made to such Discoveries, is, that the second and fourth Book of *Virgil*, are too great Master-Pieces of Art to be but Copies.

'Tis just as some People say *Milton* hath stolen his Poem from an *Italian* Stroller call'd *Andreino*.

And after all, what avails such a trifling Enquiry? 'Tis not the Person of *Virgil*, 'tis the *Aeneid* which we admire; let the second and the fourth Book belong to *Pisander*, to *Apollonius*, or to *Virgil*, or to any-body else, the Name of the Author does not alter the Beauties of the Book. Let *Macrobius* and other Criticks, detract from the six Letters which make up the Name of *Virgil*, his Works will nevertheless be the Delight of all Ages, and the Pattern of all Poets.

Another Objection against him, is, that he hath not crowded in his Poems so many Heroes as *Homer* hath done. That *Ajax*, *Diomedes*, *Idomeneus*, &c. are

are all shining Characters; whereas the faithful *Achates*, the strong *Gias*, and the magnanimous *Cloanthus*, are of no Manner of Use, and serve only but to fill now and then the Gap of a Verse or two.

I am apt to think, that such an Objection turns a great deal to the Advantage of the *Æneid*. *Virgil* sung the Actions of *Æneas*, and *Homer* the Idleness of *Achilles*.

The *Greek* Poet lay under the Necessity of supplying the Absence of his first *Hero*, with some other Warriors; but what was judicious in *Homer*, would have been preposterous in *Virgil*: He knew too much of his Art, to drown his principal Character in the Crowd of many other Heroes, indifferent to the main Action.

Thus he found the Way to center our Concern in *Æneas*; he interestes us for him, by never losing Sight of him, while *Homer* presenting us with the shifting Scene of so many shining Characters, interestes us for none.

Mr. *De St. Evremont* says, *Æneas* is fitter to be the Founder of an Order of Monks, than of an Empire. 'Tis true, *Æneas* hath the Misfortune to pass generally under the Notion of a pious Man, and not a great Warrior; the
Fault

Fault is not in *Virgil*, it lies in the wrong Notions which the Generality of Mankind entertains of Courage. Our Eyes are dazzl'd with the boisterous Fury of a wild Hero. Had *Virgil* been less wise, had the Courage of *Aeneas* been a barbarous Rashness, instead of a sedate, and calmly-daring Valour, perhaps he might please better, but surely he would deserve it less.

It is a just Criticism on *Virgil*, that the latter part of his Poem is less animated than the first, not that the six last Books are intirely languishing, but their milder Light is overpowered by the Lustre of the others.

That great Defect is owing to the Disposition of the Poem, and to the Nature of the Things. The Design of a Match between *Aeneas* and *Lavinia* unknown and indifferent to each other, and a War rais'd about a Stag wounded by a young Boy, could not indeed command our Concern as well as the burning of *Troy*, and the Love of *Dido*.

'Tis a great Mistake to believe an Author can soar, when the Subject sinks. All the Art he employs, shows only that he till'd with Labour and Skill an ungrateful Soil. If the natural Chain of Events in the *Aeneid* could have allow'd *Virgil* to rise by Degrees in point of Sentiments

timents and Grandeur; his Poem had been as unexceptionable as the Bounds of human Talent will permitt. In short his Fault lies in having reach'd to the utmost pitch of the Art in the middle of his Course.

LUCAN.

AFTER we have lifted up our Eyes towards *Virgil*, and *Homer*, we need not look down on the other *Roman* Authors who have been stumbling in the same Carrier. Let us lay aside their mean and monstrous Mimicks, *Statius*, and *Silius Italicus*; but we ought not to overlook *Lucan*, who took entirely a new Course, and whose free Genius borrow'd neither its Beauties nor its Faults.

He was of an ancient equestrian Family, born at *Cordova* in *Spain* under *Caligula*; he was brought to *Rome* when Eight Month's old, and educated there, under the Influence of his Uncle *Seneca*, with the nice Care that his Birth, his opulent Fortune, and especially the Pregnancy of his early *Genius* deserved. I mention this, only to silence, those Criticks who have call'd in question the Purity of his Language; they took him for a *Spaniard*, who wrote *Roman* Verses; and prepossess'd with that Notion, they fancied they discover'd in his Language
some

some Faults which do not really exist ; and which if they did exist, could not be perceiv'd by any Modern.

He was at first a Favourite to *Nero*, till he had the noble Imprudence to contend with him for the prize of Poetry, and the dangerous Honour of carrying it.

He praised that Emperor in his *Pharsalia*, while *Nero* was yet the Delight of the Empire ; he conspir'd against him when the Emperor became a Tyrant. All the World knows he was sentenced to die ; and the Choice of the manner of his Death being left to him, he chose to have the Veins of his Arms and Legs open'd in a hot Bath ; and dy'd with that Tranquillity, which in those Moments is the true greatness of Soul.

He was not the first who thought a recent History the proper subject of an *Epick* Poem, for *Varius* had ventur'd before him (and with Success) on such a dangerous Undertaking.

The Proximity of the Times and the Notoriety of the Events which he took for his Theme, were certainly a great Clog to his Poetical Invention, (if he had any.)

The greater his Subject was, the greater the Difficulty. *Cesar* and *Pompey* were no doubt Men of higher Importance

tance than *Agamemnon*, or *Aeneas*; and the War wag'd before the Walls of *Troy* and before *Latium*, were but Frays of Children in comparifon of the *Roman* Civil War in which the greateft Men of *Rome* fought for the Empire of the World.

Lucan could hardly give any Scope to his Imagination on a Subject fo well known, and with more Difficulty come up to its Grandeur. On thefe Accounts the frame of his Poem is dry and tedious, becaufe he dares not deviate from the History; and his Stile fwells too often in to *Fuftian*, when he endeavours to raife it to the Actions of his Heroes.

So *Aeneas* and *Achilles* who were inconfiderable in themfelves, are for ever great in *Homer* and *Virgil*. While *Cefar* and *Pompey*, fink under the Bombaft of *Lucan*. 'Tis a great Pity that the Pictures of his Heroes being drawn with fuch mafterly Strokes, their Actions are fo little affecting.

Nothing is more beautiful than the Character of *Cato*, of *Cefar*, and of *Pompey*, but nothing more languifhing than the part which they act. *Lucan* with all the force of his Painting, with his Grandeur, with his Wit, with his political Notions is but a declamatory Gaze-
teer:

teer: Sublime here and there, faulty through all the Work.

He is to be commended for having laid the Gods aside, as much as *Homer* and *Virgil* for having made use of that Machinery. Those Fables were adapted to the dark fabulous Ages in which *Priam* and *Latinus* liv'd, but no Way suitable to the Wars of *Rome*. What brightens the Character of *Aeneas*, and confers a Majesty on the inconsiderable Beginnings of *Rome*, would have debas'd the Character of *Cesar*, and drawn a Ridicule upon him. What a poor Figure would that Conqueror make in the Field of *Pharsalia*, should he be assisted by *Iris* or by *Mercury*?

Methinks that shows evidently that the Intervention of the Gods is not absolutely requir'd in an *Epick* Poem. They are so far from being necessary, that the best Passage of *Lucan* (and perhaps of all the Poets) is the Speech of *Cato* in the Ninth Book, when he scorns to consult *Jupiter*. 'Tis not for want of Gods, but for want of managing with Art the Affairs of Men, that *Lucan* is inferior to *Virgil*.

The Judgment of the World is justly passed upon him. He is look'd upon as a strong Genius, tho' not as a good Poet; and the precious Stones which shine in the

Phar-

Pharsalia, (tho' ill fet,) yet dazzle and shine in our Eyes. Monsieur *de Corneille* was us'd to say, that he was more indebted to *Lucan* than to *Virgil*. Not that he was so unjust, and of so injudicious a Taste as to prefer the *Pharsalia* to the *Æneid*. But an Author who brings real Heroes upon the Stage, has but little to do with Poetical Fictions, and will be better help'd by the vigorous Thoughts of *Lucan*, than by the elegant Narration of *Virgil*. Mr. *Adisson* borrowed from the *Pharsalia* some Strokes, in the drawing of his *Cato*. That Ancient Poet never received a greater Honour then when he was imitated by Mr. *de Corneille* and by Mr. *Adisson*, two Men every way superior to him.

T R I S S I N O.

AFTER the Fall of the *Roman Empire* in the *West*; several Kingdoms rose out of its Ruins, and many Languages were form'd out of the remains of the *Latin Tongue*. The *Northern* Invaders brought every where their Roughness and their Ignorance. Their Language made up at first of a corrupted *Latin*, and of irregular *Gotick*, were as uncouth as their Manners, and as destitute of Words as their Minds of *Ideas*.

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In

In the Course of a thousand Years the *Italian*, the *French*, the *Spaniards*, refin'd their Manners and their Idioms. And learning spreading itself by Degrees almost over all *Europe*, enlarg'd the Sphere of every Language.

Many Writers complain now-a-days, that the *Latin* is us'd only in the Schools, and in the *Romish* Churches; they upbraid the Insufficiency of modern Languages; they say that their own Idioms sink under their Imagination. But they would have more to complain of, if according to their Desires the *Latin* was still the Language of *Europe*; for in that Case, very little Room would be left for their Labours. A Multitude of ancient Authors more generally read and better understood would shut up all the Avenues to the Ambition of the Modern. To imitate *Virgil* or *Tully* would be a Plagiarism, to deviate from them, an Affectation; The World overstock'd with Models of Writing would discountenance any new Endeavour, and the greatest Genius would be discouraged.

On the contrary, he who writes in a modern Language, hath the Ancients for his Guides, not for his Rivals; when he imitates them, he enriches his own Country; the particular Cast of his Mother-tongue awakens his Imaginati-
on

on into new Turns, and bestows an air of Novelty on some Conceptions which otherwise would have appear'd too common. In short every new Language occasions some new Productions.

The *Italian* Tongue was at the end of the fifteenth Century brought to the Perfection, in which it continues now, and in which it will remain as long as *Tasso* in Poetry, and *Machiavel* in Prose shall be the Standart of the Stile.

Tasso was in his Childhood, when *Trifino* (the Author of the first Tragedy written in a modern Language) lanch'd out into the attempt of an *Épick* Poem. His Subject was *Italy* deliver'd from the *Goths* by *Belizarius* under *Justinian*. The Subject was noble, the Performance was mean, but still succeeded, and this Dawning shone a little in a time of Darknes, till it was absorb'd in the broad Day of *Tasso*.

Trifino was a Man of great Parts, and of extensive Learning, he was employ'd by *Leo* the Tenth in many great Affairs, and had succeeded very well in his Embassy to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. But at last he sacrificed his Ambition, and worldly Affairs to his Passion for Letters, which at that Time were reputed honourable, because they were newly reviv'd in *Europe*, and in the Glo-

ry of their Prime. He was justly fond of *Homer*, and yet his great Fault is to have imitated him; for Imitation requires more Art than is generally believed. The Flowers of the ancient appear but wither'd, when gather'd by unskilful Hands. This I insist upon, because nothing is more common than Authors who mangle *Homer* and *Virgil* in their own Productions, and screen themselves under those great Names, without suspecting that the very Things, which are to be admired in *Virgil*, may be ridiculous in them.

Thus *Trissino*, for Example, endeavours to imitate that beautiful passage of *Homer*, where *Juno* having summon'd all her Charms, and adorn'd with the Girdle of *Venus*, deludes her Husband into an unusual Fondness.

The Wife of *Justinian* hath the same Design upon her Husband. First she washes herself in her fine Closet, she put on a clean Shift, and after the long enumerations of all the Trinkets of her Toilette, she comes alone into a little Garden where the Emperor was sitting down: She coins a Lie, she allures him by some Coquettries, and at last the Emperor——

Le Diede un Bacio

Suave ; é, le getto le braccia all collo.

E ella

E ella stette e sorridendo disse.

Signor mio dolce hor che volete fare ?

Che se venisse alguno in questo luogo

E ci vedesse, havrei tanta vergogna

Che più non ardirei levar la fronte :

Entriamo nelle nostre usate stanze,

Chiudamo li usci, e sopra il vostro letto

Ponianci, e fate poi, quel che vi piace.

L'imperador rispose ; alma mia vita,

Non dubitate dela vista altrui :

Che qui non puo venir persona humana,

Senon per la mia Stanza. E io la chiusi

Come qui venni, e ho la chiave a canto ;

E penso che ancor vi chiudeste Puscio

Che vien in esso dele Stanze vostre ;

Perche giamai non lo lasciate aperto :

E detto questo, subito abbraciolla ;

Poi se colcar ne la minuta herbeta,

La quale allegra lii fioriva d'intorno, &c.

“ The Emperor gave her a Kiss, and
 “ folded her tenderly in his Arms. She
 “ paused a little, and said, O my Sweet
 “ Lord, what will you do ! should any
 “ body come hither and spye us, I could
 “ never show my Face, for Shame : Let
 “ us step into our Bed-Chamber, let
 “ us lock up all the Doors, and when
 “ we are together upon our Bed, you
 “ may do with me what you please. The

“ Emperor answered, My Dear, my Soul!
 “ do not lie under any fear of being
 “ discovered: For not one living Soul
 “ can arrive at us but through my
 “ Chamber; I took care to shut the Door
 “ as I came hither, and I have the Key
 “ in my Pocket; I suppose too you have
 “ the Key of the Back-Door which o-
 “ pens from your Apartment into mine,
 “ for you never leave it open: he said,
 “ and hugged her. The tender Grass
 “ on which they dallied, rejoiced at their
 “ Pleasures, and shot forth into tender
 “ Flowers.

