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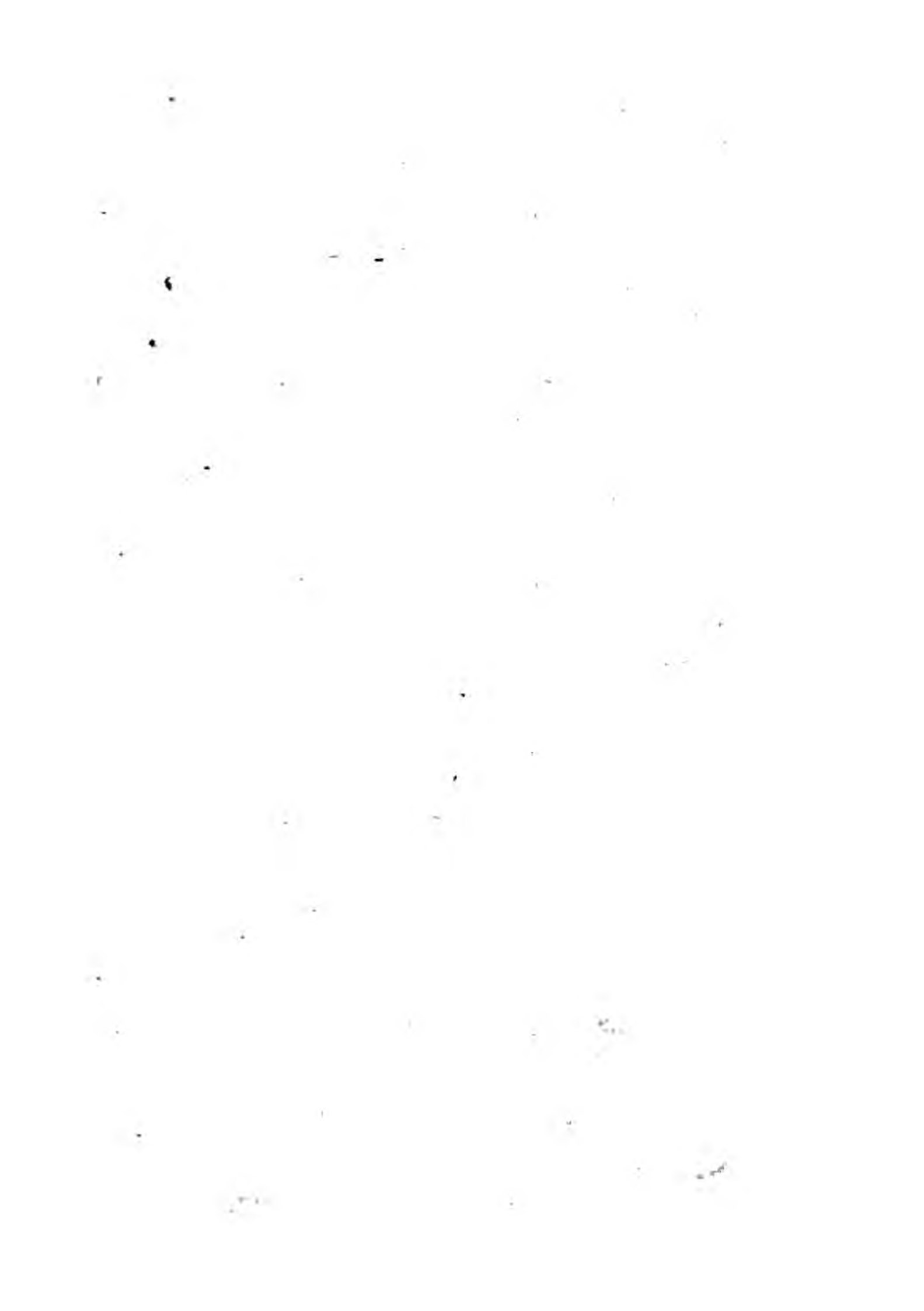
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THE
WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK'S, Dublin.

VOLUME XVI.

Collected and Revised by DEANE SWIFT, Esq.
of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

Hæ tibi erunt Artes. VIRGIL.

L O N D O N,
Printed for W. JOHNSTON, in *Ludgate-street.*
M D C C L X V.

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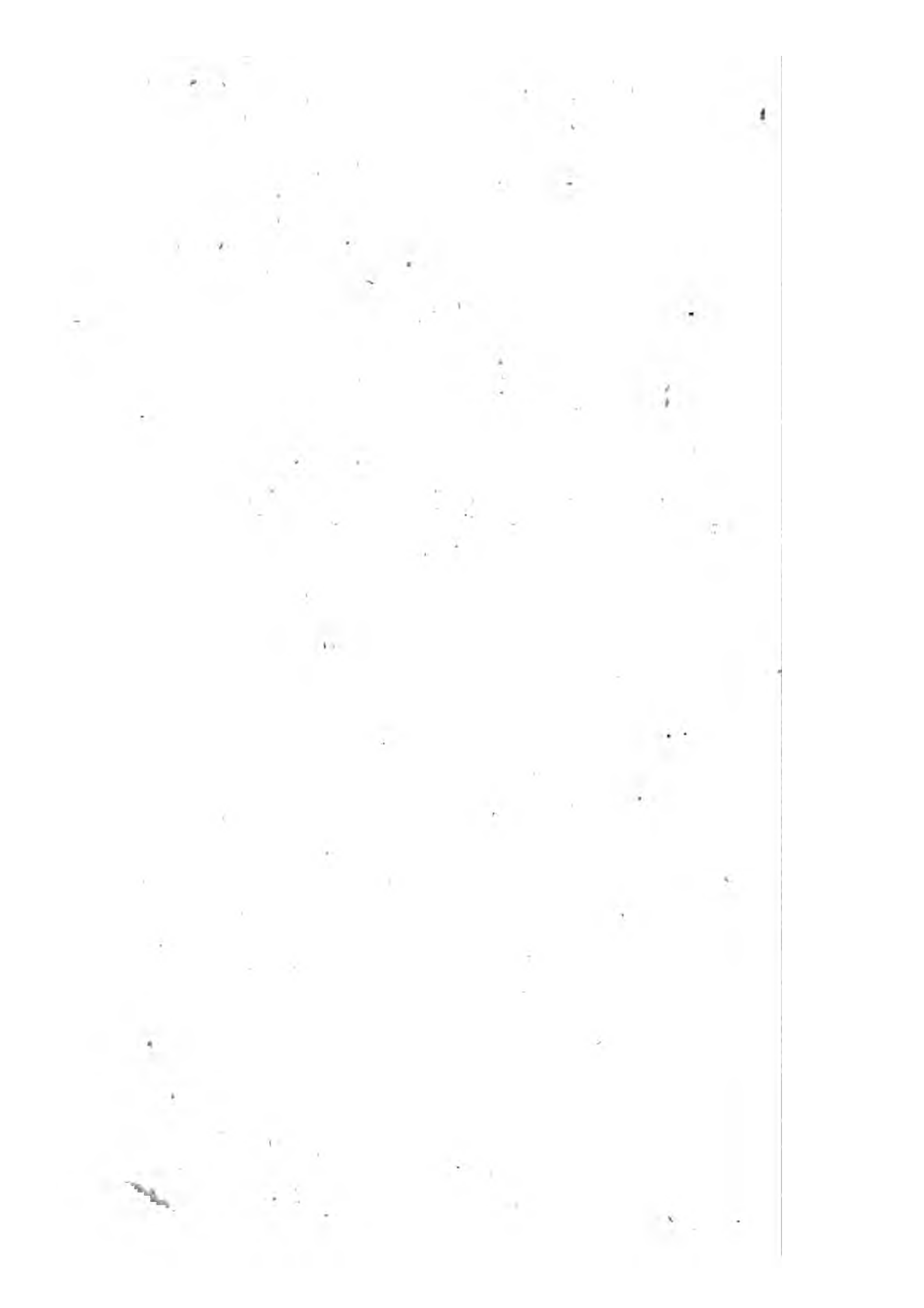
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A N
A N S W E R
TO SEVERAL
L E T T E R S

Sent me from unknown HANDS.

Written in the Year M D C C X X I X.

I AM very well pleased with the good opinion you exprets of me, and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations, for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several schemes and propofals, which you think should be offered to the parliament. In answer, I will assure you, that, in another place, I have known very good propofals rejected with contempt by public assemblies, merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the same fate, especially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expence, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflexion on

VOL. XVI. B parties

parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone to his own place [f]. But let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wished that the parliament would take under their consideration, such as will nowise interfere with *England*, otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almost every where scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and savor of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath assured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five shillings an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But, generally speaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particu-

[a] Lord Chief-Justice *Whitshed*.

larly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot; no, not near the city, except in a very few places, and in a most wretched manner: whereas the *English* are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with less inconvenience than one mile here. But, since this may be thought too great a reformation, I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third smaller than *England*; yet, by some natural disadvantages, it would not bear quite the same proportion in value, with the same encouragement. However, it hath so happened, for many years past, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decrease of trade and increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at least, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side.

Now, supposing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in *England*, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part so much as those of *England*, which is a very moderate computation; I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in six or seven years of the late
B 2 king,

4 ANSWER to LETTERS

king [g], for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several countries of *England*, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving passage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here, since the necessity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship at least twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of nation, by so many perch a year; but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort: but against these, no doubt, the wisdom of the nation may, and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deserves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters, that the red-swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the skirts, which are covered with a green coat,

[b] King George I.

easily

easily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moss, like the other.

Now the landlords are generally so careless as to suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet, by continuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a secure summer-pasture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be so absurd as to suffer such havoc to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great submission, must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the West-south-west wind,

hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-shelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from enquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemens houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest, the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of ash, a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow, in the same or less time, to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objection against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native *Irish*, might be easily answered, by shewing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life: but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations.

However,

However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble achievement to abolish the *Irish* language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only *English* on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: yet I am wholly deceived, if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for such I look upon a tax to be, of only six thousand pounds a year, to accomplish so great a work. This would, in a great measure, civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. The method is plain and simple; and, although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to a degree, that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in *England*, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced such great numbers of weavers, and others, to seek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: These events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish, therefore, under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it adviseable to save a hundred thousand pounds a year, which is now sent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads, that his majesty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use; I believe no good subject will be under the least apprehension that such a request could meet with refusal, or the least delay. Perhaps

haps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society, under the proper inspection of its prince, or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty prince in *Germany*, vassal to the emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces, with the inscription of CIVITAS WATERFORD, DROGHEDAGH, and other towns.

T H E
S U B S T A N C E
O F

What was said by the DEAN of St. PATRICK'S to the LORD MAYOR and some of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordship came to present the said DEAN with his Freedom in a Gold-box.

WHEN his lordship had said a few words, and presented the instrument, the dean gently put it back, and desired first to be heard. He said, He was much obliged to his lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: that it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it; but which, however, he did not impute to his lordship or the city: and that the mortification was the less, because he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a mistake; for which opinion he would tell his reason. He said, It was well known, that some time ago, a person with a title was pleased, in two great assemblies, to rattle bitterly some body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a Jacobite, an enemy to King *George*, and a libeller of
the

the government; which character, the dean said, many people thought was applied to him: but he was unwilling to be of that opinion, because the person who had delivered those abusive words had, for several years, cared and courted, and solicited his friendship more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting him to his house in town and country, by coming to the deanry often, and calling or sending almost every day when the dean was sick, with many other particulars of the same nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the said person made those invectives in the council and house of lords. Therefore, that the dean would by no means think those scurrilous words could be intended against him; because such a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, justice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the dean will endeavour to believe, that the said person had some other object in his thoughts; and it was only the uncharitable custom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would insist on this argument no longer: but one thing he would affirm and declare, without assigning any name or making any exception; That, whoever either did or does, or shall hereafter at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to king *George*, or a libeller of the government, the said accusation was, is, and will



be false, malicious, slanderous, and altogether groundless. And, he would take the freedom to tell his lordship and the rest that stood by, that he had done more service to the *Hanover*-title, and more disservice to the pretender's cause, than forty thousand of those noisy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of use to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and spitting their venom, against all who differ from them in their destructive principles both in church and state. That he confessed, it was sometimes his misfortune to dislike some things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wise and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he protested that such dislikes never arose in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the king, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and ministers long enough, and knew too well that the best ministers might mistake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at least full as honest, as any can be at present. The dean further said, That, since he had been so falsely represented, he thought it became him to give some account of himself for above twenty years, if it were only to justify his lordship and the city for the honour they were going

going to do him. He related briefly how, merely by his own personal credit, without other assistance, and in two journeys at his expence, he had procured a grant of the first fruits to the clergy, in the late queen's time; for which he thought he deserved some gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the administration of the said ministry, he had been a constant advocate for those who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in *England* and here, and some who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him. He reflected a little upon the severe treatment he had met with upon his return to *Ireland* after her majesty's death, and for some years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service, than by employing all the little moneys he could save, and lending it, without interest, in small sums to poor industrious tradesmen, examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased to bless his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life. The dean related how much he had suffered in his purse, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a most iniquitous judge [b]; who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written

[c] See the Note Vol. X. page 1.

with no worse a design, than to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the said judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind; but they proved so honest, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and send them back nine times, until, at last, they were compelled to leave the printer [d] to the mercy of the court. And the dean was forced to procure a *noli prosequi* from a noble person, then secretary of state, who had been his old friend. The dean then freely confessed himself to be the author of those books called the *Drapier's Letters*, and spoke gently of the proclamation offering 300*l.* to discover the writer. He said, That although a certain person was pleased to mention those books in a slight manner at a public assembly, yet he (the dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thousand to one in the kingdom who differed from that person; and the people of *England*, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in *France*, were all of the same opinion. The dean mentioned several other particulars, some of which, those from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great consequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The dean concluded with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been graven on the box, shewing some reason why the city thought

[d] *Harding.*

fit

fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a person in a private station; those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments [*e*].

[*d*] Arguments of a similar nature were used by Dr. *Swift*, at the time the freedom of *Cork* was presented to him. See Vol. XIV. p. 17.

THOUGHTS

T H O U G H T S

O N

R E L I G I O N.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act sometimes by other mens reason, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reason fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reason.

To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor sense.

You may force men, by interest or punishment, to say or swear they believe, and to act as if they believed: you can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or disturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein some nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time, particular men should be quiet.