Thus what is beautiful and noble be-
 tween *Jove* and *Juno*, becomes as low
 and as distasteful between the old *Justi-*
nian and *Theodora*; as when among us,
 a Man and Wife carefs one another be-
 fore Company.

Triffino hath especially endeavour'd to
 follow *Homer* in the Detail of the De-
 scriptions; but he is very accurate in de-
 scribing the Furniture of the Houses of
 his Heroes: He does not omit a Button,
 or a Garter in their Dresses; and does
 not say a Word of their Characters.

However, I do not mention him only
 to point out his Faults, but to give him
 the just Praises he deserves; for having
 been the first in *Europe* who attempted
 an

an *Epick* Poem, in a vulgar Tongue, and in blank Verse; for not having been Guilty of a single Quibble in his Works, though he was an *Italian*; and for having introduc'd less Magicians, and fewer enchanted Heroes, than any Author of his Nation.

C A M O U E N S.

WHILE *Triffino* was clearing away the Rubbish in *Italy*, which Barbarity and Ignorance had heap'd up for ten Centuries, in the Way of the Arts and Sciences, *Camouens* in *Portugal* steer'd a new Course, and acquir'd a Reputation which lasts still among his Countrymen, who pay as much Respect to his Memory, as the *English* to *Milton*.

He was a strong Instance of the irresistible Impulse of Nature, which determines a true Genius to follow the Bent of his Talents, in Spight of all the Obstacles which could check his Course.

His Infancy lost amidst the Idleness and Ignorance of the Court of *Lisbon*; his Youth spent in romantick Loves, or in the War against the *Moors*; his long Voyages at Sea, in his riper Years; his Misfortunes at Court, the Revolutions of his Country, none of all these could suppress his Genius.

Emanuel the second King of *Portugal*,
E 4 having

having a Mind to find a new Way to the *East-Indies* by the Ocean, sent *Velasco de Gama* with a Fleet in the Year 1497, to that Undertaking, which being new, was accounted rash and impracticable, and which of Course gain'd him a great Reputation when it succeeded.

Camouens follow'd *Velasco de Gama* in that dangerous Voyage, led by his Friendship to him, and by a noble Curiosity, which seldom fails to be the Character of Men born with a great Imagination.

He took his Voyage for the Subject of his Poem; he enjoy'd the sensible Pleasure, which no-body had known before him, to celebrate his Friend, and the Things which he was an Eye-Witness of. He wrote his Poem, Part on the *Atlantic Sea*, and Part on the *Indian Shore*; I ought not to omit, that in a Shipwrack on the Coasts of *Malabar*, he swam a Shore, holding-up his Poem in one Hand, which otherwise had been perhaps lost for ever.

Such a new Subject, manag'd by an uncommon Genius, could not but produce a Sort of *Epick* Poetry unheard of before.

There no bloody Wars are fought, no Heroes wounded in a thousand different Ways; no Woman enticed away, and the

the World over-turn'd for her Cause;
 no Empire founded; in short nothing of
 what was deem'd before, the only Sub-
 ject of Poetry.

The Poet conducts the *Portuguese* Fleet
 to the Mouth of the *Ganges*, round the
 Coasts of *Africk*. He takes Notice in
 the Way, of many Nations who live up-
 on the *African* Shore. He interweaves
 artfully the History of *Portugal*. The
 Simplicity of his Subject, is rais'd by
 some Fictions of different Kinds, which
 I think not improper to acquaint the
 Reader with.

When the Fleet is sailing in the Sight
 of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, call'd then the
Cape of the Storms, a formidable Shape
 appears to them, walking in the Depth
 of the Sea; his Head reaches to the
 Clouds, the Storms, the Winds, the
 Thunders, and the Lightnings hang a-
 bout him; his Arms are extended over
 the Waves. 'Tis the Guardian of that fo-
 reign Ocean unplough'd before by any
 Ship. He complains of his being oblig'd
 to submit to Fate, and to the audacious
 Undertaking of the *Portuguese*, and fore-
 tels them all the Misfortunes which they
 must undergo in the *Indies*.

I believe, that such a Fiction would
 be thought noble and proper, in all A-
 ges, and in all Nations.

There

There is another, which perhaps would have pleas'd the *Italians* as well as the *Portuguese*, but no other Nation be-fides: It is an enchanted Island, call'd the Island of Bliss, which the Fleet finds in her Way home, just rising from the Sea, for their Comfort and for their Re-ward: *Camouens* describes that Place, as *Tas-so* did some Years after, his Island of *Armi-da*. There a supernatural Power, brings in all the Beauties, and presents all the Plea-sures which Nature can afford, and which the Heart may wish for; a Goddess ena-mour'd with *Velasco de Gama*, carries him to the Top of an high Mountain, from whence she shows him all the King-doms of the Earth, and foretells the Fate of *Portugal*.

After *Camouens* hath given loose to his Fancy, in the lascivious Description of the Pleasures which *Gama* and his Crew enjoy'd in the Island, he takes care to in-form the Reader, that he ought to un-derstand by this Fiction, nothing but the Satisfaction which the virtuous Man feels, and the Glory which accrues to him by the Practice of Virtue; but the best Excuse for such an Invention, is, the charming Stile in which it is deliver'd (if we believe the *Portuguese*) for the Beauty of the Elocution makes some-times amends for the Faults of the Poets,

as the colouring of Rubens make some Defects in his Figures pass unregarded.

There is another Kind of Machinery continued throughout all the Poem, which nothing can excuse, in any Country whatever; 'tis an unjudicious Mixture of the Heathen Gods with our Religion. *Gama* in a Storm addressess his Prayers to the *Christ*, but 'tis *Venus* who comes to his Relief; the Heroes are *Christians*, and the Poet *Heathen*. The main Design which the *Portuguese* are suppos'd to have (next to the promoting of their Trade) is to propagate *Christianity*; yet *Jupiter*, *Bacchus*, and *Venus*, have in their Hands, all the Management of the Voyage. So incongruous a Machinery, casts a Blemish upon the whole Poem; yet shows at the same Time, how prevailing are its Beauties, since the *Portuguese* like it with all its Faults.

Camouens hath a great deal of true Wit, and not a little Share of false; his Imagination hurries him into great Absurdities.

I remember, that after *Velasco de Gama*, hath related his Adventures to the King of *Melinda*, now says he, O King, judge if *Ulysses*, and *Æneas*, have travell'd so far, and undergone so many Hardships,

ships. As if that barbarous *African*, was acquainted with *Homer* and *Virgil*.

His Poem, in my Opinion, is full of numberless Faults and Beauties, thick sown near one another; and almost in every Page, there is what to laugh at, and what to be delighted with. Among his most lucky Thoughts, I must take Notice of two for the Likeness, which they bear to two most celebrated Passages of *Waller* and *Sir John Denham*.

Waller says, in his Epistle to *Zelinda*;

*Thy matchless Form will Credit bring,
To all the Wonders I can sing.*

Camouens says, in speaking of the Voyages of the *Argonautes*, and of *Ulysses*, that the Undertaking of the *Portuguese* shall give Credit to all those Fables, in surpassing them.

Sir John Denham, in his Poem on *Coopers-Hill*, says to the *Thames*;

*O could I flow like thee, and make thy Stream,
My great Example, as it is my Theme;
Tho' deep, yet clear, tho' gentle, yet not dull,
Strong without Rage, without o'erflowing full.*

Camouens addresses the Nymphs of *Tagus* in the like Manner; “ O Nymphs,
“ if ever I sung of you, inspire me now
“ with

“ with new and strong Lays; let my
 “ Stile flow like your Waves; let it be
 “ deep and clear, as your Waters, &c.”

It is not to be inferr'd from thence,
 that *Waller* and Sir *John Denham* have
 imitated *Camouens*; we must only con-
 clude, that Wit is of the Growth of eve-
 ry Country. It is very unjust, and very
 common, to call Plagiarism what is but
 Resemblance.

T A S S O.

TORQUATO *Tasso* began his *Jeru-
 salem*, when *Camouens* was finishing
 his *Lusiada*. He us'd to say, that the
 only Rival he fear'd in *Europe* was *Ca-
 mouens*. His Fear (if sincere) was very
 ill-grounded; for he was as far superior
 to him, as that *Portuguese* excell'd the
 Poets of his own Country.

No Man in the World was ever born
 with a greater Genius, and more quali-
 fy'd for *Epick* Poetry. His Talents which
 gain'd him so great a Reputation, were
 the Cause of his Misfortunes. His Life
 prov'd a Chain of Miseries and Woes.
 Banish'd from his own Country, he was
 reduc'd to the grievous Necessity of ha-
 ving a Patron. He suffer'd Want, Exile,
 and Prison; and which is more intolerable,
 he was oppress'd by Calumny.

Even

Even his poetical Glory, that chimerical Comfort in real Calamities, was contested. The Number of his Enemies eclips'd for a long while his Reputation: And at last when his Merit began to overcome Envy, when he was ready to receive the Honour of Triumph in *Rome*, which *Petrarch* had formerly enjoy'd (though with less Merit) and which was at that Time as glorious as it is now ridiculous; he dy'd the very Day before the design'd Solemnity.

Nothing discovers more plainly the high Sense which *Rome* entertain'd of his Merit, than the Inscription on his Tomb.

The *Pope*, who order'd him a magnificent Funeral, as if it were to atone for the Misfortunes of his Life, propos'd a Reward for the best Epitaph which should be written in his Honour.

Many were brought to him, all full of the just Praises of *Tasso*. The Judges appointed to chuse the Epitaph, were divided in their Opinions, when a young Man came to them with this Inscription,

Torquati Tassi ossa.

The Judges immediately agreed in giving the Preference to it, being persuaded,

ded, that the Name of *Tasso* was his greatest Encomium.

Time, which undermines the Reputation of indifferent Authors, hath stamp'd the Character of Immortality upon his Works. His Poem is sung now-a-days in many Parts of *Italy*, as the Poems of *Homer* were in *Greece*; and if the Poets, his Successors, have degenerated from him, if *Italy* is now over-grown with pitiful Sonnets and Conceits; still the Taste of the Nation form'd after his Poems remains in its full Force: He is admir'd by the Readers, though not imitated by the Writers. Thus in *France*, *Corneille*, *Racine*, *Boylau*, *la Fontaine*, *Moliere*, will claim forever the publick Admiration, in Defiance to a succeeding Set of Writers, who have introduc'd a new fangl'd Stile, kept up and cherish'd among themselves, but despis'd by the Nation.

The *Jerusalem liberata*, is in some Parts an Imitation of the *Iliad*. The Subject of *Tasso*, is nobler than that of *Homer*, in as much, as all *Europe*, rising-up in Arms for the Recovery of the Land which is consecrated by the Birth and Blood of their God, strikes the Mind with a more awful Idea, than *Greece* fighting against *Troy*, for *Helena*.

As

As to the Disposition of so great a Work, the impartial Reader may judge if *Tasso* is above, or under his Master, in what he copies from him.

Goffredo acts methinks the Part of *Agamemnon*, with as much Grandeur, less Pride, and more Wisdom.

The Hermit *Piero* is the *Calcas*; and if I dare speak my Opinion, I find nothing very shining nor defective in either.

Rinaldo, is among the *Christian* Princes, what *Achilles* is among the *Grecian* Heroes. His Courage is full as boisterous, but his Character more amiable. The Fall of *Jerusalem* is reserv'd to his Sword, as that of *Troy* to the Arms of *Achilles*. The Absence of the one from the Camp, is borrow'd from the Inaction of the other; but certainly *Rinaldo* employs his Leisure more to the Satisfaction of the Reader, than the Heroe of *Homer* does.

Aladino, Sultan of *Jerusalem*, is in nothing like *Priam*, but in his being the King of the Town besieg'd; and *Argante* bears no other Resemblance to *Hector*, but in his being the firmest Bulwark of the City.

Certainly the Character of *Hector* is every way above that of *Argante*, and the grandeur of *Priam* more majestick, and his Misfortunes more touching than those of *Aladino*.

Aladin. I will not decide, if *Homer* hath done right or wrong, in gaining upon our Affections towards *Hector*, and in moving our Pity for *Priam*; but sure it is, that if *Tasso* had not represented *Aladin* and *Argante* rough and unamiable, if he had not skilfully created an Aversion to them, in the Mind of the Reader, he had defeated his own Intention; for in that Case, instead of being concern'd for the Cause of the *Christian* Princes, we should look upon them as Plunderers, united together to lay waste a foreign Country, and to massacre in cold Blood, an old venerable *Eastern* Monarch, together with his innocent Subjects.

Tasso hath learn'd from *Homer*, the Art of marking the different *Shades* of the same *Colour*, I mean the different *Kinds* of the same *Virtue*, of distinguishing the *Valiant* from the *Valiant*, and the *Prudent* from the *Prudent*, &c. Thus *Goffredo* is sedate and wise, *Aladin* anxious and cruel. The generous Valour of *Tanerede*, shines in Opposition to the brutal Impetuosity of *Argante*. Love in *Armida* is a Mixture of Coquetry and Rage, in *Herminia* a gentle Tenderness. Every one of his Actors is to be known by some distinguishable Mark,

as in the *Iliad*, and every one of them acts always fuitable to his Character, which is not always to be found in *Homer*; and in that respect methinks he hath improv'd the Art which *Homer* taught him; but an Art which he learn'd from no body. 'Tis that enchanting Way of interesting us for his Heroes, 'tis that unexpressible Address in interweaving the different Adventures of the Poem, in leading us from the Alarms of Wars to the Allurements of Love, and from Love to War again; in working up our Concern by Degrees, and in rising above himself from Book to Book.

As to his Style, it is perspicuous and elegant through all the Poem; and when he enters into Descriptions which require Strength and Majesty, it is wonderful how the natural Effeminacy of the *Italian* Language soars up into Sublimity and Grandeur, and assumes a new Character in his Hands, if we except about an hundred Lines in which he flattens into pitiful Conceits, but I look on these Errors as a kind of Tribute, which his Genius condescended to pay to the *Italian* Taste.

If his Excellencies challenge the unanimous Admiration of *Europe*, there are Faults in him which methinks are censur'd.

sur'd every where. The Epifode of *O-linda* and *Sophronia* in the beginning of the Action seems defective in all respects.

The Poet introduces a *Mahometan* Magician call'd *Ismeno*, who against the strict and never violated Laws of the *Mahometan* Religion, carries an Image of the Virgin *Mary* into the principal *Mosquee*, in order to make it by the Force of his Enchantments the Pledge and Security of the Town, as formerly the Fate of *Troy* depended upon the *Palladium*. It happens one Night that the Image is stol'n away, the Christians of *Jerusalem* being suspected of the Theft, the *Sultan* incens'd, sentences them all to Death, that he might be sure to punish the guilty in the common Slaughter. Mean while *Sophronia* a pious Christian Virgin, comes before the *Sultan*. She saves her Countrymen by a generous Lie, she declares that she hath stol'n the Image. The King condemns her to be burnt. *Olindo* her Lover endeavours to save her Life by another noble Lie, he takes the Guilt upon himself, and claims the Pile prepar'd for her. At last both are sentenced to die, both are ty'd to the same stake, when of a sudden arrives *Clorinda* from *Persia*. She mov'd

with Pity towards them, and looking with Scorn upon the Sorcery of *Ismeno*, asks and obtains their Pardon. *Olindo* and *Sophronia* go from the Pile to their Church, Marry, and are no more heard of in the Poem.

Tasso adorn'd that uselefs Epifode with all the Pomp of Poetry, nay he is not sparing of *Italian* Conceits in it. He dwells with fo much Complacency upon the Description of *Sophronia*, he fpeaks of the Love of *Olindo* with fo much Warmth, he excites fo much Pity for them both, that every Reader cannot but believe that both are principal Characters in the Poem. He is amaz'd and angry afterwards to fee them as uselefs to the Affairs of the Christians, as the Image of Virgin *Mary* to the Infidels. All the Embellishments which *Tasso* lavishes upon fuch a needlefs piece of Enchantment, and upon fo preposterous an Epifode ferve but to render the Fault more confpicuous.

All the World owns with the *Italians*, that nothing is fo artfully describ'd as the Coquettry of *Armida*, nothing fo tender as her Love, nothing fo animated and fo moving as her Complaints. The Taste of the *Englifh* and of the *French*, tho' averfe to any Machinery grounded upon

upon Enchantment, must forgive, nay commend that of *Armida*, since it is the Source of so many Beauties. Besides she is a *Mahometan*, and the Christian Religion allows us to believe that those Infidels are under the immediate Influence of the Devil.

But indeed no body but an *Italian* can bear with the wild Excess, to which *Tasso* hath carried that Machinery. Ten Christian Princes turn'd into Fish in the Ponds of *Armida*, and a Parrot singing amorous Songs of his own making, are very strange Things in the Eyes of a serious Reader, tho' one is preceded by the Story of *Circe* in *Homer*; and tho' the Parrots are thought among us to mimic now and then human Voices.

Still we should easily forgive such poetical Extravagancies for the sake of the Beauties which are mingled with them. Let the Devils (since they are admitted) have a free Scope to play their wild Pranks, especially in *Italy*, where the Superstition of the People brings Credit to no less strange Tales.

But it is unaccountable how Men of Sense can approve of the Christian Magicians, who help *Rinaldo* out of the Hands of the *Mahometan* Wizards. It is singular to see in *Tasso* Lewdness, Mass, Confessi-

on, the Litanies of the Saints, and pieces of Witchcraft heap'd together.

What strange Fancy! to send *Ubaldo* and his Companion to an old *holy Conjurer*, who carries them *just into the Center of the Earth*. The two Knights walk there on the Banks of a Rivulet cover'd with precious Stones of all Kinds. From that Place they are sent to *Ascalon* to an old Woman who carries them swiftly in a little Ship to the *Canary Islands*. Thither they arrive in the Name of God, holding in their Hands a magick Wand, they perform their Ambassy, they carry *Rinaldo* back with them to the Camp of the Christians; for the Army was in need of him. But what was the great Exploit which must necessarily be perform'd by *Rinaldo*, and by him only?

He was destin'd by Providence, and brought by Enchantment from the pic of *Teneriff* to *Jerusalem*, in order to cut down some Trees in a Forest inhabited by Elves and Hoggoblins. That Forest is the great Machinery of *Tasso*. It is remarkable that in the former Books God almighty orders his Archangel *Michael* to drive down into Hell the Devils who were let loose in the Air, raising Storms, and managing his Thunders against the Christians in Favour of the *Mohometans*. *Michael* forbids them strictly to meddle
any

any more in those Affairs. They obey and plunge into Hell immediately; but soon after the Enchanter *Ismeno* recalls them out, they find Means to elude the Orders of God, and under the pretence of some *Jesuitical* Distinctions, they take Possession of the Forest, wherein the Christians intended to provide the Timber necessary to build a wooden Tower.

There they assume innumerable Shapes to frighten away those who come to cut the Trees. There *Tancred* finds his *Clorinda* after her Death shut up in a Pine, and bleeding for the Blow which he strikes at the Root. There *Armida* peeps out of a Mirtle, while she is some Miles off, in the *Ægyptian* Army, and totally unappris'd of her being in two Places at once, tho' she is the best Sorceress in the World. At last the Prayers of the *Hermit* and the Merit of *Rinaldo's* Contrition after his Confession, break the Enchantment.

Methinks it is not very foreign to the Purpose to see how differently *Lucan* hath handled in his *Pharsalia* a Topick pretty much of the same Nature. 'Tis when *Cæsar* orders his Troops to cut down some Trees in the sacred Forest of *Marseilles*, to have them made into warlike Instruments. The Passage deserves to be

set in its full Length, as it is translated
by the late Mr. Rowe.

Not far away, for Ages past had stood
An old inviolated sacred Wood;
Whose gloomy Boughs, thick interwoven, made
A chilly cheerless everlasting Shade,
There, nor the rustick Gods, nor Satyr's Sport,
Nor Fauns and Syluans with the Nymphs resort:
But barb'rous Priests some dreadful Pow'r adore,
And lustrate ev'ry Tree with human Gore.
If Mysteries in times of old receiv'd,
And pious Anciency be yet believ'd,
There nor the feather'd Songster builds her Nest,
Nor lonely dens conceal the savage Beast:
There no tempestuous Winds presume to fly,
Ev'n Lightnings Glance aloof, and shoot obliquely by,
No wanton Breezes tosr's the dancing Leaves,
But shiv'ring Horror in the Branches heaves.
Black Springs with pitchy Streams divide the Ground
And bubbling tumble with a sullen Sound.
Old Images of Forms misshapen stand,
Rude and unknowing of the Artist's Hand;
With hoary Filth begrim'd each ghastly Head
Strikes the astonish'd Gazer's Soul with Dread.
No Gods, who long in common Shapes appear'd,
Were e'er with such Religious Awe rever'd:
But zealous Crouds in Ignorance adore;
And still the less they know, they fear the more,

The pious Worshippers approach not near,
But shun their Gods, and kneel with distant Fear:
The Priest himself, when, or the Day, or Night,
Rowling have reach'd their full meridian Height,
Refrains the gloomy Paths with wary Feet,
Dreading the Dæmon of the Grove to meet;

Who, terrible to Sight, at that fix'd Hour,
 Still treads the ground about his dreery Bow'r.
 This Wood near neighb'ring to th' encompass'd Town,
 Untouch'd by former Wars remain'd alone;
 And since the Country round it naked stands,
 From hence the Latian chief Supplies demands.
 But lo! the bolder Hands, that should have struck,
 With some unusual Horror trembling Shook;
 With silent Dread and Rev'rence they survey'd,
 The Gloom Majestick of the sacred Shade:
 None dares with impious Steel the Bark to rend,
 Least on himself the destin'd stroke descend.
 Cæsar perceiv'd the Spreading Fear to grow,
 Then Eager, caught an Ax, and aim'd a Blow:
 Deep sunk within a violated Oak
 The wounding Edge, and thus the Warrior spoke.
 Now, let no doubting Hand the Task decline:
 Cut you the Wood, and let the Guilt be mine.
 The trembling Bands unwillingly obey'd;
 Two various Ills were in the Ballance laid,
 And Cæsar's Wrath against the Gods was weigh'd.

I confess that the whole *Pharsalia* is
 not to be compar'd to the *Jerusalem* of
Tasso. But at least that particular Pas-
 sage shows how the true Grandeur of a
 real Hero is above the *Romantick*, and
 how solid and strong Thoughts excell
 those Inventions, which the Crowd calls
 poetical Beauties, and on which wise
 Men look down as Tales fit for Children.
 The *Virtuosi* in *Italy* have disputed for
 a long while and still contest which of
 the two *Ariosto* or *Tasso* deserves the Pre-
 cedency. But every where else the chief-
 est

est Exception that Men of Understanding take to *Tasso*, is that of having too much of *Ariosto* in him. *Tasso* seems to have been conscious of this Fault. He could not be unsensible that such wild fairy Tales, at that Time so much in Fashion not in *Italy* only but in all *Europe*, were altogether inconsistent with the Gravity of *Épick* Poetry: In order to cover this Defect he printed a Preface, in which he pretends that all his Poem is but a shadow and a Type.

The Army of the Christian Princes, says he, represents the Body and the Soul. *Jerusalem* the figure of true Happiness, which cannot be obtain'd but by Labour and Difficulties. *Goffredo* is the Mind, *Tancredo*, *Raimondo*, &c. are the faculties of the Mind. The common Soldiers make up the Limbs of the Body. The Devils are at once figur'd, and figures, (*figura è figurato.*) *Armida* and *Ismeno* are the Temptations which besiege our Souls. The Spells and the Illusions of the enchanted Forest shadow out the false Reasoning, (*falsi sillogismi*) into which our Passions are apt to mislead us,

Such is the Key that *Tasso* thinks fit to give us of his Works. He deals with himself as the Commentators have done with *Homer* and *Virgil*. Those Gentlemen are like speculative and dully wise Po-

Politicians, who construe the most insignificant Actions of great Men, into Designs of the greatest Depth and Importance. But *Tasso* was like that Ambassador, who having spent all the Time of his Ambassy in Debauchery and Riot, wrote to his Master that he was whoring and drinking for the Service of his Majesty.

However the ridiculous Explanation, which *Tasso* gives with so much Gravity of his Extravagancies, cannot impose upon Mankind; for we no more allow an Author to coment upon himself, than a Priest to prophecy of himself.

If the Devils act in *Tasso*, the insipid part of despicable Jugglers, on the other Hand what is relating to Religion, is writ with Majesty, and I dare say in the Spirit of Religion itself. Nay Processions and Litanies, and all the Parts of *Poppish* Religion, which are accounted comical and mean in *England*, appear in a reverend Awfulness in that Poem. So prevalent is the Art of Poetry when it exerts itself in its full Force, and so peculiar to it is the Power of raising what is low, and of enlarging the Sphere of all Things.

He is guilty of indulging the inaccurate Custom of calling the evil Spirits by the Names of *Pluto*, *Alecto*, and
of

of mingling often *Pagan* Ideas with *Christian* Mythology. 'Tis strange that none of the modern Poets are free from that Fault. It seems that our Devils and our Christian Hell have something in them low and mean, and must be rais'd by the Hell of the *Pagans*, which owes its Dignity to its Antiquity. Certain it is that the Hell of the Gospel is not so fitted for Poetry as that of *Homer* and *Virgil*. The Name of *Tisiphone* sounds better than that of *Beelzebub*; but with all that, it is as preposterous in a Poet to bring *Michael* and *Alecto* together, as in some *Italian* and *Flemish* Painters to have represented the *Virgin Mary* with a Cha-pelet of Beads hanging at her Girdle, to have plac'd some *Swiss* Guards at the Door of the Apartment of *Pharao*, and to have mix'd Cannons and Carabines with the ancient Arrows in the Battle of *Josuah*.

Don Alonzo d'Ereilla y Cuniga.

AT the End of the sixteenth Century, *Spain* produc'd an *Epick* Poem, famous for some peculiar Beauties that shine in it, as well as for the Singularity of its Subject, but still more illustrious by the Character of the Author.

Alonzo

Alonzo of *Ereilla y Cuniga*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Emperor *Maximilian*, was bred up in the House of *Philip* the second, and fought under his Orders, at the Battle of *St. Quentin*, where the *French* were utterly defeated.