To

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. 17

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impossible, and the attempt wicked, whether those opinions be true or false; unless your avowed design be to abolish that religion altogether. So, for instance, in the famous doctrine of *Christ's* divinity, which hath been universally received by all bodies of Christians, since the condemnation of Arianism under *Constantine* and his successors: wherefore the proceedings of the *Socinians* are both vain and unwarrantable; because they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world. *Qui ratione sua disturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the Jews and Heathens without the article of *Christ's* divinity; which, I remember, *Erasmus* accounts for, by its being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now softened by the *Chinese* missionaries, the conversion of those infidels would be less difficult: and we find, by the Alcoran, it is the great stumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find *St. Paul's* allegories, and other figures of *Grecian*

ian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his Works ; but divines of all sorts lessen that mercy too much.

I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cause is just, yet one great motion is my submitting to the pleasure of providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me ; if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from scripture, and less from reason or good policy.

I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution.

Those fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound

bound in honour to turn parsons themselves, and shew us better examples.

Miserable mortals! can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God*? I could wish that expression were struck out of our prayer-books.

Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate: but how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed, where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state; which politicians would see well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which these kingdoms, as well as *France*, *Sweden*, and other countries, are flaming instances. *Cromwell's* notion upon this article was natural and right; when, upon the surrender of a town in *Ireland*, the Popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of conscience,

20 THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

conscience, *Cromwell* said, he meddled with no man's conscience; but if, by liberty of conscience, the governor meant the liberty of the Mass, he had express orders from the parliament of *England* against admitting any such liberty at all.

It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reason were intended by providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER

FURTHER
THOUGHTS
ON
RELIGION.

THE Scripture-system of man's creation is what Christians are bound to believe, and seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason. *Adam* was formed from a piece of clay, and *Eve* from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beasts of the field and birds of the air. As to *Eve*, it doth not appear that her husband was her monarch, only she was to be his help-mate, and placed in some degree of subjection. However, before his fall, the beasts were his most obedient subjects, whom he governed by absolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the course of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; some were able to escape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in *Adam* over his posterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the first was *Nimrod*, the mighty hunter,

22 THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

hunter, who, as *Milton* expresseth it, made men, and not beasts, his prey. For men were easier caught by promises, and subdued by the folly or treachery of their own species. Whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or strength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and some other animals, are strong or valiant, and their species never degenerates in their native soil, except they happen to be enslaved or destroyed by human fraud: but men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverseness, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A PRAYER

A
P R A Y E R
F O R
S T E L L A [f].

ALMIGHTY and most gracious Lord God, extend, we beseech thee, thy pity and compassion towards this thy languishing servant: teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true sense of the emptyness and vanity of all earthly things: make her truly sensible of all the infirmities of her life past, and grant to her such a true sincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preserve her, O Lord, in a sound mind and understanding, during this thy visitation; keep her from both the sad extremes of presumption and despair. If thou shalt please to restore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep those good resolutions she now makes in her sickness, so that no length of times, nor prosperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes distract her mind, and pre-

[e] Two other Prayers, written by Dr. *Swift*, and used for Mrs. *Johnson* in her last sickness, are printed in vol. xii. p. 218, 219, &c.

24 *A PRAYER for STELLA.*

vent the means towards her recovery, or disturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beseech thee also, O Lord, of thy infinite goodness to remember the good actions of this thy servant; that the naked she hath clothed, the hungry she hath fed, the sick and the fatherless whom she hath relieved, may be reckoned according to thy gracious promise, as if they had been done unto thee. Harken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy servant in her behalf, and especially those now made by us unto thee. Give thy blessing to those endeavours used for her recovery; but take from her all violent desire, either of life or death, further than with resignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the sense of this thy servant's weakness may add strength to our faith; that we, considering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it shall please thee to visit us in the like manner. Accept these prayers, we beseech Thee, for the sake of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.

A
S E R M O N

1 COR. iii. 19.

*The wisdom of this world is foolishness with
GOD.*

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flourished to a very great degree, insomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even such who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praise and opinion of the wisdom and virtue of the *Gentile* sages of those days, and likewise of those antient philosophers who went before them, whose doctrines are left upon record either by themselves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be said, that the providence of God brought this about for several very wise ends and purposes. For it is certain that these philosophers had been a long time before searching out where to fix the true happiness of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not possibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their enquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitless; the consequence of which must be,

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not only an acknowledgment of the weakness of all human wisdom, but likewise an open passage hereby made, for letting in those beams of light, which the glorious sunshine of the gospel then brought into the world, by revealing those hidden truths, which they had so long before been labouring to discover, and fixing the general happiness of mankind beyond all controversy and dispute. And therefore the providence of God wisely suffered men of deep genius and learning then to arise, who should search into the truth of the gospel now made known, and canvass its doctrines with all the subtilty and knowledge they were masters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wisdom only which cometh from above. *James* iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further enquiry into the truth of this observation, I doubt not but there is reason to think that a great many of those encomiums given to antient philosophers are taken upon trust, and by a sort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an enquiry that would employ so much time and thinking. For the usual ends why men affect this kind of discourse, appear generally to be either out of ostentation, that they may pass upon the world for persons of great knowledge and observation; or, what is worse, there are some who highly exalt the wisdom of those Gentile sages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more especially that of the Gospel;

pel; for the consequence they would have us draw, is this: That, since those antient philosophers rose to a greater pitch of wisdom and virtue than was ever known among Christians, and all this purely upon the strength of their own reason and liberty of thinking, therefore it must follow, that either all Revelation is false, or, what is worse, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worse than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wisdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low esteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the *Pbarisees* and *Sadducees*, who followed the doctrines of *Plato* and *Epicurus*. *St. Paul* likewise, who was well versed in all the *Grecian* literature, seems very much to despise their philosophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the *Colossians* to *beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit*. And, in another place, he advises *Timothy* to *avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called*; that is, not to introduce into the Christian doctrine the janglings of those vain philosophers; which they would pass upon the world for science. And the reasons he gives are, *first*, That those who professed them did err concerning the faith: *secondly*, Because the knowledge of them did encrease ungodliness, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty sounds; that is, tedious disputes about words, which the phi-

losophers were always so full of, and which were the natural product of disputes and dissensions between several sects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philosophy, as it is manifest from several passages in their writings : so that this vein of affecting to raise the reputation of those sages so high, is a mode and a vice but of yesterday, assumed chiefly, as I have said, to disparage revealed knowledge, and the consequences of it among us.

Now, because this is a prejudice which may prevail with some persons, so far as to lessen the influence of the gospel, and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themselves into the world ; I shall endeavour to shew that their preference of Heathen wisdom and virtue, before that of the Christian, is every way unjust, and grounded upon ignorance or mistake : in order to which, I shall consider four things.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I shall shew, in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly,

Lastly, I shall shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the Heathen wise men were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

My design is to persuade men, that Christian philosophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wisdom; from which, or its professors, I shall however have no occasion to detract. They were as wise and as good as it was possible for them under such disadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with such aids as we enjoy: but our lessons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall short.

The first point I shall mention was that universal defect which was in all their schemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happiness of mankind, nor had any of them a tolerable answer upon this difficulty, to satisfy a reasonable person. For, to say, as the most plausible of them did, that happiness consisted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere sound of words, to amuse others and themselves; because they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did consist; and likewise, because several among the best of them taught quite different things,

tisfaction, to others and themselves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely gross and absurd in their conceptions; and those who made the fairest conjectures are such as were generally allowed by the learned to have seen the system of *Moses*, if I may so call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the Heathen world, as we find by *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Longinus*, and other authors; for the rest, the wisest among them laid aside all notions after a Deity, as a disquisition vain and fruitless, which indeed it was, upon unrevealed principles; and those who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confusion.

Fourthly, Those among them who had the justest conceptions of a Divine Power, and did also admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they trusted in themselves for all things: but, as for a trust or dependence upon God, they would not have understood the phrase; it made no part of the profane style.

Therefore it was, that, in all issues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own sentiments of reason and justice, they were quite disconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverse fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew sullen and severe, or else yielded and sunk like other men.

Having

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy fell short, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the second place, to shew, in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the *Ionic sect*, so celebrated for morality, being asked how a man might bear ill-fortune with greatest ease, answered, "By seeing his enemies in a worse condition." An answer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included such consequences as must destroy all society from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a son, one told him, "You lament in vain;" "Therefore (said he) I lament, because it is in vain." This was a plain confession how imperfect all his philosophy was, and that something was still wanting. He owned that all his wisdom and morals were useless, and this upon one of the most frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to support himself even from *David*, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath instructed his disciples? *Plato* himself, with all his refinements, placed happiness in wisdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all these were perfectly



fectly happy : which opinion was indeed unworthy it's owner, leaving the wise and good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miserable without resource.

His scholar, *Aristotle*, fell more grossly into the same notion ; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not sufficient for happiness, but that a wise man must be miserable in poverty and sickness. Nay, *Diogenes* himself, from whose pride and singularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the most miserable thing in life.

Zeno also and his followers fell into many absurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, instead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men,

Lastly, *Epicurus* had no notion of justice but as it was profitable ; and his placing happiness in pleasure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception : for, although he taught that pleasure did consist in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or ascertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done ; by which means he misled his followers into the greatest vices, making their names to become odious and scandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have

I have produced these few instances from a great many others, to shew the imperfection of Heathen philosophy, wherein I have confined myself wholly to their morality. And surely we may pronounce upon it in the words of St. James, that *This wisdom descended not from above, but was earthly and sensual.* What if I had produced their absurd notions about God and the soul? It would then have compleated the character given it by that Apostle, and appeared to have been devilish too. But it is easy to observe, from the nature of these few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a support by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the third place, to shew the perfection of Christian wisdom from above; and I shall endeavour to make it appear from those proper characters and marks of it by the Apostle before-mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verses.

The words run thus :

This wisdom descendeth not from above; but is earthly, sensual, devilish.

For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.

But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.

The wisdom from above is first pure. This purity of the mind and spirit is peculiar to
the

the gospel. Our Saviour says, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* A mind free from all pollution of lusts shall have a daily vision of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unspotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holiness, and righteousness, far beyond the examples of the most celebrated philosophers.

It is *peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated.* The Christian doctrine teacheth us all those dispositions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any morose leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the composition of most Heathen schemes; so we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's last legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto seventy times seven. Christian wisdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all morals virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely short. *Plato* indeed (and it is worth observing) has somewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the highest strain ever reached by man, without divine assistance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us? *To love them that hate us; to bless them that curse us; and do good to them that despitefully use us.*

Christian wisdom is *without partiality*; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people,

people, but the wole race of mankind : not to the philosophical schemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or sects ; but, in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Lastly, It is *without hypocrisy* : it appears to be what it really is ; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourselves, those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does ; unlike several branches of the Heathen wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts, it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the last place, to shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue, among the *Grecian* sages, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect ; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by ancient moralists were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined ; and the two instances, wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height, were *Socrates* and *Cato*. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all ow-

ing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For *Socrates* himself was of none at all; and, although *Cato* was called a Stoic, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On the other side, as the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Christians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, so they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were such as the same persons, without those aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth most of the apostles, with many thousand martyrs, are a cloud of witnesses beyond exception. Having therefore spoken so largely upon the former heads, I shall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it should here be objected, Why does not Christianity still produce the same effects? it is easy to answer, *First*, that although the number of pretended Christians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never so small; and it is a true lively faith alone, that, by the assistance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly,

Secondly, We may answer, that Christianity itself has very much suffered by being blended up with Gentile philosophy. The Platonic system, first taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for some early heresies in the church. When disputes began to arise, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by *Scotus*, as best fitted for controversy. And, however this may now have become necessary, it was surely the author of a litigious vein, which has since occasioned very pernicious consequences, stopt the progress of Christianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that sentence given by *St. James*, and mentioned before, *Where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work*. This was the fatal stop to the *Grecians*, in their progress both of arts and arms: their wise men were divided under several sects, and their governments under several commonwealths, all in opposition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themselves, while they should have been armed against the common enemy. And I wish we had no other examples from the like causes, less foreign or antient than that. - *Diogenes* said, *Socrates* was a madman; the disciples of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*, nay of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, were engaged in fierce disputes about the most insignificant trifles. And, if this be the present language and practice among us Christians, no wonder that Christianity does not still produce the same effects which it did at first,

when it was received and embraced in its utmost purity and perfection. For such a wisdom as this cannot *descend from above*, but must be *earthly, sensual, devilish; full of confusion and every evil work*: whereas the *wisdom from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy*. This is the true heavenly wisdom, which Christianity only can boast of, and which the greatest of the Heathen wise men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, &c. &c.

U P O N

UPON GIVING
BADGES
TO
THE POOR [g].

THE continual concourse of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom, to this city, having made it impossible for the severall parishes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; severall lord mayors did apply themselves to the lord archbishop of *Dublin*, that his grace would direct his clergy, and the churchwardens of the said city, to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the severall parishes. The badges to be marked with initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

[g] See a Treatise on this subject, Vol. XI. p. 59.
His

42 *On giving* BADGES *to the* POOR.

His grace, the lord archbishop, did accordingly give his directions to the clergy ; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of the said poor ; several of them openly protesting they will never submit to wear the said badges ; and of those who received them, almost every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them on a string about their necks, or fasten them only with a pin, or wear them under their coats, not to be seen. By which means the whole design is eluded ; so that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the public, most of them being foreigners.

It is therefore proposed, That his grace the lord archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put this affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his grace and they shall agree upon. And, I think, it would be highly necessary, that some paper should be pasted up, in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own parishes. And, if something like this were delivered by the ministers, in the reading-desk, two or three Lord's days successively,
it

On giving BADGES to the POOR. 43

it would still be of further use to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

Deanry-house,
Sept. 26, 1726.