Philip, after such a Success, being less desirous to augment his Glory abroad, than to settle his Affairs at home, went back to *Spain*. The young *Alonzo* of *Ereilla*, led by an insatiable Avidity of true Learning, I mean of knowing Men, and of seeing the World, travell'd through all *France*, saw *Italy*, *Germany*, and stay'd a long while in *England*. Whilst he was in *London*, he heard some Provinces of *Peru*, and *Chily*, had taken Arms against the *Spaniards*, their Conquerors; which struggle for their Liberty, is by the by, stil'd Rebellion by the *Spanish* Authors. His Thirst of Glory, and his eager Desire of seeing, and doing new and singular Things, carry'd him without any Hesitation, or Delay, into those Countries. He went to *Chily*, at the Head of few Troops, and he stay'd in these Parts all the Time of the War.

Near the Borders of *Chily*, towards the South, lies a small mountainous Country, call'd *Araucana*, inhabited by a Race of Men, stronger and more fierce, than all the Nations of that new World. They fought

fought for their Liberty, longer than the other *Americans*, and were the last who were subdu'd. *Alonzo* waged against them a toilsome and dangerous War, underwent inexpressible hardships, saw and atchiev'd the most surprizing Deeds, the Prize whereof was only the Honour of reducing some Rocks and barren Countries, in another Hemisphere, to the Crown of *Spain*.

Alonzo, in the Course of that War, conceiv'd the Idea to immortalize his Enemies and himself, he was at once the Conqueror and the Poet. He made use of the Intervals of the War to sing it, and as he wanted Paper, he wrote the first Part of his Poem upon little Pieces of Leather, which afterwards he had much ado to set right, and to bring together. The Poem is call'd the *Araucana*, from the Name of the Country.

It begins with a geographical Account of *Chily*, and with a Description of the Manners and Customs of the People; such a Beginning, which would be quite flat and intolerable in any other Poem, is necessary, and not unpleasant in a Subject where the Scene lies under the other Tropick, and where the Heroes he writes of, are barbarous *Americans*, who must have been for ever unknown,
if

if he had not conquer'd and celebrated them.

As the Subject was quite new, so it gave Birth to new Thoughts. There is one which I present to the Readers; both as an Example of Novelty, and as a Spark of the Fire which animated sometimes the Author.

“ The *Araucani*, says he, were surpris'd
 “ at first, to see Creatures like Men, with
 “ Fire in their Hands, and dreadful Mon-
 “ sters fighting under them. They thought
 “ they were the immortal Gods, descend-
 “ ing from above, with Thunder and De-
 “ struction. They submitted, though with
 “ Reluctance; but afterwards being more
 “ acquainted with their Conquerors, they
 “ saw their Vices, and judg'd they were
 “ Men; then on a sudden, astonish'd of be-
 “ ing oppress'd by their fellow Mortals,
 “ they swore by their Shame, to wash off
 “ their Error with the Blood of the Decei-
 “ vers, and to execute a Vengeance exem-
 “ plary, dreadful, and irrevocable. ”

It will be usefull perhaps, to take Notice of a Passage in the second Book, which bears a near Resemblance to the Beginning of the *Iliad*, and which being handled quite differently, deserves to be presented to the little Number of impartial Readers, that they may judge between *Homer* and *Alonzo* in that particu-
 lar.

tar. The first Action of the *Araucana*, is a Quarrel which happen'd between all the barbarous Chiefs, as in *Homer* between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*. The Dispute was not about a Woman, but about the Right of commanding the Army. Every one of those savage Warriors assumes an uncontroul'd Behaviour upon the Conscioufness of his own Worth, and at last the Dispute grew so high, that they were ready to fight one against another, when one of the Casiques call'd *Colocolo*, as old as *Nestor*, and less boasting of himself, than the *Grecian*, made the following Speech.

“ Casiques, ye illustrious Defenders
 “ of our Country, the vain Desire of
 “ Empire does not move me to speak
 “ to you. I do not complain that you
 “ all contend so eagerly for an Honour
 “ which perhaps is due to my old Age,
 “ and should adorn my Decline. 'Tis
 “ my Love to you, 'tis the Duty that I
 “ owe to my Country, which forces me
 “ to intreat you to attend to my feeble
 “ Voice. Alas! How can we be so as-
 “ suming, as to pretend to any Gran-
 “ deur whatever, and to claim honoura-
 “ ble Titles, we, who have been Sub-
 “ jects, nay, miserable Slaves, to the
 “ *Spaniards*. Your Anger, Casiques,
 “ your Fury, would be better employ'd
 “ against

“ against our Tyrants ; why do you turn
 “ against your Breasts, those Arms which
 “ might exterminate your Enemies, and
 “ revenge our World? Ah! If Death
 “ be your Desire, seek a Death that is
 “ honourable! Shake of the shameful
 “ Yoke with one Hand, assault the *Spa-*
 “ *niards* with the other, and shed not
 “ in an unprofitable Quarrel, those last
 “ Drops of Blood of this State, which
 “ the Gods have left in it for its Re-
 “ venge. I am not displeas’d, I confess,
 “ to see the undaunted Haughtiness of
 “ your Courages. This very Fierceness
 “ which I blame, heightens the Hopes
 “ I conceive of our Designs ; but let not
 “ your ill-govern’d Valour prey upon
 “ itself, and destroy with its own Force,
 “ the Country you rise to defend. If
 “ you persist in your Quarrels, let your
 “ Swords first be imbru’d in my Blood,
 “ already frozen with old Age. I have
 “ liv’d too long. Happy is he who dies
 “ before his Countrymen are unfortu-
 “ nate, and unfortunate by their own
 “ Fault. Attend then to what I dare
 “ propose for your Welfare. Your Va-
 “ lour, O Casiques, is equal, you are
 “ all equally illustrious by the Honours
 “ of the War, by your Birth, by your
 “ Power and Riches, your Souls are
 “ noble in an equal Degree, all worthy

“ to command, and able to subdue our
 “ World. Those heavenly Gifts are
 “ the present Subject of your great Con-
 “ tests, you want a Chief, and every
 “ one of you is equal to that noble
 “ Charge; then since there is no Dif-
 “ ference between your Courages, let
 “ the Strength of the Body decide what
 “ the Equality of your Virtues would
 “ keep undecided forever, &c. ”

Then that old Man proposes a Game,
 fit only for a barbarous Nation, and con-
 sequently very proper. It was to carry
 a ponderous Beam, and he who could
 sustain the Weight longest, was to be
 the Chief.

Now since the best Way of improving
 our Taste, is that of comparing together
 Things of the same Nature, let us bring
 in the Discourse of *Nestor*, in Opposition
 to this of *Colocolo*, and laying aside that
 Worship, which our Minds justly pre-
 judiced pay to the great Name of *Homer*,
 let the Reader weigh the two Speeches
 in the Ballance of Equity and Reason.

As soon as *Achilles* warn'd and in-
 spir'd by *Minerva*, the Goddess of Wis-
 dom, has call'd *Agamemnon* Drunkard,
 Dog, and Stag, the wise *Nestor* arose to
 calm the ruffled Minds of those Heroes,
 and among other Things which I
 wave, to come closely to the Point of
 Comparison,

Comparison, thus he said, " What a Satisfaction will it be to the *Trojans*, when they hear of your Dissentions! Young Men, you must respect my Years, and submit to my Wisdom, I have liv'd in my Youth with Heroes, by far superior to you, no, my Eyes will never see such Men as the undaunted *Piritous*, the bold *Ceneus*, the divine *Theseus*, &c. I went to war with them, and though younger, I sway'd their Strength by my persuasive Eloquence; they listn'd to, they obey'd *Nestor*. If in my early Years they deem'd me so wise; you, young Warriors, attend to the Advice of my old Age. *Atrides*, do not seize on the Slave of *Achilles*, you Son of *Thetis*, do not treat our Prince with Pride. *Achilles* is the greatest, the most courageous of the Warriors, *Agamemnon* is the greatest of Kings, &c. " Thus spoke the wise *Nestor*, and his Speech prov'd entirely ineffectual, for *Agamemnon* commended his Eloquence, and neglected the Advice.

Let the Readers consider on one Part, the Endearments by which the barbarous *Colocolo* ingratiates himself into the Favour of the Casiques, the awful Majesty with which he checks their Animosity, the Tendernefs with which he softens

tens their Boisterousness, how the Love of his Country animates him, how the true Sense of Glory enlivens his Speech, in what a prudent Manner he praises their Valour, when he curbs their Fury, with what Art, he gives Superiority to none, and is at the same Time an inoffensive Censor, and a noble Panegyrist: So that all submit to his Reason, and comply with his Advice, confessing the Force of his Eloquence, not by empty Commendations, but by a sudden Obedience.

On the other Side, one may judge, if *Nestor* is so wise in talking so much of his Wisdom, if it is a good Way to reconcile the Attention of the *Greek* Princes, by telling them that they are by far inferior to their Fore-fathers; if to say to *Agamemnon*, that *Achilles* is the most valorous of the present Chiefs, ought to be very acceptable to *Agamemnon*; and after having compar'd the haughty Talkativeness of *Nestor*, with the modest Eloquence of *Colocolo*; the Injury offered by one to all the *Greeks*, by the offensive Superiority ascrib'd to their Predecessors, with the engaging Praises bestow'd upon the Casiques then present: The odious Comparison between the Power of *Agamemnon*, and the Valour of *Achilles*; with that equal Share of Grandeur and
 Courage

Courage artfully extoll'd in all the Castiques : Then let the Reader pronounce. And if there is a General in the World, who would hear his inferior prefer'd to him in Point of Courage, if there is any Assembly who would bear without Resentment a Speaker talking to them with Contempt, and villifying them, by extolling at their Expence their Predecessors, let then *Homer* be prefer'd to *Alonzo* in that Particular.

It is true, that if *Alonzo* is above *Homer* in this Point, he is in all the rest inferior to the meanest of the Poets. It is wonderful, how he falls so low from so high a Flight. There is undoubtedly a great deal of Fire in his Battles, but no Design, no Invention, no Variety in the Descriptions, no Unity in the whole Frame; the Poem is more wild, then the Nations who are the Subject of it. In the latter End of the Work, *Alonzo*, who is one of the chief Actors in the Poem, makes a long and tedious March with some Soldiers by Night; and to divert the Time, he raises a Dispute between them about *Virgil*, and chiefly on the Episode of *Dido*; *Alonzo* takes his Opportunity, in the Conversation of relating the History of *Dido*, as it is reported by some antient Authors, and in order to give the Lie to *Virgil*, and to restore *Dido* to her for-

mer Glory, he spends two long Canto's in descanting upon her.

One of the greatest Exceptions besides, which may be taken against it, is that the Book consists of thirty six long Cantos. The Reader will think it probable, that a Man who does not know how to stop, is not qualified to run such a Carrier.

So many Defects have not deterred the celebrated *Michel Cervantes* from writing, that the *Araucana* may cope with the best Authors of *Italy*.

The Judgment of *Cervantes* was misled in that Point by an overweaning Inclination towards his Countrymen. The true Love of our Country is to do good to it, to contribute to its Liberty, as far it lies in our Power; but to contend only for the Superiority of our Authors, to boast of having among us better Poets than our Neighbours, is rather Self-love than Patriotism.

M I L T O N.

MILTON is the last in *Europe* who wrote an *Epick* Poem, for I wave all those whose Attempts have been unsuccessful, my Intention being not to descant on the many who have contended for the Prize, but to speak only of the
very

very few who have gain'd it in their respective Countries.

Milton, as he was travelling through *Italy* in his Youth, saw at *Florence* a Comedy call'd *Adamo*, writ by one *Andreino* a Player, and dedicated to *Mary de Medicis* Queen of *France*. The Subject of the Play was the *Fall of Man*; the Actors, God, the Devils, the Angels, *Adam*, *Eve*, the Serpent, Death, and the Seven mortal Sins. That Topick so improper for a Drama, but so suitable to the absurd Genius of the *Italian* Stage, (as it was at that Time) was handled in a Manner intirely conformable to the Extravagance of the Design. The Scene opens with a Chorus of Angels, and a Cherubim thus speaks for the Rest. " Let the Rainbow be
" the Fiddlestick of the Fiddle of the
" Heavens, let the Planets be the Notes
" of our Musick, let Time beat careful-
" ly the Measure, and the Winds make
" the Sharps, &c." Thus the Play begins, and every Scene rises above the last in Profusion of Impertinence.

Milton pierc'd through the Absurdity of that Performance to the hidden Majesty of the Subject, which being altogether unfit for the Stage, yet might be (for the Genius of *Milton*, and for his only) the Foundation of an *Epick* Poem.

He took from that ridiculous Trifle the first Hint of the noblest Work, which human Imagination hath ever attempted, and which he executed more than twenty Years after.

In the like Manner *Pythagoras* ow'd the Invention of Musick to the Noise of the Hammer of a Blacksmith. And thus in our Days Sir *Isaac Newton* walking in his Gardens had the first Thought of his System of Gravitation, upon seeing an Apple falling from a Tree.

If the Difference of Genius between Nation and Nation, ever appear'd in its full Light, 'tis in *Milton's Paradise lost*.