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CONSIDER-

CONSIDERATIONS
ABOUT
MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amused, for at least thirty years past, with numberless schemes in writing and discourse, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and setting them to work, especially in this city; most of which were idle, indigested, or visionary, and all of them ineffectual, as it hath plainly appeared by the consequences. Many of those projectors were so stupid, that they drew a parallel from *Holland* and *England*, to be settled in *Ireland*; that is to say, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the most beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of false and foolish reasoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, seems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much conversed with those folks who call themselves merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very first rudiments of trade; which, however, was not so much owing to
their

CONSIDERATIONS, &c. 45

their want of capacity, as to the crazy constitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive than the wisest merchants. I could fill a volume with only setting down a list of the public absurdities, by which this kingdom hath suffered within the compass of my own memory, such as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not established as a law. I cannot forbear instancing a few of these, because it may be of some use to those who shall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The first was the building of the barracks, whereof I have seen above one half, and have heard enough of the rest, to affirm that the public hath been cheated of at least two thirds of the money raised for that use by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raised for the *Palatines*; when, instead of employing that great sum in purchasing lands in some remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting those people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is the insurance office against fire, by which several thousand pounds are yearly remitted to *England* (a trifle, it seems, we can easily spare), and will gradually encrease until it comes to a good national tax. For the society-marks upon our houses (under which might properly be written, *The Lord have mercy upon us*) spread faster and

farther than the [*b*] colony of frogs. I have, for above twenty years past, given warning several thousand times, to many substantial people, and to such who are acquainted with lords and squires, and the like great folks (to any of whom I have not the honour to be known): I mentioned my daily fears, lest our watchful friends in *England* might take this business out of our hands; and how easy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a society of persons who had good estates, such, for instance, as that noble knot of bankers under the style of *Swift and Company*. But now we are become tributary to *England*, not only for materials

[*b*] This similitude, which is certainly the finest that could possibly have been used upon this occasion, seems to require a short explication. About the beginning of this current century, Dr. *Gwythers*, a physician and Fellow of the University of *Dublin*, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from *England* to *Ireland*, in order to propagate the species in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the University park; but they all perished. Whereupon he sent to *England* for some bottles of the frog-spawn, which he threw into those ditches, by which means the species of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was so small in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be seen in *Ireland*, except in the neighbourhood of the *University-park*: but, within six or seven years after, they spread thirty, forty, and fifty miles over the country; and so at last, by degrees, over the whole nation.

to light our own fires ; but for engines to put them out ; to which, if hearth-money be added (repealed in *England* as a grievance), we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of those merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both ; when, upon occasion of the plague at *Marseilles*, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with *Spain* ; but the commodity was so bad, and held at so high a rate, that almost the whole cargo was returned, and the small remainder sold below the prime cost.

So many other particulars of the same nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to stop ; and the rather because they are not very proper for my subject, to which I shall now return.

Among all the schemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and setting them to work, the least weight hath been laid upon that single point which is of greatest importance ; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from swarming hither-out of every part of the country ; for, until this be brought to pass effectually, all our wise reasonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to so small a number of people, is owing to many reasons : to the laziness of the natives ; the want of work to employ them ; the enormous

mous rents paid by cottagers for their miserable cabbins and potatoe-plots ; their early marriages, without the least prospect of establishment ; the ruin of agriculture, whereby such vast numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchase it ; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade, and many other circumstances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the same causes we owe the perpetual concourse of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all assistance, except money and victuals, to drive from their estates those miserable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint against the poor-house, under its former governors, that the number of poor in this city did not lessen by taking three hundred into the house, and all of them recommended under the minister and church-warden's hands of the several parishes ; and this complaint must still continue, although the poor-house should be enlarged to maintain three thousand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-house, as it is now established, amount to about two thousand pounds a year ; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers, and one hundred for repairs, the remaining seventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will support four hundred and twenty-five persons. This is a favourable allowance, considering that I subtract nothing

4 for

MAINTAINING *the* POOR. 49

for the diet of those officers, and for wear and tear of furniture ; and, if every one of these collegiates should be set to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the same time the oratorical part of these gentlemen seldom vouchsafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred, or two thousand people, to be maintained in this hospital, without troubling their heads about the fund, * *

* * * * *

T O H I S G R A C E
W I L L I A M,
L O R D A R C H B I S H O P o f D U B L I N, &c.

The humble Representation of the CLERGY
of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD,

Jan. 1724.

YOUR grace having been pleased to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters-patents, for the relief of one *Charles M^cCarthy*, whose house in *College-green, Dublin*, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having desired us to consider of the said brief, and give our opinions thereof to your grace;

We the clergy of the city of *Dublin*, in compliance with your grace's desire, and with great acknowledgments for your paternal tenderness towards us, having maturely considered the said brief by letters patents, compared the several parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubric (which is confirmed by act of parliament), and consulted persons skilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourselves and of the rest of our brethren, the clergy of the diocese of *Dublin*, most humbly represent to your grace:

First, That, by this brief, your grace is required and commanded, to recommend and

REPRESENTATION of the CLERGY. 51

command all the parsons, vicars, &c. to advance so great an act of charity.

We shall not presume to determine how far your grace may be commanded by the said brief; but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your diocese cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your grace to advance the said act of charity, any other ways than by reading the said brief in our several churches, as prescribed by the rubric.

Secondly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, that the parson, vicars, &c. upon the first Lord's-day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the said brief, shall, deliberately and affectionately, publish and declare the tenor thereof to his majesty's subjects, and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir them up to contribute freely and cheerfully towards the relief of the said sufferer;

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or some solemn days legally appointed; neither is it possible for the strongest constitution among us to obey this command (which includes no less than a whole sermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every house where the parishes are very populous, consisting sometimes here in town of 900 or 1000 houses, would take up the space of a year, although we should preach in two families every day; and almost as much
time

time in the country, where the parishes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that these exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the discretion of the clergy, to chuse what subjects they think most proper to preach on, and at what times; and, if they preach either false doctrines or seditious principles, they are liable to be punished.

It may possibly happen that the sufferer recommended may be a person not deserving the favour intended by the brief; in which case no minister, who knows the sufferer to be an undeserving person, can with a safe conscience deliberately and affectionately publish the brief, much less earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of such a sufferer [b].

Thirdly, Whereas, in the said brief, the ministers and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from house to house, with their church-wardens, to ask and receive from all persons the said charity: we cannot

[b] This *M'Cartby's* house was burnt in the month of *August* 1723, and the universal opinion of mankind was, that *M'Cartby* himself was the person who set fire to the house.

but

but observe here, that the said ministers are directly made collectors of the said charity in conjunction with the church-wardens; which however, we presume, was not intended, as being against all law and precedent: and therefore, we apprehend, there may be some inconsistency, which leaves us at a loss how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the ministers and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure some other of the chief inhabitants to do the same. And, in a following paragraph, the whole work seems left intirely to the church-wardens, who are required to use their utmost diligence to gather and collect the said charity, and to pay the same, in ten days after, to the parson, vicar, &c.

In answer to this, we do represent to your grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our church-wardens can be legally commanded or required to go from house to house to receive the said charity; because your grace hath informed us in your order, at your visitation *An. Dom.* 1712, that neither we nor our church-wardens are bound to make any collections for the poor, save in the church; which also appears plainly by the rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your grace hath observed in your said order.

We do likewise assure your grace, that it is not in our power to procure some of the chief inhabitants of our parishes to accompany the
church-

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church-wardens from house to house in these collections: and we have reason to believe, that such a proposal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land), would be received in a manner very little to our own satisfaction, or to the advantage of the said collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the bishops, and all other dignitaries of the church, that they make their contributions distinctly, to be returned in the several provinces to the several archbishops of the same.

Upon which we take leave to observe, that the terms of expression here are of the strongest kind, and in a point that may subject the said dignitaries (for we shall say nothing of the bishops) to great inconveniencies.

The said dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions distinctly; by which it should seem that they are absolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *distinctly* is but a circumstance), and may be understood not very agreeable to a voluntary, cheerful contribution. And therefore, if any bishop or dignitary should refuse to make his contribution (perhaps for very good reasons), he may be thought to incur the crime of disobedience to his majesty, which all good subjects abhor, when such a command is according to law.

{Most

Most dignities of this kingdom consist only of parochial tythes, and the dignitaries are ministers of parishes. A doubt may therefore arise, whether the said dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, distinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parsons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the poorest kind of benefices; and it should seem hard to put poor dignitaries under the necessity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of exposing themselves to the censure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what our right hand doth*; which cannot well consist with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power, where no law is prescribed, to publish our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is said, in the said brief, that the parson, vicar, &c. of every parish, shall, in six days after the receipt of the said charity, return it to his respective chancellor, &c. This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the said parson, in remote and desolate parts of the country, where often an honest messenger (if such a one can be got) must be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably cost more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge,

56 *The* REPRESENTATION *of*

charge, if briefs should happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We observe in the said brief, that the provost and fellows of the university, judges, officers of the courts, and professors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions; but that so good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his majesty's subjects are equally obliged, with or without his majesty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their ecclesiastical capacity, are only liable to such commands as the rubric, or any other law shall enjoin, being born to the same privileges of freedom with the rest of his majesty's subjects.

We cannot but observe to your grace that, in the *English* act of the fourth year of queen *Anne*, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters patent, &c. the ministers are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from house to house with the church-wardens, nor to send the money collected to their respective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the sufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom shall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardships in this case than their brethren in *England*, where the legislature, intending to
prevent

prevent the abuses in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of those difficulties we now complain of, in the present brief by letters patent, for the relief of *Charles M'Carthy* aforesaid.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal support of our own numerous poor in our several parishes; and therefore every single brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, must deprive several thousands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the sake only of one person, who often becomes a sufferer by his own folly or negligence, and is sure to overvalue his losses double or treble: so that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the present brief should succeed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two persons, whereof not one in ten is deserving, and for the interest of a dozen dextrous clerks and secretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to starve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the lord primate, in preparing the report of his grace's opinion, nor those of the great-seal, in passing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a considerable sum: and thus the good intentions of well-disposed people are in a great measure disappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Lastly,

58 *The* REPRESENTATION &c.

Lastly, We cannot but represent to your grace our great concern and grief, to see the pains and labour of our church-wardens so much encreased, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great disadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loss of time, to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-house, which they bear with great unwillingness; and, if they shall find themselves further laden with such briefs as this of *M'Carthy*, it will prove so great a discouragement, that we shall never be able to provide honest and sufficient persons for that weighty office of church-warden, so necessary to the laity as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of parishes.

Upon all these considerations, we humbly hope that your grace, of whose fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderneſs, we have had so many and great instances, will represent our case to his most excellent majesty, or the chief governor in this kingdom, in such a manner, that we may be neither under the necessity of declining his majesty's commands in his letters patent, or of taking new and grievous burthens upon ourselves and our church-wardens, to which neither the rubric nor any other law in force obliges us to submit.

A N
A N S W E R
T O
B I C K E E R S T A F F.

Some reflexions upon Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions for the Year MDCCVIII [i].

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I HAVE not observed, for some years past, any insignificant paper to have made more noise, or be more greedily bought, than that of these predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amusement for the better sort, and a jest only to the wise: yet, among these last, I have heard some very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himself. Whoever he was, he seems to have with great art adjusted his paper both to please the rabble and to entertain persons of condition. The writer is, without question, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece seems hastily written in a sudden frolic, with the scornful thought of the pleasure he will have,

[i] See Vol. III.

in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: nor do I doubt but he, and his friends in the secret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thousand fools they have already made. And he has them fast for some time: for so they are like to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great question whether the miscarriage of the two or three first will so entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accomplishment of the rest. I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and hour. And these I take to be Mr. *Bickerstaff's* choicest cullies, for whose sake chiefly he writ his amusement. Meanwhile he has seven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in suspense; for it is so long before the almanac-maker is to die, which is the first prediction: and, if that fellow happens to be a splenetic visionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophesy may punctually come to pass by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-used by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a slow poison into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earnest to languish and decay, by the mere strength
of

of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before the jest went too far. The like effect upon *Partridge* would wonderfully raise Mr. *Bickerstaff's* reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from *France* whether the cardinal *De Noailles* were dead or alive upon the fourth of *April*, which is the second of his predictions.

For a piece so carelessly written, the observations upon astrology are reasonable and pertinent, the remarks just; and, as the paper is partly designed, in my opinion, for a satire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, so it is no more than what we all of us deserve. And, since we must be teased with perpetual hawkers of *strange and wonderful* things, I am glad to see a man of sense find leisure and humour to take up the trade for his own and our diversion. To speak in the town-phrase, it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jest, and may be satisfied.

I very much approve the serious air he gives himself in his introduction and conclusion, which has gone far to give some people of no mean rank an opinion that the author believes himself. He tells us, "He places
 " the whole credit of his art on the truth
 " of these predictions, and will be content
 " to be hooted by *Partridge* and the rest for
 " a cheat, if he fails in any one particular;" with several other strains of the same kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is

E

very

very indifferent whether *Isaac Bickerstaff* be a mark of infamy or not. But it seems, although he has joined an odd surname to no very common Christian one, that in this large town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no small mortification to this gentleman astrologer, as well as his book-feller, to find their piece, which they sent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately seized on by three or four interloping printers of *Grub-street*, the title stuffed with an abstract of the whole matter, together with the standard epithets of *strange and wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior class, with the concluding cadence of *A halfpenny apiece*. But *sic cecidit Phaeton*: and, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the same fate: to-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys and wenches in straw-hats*, and I must an hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to sale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worse, my acquaintance in the coffee-house will ask me whether I have seen the *Answer to 'squire Bickerstaff's predictions*, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: and how to keep a man's countenance in such a juncture is no easy point of conduct. When, in this case, you see a man shy either in praising or condemning, ready

to turn off the discourse to another subject, standing as little in the light as he can to hide his blushing, pretending to sneeze or take snuff, or go off as if sudden business called him; then ply him close, observe his looks narrowly, see whether his speech be constrained or affected, then charge him suddenly, or whisper and smile, and you will soon discover whether he be guilty. Although this seem not to the purpose I am discoursing on, yet I think it to be so; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of *Bickerstaff's Predictions*, and did not meet with him some days ago in a coffee-house at *Covent-Garden*.

As to the matter of the Predictions themselves, I shall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. *Partridge* to take them into his consideration, and lay as many errors in astrology as possible to Mr. *Bickerstaff's* account. He may justly, I think, challenge the 'squire to publish the calculation he has made of *Partridge's* nativity, by the credit of which he so determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. *Bickerstaff* can do no less, in honour, than give Mr. *Partridge* the same advantage of calculating *his*, by sending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars necessary for such a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the dispute, and take part on each side according as they are inclined.

I should likewise advise Mr. *Partridge* to enquire, why Mr. *Bickerstaff* does not so much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publishing his paper. This looks a little suspicious, as if he were desirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could, else it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of *March*; which is not so fair dealing as we have, even from Mr. *Partridge* and his brethren, who give us their predictions (such as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one passage in Mr. *Bickerstaff's* paper that seems to be as high a strain of assurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of *June* which relates to the *French* prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly disperse, by seeing the time come wherein their prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reason, "his wonder how any deceiver can be so weak, to foretel things near at hand, when a very few months must discover the imposture to all the world." This is spoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedness, as if he would have us think himself to be not under the least apprehension, that the same in two months will be his own case. With respect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of so refined and
pleasant

pleasant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not resent as uncivil word, because I am sure I enter into his taste, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deserves a reprimand for writing with so much scorn and contempt for the understandings of the majority.

For the month of *July*, he tells us of “a general, who, by a glorious action, will recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes.” This is commonly understood to be lord *Galloway*; who, if he be already dead, as some news-papers have it, Mr. *Bickerstaff* has made a trip. But this I do not much insist on; for it is hard if another general cannot be found under the same circumstances, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The *French* king's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at *Marli*, where he never goes at that season of the year, as I observed myself during three years I passed in that kingdom: and, discoursing some months ago with monsieur *Tallard*, about the *French* court, I find that king never goes to *Marli* for any time, but about the season of hunting there, which is not till *August*. So that here was an unlucky slip of Mr. *Bickerstaff*, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with resuming his promise, of publishing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other astrologers need not be in very much pain. I suppose we

shall have them much about the same time with *The General History of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and, though I am no astrologer, may venture to prophesy that *Isaac Bickerstaff*, Esq; is now dead, and died just at the time his predictions were ready for the press: that he dropt out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps descend a second time, when he has some new, agreeable, or amusing whimsey to pass upon the town; wherein, it is very probable, he will succeed as often as he is disposed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preserve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's understandings, and is resolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

H I N T S

O N

GOOD MANNERS [k].

GOOD Manners is the art of making every reasonable person in the company easy, and to be easy ourselves.

What passeth for good-manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many persons of both sexes, whom I have known, and who passed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the most troublesome in company to others and themselves.

Nothing is so great an instance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you please none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the rest.

Flattery is the worst, and falsest way of shewing our esteem.

Where company meets, I am confident the few reasonable persons are every minute tempted to curse the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be most distinguished for their good-manners.

[k] See Vol. XIV. p. 212.

A man

A man of sense would rather fast till night, than dine at some tables, where the lady of the house is possessed with good-manners; uneasiness, pressing to eat, teasing with civility; less practised in *England* than here.

Courts are the worst of all schools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dress, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good understanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occasion.

To speak in such a manner as may possibly offend any reasonable person in company, is the highest instance of ill-manners.

Good-manners chiefly consist in action, not in words. Modesty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of *England* under four reigns, the two last but for a short time; and, whatever good-manners or politeness I observed in any of them, was not of the court-growth, but imported. For a courtier by trade, as gentlemen ushers, bed-chamber women, maids of honour, * * *

* * * * *

Of good manners as to conversation.

Men of wit and good understanding, as well as breeding, are sometimes deceived, and give offence by conceiving a better opinion of those with whom they converse than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the most innocent raillery, and even of that
kind

kind which was meant for praise; to be mistaken for abuse and reflexion.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to suffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long talkers, who are absent in company, interrupters, not listeners, loud laughers.

Of those men and women whose face is ever in a smile, talk ever with a smile, condole with a smile, &c.

Argument, as usually managed, is the worst sort of conversation; as it is generally in books, the worst sort of reading.

Good conversation is not to be expected in much company, because few listen, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are discovered, let the company be ever so large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of conversation. It is done to support a character: It generally fails: it is a sort of insult on the company, and a constraint upon the speaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or business, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners. Divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakness. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * * * *

* * * * *

RESOLUTIONS
WHEN
I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in the Year MDCXCIX.

- N**O T to marry a young woman.
Not to keep young company, unless they really desire it.
Not to be peevish, or morose, or suspicious.
Not to scorn present ways, or wits, or fashions, or men, or war, &c.
Not to be fond of children.
Not to tell the same story over and over to the same people.
Not to be covetous.
Not to neglect decency or cleanliness, for fear of falling into nastiness.
Not to be over severe with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weaknesses.
Not to be influenced by, or give ear to, knavish tattling servants, or others.
Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but those who desire it.
To desire some good friends to inform me which of these resolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.
Not

RESOLUTIONS *for* AGE. 71

Not to talk much, nor of myself.

Not to boast of my former beauty, or strength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hereditatem captant, odisse ac vitare.*

Not to be positive or opiniative.

Not to set up for observing all these rules, for fear I should observe none.

L A W S

L A W S

FOR THE

DEAN'S SERVANTS.

DECEMBER 7th, 1733.

IF either of the two men servants be drunk, he shall pay an *English* crown out of his wages for the said offence, by giving the dean a receipt for so much wages received.

When the dean is at home, no servant shall presume to be absent, without giving notice to the dean, and asking leave, upon the forfeiture of sixpence for every half-hour that he is absent, to be stopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean is abroad, no servant, except the woman, shall presume to leave the house for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's absence he shall forfeit sixpence: and, if the other servant goes out before the first returns, he shall pay five shillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever servant shall be taken in a manifest lie, shall forfeit one shilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean goes about the house, or out-houses, or garden, or to *Naboth's Vineyard*, whatever things he finds out of order,
by

LAWS FOR THE DEAN'S SERVANTS. 73

by neglect of any servant under whose care it was, that servant shall forfeit sixpence, and see to get it mended as soon as possible, or suffer more forfeitures at the dean's discretion.

If two servants be abroad together when the dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the dean, the concealer shall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two servants be out of the room together, without orders, the last who went out shall forfeit threepence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the same penalty with the men; but provided the two men-servants keep the house until she returns: otherwise, either of the servants, who goes out before her return, shall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the dean shall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his servants, and forfeitures for neglect or disobedience, all the servants shall be bound to submit to.

Whatever other servant, except the woman, shall presume to be drunk, the other two servants shall inform the dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, besides the forfeiture of a crown from the said servant who was drunk.

A
Q U A K E R's
LETTER from PHILADELPHIA,
T O
JONATHAN SWIFT, IN DUBLIN.

Chilad, March 29, 1729.

Friend Jonathan Swift,

HAVING been often greatly amused by thy Tale, &c. &c. and being now loading a small ship for *Dublin*, I have sent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of *America*; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, since it is only designed to let thee know that thy wit and parts are here in esteem at this distance from the place of thy residence. Thee need ask no questions who this comes from, since I am a perfect stranger to thee.

CHARAC-

C H A R A C T E R

O F

MRS. H * * * * D.

Written in the Year 1727.

I SHALL say nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all persons, who can judge of either, when they hear or see her. Besides, beauty being transient, and a trifle, cannot justly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, because it will be of no use in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither shall I relate any part of her history; further than, that she went, in the prime of her youth, to the court of *Hanover* with her husband, and became of the bed-chamber to the present princess of *Wales*, living in expectation of the Queen's [k] death: upon which event she came over with her mistress, and hath ever since continued in her service; where, from the attendance daily paid her by the ministers, and all expectants, she is reckoned much the greatest favourite of the court at *Leicester-house*: a situation which she hath long affected to desire that it might not be believed.

[k] Queen *Anne*.

F 2

There

There is no politician, who more carefully watches the motions and dispositions of things and persons at *St. James's*, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the present posture of a court, or more early foresee what style may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof she can gather early intelligence without asking it, and often when even those from whom she hath it, are not sensible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her sagacity. Sir *Robert Walpole* and she both think they understand each other, and are both equally mistaken.

With persons where she is to manage, she is very dextrous in that point of skill which the French call *tâter le pavé*; with others she is a great vindicator of all present proceedings, but in such a manner, as if she were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwise. And the danger is, that she may come in time to believe herself; which, under a change of princes and a great addition of credit, might have bad consequences. She is a most unconscionable dealer; for, in return of a few good words, which she gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, she gets ten thousand from them behind her back, which are of real service to her character. The credit she hath is managed with the utmost thrift; and, whenever she employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon such occasions where

where she is sure to get much more than she spends. For instance, she would readily press for *Robert Walpole* to do some favour for colonel *Churchill*, or *Doddington*; the prince, for a mark of grace to Mr. *Schutz*; and the princess, to be kind to Mrs. *Clayton*. She sometimes falls into the general mistake of all courtiers, which is that of not suiting her talents to the abilities of others, but thinking those she deals with to have less art than they really possess; so that she may possibly be deceived, when she thinks she deceiveth.

In all offices of life, except those of a courtier, she acts with justice, generosity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private person; and I would almost think in charity that she will not do harm as a courtier, unless to please those in chief power.

In religion she is at least a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the free-thinkers; and herein she is the more blameable, because she hath too much morality to stand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to salvation. I speak this of her as a private lady, not as a court-favourite; for, in the latter capacity, she can shew neither faith nor works.

If she had never seen a court, it is not impossible that she might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words and expressions of good wishes, and will concert a hundred

78 CHARACTER of Mrs. H****D.

dred schemes for the service of those whom she would be thought to favour: schemes that sometimes arise from them, and sometimes from herself; although, at the same time, she very well knows them to be without the least probability of succeeding. But, to do her justice, she never feeds or deceives any person with promises, where she doth not at the same time intend a degree of sincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments, who have nothing to desire or expect.

What part she may act hereafter in a larger sphere, as lady of the bed-chamber to a great Q—n (upon supposing the death of his present majesty [1], and of the earl of *Suffolk*, to whose title her husband succeeds) and in high esteem with a K—g, neither she nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will spread, enlarge, and multiply to such a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like cloaths in a chest) to be used and put on, whenever satiety, or some reverse of fortune, or encrease of ill health (to which last she is subject), shall dispose her to retire. In the mean time, it will be her wisdom to take care that they may not be tarnished or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at least once a year.

[1] *George the First.*

CHARACTER

OF

DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

Written in the Year 1738.

DOCTOR THOMAS SHERIDAN died at *Rathfarnam*, the tenth of *October* 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: his diseases were a dropsy and asthma. He was doubtless the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms, or perhaps in *Europe*; and as great a master of the *Greek* and *Roman* languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His *English* verses were full of wit and humour, but neither his prose nor verse sufficiently correct: however, he would readily submit to any friend who had a true taste in prose or verse. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in several volumes, of stories, humorous, witty, wise, or some way useful, gathered from a vast number of *Greek*, *Roman*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French*, and *English* writers. I believe I may have seen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But among these extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five in six, at least, were of little use or entertainment. He was

80 CHARACTER of DR. SHERIDAN.

(as it is frequently the case in men of wit and learning) what the *French* call a *Dupe*, and in a very high degree. The greatest dunce of a tradesman could impose upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief shining quality was that of a school-master; here he shone in his proper element. He had so much skill and practice in the physiognomy of boys, that he rarely mistook at the first view. His scholars loved and feared him. He often rather chose to shame the stupid, but punish the idle, and exposed them to all the lads, which was more severe than lashing. Among the gentlemen in this kingdom who have any share of education, the scholars of *Dr. Sheridan* infinitely excel, in number and knowledge, all their brethren sent from other schools.

To look on the doctor in some other lights, he was in many things very indiscreet, to say no worse. He acted like too many clergymen, who are in haste to be married when very young; and from hence proceeded all the miseries of his life. The portion he got proved to be just the reverse of 500*l.* for he was poorer by a thousand: so many incumbrances of a mother-in-law, and poor relations, whom he was forced to support for many years. Instead of breeding up his daughters to housewifery and plain cloaths, he got them, at a great expence, to be clad like ladies who had plentiful fortunes; made them only learn to sing and dance, to draw and design, to give them rich silks, and other fopperies; and his

his two eldest were married, without his consent, to young lads who had nothing to settle on them. However, he had one son, whom the doctor sent to *Westminster-school*, although he could ill afford it. The boy was there immediately taken notice of, upon examination; although a mere stranger, he was by pure merit elected a king's scholar. It is true their maintenance falls something short: the doctor was then so poor, that he could not add fourteen pounds, to enable the boy to finish the year; which, if he had done, he would have been removed to a higher class, and, in another year, would have been sped off (that is the phrase) to a fellowship in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*: but the doctor was forced to recal him to *Dublin*, and had friends in our university to send him there, where he hath been chosen of the foundation; and, I think, hath gotten an exhibition, and designs to stand for a fellowship.

The doctor had a good church-living, in the south parts of *Ireland*, given him by lord *Carteret*; who, being very learned himself, encourageth it in others. A friend of the doctor's prevailed on his excellency to grant it. The living was well worth 150*l.* *per annum*. He changed it very soon for that of *Dunboyn*; which, by the knavery of the farmers and power of the gentlemen, fell so very low, that he could never get 80*l.* He then changed that living for the free-school of *Cavan*, where he might have lived well, in so cheap a country, on 80*l.* salary *per annum*,

82 CHARACTER *of* DR. SHERIDAN.

besides his scholars : but the air, he said, was too moist and unwholesome, and he could not bear the company of some persons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he sold the school for about 400*l.* spent the money, grew into diseases, and died.

It would be very honourable, as well as just, in those many persons of quality and fortune, who had the advantage of being educated under doctor *Sheridan*, if they would please to erect some decent monument over his body, in the church where it is deposited.

THE

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SECOND SOLOMON [m].

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

HE became acquainted with a person distinguished for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent station, who treated him with great kindness on all occasions, and he became familiar in this person's house [n]. In three months time, *Solomon*, without the least provocation, writ a long poem, describing that person's muse to be dead, and making a funeral solemnity with asses, owls, &c. and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a most deserving lady, an intimate friend of the above person [o], who entertained him also as she would a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice, in the most decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, she was like other women, as bad as she was, and that

[m] Dr. *Sheridan*. [n] Dean *Swift*. [o] *Stella*.

they were all alike : although his wife be, in every regard except gallantry (which no creature would attempt), the most disagreeable beast in *Europe*.

He lets his wife (whom he pretends to hate as she deserves) govern, insult, and ruin him, as she pleases. Her character is this : her person is detestably disagreeable ; a most filthy slut ; lazy, and slothful, and luxurious, ill-natured, envious, suspicious ; a scold, expensive on herself, covetous to others : she takes thieves and whores, for cheapness, to be her servants, and turns them off every week : positive, insolent, an ignorant, prating, overweening fool ; a lover of the dirtiest, meanest company : an abominable tatler, affecting to be jealous of her husband with ladies of the best rank and merit, and merely out of affectation for perfect vanity.

Solomon has no ill-design upon any person but himself, and he is the greatest deceiver of himself on all occasions.

His thoughts are sudden, and the most unreasonable always comes uppermost ; and he constantly resolves and acts upon his first thoughts, and then asks advice, but never once before.