The *French* answer with a scornful Smile, when they are told there is in *England* an *Epick Poem*, the Subject whereof is the Devil fighting against God, and *Adam* and *Eve* eating an Apple at the Persuasion of a Snake. As that Topick hath afforded nothing among them, but some lively Lampoons, for which that Nation is so famous; they cannot imagine it possible to build an *Epick Poem* upon the Subject of their Ballads. And indeed such an Error ought to be excused; for if we consider with what Freedom the politest Part of Mankind throughout all *Europe*, both Catholics and Protestants, are wont to ridicule in Conversation those consecrated

Histo-

Histories ; nay if those who have the highest Respect for the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and who are struck with Awe at some Parts of it, yet cannot forbear now and then making free with the *Devil*, the *Serpent*, the Frailty of our first Parents, the Rib which *Adam* was robb'd of, and the like ; it seems a very hard Task for a profane Poet to endeavour to remove those Shadows of Ridicule, to reconcile together what is Divine and what looks absurd, and to command a Respect that the sacred Writers could hardly obtain from our frivolous Minds.

What *Milton* so boldly undertook, he perform'd with a superior Strength of Judgment, and with an Imagination productive of Beauties not dream'd of before him. The Meaness (if there is any) of some Parts of the Subject is lost in the Immensity of the Poetical Invention. There is something above the reach of human Forces to have attempted the Creation without Bombast, to have describ'd the Gluttony and Curiosity of a Woman without Flatness, to have brought Probability and Reason amidst the Hurry of imaginary Things belonging to another World, and as far remote from the Limits of our Notions as they
are

are from our Earth ; in short to force the Reader to say, “ If God, if the Angels, “ if Satan would speak, I believe they “ would speak as they do in *Milton*.

I have often admir'd how barren the Subject appears, and how fruitful it grows under his Hands.

The *Paradise Lost* is the only Poem wherein are to be found in a perfect Degree that Uniformity which satisfies the Mind and that Variety which pleases the Imagination. All its Epifodes being necessary Lines which aim at the Centre of a perfect Circle. Where is the Nation who would not be pleas'd with the Interview of *Adam* and the *Angel* ? With the Mountain of Vision, with the bold Strokes which make up the Relentless, undaunted and sly Character of Satan ? But above all with that sublime Wisdom which *Milton* exerts, whenever he dares to describe God, and to make him speak ? He seems indeed to draw the Picture of the Almighty, as like as human Nature can reach to, through the mortal Dust in which we are clouded.

The *Heathens* always, the *Jews* often, and our Christian Priests sometimes, represent God as a Tyrant infinitely powerful. But the God of *Milton* is always a Creator, a Father, and a Judge, nor is his Vengeance jarring with his Mercy,
nor

nor his Predeterminations repugnant to the Liberty of Man. These are the Pictures which lift up indeed the Soul of the Reader. *Milton* in that Point as well as in many others is as far above the ancient Poets as the Christian Religion is above the *Heathen* Fables.

But he hath especially an undisputable Claim to the unanimous Admiration of Mankind, when he descends from those high Flights to the natural Description of human Things. It is observable that in all other Poems Love is represented as a Vice, in *Milton* only 'tis a Virtue. The Pictures he draws of it, are naked as the Persons he speaks of, and as venerable. He removes with a chaste Hand the Veil which covers every where else the enjoyments of that Passion. There is Softness, Tenderness and Warmth without Lasciviousness; the Poet transports himself and us, into that State of innocent Happiness in which *Adam* and *Eve* continued for a short Time: He soars not above human, but above corrupt Nature, and as there is no Instance of such Love, there is none of such Poetry.

How then it came to pass that the *Paradise Lost* had been so long neglected, (nay almost unknown) in *England*, (till the Lord *Sommers* in some Measure taught
Man-

Mankind to admire it,) is a Thing which I cannot reconcile, *neither* with the Temper, *nor* with the Genius of the *English Nation*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* in his Art of Poetry gives the Preference to *Spencer*. It is reported in the Life of the Lord *Rochester*, that he had no Notion of a better Poet than *Cowley*.

Mr. *Dryden's* Judgment on *Milton* is still more unaccountable. He hath bestow'd some Verses upon him, in which he puts him upon a Level with, nay above *Virgil* and *Homer*;

*The Force of Nature could not further go,
To make a third she join'd the former two.*

The same Mr. *Dryden* in his Preface upon his Translation of the *Æneid*, ranks *Milton* with *Chapellain* and *Lemoine* the most impertinent Poets who ever scribbled. How he could extol him so much in his Verses, and debase him so low in his Prose is a Riddle which, being a Foreigner, I cannot understand.

In short one would be apt to think that *Milton* has not obtained his true Reputation till Mr. *Adisson* the best critick as well as the best Writer of his Age, pointed out the most hidden Beauties of the *Paradise Lost*, and settled for ever its Reputation.

It is an easy and a pleasant Task to take Notice of the many Beauties of *Milton* which I call universal: But 'tis a ticklish Undertaking to point out what would be reputed a Fault in any other Country.

I am very far from thinking that one Nation ought to judge of its Productions by the Standard of another, nor do I presume that the *French* (for Example) who have no *Epick* Poets, have any Right to give Laws on *Epick* Poetry.

But I fancy many *English* Readers, who are acquainted with the *French* Language, will not be displeas'd to have some Notion of the Taste of that Country: And I hope they are too just either to submit to it, or despise it barely upon the Score of its being foreign to them.

Would each Nation attend a little more than they do, to the Taste and the Manners of their respective Neighbours, perhaps a general good Taste might diffuse itself through all *Europe* from such an intercourse of Learning, and from that useful Exchange of Observations. The *English* Stage, for Example, might be clear'd of mangled Carcasses and the Style of their tragick Authors, come down from their forced Metaphorical Bombast to a nearer Imitation of Nature. The *French* would learn from the *English* to animate their Tragedies with more
Ac-

Action, and would contract now and then their long Speeches into shorter and warmer Sentiments.

The *Spaniards* would introduce in their Plays more Pictures of human Life, more Characters and Manners, and not puzzle themselves always in the Entanglements of confus'd Adventures, more romantick than natural. The *Italian* in Point of Tragedy would catch the Flame from the *English*, and all the Rest from the *French*. In Point of Comedey, they would learn from Mr. *Congreve* and some other Authors, to prefer Wit and Humour to Buffoonery.

To proceed in that View, I'll venture to say that none of the *French* Criticks could like the Excursions which *Milton* makes sometimes beyond the strict Limits of his Subject. They lay down for a Rule that an Author himself ought never to appear in his Poem; and his own Thoughts, his own Sentiments must be spoken by the Actors he introduces. Many judicious Men in *England* comply with that Opinion, and Mr. *Adisson* favours it. I beg Leave in this Place to hazard a Reflexion of my own, which I submit to the Reader's Judgment.

Milton breaks the Thread of his Narration in two Manners. The first consists of two or three kinds of Prologues, which

which he premises at the Beginning of some Books. In one Place he expatiates upon his own Blindness; in another he compares his Subject and prefers it to that of the *Iliad*, and to the common Topics of War, which were thought before him the only Subject fit for *Epick* Poetry; and he adds that he hopes to soar as high as all his Predecessors, unless the cold Climate of *England damps his Wings*.

His other Way of interrupting his Narration, is by some Observations which he intersperses now and then upon some great Incident, or some interesting Circumstance. Of that Kind is his Digression on Love in the fourth Book;

*Whatever Hippocrites austerely talk
Defaming as impure, what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain
But our Destroyer foe to God and Men?
Hail wedded Love, &c.*

As to the first of these two Heads, I cannot but own that an Author is generally guilty of an impardonable Self-love, when he lays aside his Subject to descant on his own Person; but that human Frailty is to be forgiven in *Milton*; nay I am pleas'd with it. He gratifies the Curiosity, it raises in me about his Person, when I admire the Author, I desire

to know something of the Man, and he whom all Readers would be glad to know, is allow'd to speak of himself. But this however is a very dangerous Example for a Genius of an inferior Order, and is only to be justified by Success.

As to the second Point I am so far from looking on that Liberty as a Fault, that I think it to be a great Beauty. For if Morality is the aim of Poetry, I do not apprehend why the Poet should be forbidden to intersperse his Descriptions with moral Sentences and useful Reflexions, provided he scatters them with a sparing Hand, and in proper Places either when he wants Personages to utter those Thoughts, or when their Character does not permit them to speak in the Behalf of Virtue.

'Tis strange that *Homer* is commended by the Criticks for his comparing *Ajax* to an Ass pelted away with Stones by some Children, *Ulysses* to a Pudding, the Council-board of *Priam* to Grasshoppers: 'Tis strange, I say, that they defend so clamourously those Similes tho' never so foreign to the Purpose, and will not allow the natural Reflexions, the noble Digressions of *Milton* tho' never so closely link'd to the Subject.

I will not dwell upon some small Errors of *Milton*, which are obvious to every

ry Reader, I mean some few Contradictions, and those frequent Glances at the *Heathen* Mythology, which Fault by the by is so much the more unexcusable in him, by his having premis'd in his first Book that those Divinities were but Devils worshipp'd under different Names, which ought to have been a sufficient Caution to him not to speak of the Rape of *Proserpine*, of the Wedding of *Juno* and *Jupiter*, &c. as Matters of Fact.

I lay aside likewise his preposterous and awkward Jest, his Puns, his too familiar Expressions so inconsistent with the Elevation of his Genius, and of his Subject.

To come to more essential Points and more *liable* to be debated. I dare affirm that the Contrivance of the *Pandæmonium* would have been entirely disapprov'd of by Criticks like *Boyleau*, *Racine*, &c.

That Seat built for the Parliament of the Devils, seems very preposterous: Since Satan hath summon'd them altogether, and harangu'd them just before in an ample Field. The Council was necessary; but where it was to be held, *'twas* very indifferent. The Poet seems to delight in building his *Pandæmonium* in *Doric* Order with Freeze and Cornice, and a Roof of Gold. Such a Contrivance favours more of the wild Fancy of our Father *le Moine* than of the seri-

ous Spirit of *Milton*. But when afterwards the Devils turn dwarfs to fill their Places in the House, as if it was impracticable to build a Room large enough to contain them in their natural Size ; it is an idle Story which would match the most extravagant Tales. And to crown all, Satan and the chief Lords preserving their own monstrous Forms, while the Rabble of the Devils shrink into Piggies, heightens the Ridicule of the whole Contrivance to an unexpressible Degree. Methinks the true Criterion for discerning what is really ridiculous in an *Epick* Poem, is to examine if the same Thing would not fit exactly the Mock-heroick. Then I dare say that nothing is so adapted to that ludicrous way of Writing, as the Metamorphosis of the Devils into Dwarfs.

The Fiction of *Death* and *Sin* seems to have in it some great Beauties and many gross Defects. In order to canvass this Matter with Order. We must first lay down that such shadowy Beings, as *Death*, *Sin*, *Chaos*, are intolerable when they are not allegorical. For Fiction is nothing but Truth in Disguise. It must be granted too, that an Allegory must be short, decent, and noble. For an Allegory carried too far or too low, is like a beautiful Woman who wears always a Mask.

Mask. An Allegory is a long Metaphor; and to speak too long in Metaphor's must be tiresom, because unnatural. This being premis'd, I must say that in general those Fictions, those imaginary Beings, are more agreable to the Nature of *Milton's* Poem, than to any other; because he hath but two natural Persons for his Actors, I mean *Adam* and *Eve*. A great Part of the Action lies in imaginary Worlds, and must *of course* admit of imaginary Beings.

Then *Sin* springing out of the Head of Satan, seems a beautiful Allegory of Pride, which is look'd upon as the first Offence committed against God. But I question if *Satan*, getting his Daughter with Child, is an Invention to be approv'd off. I am afraid that Fiction is but a meer Quibble; for if Sin was of a masculine Gender in *English*, as it is in all the other Languages, that whole Affair Drops, and the Fiction vanishes away. But suppose we are not so nice, and we allow Satan to be in Love with *Sin*, because this Word is made feminine in English (as Death passes also for masculine) what a horrid and loathsome Idea does *Milton* present to the Mind, in this Fiction? *Sin* brings forth Death, this Monster inflam'd with Lust and Rage, lies with his Mother, as she had done with her Father. From

that new Commerce, springs a Swarm of Serpents, which creep in and out of their Mother's Womb, and gnaw and tear the Bowels they are born from.

Let such a Picture be never so beautifully drawn, let the Allegory be never so obvious, and so clear, still it will be intolerable, on the Account of its Foulness. That Complication of Horrors, that Mixture of Incest, that Heap of Monsters, that Loathsomeness so far fetch'd, cannot but shock a Reader of delicate Taste.

But what is more intolerable, there are Parts in that Fiction, which bearing no Allegory at all, have no Manner of Excuse. There is no Meaning in the Communication between Death and Sin, 'tis distasteful without any Purpose; or if any Allegory lies under it, the filthy Abomination of the Thing is certainly more obvious than the Allegory.

I see with Admiration, *Sin*, the Portress of Hell, opening the Gates of the Abiss, but unable to shut them again. that is really beautiful, because 'tis true. But what signifies Satan and Death quarrelling together, grinning at one another, and ready to fight?

The Fiction of *Chaos*, *Night*, and *Discord*, is rather a Picture, than an Allegory; and for ought I know, deserves
to

to be approv'd, because it strikes the Reader with Awe, not with Horror.