The person above-mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the lord lieutenant : upon going down to take possession, *Solomon* preached, at *Cork*, a sermon on king *George's* birth-day, on this text,

text, *Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.* *Solomon*, having been famous for a high Tory, and suspected as a Jacobite, it was a most difficult thing to get any thing for him : but that person, being an old friend of lord *Carteret*, prevailed against all *Solomon's* enemies, and got him made likewise one of his excellency's chaplains. But, upon this sermon, he was struck out of his list, and forbid the Castle, until that same person brought him again to the lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy sprung in *Solomon's* head, that a house near *Dublin* would be commodious for him and his boarders, to lodge in on *Saturdays* and *Sundays* : immediately, without consulting with any creature, he takes a lease of a rotten house at *Rathfarnam*, the worst air in *Ireland*, for 999 years, at twelve pounds a year ; the land, which was only a strip of ground, not being worth twenty shillings a year. When the same person whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged *Solomon* to get a clause of surrender, and at last prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years ; because it was a madness to pay eleven pounds a year, for a thousand years, for a house that could not last twenty. But *Solomon* made an agreement with his landlady, that he should be at liberty to surrender his lease in seven years ; and, if he did not do it at that time, should be obliged to keep it for 999 years. In the mean time, he expends about one hundred pounds on the
the

the house and garden-wall ; and in less than three years, contracts such a hatred to the house, that he lets it run to ruin : so that, when the seven years are expired, he must either take it for the remainder of the 999 years, or be sued for waste, and lose all the money he laid out : and now he pays twelve pounds a year for a place he never sees.

Solomon has an estate of about thirty-five pounds *per annum*, in the county of *Cavan* ; upon which, instead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pound *per annum*, in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a bishop's lease : he is bound by articles to his lordship to renew and pay a fine, whenever the bishop renews with his landlord, and to raise his rent as the landlord shall raise it to the bishop. Seven years expire : *Solomon's* landlord demands a fine, which he readily pays ; then asks for a lease : the landlord says, he may have it at any time. He never gets it. Another seven years elapse : *Solomon's* landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent : *Solomon* pays bot' ; asks to have his lease renewed : the steward answers, he will speak to his master. Seventeen years are elapsed : the landlord sends *Solomon* word that his lease is forfeited, because he hath not renewed and paid his fines according to articles ; and now they are at law upon this admirable case.

It

It is *Solomon's* great happiness, that, when he acts in the common concerns of life against common sense and reason, he values himself thereupon as if it were the mark of a great genius, above little regards or arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to descend into the knowledge of vulgar management; and you cannot pay him a greater compliment than by telling instances to the company, before his face, how careless he was in any affair that related to his interest and fortune.

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to resent as an affront and indignity what was never intended for either.

He is allured as easily by every new acquaintance, especially among women, as a child is by a new play-thing, and is led at will by them to suspect and quarrel with his best friends, of whom he hath lost the greatest part, for want of that indulgency which they ought to allow for his failings.

He is a generous, honest, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and discretion, makes him act as if he were neither generous, honest, nor good-natured.

The person above-mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes his preferment, being in the country and out of order; *Solomon* had appointed to come for him with a chaise, and bring him to town. *Solomon* sent him word that he was to set out on *Monday*, and did accordingly, but to another part of the kingdom, thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady

lady who was going that way ; there staid, with her and her family, a month, then sent the chaise, in the midst of winter, to bring the said person, where *Solomon* would meet him, declaring he could not venture himself for fear of the frost : and, upon the said person's refusing to go in the chaise alone, or to trust to *Solomon's* appointment, and being in ill health, *Solomon* fell into a formal quarrel with that person, and foully misrepresented the whole affair, to justify himself.

Solomon had published a humourous ballad, called *Balyspellin* [p], whither he had gone to drink the waters, with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr. *Gay's* on *Molly Mogg*, pretending to contain all the rhymes of *Balyspellin*. His friend, the person so often mentioned, being at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, and merry over *Solomon's* ballad, they agreed to make another, in dispraise of *Balyspellin-wells*, which *Solomon* had celebrated, and with all new rhymes not made use of in *Solomon's* [q]. The thing was done, and all in a mere jest and innocent merriment. Yet *Solomon* was prevailed upon, by the lady he went with, to resent this as an affront on her and himself ; which he did accordingly, against all the rules of reason, taste, good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners.

[p] See Vol. XIV. p. 227. [q] Ibid. p. 231.

He will invite six or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, some of them living five or six miles from town. On the day appointed, he will be absent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back disappointed: when he is told of this, he is pleased, because it shews him to be a genius and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite, upon the present queen's birth-day he writ a song, to be performed before the government and those who attended them, in praise of the queen and the king, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of *England*, and all other virtues, wherein the king and the royal children were sharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics. A young collegian, who had done the same job the year before, got some reputation on the account of his wit: *Solomon* would needs vie with him, by which he lost all the esteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the least interest with the Whigs; for they are now too strong to want advocates of that kind: and therefore one of the lords justices, reading the verses in some company, said, "Ah! Doctor, this shall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living soul, and as he himself confesseth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong, in an hundred instances, leaves him as positive

tive in the next instance as if he had never been mistaken in his life : and if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the last, he hath another instance ready, wherein he is as positive as he was the day before.



ON

ON
THE DEATH
OF

Mrs. JOHNSON [STELLA].

THIS day, being *Sunday January 28th* 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a servant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend, that I or perhaps any other person was ever blessed with. She expired about six in the evening of this day; and, as soon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I resolve, for my own satisfaction, to say something of her life and character.

She was born at *Richmond in Surrey*, on the thirteenth day of *March*, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in *Nottinghamshire*, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed she had little to boast of her birth. I knew her from six years old, and had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read, and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen; but then grew
into

into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in *London*, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family, where she contracted an intimate friendship with another lady of more advanced years. I was then (to my mortification) settled in *Ireland*; and, about a year after, going to visit my friends in *England*, I found she was a little uneasy upon the death of a person on whom she had some dependance. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the interest of which was but a scanty maintenance, in so dear a country, for one of her spirit. Upon this consideration, and indeed very much for my own satisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in *Ireland*, I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion [r], the other lady, to draw what money they had into *Ireland*, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at ten *per cent.* in *Ireland*, besides the advantage of returning it, and all necessaries of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and soon after came over; but, I happening to continue some time longer in *England*, they were much discouraged to live in *Dublin*, where they were wholly strangers. She was at that time about

[r] *Mrs. Dingley.*

On Mrs. JOHNSON'S DEATH. 93

nineteen years old, and her person was soon distinguished. But the adventure looked so like a frolic, the censure held, for some time, as if there were a secret history in such a removal; which, however, soon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend on the _____ in the year 170—; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For some years past, she had been visited with continual ill-health; and several times, within these last two years, her life was despaired of. But, for this twelve-month past, she never had a day's health; and, properly speaking, she hath been dying six months, but kept alive, almost against nature, by the generous kindness of two physicians, and the care of her friends.—Thus far I writ the same night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or more improved them by reading and conversation. Yet her memory was not of the best, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of persons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the best, and with the greatest freedom, mixt with the greatest decency. She had a gracefulness somewhat more than human in every motion, word, and action. Never was so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness, and sincerity. There seemed to be a combination
among

among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank: yet people of all sorts were never more easy than in her company. Mr. *Addison*, when he was in *Ireland*, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not soon after left the kingdom, assured me he would have used all endeavours to cultivate her friendship. A rude or conceited coxcomb passed his time very ill, upon the least breach of respect; for, in such a case, she had no mercy, but was sure to expose him to the contempt of the standers-by; yet in such a manner as he was ashamed to complain, and durst not resent. All of us, who had the happiness of her friendship, agreed unanimously, that, in an afternoon or evening's conversation, she never failed, before we parted, of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the *French* call *Bon Mots*, wherein she excelled almost beyond belief [s]. She never mistook the understanding of others; nor ever said a severe word, but where a much severer was deserved.

Her servants loved and almost adored her at the same time. She would, upon occasions, treat them with freedom; yet her demeanour was so awful, that they durst not fail in the least point of respect. She chid them seldom, but it was with severity, which

[s] See Vol. XII. p. 252.

had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 26th, My head aches, and I can write no more.

January 30th, Tuesday.

This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bedchamber.

With all the softness of temper that became a lady, she had the personal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new house, which stood solitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the house, where there was only one boy: she was then about four and twenty: and, having been warned to apprehend some such attempt, she learned the management of a pistol; and, the other women and servants being half-dead with fear, she stole softly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood, to prevent being seen, primed the pistol fresh, gently lifted up the sash; and, taking her aim with the utmost presence of mind, discharged the pistol, loaden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who stood the fairest mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the rest, and died the next morning, but his companions could not be found. The duke of *Ormond* had often drank her health to me upon that account, and had always an high esteem for her. She was indeed

deed under some apprehensions of going in a boat, after some danger she had narrowly escaped by water; but she was reasoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or discover any fear, in a coach or on horseback, or any uneasiness by those sudden accidents with which most of her sex, either by weakness or affectation, appear so much disordered.

She never had the least absence of mind in conversation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word by waiting impatiently until another had done. She spoke in a most agreeable voice, in the plainest words, never hesitating, except out of modesty before new faces, where she was somewhat reserved; nor, among her nearest friends, ever spoke much at a time. She was but little versed in the common topics of female chat; scandal, censure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: yet, among a few friends, in private conversation, she made little ceremony in discovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and describing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own sex she was rather inclined to extenuate or to pity.

When she was once convinced by open facts of any breach of truth or honour, in a person of high station, especially in the church, she could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named without shewing her displeasure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter sort, whom she had
known

known and esteemed, but detested above all mankind, when it was manifest that they had sacrificed those two precious virtues to their ambition, and would much sooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of sickness, in most parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progress in reading which she would otherwise have done. She was well versed in the *Greek* and *Roman* story, and was not unskilled in that of *France* and *England*. She spoke *French* perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and sickness. She had read carefully all the best books of travels which serve to open and enlarge the mind. She understood the *Platonic* and *Epicurean* philosophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abstracts of the best books she had read. She understood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of *Hobbes*, both in that and religion. She had a good insight into physic, and knew somewhat of anatomy; in both which she was instructed in her younger days by an eminent physician, who had her long under his care, and bore the highest esteem for her person and understanding. She had a true taste of wit and good sense, both in poetry and prose, and was a perfect good critic of style: neither was it easy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whose advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to send a thing into the world, provided it was

on a subject that came within the compass of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, she was sometimes too severe, which is a safe and pardonable error. She preserved her wit, judgment, and vivacity to the last, but often used to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with some accession, could not, as I have heard say, amount to much more than two thousand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having being placed upon annuities in *England*, and one in *Ireland*. In a person so extraordinary, perhaps, it may be pardonable to mention some particulars, although of little moment, further than to set forth her character. Some presents of gold-pieces being often made to her while she was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promise to keep them, she grew into such a spirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two hundred pounds. She used to shew them with boasting; but her mother, apprehending she would be cheated of them, prevailed, in some months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to interest; when, the girl losing the pleasure of seeing and counting her gold, which she never failed of doing many times in a day, and despairing of heaping up such another treasure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: she grew careless and squandering of every new acquisition, and so continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of some friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradesmen, who enticed her

her

her into their debt, she began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at rest until she had discharged all her shop-bills, and refunded herself a considerable sum she had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years, and a superior understanding, she became, and continued all her life, a most prudent œconomist; yet still with a strong bent to the liberal side, wherein she gratified herself by avoiding all expence in cloaths (which she ever despised) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of sickness were very chargeable, except fees to physicians, of which she met with several so generous, that she could force nothing on them (and indeed she must otherwise have been undone), yet she never was without a considerable sum of ready money. Infomuch that, upon her death, when her nearest friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her strong box about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowness of her fortune in nothing so much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends so often, and in so hospitable a manner as she desired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while she was in health to direct, were treated with neatness and elegance: so that the revenues of her and her companion passed for much more considerable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings; their domesticks consisted of two maids and one man. She kept an account of

all the family expences, from her arrival *in Ireland* to some months before her death ; and she would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her household bills, that every thing necessary for life was double the price, while interest of money was sunk almost to one half ; so that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown absolutely necessary.

[I since writ as I found time].

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminished, and therefore became a tax upon those tradesmen who furnish the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as seldom as possible, and those as plain and cheap as consisted with the situation she was in ; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of those on whom she bestowed her charity ; for it went further in doing good than double the sum from any other hand. And I have heard her say, she always met with gratitude from the poor : which must be owing to her skill in distinguishing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But she had another quality that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty ; however, it was a pleasure she could not resist : I mean that of making agreeable presents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as most in the course of life. She used to define a present,
That

That it was a gift to a friend of something he wanted or was fond of, and which could not be easily gotten for money. I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, she hath, in these and some other kinds of liberality, disposed of to the value of several hundred pounds. As to presents made to herself, she received them with great unwillingness, but especially from those to whom she had ever given any; being, on all occasions, the most disinterested mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own disposition, at least as much as from the frequent want of health, she seldom made any visits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many persons of the graver sort, who all respected her highly, upon her good sense, good manners, and conversation. Among these were the late Primate *Lindsay*, Bp. *Lloyd*, Bp. *Ashe*, Bp. *Brown*, Bp. *Stearn*, Bp. *Pulleyn*, with some others of later date; and indeed the greatest number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modesty, were the virtues she chiefly possessed, and most valued in her acquaintance; and where she found them, would be ready to allow for some defects, nor valued them less, although they did not shine in learning or in wit; but would never give the least allowance for any failures in the former, even to those who made the greatest figure in either of the two latter. She had no use of any person's liberality, yet her detestation of covetous peo-

ple made her uneasy if such a one was in her company; upon which occasion, she would say many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any person who spoke; she laugh'd at no mistakes they made, but helped them out with modesty; and if a good thing were spoken, but neglected, she would not let it fall, but set it in the best light to those who were present. She listened to all that was said, and had never the least distraction, or absence of thought.

It was not safe nor prudent, in her presence, to offend in the least word against modesty; for she then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and resentment, under which even stupidity and brutality were forced to sink into confusion; and the guilty person, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a satyr, was never in a way to transgress a second time.

It happened one single coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among several other ladies; and, in his flippant way, began to deliver some double meanings: the rest flap'd their fans, and used the other common expedients practis'd in such cases, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was said. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be censured. She said thus to the man: "Sir, all these ladies and I understand your meaning very well, having, in spite of our care, too often met with those of your sex who wanted manners and
" good

“ good sense. But, believe me, neither vir-
“ tuous nor even vicious women love such
“ kind of conversation. However, I will
“ leave you, and report your behaviour :
“ and, whatever visit I make, I shall first en-
“ quire at the door whether you are in the
“ house, that I may be sure to avoid you.”

I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of such a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would soon put an end to that corrupt conversation, the worst effect of dulness, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity, and the highest affront to the modesty and understanding of the female sex.

By returning very few visits, she had not much company of her own sex, except those whom she most loved for their easiness, or esteemed for their good sense; and those, not insisting on ceremony, came often to her. But she rather chose men for her companions, the usual topics of ladies discourse being such as she had little knowledge of, and less relish. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for she easily descended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, censure, family-management, or town-talk, she always diverted to something else; but these indeed seldom happened, for she chose her company better: and therefore many, who mistook her and themselves, having solicited her acquaintance, and finding themselves disappointed after a few visits, dropt off; and she was never known to en-
quire

quire into the reason, or ask what was become of them.

She was never positive in arguing, and she usually treated those who were so, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy disposition; yet in such a sort as made it very contemptible, and at the same time did some hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr. *Addison*, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. The excuse she commonly gave when her friends asked the reason, was, That it prevented noise, and saved time. Yet I have known her very angry with some whom she much esteemed for sometimes falling into that infirmity.

She loved *Ireland* much better than the generality of those who owe both their birth and riches to it; and, having brought over all the fortune she had in money, left the reversion of the best part of it, one thousand pounds, to Dr. *Stephens's-Hospital*. She detested the tyranny and injustice of *England*, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reason to love a country, where she had the esteem and friendship of all who knew her, and the universal good-report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by those who keep general

ral conversation. Which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a person of so much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are used to create envy, and consequently censure; and must be rather imputed to her great modesty, gentle behaviour, and inoffensiveness, than to her superior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extensive than usually falls to the share of her sex; yet she was so far from making a parade of it, that her female visitants, on their first acquaintance, who expected to discover it by what they call hard words and deep discourse, would be sometimes disappointed, and say, they found she was like other women. But wise men, through all her modesty, whatever they discoursed on, could easily observe that she understood them very well, by the judgment shewn in her observations as well as in her questions.

O F T H E
E D U C A T I O N O F L A D I E S .

TH E R E is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with, in mixt and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men ; whether it be prudent to chuse a wife, who hath good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, sufficiently versed in her own natural language, able to read and to relish history, books of travels, moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry. This question is generally determined in the negative by the women themselves, but almost universally by the men.

We must observe, that, in this debate, those whom we call men and women of fashion are only to be understood, not merchants, tradesmen, or others of such occupations, who are not supposed to have shared in a liberal education. I except likewise all ministers of state, during their power, lawyers and physicians in great practice, persons in such employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps some other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither must I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the general to ensign ; because those qualifications above-mentioned, in a wife, are wholly out of their
element

element and comprehension ; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of music, metaphysicians, virtuosi, and great talkers, who have all amusements enough of their own. All these put together will amount to a great number of adversaries, whom I shall have no occasion to encounter, because I am already of their sentiments. Those persons, whom I mean to include, are the bulk of lords, knights, and squires throughout *England*, whether they reside between the town and country, or generally in either. I do also include those of the clergy, who have tolerably good preferments in *London* or any other parts of the kingdom.

The most material arguments that I have met with, on the negative side of this great question, are what I shall now impartially report, in as strong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, That the great end of marriage is propagation : that, consequently, the principal business of a wife is to breed children, and to take care of them in their infancy : that the wife is to look on her family, watch over the servants, see that they do their work : that she be absent from her house as little as possible : that she is to obey all the lawful commands of her husband ; and visit, or be visited, by no persons whom he disapproves. That her whole business, if well performed, will take up most hours of the day : that the greater she is, and the more servants she keeps, her inspection must
encrease

increase accordingly. For, as a family represents a kingdom, so the wife who is her husband's first minister, must, under him, direct all the officers of state, even to the lowest; and report their behaviour to her husband, as the first minister does to his prince. That such a station requires much time, and thought and order; and, if well executed, leaves but little time for visits or diversions.

That a humour of reading books, except those of devotion or housewifery, is apt to turn a woman's brain. That plays, romances, novels, and love-poems, are only proper to instruct them how to carry on an intrigue. That all affectation of knowledge, beyond what is merely domestic, renders them vain, conceited, and pretending. That the natural levity of woman wants ballast; and, when she once begins to think she knows more than others of her sex, she will begin to despise her husband, and grow fond of every coxcomb who pretends to any knowledge in books. That she will learn scholastic words; make herself ridiculous by pronouncing them wrong, and applying them absurdly in all companies. That, in the mean time, her household affairs, and the care of her children, will be wholly laid aside; her toilet will be crowded with all the under-wits, where the conversation will pass in criticising on the last play or poem that comes out, and she will be careful to remember all the remarks that were made, in order to retail them in the next visit, especially

ally in company who know nothing of the matter. That she will have all the impertinence of a pedant, without the knowledge; and, for every new acquirement, will become so much the worse.

To say the truth, that shameful and almost universal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good estates, will make this essay of little use to the present age: for, considering the modern way of training up both sexes in ignorance, idleness, and vice, it is of little consequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my speculations on this subject can be only of use to a small number: for, in the present situation of the world, none but wise and good men can fail of missing their match, whenever they are disposed to marry; and consequently there is no reason for complaint on either side. The forms by which a husband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are sufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil institution: it would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking so firm an establishment.

But as it sometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the university, after he hath made some progress in learning; if we suppose him to have a tolerable genius, and a desire to im-

prove it, he may consequently learn to value and esteem wisdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and estate come into his own possession. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may possibly be found, by a strict search among the nobility and gentry throughout *England*, about five hundred. Among those of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a son at the university, about treble that number. The sons of clergymen bred to learning with any success, must, by reason of their parents poverty, be very inconsiderable, many of them being only admitted servitors in colleges (and consequently proving good for nothing): I shall therefore count them to be not above fourscore. But, to avoid fractions, I shall suppose there may possibly be a round number of two thousand male human creatures in *England* (including *Wales*), who have a tolerable share of reading and good sense. I include in this list all persons of superior abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taste, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at least five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thousand families of lords and estated gentlemen, which may probably be their number,

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ber, I suppose one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a sufficient share of good sense. Perhaps the censure may be just. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I shall reduce them to one thousand, which, at least, will be a number sufficient to fill both Houses of Parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the same manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: because the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are sent to boarding-schools, or put into the hands of *English* or *French* governesses, and generally the worst that can be gotten for money. So that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thousand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry must either continue in a single life, or be forced to couple themselves with women for whom they can possibly have no esteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gamesters, faunterers, endless talkers of nonsense, splenetic idlers, intriguers, given to scandal and censure, * * * * *

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L E T T E R S
TO AND FROM
SEVERAL PERSONS.

L E T T E R I.

To Mr. BENJAMIN TOOKE.

Dublin, June 29, 1710.

S I R,

I WAS in the country when I received your letter with the Apology inclosed in it [1]; and I had neither health nor humour to finish that business. But the blame rests with you, that, if you thought it time, you did not print it when you had it. I have just now your last, with the complete Key. I believe it is so perfect a *Grubstreet*-piece, it will be forgotten in a week. But it is strange that there can be no satisfaction against a bookseller, for publishing names in so bold a manner. I wish some lawyer could advise you how I might have satisfaction: for, at this rate, there is no book, however vile,

[1] The *Apology* prefixed to the Tale of a Tub,

which

which may not be fastened on me. I cannot but think that little Parson-cousin of mine is at the bottom of this; for, having lent him a copy of some part of, &c. and he shewing it, after I was gone for *Ireland*, and the thing abroad, he affected to talk suspiciously, as if he had some share in it. If he should happen to be in town, and you light on him, I think you ought to tell him gravely, that, if he be the author, he should set his name to the &c; and rally him a little upon it: and tell him, if he can explain some things, you will, if he pleases, set his name to the next edition. I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce could go. Well; I will send you the thing, now I am in town, as soon as possible. But, I dare say, you have neither printed the rest, nor finished the cuts, only are glad to lay the fault on me. I shall, at the end, take a little contemptible notice of the thing you sent me; and I dare say it will do you more good than hurt. If you are in such haste, how came you to forget the *Miscellanies*? I would not have you think of *Steele* for a publisher; he is too busy. I will, one of these days, send you some hints, which I would have in a preface, and you may get some friend to dress them up. I have thoughts of some other work one of these years; and I hope to see you ere it be long; since it is like to be a new world, and since I have the merit of suffering by not complying with the old. Yours, &c.

LETTER II.

Mr. TOOKE to Doctor SWIFT.

London, July 10, 1710.

S I R,

INCLOSED I have sent the Key, and think it would be much more proper to add the notes at the bottom of the respective pages they refer to, than printing them at the end by themselves. As to the cuts, sir *Andrew Fountaine* has had them from the time they were designed, with an intent of altering them. But he is now gone into *Norfolk*, and will not return till *Michaelmas*; so that, I think, they must be laid aside: for, unless they are very well done, it is better they were quite let alone. As to the Apology, I was not so careless but that I took a copy of it before I sent it to you, so that I could have printed it easily, but that you sent me word not to go on till you had altered something in it. As to that cousin of yours, which you speak of, I neither know him, nor ever heard of him till the Key mentioned him. It was very indifferent to me which I proceeded on first, the Tale, or the Miscellanies: but, when you went away, you told me there were three or four things should be sent over out of *Ireland*, which you had not here; which you had not here; which, I think, is a very reasonable

sonable excuse for myself in all these affairs. What I beg of you at present is, that you would return the Apology and this Key, with directions as to the placing it : although I am entirely of opinion to put it at the bottom of each page ; yet shall submit. If this be not done soon, I cannot promise but some rascal or other will do it for us both ; since you see the liberty that is already taken. I think too much time has already been lost in the Miscellanies ; therefore hasten that : and which ever is in the most forwardness, I would begin on first. All here depend on an entire alteration. I am, &c.

L E T T E R III.

To the Earl of PETERBOROW.

February 1710-11.

MY LORD,

I ENVY none of the queen's subjects so much as those who are abroad ; and I desire to know, whether, as great a soul as your lordship has, you did not observe your mind to open and enlarge, after you were some leagues at sea, and had left off breathing party-air. I am apt to think this schism in politics has cloven our understandings, and left us but just half the good sense that blazed in our actions : and we see the effect it has had upon our wit and learning, which are crum-

bled into pamphlets and penny-papers. The *October-club*, which was in its rudiments when your lordship left us, is now growing up to be a party by itself, and begins to rail at the ministry as much as the Whigs do, but from topics directly contrary. I am sometimes talked into frights, and told that all is ruined; but am immediately cured when I see any of the ministry: not from the satisfaction they give me in any one point, but because I see them so perfectly easy, and I believe they could not be so if they had any fear at heart. My comfort is, they are persons of great abilities, and they are engaged in a good cause. And what is one very good circumstance, as I told three of them the other day, they seem heartily to love one another, in spite of the scandal of inconstancy which court-friendships lie under. And I can affirm to your lordship, they heartily love you too; which I take to be a great deal more than when they assure you so themselves. For even statesmen will sometimes discover their passions, especially their good ones.

Here is a pamphlet come out, called *A Letter to Jacob Banks*, shewing that the liberty of *Sweden* was destroyed by the principle of passive obedience. I know not whether his quotation be fair, but the piece is shrewdly written; and, in my opinion, not to be answered, otherwise than by disclaiming that sort of passive obedience which the Tories are charged with. This dispute would soon be ended;

ended, if the dunces, who write on each side^s would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country. For, I dare swear, nine in ten of the whigs will allow it to the legislature, and as many of the tories deny it to the prince alone: and I hardly ever saw a whig and tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves.

My lord, the Queen knew what she did, when she sent your lordship to spur up a dull northern court: Yet, I confess, I had rather have seen that activity of mind and body, employed in conquering another kingdom, or the same over again. I am,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T T E R IV.

To the Earl of PETERBOROW.

May 4, 1711:

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour of your lordship's letter; and, by the first lines of it, have made a discovery that your lordship is come into the world about eighteen hundred years too late, and was born about half a dozen degrees too far to the North, to employ that public virtue I always heard you did possess; which is now wholly useless, and which those

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very few that have it, are forced to lay aside when they would have business succeed.

Is it not some comfort, my lord, that you meet with the same degeneracy of manners, and the same neglect of the public, among the honest *Germans*, though, in the philosopher's phrase, differently modified? and I hope, at least, we have one advantage, to be more polite in our corruptions than they.

Our divisions run further than perhaps your lordship's intelligence hath yet informed you of. That is, a triumvirate of our friends whom I have mentioned to you: I have told them more than once, upon occasion, that all my hope of their success depended on their union; that I saw they loved one another, and hoped they would continue it, to remove that scandal of inconstancy ascribed to court-friendships. I am not now so secure. I care not to say more on such a subject, and even this *entre nous*. My credit is not of a size to do any service on such an occasion: but, as little as it is, I am so ill a politician, that I will venture the loss of it to prevent this mischief; the consequences of which I am as good a judge of as any minister of state, and perhaps a better because I am not one.

When you writ your letter, you had not heard of *Guiscard's* attempt on Mr. *Harley*: supposing you know all the circumstances, I shall not descant upon it. We believe Mr. *Harley* will soon be treasurer, and be of the house of peers; and then we imagine the court will begin to deal out employments,
for

for which every *October-member* is a candidate ; and consequently nine in ten must be disappointed : the effect of which we may find in the next session. Mr. *Harley* was yesterday to open to the house the ways he has thought of, to raise funds for the securing the unprovided debts of the nation, and we are all impatient to know what his proposals are.

As to the imperfect account you say you have received of disagreement among ourselves, your lordship knows that the names of Whig and Tory have quite altered their meanings. All who were for turning out the late ministry, we now generally call Tories ; and, in that sense, I think it plain that there are among the Tories three different interests. One of those, I mean the ministry, who agree with your lordship and me, in a steady management for pursuing the true interest of the nation ; another is that of warmer heads, as the *October-club* and their adherents without doors ; and a third is, I fear, of those who, as your lordship expresses it, would sound a parly, and who would make fair weather in case of a change, and some of these last are not inconsiderable.

Nothing can be more obliging than your lordship's remembering to mention me in your letters to Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*, when you are in the midst of such great affairs. I doubt I shall want such an advocate as your lordship ; for, I believe, every man who has modesty or merit, is but an ill one for

himself. I desire but the smallest of those titles you give me on the outside of your letter. My ambition is to live in *England*, and with a competency to support me with honour. The ministry know by this time whether I am worth keeping; and it is easier to provide for ten men in the church than one in a civil employment.

But I renounce *England* and deanries, without a promise from your lordship, under your own hand and seal, that I shall have liberty to attend you whenever I please. I foresee we shall have a peace next year, by the same sagacity that I have often foreseen when I was young. I must leave the town in a week, because my money is gone, and I can borrow no more. Peace will bring your lordship home; and we must have you to adorn your country, when you shall be no longer wanted to defend it. I am,

MY LORD, &c.