I know the Bridge built by Death and Sin, would be dislik'd in *France*. The nice Criticks of that Country would urge against that Fiction, that it seems too common, and that it is useless; for Men's Souls want no paved Way, to be thrown into Hell, after their Separation from the Body.

They would laugh justly at the Paradise of Fools, at the Hermits, Fryars, Cowles, Beads, Indulgences, Bulls, Reliques, tofs'd by the Winds, at *St. Peter's* waiting with his Keys at the Wicket of Heaven. And surely the most passionate Admirers of *Milton*, could not vindicate those low comical Imaginations, which belong by Right to *Ariosto*.

Now the sublimest of all the Fictions calls me to examine it. I mean the War in Heaven. The Earl of *Roscommon*, and Mr. *Addison* (whose Judgment seems either to guide, or to justify the Opinion of his Countrymen) admire chiefly that Part of the Poem. They bestow all the Skill of their Criticism, and the Strength of their Eloquence, to set off that favourite Part. I may affirm, that the very Things they admire, would not be tolerated by the *French* Criticks. The Reader will perhaps see with Pleasure, in

what consists so strange a Difference, and what may be the Ground of it.

First, they would assert, that a War in Heaven being an imaginary Thing, which lies out of the Reach of our Nature, should be contracted in two or three Pages, rather than lengthen'd out into two Books; because we are naturally impatient of removing from us the Objects which are not adapted to our Senses.

According to that Rule, they would maintain, that 'tis an idle Task to give the Reader the full Character of the Leaders of that War, and to describe *Raphael, Michael, Abdiel, Moloch, and Nifroth*, as *Homer* paints *Ajax, Diomedes* and *Hector*.

For what avails it to draw at length the Picture of these Beings, so utterly Strangers to the Reader, that he cannot be affected any Way towards them; by the same Reason, the long Speeches of these imaginary Warriors, either before the Battle, or in the Middle of the Action, their mutual Insults, seem an unjudicious Imitation of *Homer*.

The aforesaid Criticks would not bear with the Angels plucking up the Mountains, with their Woods, their Waters, and their Rocks, and flinging them on the Heads of their Enemies. Such a Contrivance (they would say) is the
more

more puerile, the more it aims at Greatness. Angels arm'd with Mountains in Heaven, resemble too much the Dipsodes in *Rabelais*, who wore an Armour of *Portland Stone* six Foot thick.

The Artillery seems of the same Kind, yet more trifling, because more useless.

To what Purpose are these Engines brought in? Since they cannot wound the Enemies, but only remove them from their Places, and make them tumble down: Indeed (if the Expression may be forgiven) 'tis to play at Nine-Pins. And the very Thing which is so dreadfully great on Earth, becomes very low and ridiculous in Heaven.

I cannot omit here, the visible Contradiction which reigns in that Episode. God sends his faithful Angels to fight, to conquer and to punish the Rebels. Go (says he, to *Michael* and *Gabriel*)

-----*And to the Brow of Heaven
Pursuing, drive them out from God and Bliss,
Into their Place of Punishment, the Gulph
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
His fiery Chaos to receive their Fall.*

How does it come to pass, after such a positive Order, that the Battle hangs doubtful? And why did God the Father command *Gabriel* and *Raphael*, to

do what he executes afterwards by his Son only.

I leave it to the Readers, to pronounce, if these Observations are right, or ill-grounded, and if they are carried to far. But in case these Exceptions are just, the severest Critick must however confess there are Perfections enough in *Milton*, to atone for all his Defects.

I must beg leave to conclude this Article on *Milton*, with two Observations.

His Hero (I mean *Adam*, his first Personage) is unhappy. That demonstrates against all the Criticks, that a very good Poem may end unfortunately, in Spight of all their pretended Rules. Secondly, *The Paradise-Lost* ends compleatly. The Thread of the Fable is spun out to the last. *Milton* and *Tasso* have been careful of not stopping short and abruptly. The one does not abandon *Adam* and *Eve*, till they are driven out of *Eden*. The other does not conclude, before *Jerusalem* is taken. *Homer* and *Virgil* took a contrary Way, the *Iliad* ends with the Death of *Hector*, the *Aeneid* with that of *Turnus*: The Tribe of Commentators have upon that enacted a Law, that a House ought never to be finish'd, because *Homer* and *Virgil* did not compleat their own; but if *Homer* had taken *Troy*, and *Virgil* married *Lavinia* to *Aeneas*,
the

the Criticks would have laid down a Rule just the contrary.

Was I sway'd by the common Affectation of commending our native Country abroad, I would endeavour in this Place, to set off to the best Advantage, some of our *Epick* Poems; but I must frankly own, among more than fifty which I have read, there is not one tolerable. Then instead of throwing away an unavailing Criticism upon some wretched *French* Poem, I am reduced to inquire, why we have not a good one; for it seems a little strange, that a Nation who boasts of having succeeded so well in all the other Parts of Poetry, falls so short of herself in that Particular.

I have heard the *French* Tongue arraigned in *England* of Insufficiency, as being neither strong nor lofty enough to reach the Sublimity of *Epick* Poetry.

I am apt to think, that every Language has its own particular Genius, flowing chiefly from the Genius of the Nation, and partly from its own Nature.

On the one Side, more or less Liberty in the Government, and in Religion, a more or less free Conversation between the two Sexes, the Influence of the first Authors, who have written with Success,

cess, and whose Stile is become the general Standard, all these Means have a great Share in determining the Nature of a Language, in making it extensive or stinted, strong or weak, sublime or low.

On the other Side, the Roughness of too many Consonants, the Softness of predominant Vowels, the Length, or the Shortness of the Words, more or less Articles, and the like, give a strong Bias to an Idiom, and render it more or less susceptible of some particular Ways of Writing.

Thus if we consider the Softness and Effeminacy into which the Luxuriancy of Vowels emasculates the *Italian* Tongue, and the Idleness in which the *Italians* spend all their Life, busy only in the pursuit of those Arts which soften the Mind; we must not wonder if that Language passes (as it were) for the Language of Love.

The Freedom of Society in *France*, and the Turn of the Phrases, which, as they admit of no Transposition, are the more perspicuous, qualify exceedingly the *French* Tongue for Conversation. The former Roughness of the *English* Language, now improv'd into Strength and Energy, its Copiousness, its admitting of many Inversions, fit it for more sublime Performances. Besides, the Force
of

of that Idiom is wonderfully heighten'd, by the Nature of the Government, which allows the *English* to speak in Publick, and by the Liberty of Conscience, which makes them more conversant in the Scripture, and hath rendered the Language of the Prophets so familiar to them, that their Poetry favours very much of that *Eastern* out of the way Sublimity; nay, sixty or eighty Years ago, all the Speeches in Parliament were cramm'd with Expressions taken from the *Jewish* Writings. But such predominant Qualifications of a Language, do not imply an Exclusion of any other Aptitude in it. Lofty Performances have been made in *Italian*. Some *English* Poets have written gracefully upon Love, and it is not impossible for the *French* to have an *Epic* Poem.

The *French* Tongue has Strength and Majesty enough in *Corneilles* Tragedies. Nay, now and then it soars up in his Plays, beyond the true Measure of Sublime. Far from wanting Force or Grandeur, I dare affirm it labours under a contrary Defect. And this is a Secret which I unfold willingly. We can hardly express common Things with Felicity in our Heroick Poetry. The Genius of the Nation, and consequently the Turn of the Language, does not allow us to
come

come down to the Description of the Trappings of a Horse, of the Wheels, of a Chariot, &c. We can commend rural Life in General, but not specify, with Dignity, the little Particularities belonging to it. This Task, is avoided by all our skilful Writers, who are conscious of the Defectiveness of the Language in that respect. In short, such is our Disadvantage, that there are infinite Things, which we dare neither call by their Names, nor express by a Paraphrase. Mr. *Pope*, in his Translation of *Homer*, may without any Risque, wound a Hero, *where the Bone and the Bladder meet*, or pierce him through the *right Shoulder*. He may say after his Original:

*-----the Dart-----pierced a vital Part,
Full in his Face it entered, and betwixt
The Nose, and the Eye-Ball, the proud Li-
[cian fixt,
Crash'd all his Jaws, and cleft the Tongue
[within,
Till the bright Point look'd out beneath the
[Skin.*

The like Attempt in *French*, would be thought Burlesque. The Fields of Nature lie wide and open for the *English* to range through at Pleasure, whilst we are

are stinted and oblig'd to walk with too much Circumspection.

To this happy Freedom, that the *British* Nation enjoys in every Thing, are owing many excellent poetical Versions of the ancient Poets; whereas the *French* are reduced to translate *Virgil*, *Homer*, *Lucretius* and *Ovid* in Prose.

Mr. *de la Motte*, a Member of the *French* Academy, is the only Man of some Reputation, who attempted the *Iliad* in Verse; but he was forced to contract the four and twenty Books of *Homer*, into twelve, yet those twelve do not contain so many Verses, as four Books of *Homer* do. His *Iliad* is a short Abridgment of the *Greek*, and yet is judg'd to be exceedingly too long.

After all, if that Slavery, if that Coyness of the *French* Language, makes it unfit for translating *Homer*, and *Virgil*, yet I do not perceive how that should hinder the Nation from having an *Epick* Poem of her own Growth?

A Poem, methinks, might subsist very well, without the Help of mechanick, or anatomical Descriptions. We rather require of an Author, to excite our Passions, to unfold the most intricate Recesses of the Soul, to describe the Customs of the Nations, to mark the Differences which arise in the Characters of
Men,

Men, from the different Governments they are born under, in short to speak the Language of the polite World; than to play the Surgeon, the Carpenter, or the Joiner, though never so elegantly.

Cardinal of *Rets*, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, in their Memoirs, unravel all the Springs of the Civil Wars, and draw at full Length, the Pictures of those whose Ambition shook the Foundation of their respective Countries. But neither of these two great Writers, makes it his particular Care to describe with Accuracy, how such a Colonel was wounded through the Bladder, and such a Captain in the Kidneys. Nor do they throw away their Time in describing elegantly of what Wood the Benches of the House of Parliament were made. Why then should an *Epick* Poet, lie under the Necessity of elaborating those little Descriptions, which every noble Historian avoids with Care?

Some impute our Want of an *Epick* Poem, to the Shackles of Rhime. They say, that the gingling Return of the same Sounds, which are chiming on, in the same Stops, Measures, Pauses, without any Variety, or any Relief to the Ear, must needs Occasion an insupportable Uniformity throughout all the Work. They urge, that Slavery cramps the noblest

blest Genius, and a Poet, instead of using Rhime, as an Ornament serviceable to his Sense, makes his own Thoughts subservient to Rhime.

They add, Rhime is a barbarous *Gothick* Invention, owing to the dull Sprightlines of the Monks, and contend that nothing Good can be built with so bad a Material.

First, I must confess we are Slaves to Rhime in *France*, and our Slavery is altogether irretrievable. Nay, all our Tragedies ought to be rhimed. For our Poetry being fetter'd by too strict Rules, admitting of no Inversions, nor of Verses incroaching upon one another, would have nothing but Loftiness of Stile, to distinguish it from Prose, if it were not for Rhime. We have no Manner of Pretence to blank Verse, we must keep to Rhime necessarily, and whosoever would attempt to throw off a Burthen which Mr. *Boyleau*, *Racine*, and *Corneille*, have so gloriously sustained, would be thought rather weak than bold, and certainly would meet with a very unkind Reception.

As to that pretended Uniformity, and Tedioufness objected against Verses in Rhime, it is not to be found in Authors truly good, of whatsoever Country. *Tasso* is read with Pleasure, though all his Verses,

Verfes, nay, allmoſt all his Syllables, end in *a. e. i. o.* And thoſe who ſay Rhime is an Invention of the Monks of the ſeventh Century, are utterly in the Wrong. All the Nations whoſe Languages are known to us, have Verfes in Rhime, except the *Greeks* and the *Romans*.

The Return of the ſame Sounds, is a Kind of natural Muſick, more obvious to the Ear, and more eaſily reduc'd into an Art, than the *Quantity* of Syllables. It is true, that Diſtinction between long and ſhort Syllables afforded to the *Romans* and *Greeks* an harmonious Variety of Sounds, which by their Quickneſs, or Gravity, were wonderfully expreſſive of the impetuous, or ſlow Motions of the Soul. But we ought not (becauſe we want ſo great an Advantage) to neglect the only one we are in Poſſeſſion of, and in Room of which, we have nothing to ſet up. Shou'd we not manure our own Soil, becauſe ſome others are more fruitful?

After theſe little Hints upon our Language, and our Verſification, I will own, that an *Epick* Poem is a harder Task in *France*, than in any other Country whatever; not purely becauſe we *Rhime*, but becauſe our Rhimes, as well the other Parts of our Verſification, are ty'd down

Saints who make so good a Figure in our Churches, make a very sorry one in our *Epick* Poems. St. Denis, St. Christopher, St. Rock, and St. Genevieve, ought to appear in Print no where, but in our Prayer-Books, and in the History of the Saints; a noble Volume, which contains more Wonders than any Machinery could afford.

To conclude, the best Reason I can offer for our ill Success in *Epick* Poetry, is the Insufficiency of all who have attempted it. I can add nothing further, after this ingenuous Confession.

F I N I S.



LETTRE
DU P. LE COURAYER
CHANOINE REGULIER
ET
BIBLIOTHECAIRE DES¹. GENEVIÈVE
DE PARIS
A
MYLORD PERCIVAL.