LETTER V.

To Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN [1].

Chelsea, May 11, 1711.

SIR,

BEING convinced by certain ominous prognostics, that my life is too short to permit

[1] Afterwards lord *Bolingbroke*.

L E T T E R S.

12

me the honour of ever dining another *Saturday* with *fir Simon Harcourt*, knight, or *Robert Harley*, esq; I beg I may take the last farewell of those two gentlemen to-morrow. I made this request on *Saturday* last, unfortunately after you were gone; and they, like great statesmen, pretended they could do nothing in it without your consent; particularly my lord-keeper, as a lawyer, raised innumerable difficulties, although I submitted to allow you an hour's whispering before dinner, and an hour after. My lord *Rivers* would not offer one word in my behalf, pretending he himself was but a tolerated person. The keeper alledged you could do nothing but when all three were capitularly met, as if you could never open but like a parish-chest, with the three keys together. It grieves me to see the present ministry thus confederated to pull down my great spirit. Pray, sir, find an expedient. Finding expedients is the business of secretaries of state. I will yield to any reasonable conditions not below my dignity. I will not find fault with the victuals; I will restore the water-glass that I stole, and solicit for my lord-keeper's salary. And, sir, to shew you I am not a person to be safely injured, if you dare refuse me justice in this point, I will appear before you in a pudding-sleeve gown, I will disparage your snuff, write a lampoon upon *Nably Car*; dine with you upon a foreign post-day; nay, I will read verses in your presence, until you snatch

snatch them out of my hands. Therefore, pray, sir, take pity upon me and yourself; and believe me to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and
most humble servant.

L E T T E R VI.

Mr. SHOWER, to the Lord High-Treasurer OXFORD.

London, Dec. 20, 1711.

MY LORD,

THOUGH there be little reason to expect your lordship should interpose in favour of the dissenters, who have been so shamefully abandoned, sold, and sacrificed by their professed friends; the attempt is however so glorious, in all its views, tendencies, and prospects, that, if it be not too late, I would most humbly beg your lordship not to be immoveable as to that matter. The fatal consequences of that bill cannot be expressed: I dread to think of some of them; and shall as much rejoice with many thousands, if you may be instrumental to prevent it. May Heaven direct you in this, and all your great affairs

affairs for the public good of your country.
I am,

My honoured lord,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SHOWER.

L E T T E R VII.

ANSWER to Mr. SHOWER [u].

Dec. 21, 1711.

REVEREND SIR,

HAD not a very painful distemper confined me, I had desired the favour of seeing you some time since; and I should have spoken very plainly to you, as I shall whenever I see you. I have long foretold, that the dissenters must be saved whether they will or no: they resist even restraining grace; and would almost convince me, that the notion of man's being a mechanism is true in every part. To see men moved as puppets, with rage for their interest, with envy acting against their own interest, *having mens persons in admiration*: not only those of their own body, who certainly are the first who pre-

[u] The answer was written by Dr. Swift, as appears not only from his hand-writing, but particularly from a correction in the original draught.

tended

tended to consummate wisdom and deep policy; yet have shewn that they knew not the common affairs of this nation, but are *dwellers in thick clay*. They are *Epicureans* in act, Puritans in profession, politicians in conceit, and a prey and laughing stock to the Deists and synagogue of the libertines, in whom they have trusted, and to whose infallibility they have sold themselves and their congregations. All they have done, or can do, shall never make me their enemy. I pity poor deluded creatures, that have for seventeen years been acting against all their principles, and the liberty of this nation, without leaving so much salt as to keep the body of them sweet. For, there has not been one good bill during that term of years, which they have not opposed in the house of commons; contrary to the practice of those very few dissenters, which were in the parliament in king *Charles* the Second's time, who thereby united themselves to the country-gentlemen, the advantage of which they found for many years after. But now they have listed themselves with those, who had first denied our Saviour, and now have sold them.

I have written this only to shew you, that I am ready to do every thing that is practicable; to save people who are bargained for by their leaders, and given up by their ministers: I say, their ministers; because it is averred and represented, that the dissenting ministers have been consulted, and are consenting to this bill. By what lies, and

arts,

arts; they are brought to this, I do not care to mention; but, as to myself, the engineers of this bill thought they had obtained a great advantage against me: Finding I had stopt it in the house of commons, they thought to bring me to a fatal dilemma, whether it did or did not pass. This would have no influence with me; for I will act what I think to be right, let there be the worst enemies in the world of one side or other. I guess, by your letter, that you do not know that the bill, yesterday, passed both houses, the lords having agreed to the amendments made by the commons; so that there is no room to do any thing upon that head.

What remains is, to desire, that the Dissenters may seriously think from whence they are fallen, and do their first works,—and recover their reputation of sobriety, integrity; and love of their country; which is the sincere and hearty prayer of,

REVEREND SIR,

Your most faithful, and

most humble servant,

OXFORD:

LET-

L E T T E R VIII.

To Mrs. HILL.

May, 1712.

MADAM,

I WAS commanded some days ago to do what I had long a mind to, but avoided because I would not offend your prudence, or strain your eyes. But my lord *Masham* assures me there is no danger of either; and that you have courage enough to read a letter, though it comes from a man, provided it be one of no consequence, which his lordship would insinuate to be my case; but, I hope, you will not affront me so highly as to understand it so. There is not a grain of news in this town, or five miles about it, worth sending you; and what we receive from *Windsor* is full as insignificant, except the accounts of the queen's health, and your house-keeping. We are assured that you keep a constant table, and that your guests leave you with full stomachs and full pockets: that Dr. *Arbutnot* sometimes leaves his beloved green cloth, to come and receive your chidings, and pick up your money. We intend shortly to represent your case to my lord treasurer, as what deserves commiseration; but we hope the matter is already settled between his lordship and you, and that you are instructed to be thus magnificent, in order to carry on the cause.

We

We reckon his lordship's life is now secure, since a continuation of band-boxes and ink-horns, the engines of late times, were employed in vain to destroy him. He will do me the justice to tell you, that I never fail of toasting you under the name of the Governess of *Dunkirk*, and that you have the honour to be very particularly in my good graces. My lady *Masham* still continues in a doubtful state of neither up nor down; and one of her servants told mine, that they did not expect she would cry out this fortnight. I saw, yesterday, our brother *Hill*, who promises to be more thrifty of his health, and seems to have a pretty good stock of it. I hope you receive no visits from the head-ache and the spleen: and one who knows your constitution very well, advises you, by all means, against sitting in the dusk at your window, or on the ground, leaning on your hand, or at see-saw in your chair.

I am,

MADAM, &c.

L E T-

LETTER IX.

TO GENERAL HILL [x].

Windsor-Castle, Aug. 12, 1712.

SIR,

WITH great difficulty I recovered your present of the finest box in *France*, out of the hands of Mrs. *Hill*: she allowed her own to be the prettiest, but then mine was the handsomest; and, in short, she would part with neither. I pleaded my brotherhood, and got my lord and lady *Masbam* to intercede: and, at last, she threw it me with a heavy sigh: but, now it is in my possession, I wish you had sent a paper of directions how I shall keep it. You that sit at your ease, and have nothing to do but keep *Dunkirk*, never consider the difficulties you have brought upon me: twenty ladies have threatened to seize or surprise my box; and what are twenty thousand *French* or *Dutch* in comparison of those? Mrs. *Hill* says, it was a very idle thing in you to send such a present, to a man who can neither punish nor reward you, since *Grub-street* is no more: for the parliament has killed all the Muses of *Grub-street*, who yet, in their last moments, cried out nothing but *Dunkirk*. My lord treasurer, who is the most malicious person in the world, says you ordered a goose to be drawn at the bot-

[x] Brother to lady *Masbam*.

tem

tom of my box as a reflexion upon the clergy; and that I ought to resent it: but I am not angry at all, and his lordship observes by halves: for the goose is there drawn pecking at a snail, just as I do at him, to make him mend his pace in relation to the public, although it be hitherto in vain. And besides, Dr. *Arbutnot*, who is a scholar, says you meant it as a compliment for us both: that I am the goose, who saved the Capitol by my cackling, and that his lordship is represented by the snail, because he preserves his country by delays. But my lord *Masbam* is not to be endured: he observed, that, in the picture of the inside, which represents a great company dancing, there stands a fool with a cap and bells, and he would needs understand that figure as applied to me. And the worst of it was, that I happened, last night, to be at my lady duchess of *Shrewsbury's* ball: where, looking a little singular among so many fine ladies and gentlemen, his lordship came and whispered me to look at my box; which I resented so highly, that I went away in a rage, without staying for supper. However, considering of it better, after a night's sleep, I find all this is nothing but envy, and a design to make a quarrel between you and me: but it shall not do so; for I hope your intentions were good, however malice may misrepresent them. And though I am used ill by all your family, who win my money and laugh at me, yet, to vex them more, I will forgive them for your sake; and, as soon as
I can

I can break loose, will come to *Dunkirk* for a fortnight, to get a little ease from my many persecutions, by the *Harleys*, the *Masbams*, and the *Hills*: only I intend to change my habit, for fear colonel *Killigrew* should mistake me for a chimney-sweeper. In the mean time, I wish you all success in your government, loyal *French* subjects, virtuous ladies, little champaign, and much health: and am, with the truest respect and esteem,

SIR,

Your most obedient

humble servant, and brother.

L E T T E R X.

To Lady O R K N E Y.

November 21, 1712.

MADAM,

WHEN, upon parting with your ladyship, you were pleased to tell me I should find your present at home, natural justice prompted me to resolve that the first use I made of it should be in paying acknowledgments to my benefactor. But, when I opened the writing-table, which I must now call mine, I found you had neither sent pens, ink, nor paper, sufficient for such an undertaking. But I ought

ought to tell your ladyship in order, that I first got there a much more valuable thing : and I cannot do greater honour to my scrutoire, than to assure your ladyship that your letter is the first thing I have put in it, and shall be the last I will ever take out. I must tell your ladyship, that I am this moment under a very great concern. I was fully convinced that I should write with a new spirit, by the influence of the materials you sent me ; but it is quite otherwise : I have not a grain of invention, whether out of the confusion which attended us when we strive too much to acquit ourselves, or whether your pens and ink are fullen, and think themselves disgraced since they have changed their owner. I heartily thank your ladyship, for making me a present that looks like a sort of establishment. I plainly see by the contrivance, that, if you were first minister, it would have been a cathedral. As it is, you have more contributed towards fixing me, than all the ministry together ; for it is difficult to travel with this equipage, and it will be impossible to travel, or live without it. You have an undoubted title to whatever papers this table shall ever contain (except your letter), and I desire you will please to have another key made for it ; that, when the court shall think fit to give me a room worth putting it into, your ladyship may come and search it whenever you please.

I beg your ladyship to join in laughing with me, at my unreasonable vanity, when I
wished

wished that the motto written about the wax was a description of yourself. But, if I am disappointed in that, your ladyship will be so in all the rest; even this ink will never be able to convey your ladyship's note as it ought. The paper will contain no wonders, but when it mentions you; neither is the seal any otherwise an emblem of my life, than by the deep impression your ladyship has made, which nothing but my death can wear out. By the inscription about the pens, I fear there is some mistake; and that your ladyship did not design them for me. However, I will keep them until you can find the person you intended should have them, and who will be able to dispose of them according to your predictions. I cannot find that the workman you employed, and directed, has made the least mistake: but there are four implements wanting. The two first I shall not name, because an odd superstition forbids us to accept them from our friends; the third is a sponge, which the people long have given so ill a reputation to, that I vow it shall be no gift of your ladyship: the last is a flat ivory instrument, used in folding up of letters, which I insist you must provide.

See, madam, the first fruits this unlucky presents of yours has produced. It is but giving a fiddle to a scraper, or a pestle and mortar to an apothecary, or a Tory-pamphlet to Mrs. *Ramsay*. Nothing is so great a discouragement to generous persons as the fear of being worried by acknowledgments.

Believe,

Besides your ladyship is an unfufferable kind of giver, making every present fifty times the value, by the circumstances and manner. And I know people in the world, who would not oblige me so much, at the cost of 1000*l.* as you have done at that of 20*l.* which, I must needs tell you, is an unconscionable way of dealing, and whereof, I believe, no body alive is so guilty as yourself. In short, you deceive my eyes and corrupt my judgment; nor am I now sure of any thing, but that of being, &c.

LETTER XI,

To the Duchess of ORMOND.

December 20, 1712,

MADAM,

ANY other person, of less refinement and prudence than myself, would be at a loss how to thank your grace, upon the surprize of coming home last night, and finding two pictures where only one was demanded. But I understand your grace's malice, and do here affirm you to be the greatest prude upon earth. You will not so much as let your picture be alone in a room with a man, no not with a clergyman, and a clergyman of five and forty, and therefore resolved my lord duke should accompany it, and keep me in awe, that I might not presume to look too
 I often

often upon it. For my own part, I begin already to repent that I ever begged your grace's picture; and could almost find in my heart to send it you back: for, although it be the most beautiful sight I ever beheld, except the original, yet the veneration and respect it fills me with, will always make me think I am in your grace's presence; will hinder me from saying and writing twenty idle things, that used to divert me: will set me labouring upon majestic, sublime ideas, at which I have no manner of talent; and will make those who come to visit me think I am grown, on the sudden, wonderful stately and reserved. But, in life, we must take the evil with the good; and it is one comfort, that I know how to be revenged. For the sight of your grace's resemblance will perpetually remind me of paying my duty to your person; which will give your grace the torment, and me the felicity, of a more frequent attendance.

But, after all, to deal plainly with your grace, your picture (and I must say the same of my lord duke's) will be of very little use, further than to let others see the honour you are pleased to do me. For all the accomplishments of your mind and person are so deeply printed in my heart, and represent you so lively to my imagination, that I should take it for a high affront, if you believed it in the power of colours to refresh my memory: almost as high a one, as if your grace should deny

deny me the justice of being, with the most profound respect and gratitude,

MADAM,

Your Grace's, &c.

L E T T E R XII.

To the Duke of ARGYLE.

January 20, 1712-13.