*Au sujet de la nouvelle accusation de faux, qui lui
est intentée par le P. Hardouin dans le Journal
de Trévoux du mois de May 1727.*

A LONDRES,
1727.

le Public effuye encore ses caprices, & moi sa mau-
vaife humeur.

Trev
May P 797. J'étois à la campagne, Mylord, lorsque parut
le Journal, où je devois être déclaré fauſſaire, &
où l'on publia avec ostentation deux exemples des
falsifications remarquées par le P. Hardouin Jéfuite
dans la Défense du P. le Courayer Chanoine Regu-
lier de ſainte Genevieve. Deux erreurs ſeroient peu

de chose pour un Ouvrage auffi confiderable que
celui de la Défense, mais ce n'est qu'un eſſay des
falsifications & allegations fauſſes entre un grand
nombre, que d'une vive rapide, dit le P. Hardouin,
P. 799. j'ai apperçu en feuilletant ce livre, & je ne ſçai,
comment elles donneront par avance au Public l'idée
en partie, qu'il doit avoir de l'Ouvrage & de ſon
Auteur. Cette idée ne doit pas m'être trop favo-
rable, ſi l'on s'en rapporte à ce Pere; mais heu-
reusement le Public ne forme gueres ſes deciſions
ſur celles de ce Critique; & je conſens volontiers
qu'on juge du diſcernement du P. Hardouin & de
ma fidelité par ſon accusation & ma Défense.

Quoique rien ne me ſurprenne plus de la part de
cet Auteur, je ne pus imaginer d'abord ſur quoi
pouvoient être fondées les deux falsifications, dont
l'on me mandoit qu'il m'accuſoit; moi qui ſavois
que j'avois copié mot pour mot le paſſage de Cujas
ſur l'Edition de 1617. qui eſt dans notre Bibliothe-
que, & qui avois en main l'Original Anglois de
la Lettre qu'il prétend avoir été fabriquée à Paris.
Il fallut donc attendre à mon retour de la Cam-
pagne à m'éclaircir des raiſons de ce Pere; & je me
doutai bien qu'il alloit nous donner quelque nou-
velle ſcene du moins auffi plaiſante que celle de
P. 798. la pretendue falsification des Actes Royaux, dont
il s'applaudit encore malgré le ridicule, dont elle
l'a couvert. Mais ce Pere ſe ſoucie peu du juge-
ment du Public, & ſa propre approbation le de-
dommage aſſez de nos injuſtices.

Quamvis sit fabula vulgi;

Emporium adest; recitat, sibi plaudit, amatque
Musarum conjux, doctus, lepidusque videri.

Voyons cependant de quoi il est question, sans nous laisser prévenir par le décri de cet Auteur. Si je gardois le silence, il prendroit encore nôtre mépris P. 798, pour des emportemens, & sous pretexte, que je me lasse de le suivre dans ses écarts il me jugeroit peut être fort intrigué de ses accusations. La 1^{re}. regarde la falsification de Cujas, & c'est par elle qu'il faut commencer.

Pour prouver qu'avant l'an 1605. il y avoit eu une édition du Livre *De antiquitate Ecclesie Britanicae*, j'avois rapporté en preuve un temoignage de Cujas, qui étant mort en 1590. n'auroit pu citer ce Livre, s'il n'eût été imprimé avant cette année. La conséquence est décisive, & il n'y avoit que le P. Hardouin au monde qui pût la contester. Cependant comment s'y prendre? Un autre y eût été embarrassé, mais ce Pere ne s'étonne pas de si peu de chose: & un homme assez clairvoyant pour trouver dans une inscription Payenne tout le Mystere de la Passion de J. C. & reconnoître J. C. lui-même sous les noms de *Sexvir Augustalis* & de *L. Aeni-
lius Carpus* peut bien voir dans Cujas des interpolations, qu'un autre que lui n'y eût jamais découvertes.

Il soutient donc 1^o. que le passage que j'ai rapporté de Cujas (a) n'est point de lui, mais de Fabrot son éditeur: 2^o Que ce passage n'étant que de 1658. & par conséquent beaucoup postérieur à l'édition des Antiquitez faite à Hanaw en 1605 il ne prouve point qu'avant cette édition il y en eût

Memoire
de Trev.
Octob.
1716. p.
189.

Ibid p.
1867. &
1868.

May p.
804.

(a) Voici le passage en question. *Er hoc Richardi Ed. 1594. virium refert auctor historiae Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensis, in meliorem adducto isto c. Sicut multa in eoauctiore praclara. Nomen ejus ignoratur, & licet tantum extat in Angliâ unde accersitur, & accersitus est (Ed. de Fabrot à me) magno pressa.*

6

Ibid. p. 305. une autre : 3°. Que c'est l'édition de 1605. que Fabrot a fait venir d'Angleterre. 4°. Enfin que la falsification de ma part consiste en ce que j'ai supprimé ces mots *à me*, qui se trouvent dans l'édition de Fabrot, & que je n'ai point fait mention de la Parenthese dans laquelle est enfermé ce passage, & qui prouve que ce qu'elle renferme est de l'Editeur & non point de Cujas. Examinons toutes ces remarques. Par le caractère de leur Auteur vous pouvez bien vous douter, Mylord, que ce sont autant de reveries, & vous ne vous trompez pas. Il ne sera pas difficile de vous en fournir les preuves.

P. 304. 1°. Le passage en question selon le P. Hardouin n'est point de Cujas. *Il est dans Cujas*, dit-il, *mais il n'est pas de Cujas. Il est de Charles Annibal Fabrot . . . Ce passage entier, que le P. le Courayer attribué à Cujas y est enfermé dans le texte de Cujas, mais entre deux Parentheses, qui marquent que c'est une Note ajoutée à Cujas.* C'est donc à dire apparemment qu'au compte de ce Pere tout ce qui dans cette édition se trouve en Parenthese n'est point de Cujas, mais de son Editeur. Nouvelle Regle de Critique que nous ignorerions encore, si le sçavant P. Hardouin ne nous en eût fait part. Qu'on est heureux quand on trouve des Censeurs de l'habileté de ce Pere. Ce n'est jamais à pure perte qu'un Auteur se voit Critiquer, & les instructions qu'il reçoit le dedommagent amplement de l'amertume de la Censure. Mais cependant sur ce pied voilà bien des Retranchemens à faire dans l'édition de Cujas, qui nous étoient inconnus. Car tout est plein de Parentheses, qui jusqu'ici n'ont jamais été mises sur le compte de Fabrot. Cet Editeur même, qui dans sa Preface nous avertit de ce qu'il a fait dans son édition, ne nous dit pas un mot, qui nous oblige de lui revendiquer ce qui se trouve renfermé en Parenthese. Il faut donc que le P. Hardouin ait appris cette anecdote d'ailleurs, &

que ne nous faisoit-il la grace de nous en instruire ? Il nous eût épargné la peine de la deviner ; aussi bien la chose n'est elle pas trop facile.

Car enfin si ces Parentheses, & celle entr'autres ou il s'agit du Livre des Antiquitez sont de Fabrot, comment se peut-il faire qu'elles se trouvent dans toutes les éditions antérieures à la sienne ? Le conçoit qui le pourra. Mais toujours est il certain, que le passage en question, tel que je l'ai cité, est dans toutes les éditions qui ont précédé celles de Fabrot, & dont quelques unes ont été publiées lorsque cet Editeur n'étoit qu'un enfant. Car en 1594. qui est l'année où cet Ouvrage de Cujas a paru pour la première fois, Fabrot n'avoit encore que 14 ans. Le passage n'est donc point de lui, mais de Cujas, & rien n'est plus ridicule que de faire Fabrot Auteur d'une phrase, qui a paru plus de 60. ans, avant qu'il publiât l'Ouvrage, où l'on prétend qu'il l'a insérée.

2^o. C'est par une suite de cette première vision qu'il plaît au P. Hardouin de soutenir que ce passage de Cujas n'a paru qu'en 1658. *Il est de Charles Annibal Fabrot, dit-il, l'un des plus celebres Juris-consultes du dernier siècle passé, qui recueillit toutes les œuvres de Cujas, les publia, & les enrichit de diverses Notes: mais quand En 1658. soixante-huit ans après la mort de Cujas.* L'époque de cette édition est juste, mais si ce passage se trouve dans les éditions antérieures, comment se peut il faire qu'il soit de Fabrot, dont l'édition n'a paru qu'en 1658 ? C'est une difficulté à éclaircir, car il n'y a aucune des éditions du Commentaire de Cujas sur les Decretales, où ce passage ne se rencontre. J'en connois trois antérieures à celle de Fabrot. Sçavoir celles de 1594. de 1617. & de 1637. & dans toutes les trois le passage se trouve tel que je l'ai cité. Toutes ces éditions sont elles supposées ? Le P. Hardouin pourroit bien le croire. Mais à qui le

Ibid P.
804.

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fera-t-il croire après lui? A ceux peut-être qui ne les auront point vues. Mais je doute qu'ils osent comme lui rejeter l'existence de ces éditions sur le même prétexte, sur lequel il a rejeté lui-même le Livre des Antiquitez. En tout cas le remède est facile. Quelques-uns ont vu ces éditions pour eux, & je m'offre quand ils le voudront de faire procurer aux autres la même satisfaction.

3. Si l'ouvrage des Antiquitez a été cité dès 1594. & acheté auparavant, c'est donc l'édition de 1572, & non point celle d'Hanaw qu'a fait venir l'Auteur, puisque celle-ci n'a paru qu'en 1605. D'ailleurs si c'étoit l'édition d'Hanaw que l'Auteur eût achetée, pourquoi l'aller chercher en Angleterre plutôt qu'en Allemagne? Comment se peut-il faire aussi que ce Livre ne se trouvât qu'en Angleterre, *Liber tantum extat in Angliâ*, puisque dans la supposition du P. Hardouin l'édition ne s'en est faite qu'en Allemagne & non point à Londres? Pourquoi enfin acheter si cher une édition aussi commune que celle d'Hanaw? *Accersitus est magno pretio*. C'est dit le P. Hardouin, que cette édition étoit rare, quand Fabrot l'acheta, & qu'elle est dit-on assez commune aujourd'hui. Remarque heureuse & bien digne d'un aussi grand Critique que notre Auteur. Et qui peut donc avoir fait qu'une édition de 1605. non reimprimée soit rare en 1658. & commune en 1727? Pour moi j'aurois cru tout le contraire. Plus une édition s'épuise, & moins elle est commune; & on a tout droit de supposer, qu'une édition est plus épuisée après six-vingt ans qu'après 50. C'est ainsi du moins que pense le commun des hommes, mais c'est peut-être assez pour que le P. Hardouin pense autrement.

4°. Quoiqu'il en soit, voilà donc le Livre des Antiquitez existant avant 1605. & cité en 1594. plus de 60. ans avant l'édition de Fabrot, qui ne peut par conséquent être l'Auteur du passage en

question, & qui en laisse à Cujas l'entière propriété. Mais du moins, dira-t'on, pourquoi ne pas faire mention des Crochets entre lesquels se trouve ce passage, & supprimer les mots à me, qui se trouvent dans l'édition de Fabrot? On ne peut justifier cette alteration, & seule elle est capable de rendre suspectes toutes vos autres Citations. Mais si c'est la le seul reproche qu'on ait à me faire, ma justification est facile

Pour prouver par Cujas l'existence du Livre des Antiquitez avant 1605. il falloit choisir quelque édition de cet Auteur, qui fût antérieure à cette époque. Or dans l'édition de 1594. qui est la première & la seule du Commentaire sur les Decretales, qui ait paru avant 1605. le passage se lit précisément, tel que je l'ai cité, sans les mots à me; & cette Leçon a été suivie dans les éditions de 1617. & de 1637. Il n'y a eu donc nulle falsification de ma part à citer le passage de Cujas sans ces mots à me; & si trois éditions authentiques ne suffisent pas pour justifier ma fidélité, quel Ecrivain peut-être à l'abri de la calomnie? Il est vrai que Fabrot dans son édition a ajouté ces mots à me, apparemment sur l'autorité de quelque Ms. sur lequel il a revu cet Ouvrage. Mais n'ayant ni été à portée, ni jugé nécessaire de consulter son édition, qui n'est point dans notre Bibliothèque, j'ai cru pouvoir me reposer sur les anciennes, que j'eusse même préférées à celle de Fabrot, à cause de leur Antiquité. Et d'ailleurs en citant comme Fabrot, quelle différence cela produit-il dans le texte? Sans avoir lu ces mots à me, j'ai toujours supposé que le Livre avoit été acheté par Cujas & non par un grand Seigneur, comme l'a revé le P. Hardouin. Quelque peu riche que fût ce grand Homme, sa pauvreté n'alloit pas jusqu'à le priver des Livres qui pouvoient lui être nécessaires, & si nous ne trouvons plus cette édition, ce n'est

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pas une preuve qu'il ne l'ait point eue. Tous les Livres qui ont appartenu à ce sçavant Homme ont ils été conservez; & le P. Hardouin voudroit-il bien s'engager à faire représenter tous ceux qui ont été dans sa Bibliotheque? Ces conjectures pour anéantir l'existence d'un Livre ne sont que de pures rêveries, & dès qu'il est cité en 1594. il existoit donc avant 1605.

A l'égard de l'omission de la Parenthese, ma fidelité n'est pas plus suspecte. Quand on cite une periode, dans laquelle se trouve une Parenthese, il faut bien marquer cette Parenthese pour ne point embarasser le sens de la phrase dans laquelle elle est renfermée. Mais lorsque l'on cite simplement ce qui est en Parenthese, & que cette Parenthese n'est liée necessairement ni à ce qui precede, ni à ce qui suit, alors jamais on ne s'est avisé de la marquer, & je serois le premier qui l'eût fait, parce que hors de la phrase où elle est renfermée, elle est inutile. C'est là aussi précisément ce qui me l'a fait omettre. Et dequoi en effet eût elle servi?

A faire connoître, dit le P. Hardouin, que ce
 P. 804. texte n'est point de Cujas, mais de Fabrot. *En honneur & de probite*, dit ce Pere, *Fabrot a sçu distinguer ce qui étoit de lui, d'avec ce qui est de Cujas*. Cela est vrai, mais ce n'est pas par des Parentheses, qu'il l'a fait connoître. C'est ou par des Notes ou par des Explications qui sont indiquées dans les Préfaces, & tout à fait distinguées du texte. Or cet Auteur qui *distingue* si bien ce qui est de lui d'avec ce qui est de Cujas, a-t'il donné ici le moindre indice, que ce passage n'est pas de Cujas? L'a-t'il fait imprimer d'un caractere different? Y a-t'il quelque Note qui l'attribuë à l'Editeur? A-t'il marqué que ce qui étoit en Parenthese étoit de lui-meme, & non pas de Cujas? En un mot voit-on aucune preuve d'interpolation? Le Pere Hardouin n'oseroit le dire; & s'il l'osoit,

l'inspection seule du texte suffiroit pour le refuter. Mais d'ailleurs, comme on l'a déjà remarqué, comment attribuer à Fabrot un passage imprimé plus de 50. ans avant qu'il songeât à l'édition de Cujas, & lorsqu'il n'étoit encore qu'un enfant?

Tout prouve donc que le passage est de Cujas & non de Fabrot. L'omission des mots *à me*, ne change rien au sens du passage, & la Parenthese n'indique point un autre Auteur. Mais pour faire plaisir au P. Hardouin supposons contre l'évidence même que le passage n'est pas de Cujas. Peut-être nous tiendra-t'il compte de notre complaisance, & nous ne sçaurions du moins rien perdre à la deférence que nous voulons bien avoir pour lui, quoiqu'il ne la merite gueres. Dans cette supposition même l'existence du Livre des Antiquitez, dont il est ici proprement question, en est-elle moins certaine? Car que le passage soit de Cujas ou qu'il n'en soit pas, c'est ce qui importe peu. Mais toujours est-il évident que voila l'ouvrage des Antiquitez Britanniques cité dès 1594. c'est-à-dire, plus de 10. ans avant l'an 1605. où le P. Hardouin pretend que ce Livre a été imprimé pour la premiere fois. Il y avoit donc dé a avant 1605. une autre édition de cet Ouvrage, & quelle peut-être si ce n'est celle de 1572? C'est ce dont on ne peut douter, à moins que le P. Hardouin ne soutienne aussi que l'édition de Cujas de 1594. est supposée aussi bien que les remoinages de Camden & de Thynne. Mais si c'est la toute sa ressource, le Public me dispense d'y répondre.

Quelle methode en effet que celle de ce Pere? C'en est fait de la verité si on autorise de tels excès, & chacun est interessé à ne plus être la duppe de la folle temerité d'un homme, qui sous la fausse parade d'une érudition corrompue par une infinité de caprices hazarde sans respect pour le Public, & sans équité pour personne tout ce qu'une imagi-

nation échauffée lui présente, & s'en fait autant de principes pour décider du faux ou du vrai. Les conjectures les moins sensées deviennent des faits entre ses mains. Nulle précaution pour s'assurer de la vérité. Il se joue des Mss. il conteste les imprimez sur les plus frivoles prétextes. L'intérêt seul du parti qu'il défend est la Regle de ses jugemens, & lorsque l'on cherche chez lui quelques preuves, on n'entrevoit que des songes, qui ne sont pas même colorez de quelque dehors de vraisemblance. Ou en sommes-nous si on n'arrête une telle licence, & si l'on permet à des gens de ce caractère de jeter une confusion pareille dans la recherche de la Vérité? Et le moyen, si on les écoute, d'éviter le Pyrronisme! Excusez, Mylord, ma vivacité à la vuë de Procédez si peu raisonnables. Mais comment se contenir quand on voit un Critique se jouër ainsi de la vérité, & calomnier un homme de bien sur de telles chimères: Je m'arrête cependant, & il est temps de passer à la seconde Falsification dont il m'accuse. Elle est, dit le P. Hardouin, *bien plus importante*; & il a raison. Quand elle ne se viroit qu'à nous faire connoître de plus en plus son caractère, ce seroit un avantage assez grand pour le Public.

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J'ai fait imprimer dans ma Défense l'extrait d'une Lettre que j'avois reçue d'Angleterre, & dont heureusement je conserve l'original. Le P. Hardouin soutient que cette Lettre a été fabriquée à Paris. C'est une question facile à décider. Si ce Pere est curieux de la voir qu'il se donne la peine de venir à sainte Geneviève. Il sçait qu'il y a toujours été reçu avec bonté, & il n'a point à craindre que je change de conduite à son égard. Notre contestation ne me fait point repentir de ma politesse, & les excez de ce Pere excitent moins mon ressentiment que ma compassion. Mais voyons encore ce qui rend cette Lettre suspecte au P. Har-

donin. Trois choses selon lui. La Premiere, parce Prev. p. 810. & 809.
 que je n'en nomme point l'Auteur. La 2°. parce
 que j'ai donné deux éditions différentes de cette
 Lettre. La 3°. enfin parce qu'il n'est pas possible
 que Parker ait laissé un blanc dans sa Procuration
 pour le remplir du nom d'un de ses Chapelains,
 qu'il devoit connoître. Examinons ces raisons,
 elles sont dignes du P. Hardouin & de son discernement
 en matiere de Critique.

1°. Quant au premier scrupule, il est facile de
 le lever. Puisqu'il n'est fondé que sur ce que je
 n'ai point nommé l'Auteur de la Lettre, en le
 nommant elle ne doit plus être suspecte à notre
 Critique. Je veux donc bien lui apprendre qu'elle
 me vient de Mylord Archevêque de Cantorbery,
 que j'avois pris la liberté de consulter sur l'usage
 de son Eglise à l'égard des Procurations. Si je ne
 l'ai point nommé, ce n'est pas que j'apprehendasse
 d'en être dementi, comme l'a revé le P. Hardouin;
 mais cela n'étoit pas nécessaire, l'ayant éja nommé
 plusieurs fois. Si ce Pere veut bien faire consulter
 ce Prelat, il verra si c'est à faux que je l'ai cité.
 Je n'ai non plus lieu d'apprehender, qu'il me desavoue,
 que de croire qu'il se soit trompé.

2°. La double édition pretendue de cette Lettre
 est à peu près aussi réelle que sa fabrication à Paris.
 C'est au P. Hardouin à nous apprendre où cette
 Lettre à paru ailleurs que dans ma Défense, si ce
 n'est que ce Pere honore du nom de seconde édition
 un carton, que quelques fautes, qui m'étoient Ibid. p. 811.
 échappées dans la traduction de la Lettre m'ont
 obligé de mettre dans l'Ouvrage. En effet l'Auteur
 à qui je communiquai la traduction que j'avois
 faite de sa Lettre m'ayant fait remarquer dans une
 seconde Lettre qu'en quelques endroits je n'en avois
 pas ou pris ou rendu exactement le sens, je me
 determinai à les réformer, & à substituer un nouveau
 feuillet à la place de celui qui étoit déjà
J'ai aussi l'Origin. de cette seconde Lettre.

imprimé. Voilà l'origine des changemens dont le P. Hardouin forme une suspicion de faux contre la Lettre. Jamais Critique fut elle plus chimerique ! En tout cas l'original de ces Lettres subsiste, & c'est ce qui doit décider de ma fidélité.

3^o. Il n'est donc plus question que du blanc laissé dans l'Acte de Procuration, & que le Pere Hardouin ramene encore comme une dernière marque de faux. *C'est un blanc, dit-il, à remplir du nom même de celui que Parker dit être le second de ses Procureurs, & le nom ma que ici. N'ai-je pas eu droit d'être surpris, que Parker ne sût pas le nom du second de ses Chapelains ? Et que le nom ne se trouve pas même dans le Registre après la prise de possession faite par le second Chapelain même, qui par l'Acte en est chargé comme le premier, & n'est-ce pas la une marque de faux, je ne dis ni la seule ni la plus forte . . . mais une preuve assez évidente de supposition dans ce Registre, auquel d'pend néanmoins la certitude de l'Ordination de Parker à Lambeth ?*

A cette déclamation il ne faut d'autre réponse que de renvoyer ce Pere à la Lettre qu'il travaille si fort à rendre suspecte. Car puisque c'est par tout l'usage selon le P. Hardouin lui-même, de laisser un blanc dans une minute pour y mettre dans la suite tel nom que l'on veut, un pareil blanc dans la Procuration de Parker n'en prouve donc point la supposition. Il est vrai que le blanc n'a point été rempli dans le Registre, mais comme le marque Mylord Archevêque de Cantorbery, on negligé souvent de remplir le blanc dans la minute restée dans les Registres & cette negligence n'a jamais fait regarder ces Actes comme vicieux. Sur quoi donc peut rester la suspicion de faux ? Sur ce que c'étoit un des Chapelains de Parker qui devoit être chargé de cette Procuration, & qu'étant connue ce Prélat, on ne devoit pas laisser son nom en blanc ? Mais quelque

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connu que fût à Parker son Chapelain, ne pouvoit-il pas arriver par quelque empêchement legitime, que cet homme ne pût se servir de cette Procuration, & ne falloit-il pas en ce cas laisser un blanc pour y en substituer quelque autre? E n'est-il pas même d'un usage ordinaire parmi nous quand nous envoyons une Procuration à quelque ami de laisser son nom en blanc afin que s'il ne peut s'en servir lui-même, il substitue qui il jugera à propos. Ce n'est pas pourtant que l'on ignore son nom, mais l'incertitude des evenemens exige cette précaution. Tel étoit le cas de la Procuration de Parker, & où est ici le moindre indice de supposition?

Voilà pourtant, Mylord, les beaux pretextes, sur lesquels cet Auteur me traite de Faussaire. Heureusement je puis me tranquiliser sur le caractère & la reputation de l'accusateur :

Tanti non est Philodemus, ut altum

Eripiat mihi somnum, & dulcia tempora perdam.

Un Auteur de Romans a droit de tout feindre; mais il devoit du moins étudier les vraisemblances, & il semble qu'il prenne plaisir à n'en garder aucune. Il fait Auteur d'un passage un Editeur, dont l'édition est postérieure de 60. ans au Livre où ce passage se trouve : & il soutient qu'on a fabriqué à Paris une Lettre, dont l'Auteur est encore vivant en Angleterre, & dont l'Original se conserve. Laissons ce Pere s'applaudir de telles visions aussi-bien que de son *stile succint & precis*. Pour en-tasser fiction sur fiction, il ne faut point surcharger un Ouvrage de preuves; & avec du front & peu d'amour pour la Verité, on peut plus en imposer en quelques lignes à son Adversaire, qu'il ne peut en détruire en plusieurs pages.

C'est par cet art que le P. Hardouin a trouvé le secret d'être *succint & precis*. Pour débiter des faussetez avec hardiesse, il ne faut ni Registres, ni Monumens. A un tel homme la confiance tient

lieu de preuves, & toute son attention, comme je l'ai remarqué dans ma Défense, est de chercher dans les fautes des Imprimeurs ou des Copistes de quoi faire douter des Actes qui l'incommodent, & qui choquent ses idées ou le parti qu'il défend. Pour moi, Mylord, ma methode est toute contraire. Quelque soit l'interêt du parti où je suis, je le sacrifie à celui de trouver la Verité. Je n'ai rien épargné pour m'assurer de la certitude des faits & de l'authenticité des Actes que j'avois à produire. Vous sçavez sur cela jusqu'ou j'ai poussé la délicatesse & le scrupule; & ma justification sur ce premier reproche du Jesuite me laissera plus de liberté pour relever ou mépriser ceux qui pourroient suivre. Peut-être que pour m'épargner le desagrément de n'avoir que des chimeres à detruire, le plus court & le plus sage seroit de profiter de l'exemple d'un Ecrivain Anglois, qui n'ayant comme moi qu'un Auteur Romanois à combattre, voulut que sa réponse aux premieres difficultez servit en même-temps à resoudre celles qui devoient suivre. *Réponse, dit-il, aux difficultez que le Censeur m'a proposées, & à toute celles qu'il me proposera.*

Le P. Hardouin meriteroit bien une pareille réponse de ma part. Mais sans prendre encore aucun parti, je me reserve la liberté ou de me taire, ou de réjouir le Public à ses dépens, quand il voudra nous en donner de nouvelle matiere. Je crois, que pour peu qu'il écrive, il ne tardera pas de nous la fournir.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec beaucoup de respect,

MYLORD, de V. G.

Le très-humble & très-obéissant Serviteur,
PIER. FRANÇ. LE COURAYER.

A Paris ce 6. Juin 1727.