MY LORD,

I WOULD myself have delivered the answer I sent yesterday to your grace at court, by Dr. *Arbutnot*, if I had not thought the right of complaining to be on my side: for I think it was my due, that you should have immediately told me whatever you had heard amiss of my conduct to your grace. When I had the honour to be first known to those in the ministry, I made it an express condition, that whoever did me ill offices, they should inform me of what was said, and hear my vindication; that I might not be mortified with countenances estranged of the sudden, and be at a loss for the cause. And, I think, there is no person alive, whose favour or protection I would purchase at that expence. I could not speak to the disadvantage of your grace without being ungrateful (which is an ill word) since you were pleased, voluntarily, to make so many professions of favour to me for some

years past; and your being a duke and a general would have swayed me not at all in my respect for your person, if I had not thought you to abound in qualities, which I wish were easier to be found in those of your rank. I have indeed sometimes heard what your grace was told I reported; but, as I am a stranger to coffee-houses, so it is a great deal below me to spread coffee-house reports. This accusation is a little the harder upon me, because I have always appeared fond of your grace's character; and have, with great industry, related several of your generous actions, on purpose to remove the imputation of the only real fault (for I say nothing of common frailties) which I ever heard laid to your charge. I confess, I have often thought that that *Homer's* description of *Achilles* bore some resemblance to your grace, but I do not remember that ever I said so. At the same time, I think few men were ever born with nobler qualities, to fulfil and adorn every office of a subject, a friend, and a protector, &c.

L E T T E R XIII.

To Lord Chancellor HARCOURT.

May, 1713.

MY LORD,

I WONDER your lordship would presume to go out of town, and leave me in fear that

That I should not see you before I go to *Ireland*, which will be in a week. It is a strange thing, you should prefer your own health, and ease, and convenience, before my satisfaction. I want your lordship for my solicitor. I want your letter to your younger brother of *Ireland*, to put him under my government: I want an opportunity of giving your lordship my humble thanks, for a hundred favours you have done me: I wanted the sight of your lordship this day in *York-buildings* [y]. Pray, my lord, come to town before I leave it, and supply all my wants. My lord-treasurer uses me barbarously; appoints to carry me to *Kensington*, and makes me walk four miles at midnight. He laughs when I mention a thousand pound, which he gives me; though a thousand pound is a very serious thing, &c.

L E T T E R XIV.

To Mr. ADDISON.

SIR,

May 13, 1713.

I WAS told yesterday, by several persons, that Mr. *Steele* had reflected upon me in his *Guardian*; which I could hardly believe, until, sending for the paper of the day, I found he had, in several parts of it, insinuated with the utmost malice, that I was au-

[y] Lord Treasurer *Oxford* then lived there.

thor of the Examiner; and abused me in the grossest manner he could possibly invent, and set his name to what he had written. Now, sir, if I am not author of the Examiner, how will Mr. *Steele* be able to defend himself from the imputation of the highest degree of baseness, ingratitude, and injustice? Is he so ignorant of my temper, and of my style? Has he never heard that the author of the Examiner (to whom I am altogether a stranger [z]) did, a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern in it? Should not Mr. *Steele* have first expostulated with me, as a friend? Have I deserved this usage from Mr. *Steele*, who knows very well that my lord treasurer has kept him in his employment upon my intreaty and intercession? My lord chancellor and lord *Bolingbroke* will be witnesses, how I was reproached by my lord treasurer, upon the ill returns Mr. *Steele* made to his lordship's indulgence, &c.

[z] The reader will please to recollect, that Dr. *Swift* never writ any Examiners after the 7th of June 1711. He took up that paper at N^o XIII. and laid it down at N^o XLIV. See Vol. VIII. of his works.

L E T T E R XV.

From Mr. STEELE to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

May 19, 1713.

MR. *Addison* shewed me your letter, where in you mention me. They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interposition has kept me thus long in my office. If you have spoken in my behalf at any time, I am glad I have always treated you with respect; though I believe you an accomplice of the Examiner. In the letter you are angry at, you see I have no reason for being so merciful to him, but out of regard to the imputation you lie under. You do not in direct terms say you are not concerned with him; but make it an argument of your innocence, that the Examiner has declared you have nothing to do with him. I believe I could prevail upon the Guardian to say there was a mistake in putting my name in his paper: but the *English* would laugh at us, should we argue in so *Irish* a manner. I am heartily glad of your being made dean of *St. Patrick's*.
I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient
humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T-

LETTER XVI.

To Mr. STEELE.

SIR,

* * * * *

[a] I may probably know better, when they are disposed * * * * *. The case was thus: I did with the utmost application, and desiring to lay all my credit upon it, desire Mr. *Harley* (as he then was called) to shew you mercy. He said he would, and wholly upon my account: that he would appoint you a day to see him: that he would not expect you should quit any friend or principle. Some days after, he told me he had appointed you a day, and you had not kept it; upon which he reproached me, as engaging for more than I could answer; and advised me to more cau-

[a] It has unluckily happened that two or three lines have been torn by accident from the beginning of this letter; and, by the same accident, two or three lines are missing towards the latter part, which were written on the back part of the paper which was torn off. But what remains of this letter will, I presume, be very satisfactory to the intelligent reader, upon many accounts, and especially because a light into this affair will justify the prodigious severity of Dr. *Swift's* pen against Mr. *Steele*, in his *Public Spirit of the Whigs*.

tion another time. I told him, and desired my lord chancellor [b] and lord *Bolingbroke* to be witnesses, that I would never speak for or against you as long as I lived; only I would, and that it was still my opinion, you should have mercy till you gave further provocations. This is the history of what you think fit to call, in the spirit of insulting, "their laughing at me:" And you may do it securely; for, by the most inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power, as a Christian; to do you the least ill office. Next I desire to know, whether the greatest services ever done by one man to another, may not have the same turn as properly applied to them? And, once more, suppose they did laugh at me, I ask whether my inclinations to serve you merit to be rewarded by the vilest treatment, whether they succeeded or no? If your interpretation were true, I was laughed at only for your sake; which, I think, is going pretty far to serve a friend. As to the letter I complain of, I appeal to your most partial friends, whether you ought not either to have asked, or written to me, or desired to have been informed by a third hand, whether I were any way concerned in writing the Examiner? And, if I had stufled, or answered indirectly, or affirmed it, or said I would not give you satisfaction; you might then have wrecked your revenge with some colour of justice. I have several

[b] Lord *Harcourt*.

times assured Mr. *Addison*, and fifty others, that I had not the least hand in writing any of those papers; and that I had never exchanged one syllable with the supposed author in my life, that I can remember, nor even seen him above twice, and that in mixt company, in a place where he came to pay his attendance. One thing more I must observe to you, that, a year or two ago, when some printers used to bring me their papers in manuscript, I absolutely forbid them to give any hints against Mr. *Addison* and you and some others; and have frequently struck out reflexions upon you in particular, and should (I believe) have done it still, if I had not wholly left off troubling myself about those kind of things.

I protest I never saw any thing more liable to exception, than every part is of the letter you were pleased to write me. You plead, that I do not, in mine to Mr. *Addison*, in direct terms, say I am not concerned with the Examiner: And is that an excuse for the most savage injuries in the world a week before? How far you can prevail with the Guardian I shall not trouble myself to enquire; and am more concerned how you will clear your own Honour and conscience, than my reputation. I shall hardly lose one friend by what you [c] * * * * *
 I know not any * * * * * laugh at
 me for any * * * * * absurdity of
 yours. There are solecisms in morals as

[c] Here the manuscript is torn.

well

well as in languages; and to which of the virtues you will reconcile your conduct to me, is past my imagination. Be pleased only to put these questions to yourself. If Dr. *Swift* be entirely innocent of what I accuse him, how shall I be able to make him satisfaction? And how do I know but he may be entirely innocent? If he was laughed at only because he solicited for me, is that a sufficient reason for me to say the vilest things of one in print under my hand, without any provocation? And, how do I know but he may be in the right, when he says I was kept in my employment at his interposition? If he never once reflected on me the least in any paper, and hath hindered many others from doing it; how can I justify myself, for endeavouring in mine to ruin his credit as a Christian and a clergyman? I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

J. S.



L E T.

L E T T E R S,

L E T T E R XVII.

Mr. S T E E L E to Dr. S W I F T,

S I R,

Bloomsbury, May 26, 1713.

I HAVE received yours, and find it is impossible for a man to judge in his own case. For an allusion to you, as one under the imputation of helping the Examiner, and owning I was restrained out of respect to you, you tell *Addison*, under your hand, you think me the vilest of mankind, and bid him tell me so. I am obliged to you for any kind things said in my behalf to the treasurer; and assure you, when you were in *Ireland*, you were the constant subject of my talk to men in power at that time. As to the vilest of mankind, it would be a glorious world if I were. For I would not conceal my thoughts in favour of an injured man, though all the powers on earth gainsaid it, to be made the first man in the nation. This position, I know, will ever obstruct my way in the world; and I have conquered my desires accordingly. I have resolved to content myself with what I can get by my own industry, and the improvement of a small estate, without being anxious whether I am ever in a court again or not. I do assure you, I do not speak this calmly, after the ill-usage in your letter to *Addison*, out of terror of your wit or my lord treasurer's power, but pure kindness

kindness to the agreeable qualities, I once so passionately delighted in, in you. You know, I know no body but one that talked after you, could tell *Addison* had bridled me in point of party. This was ill hinted, both with relation to him, and,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

I know no party; but the truth of the question is what I will support as well as I can, when any man I honour is attacked.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Mr. S T E E L E.

S I R,

May 27, 1713.

THE reason I give you the trouble of this reply to your letter, is because I am going in a very few days to *Ireland*: and, although I intended to return towards winter, yet it may happen, from the common accidents of life, that I may never see you again.

In your yesterday's letter, you are pleased to take the complaining side, and think it hard I should write to Mr. *Addison* as I did, only for an allusion. This allusion was only calling a clergyman of some little distinction an infidel: A clergyman who was your friend, who always loved you, who had endeavoured at least to serve you; and who; whenever he did write any thing, made it sacred to himself never to fling out the least hint against you.

One thing you are pleased to fix on me, as what you are sure of; that the Examiner had talked after me, when he said Mr. *Addison* had bridled you in point of party. I do not read one in six of those papers, nor ever knew he had such a passage; and I am so ignorant of this, that I cannot tell what it means: whether, that Mr. *Addison* kept you close to a party, or that he hindered you from writing about party. I never talkt or writ to that author in my life; so that he could not have learned it from me. And, in short, I solemnly affirm, that, with relation to every friend I have, I am as innocent as it is possible for a human creature to be. And; whether you believe me or not, I think, with submission, you ought to act as if you believed me, till you have demonstration to the contrary. I have all the ministry to be my witnesses, that there is hardly a man of wit of the adverse party, whom I have not been so bold as to recommend often and with earnestness to them. For I think, principles
at

at present are quite out of the case, and that we dispute wholly about persons. In these last you and I differ; but in the other, I think, we agree: for I have in print professed myself in politics to be what we formerly called a Whig.

As to the great man [d] whose defence you undertake; though I do not think so well of him as you do, yet I have been the cause of preventing five hundred hard things to be said against him.

I am sensible I have talked too much when myself is the subject: therefore I conclude with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

You cannot but remember, that, in the only thing I ever published with my name, I took care to celebrate you as much as I could, and in as handsome a manner, though it was in a letter to the present lord treasurer.

[d] Duke of Marlborough.

L E T T E R XIX.

To Lord Treasurer OXFORD.

*On the Death of his Daughter, the Marchioness
of Caermarthen.*

MY LORD, November 21, 1713.

YOUR lordship is the person in the world to whom every body ought to be silent upon such an occasion as this, which is only to be supported by the greatest wisdom and strength of mind; wherein, God knows, the wisest and best of us, who would presume to offer their thoughts, are far your inferiors. It is true, indeed, that a great misfortune is apt to weaken the mind, and disturb the understanding. This, indeed, might be some pretence to us to administer our consolations, if we had been wholly strangers to the person gone. But, my lord, whoever had the honour to know her, wants a comforter as much as your lordship; because, though their loss is not so great, yet they have not the same firmness and prudence, to support the want of a friend, a patroness, a benefactor, as you have to support that of a daughter. My lord, both religion and reason forbid me to have the least concern for that lady's death, upon her own account; and he must be an ill Christian, or a perfect stranger to her virtues, who would
not

not wish himself, with all submission to God Almighty's will, in her condition. But your lordship, who hath lost such a daughter, and we, who have lost such a friend, and the world, which hath lost such an example; have, in our several degrees, greater cause to lament, than, perhaps, was ever given by any private person before. For, my lord, I have sat down to think of every amiable quality that could enter into the composition of a lady, and could not single out one, which she did not possess in as high a perfection as human nature is capable of. But, as to your lordship's own particular, as it is an unconceivable misfortune to have lost such a daughter, so it is a possession which few can boast of, to have had such a daughter. I have often said to your lordship, that I never knew any one, by many degrees, so happy in their domestic as you; and I affirm you are so still, though not by so many degrees: From whence it is very obvious, that your lordship should reflect upon what you have left, and not upon what you have lost.

To say the truth, my lord, you began to be too happy for a mortal; much more happy than is usual with the dispensations of Providence long to continue. You had been the great instrument of preserving your country from foreign and domestic ruin: you have had the felicity of establishing your family in the greatest lustre, without any obligation to the bounty of your prince, or any industry

of your own: you have triumphed over the violence and treachery of your enemies, by your courage and abilities: and, by the steadiness of your temper, over the inconstancy and caprice of your friends. Perhaps your lordship has felt too much complacency within yourself, upon this universal success: and God Almighty, who would not disappoint your endeavours for the public, thought fit to punish you with a domestic loss, where he knew your heart was most exposed; and, at the same time, has fulfilled his own wise purposes, by rewarding, in a better life, that excellent creature he has taken from you.

I know not, my lord, why I write this to you, nor hardly what I am writing. I am sure it is not from any compliance with form; it is not from thinking that I can give your lordship any ease. I think it was an impulse upon me that I should say something: and whether I shall send you what I have written, I am yet in doubt, &c.

LETTER XX.

To the Earl of PETERBORO W.

MY LORD, *London, May 18, 1714.*

I HAD done myself the honour of writing to your excellency, above a month before yours of *March* the 5th came to my hands. The *Saturday's* dinners have not been

been resumed since the queen's return from *Windsor*; and I am not sorry, since it became so mingled an assembly, and of so little use either to business or conversation: so that I was content to read your queries to our two great friends. The treasurer stuck at them all; but the secretary acquitted himself of the first, by assuring me he had often written to your excellency.

I was told the other day, of an answer you made to somebody abroad, who enquired of you the state and dispositions of our court: that you could not tell, for you had been out of *England* a fortnight. In your letter, you mention the *World of the Moon*, and apply it to *England*; but the moon changes but once in four weeks. By both these instances, it appears you have a better opinion of our steadiness than we deserve; for I do not remember, since you left us, that we have continued above four days in the same view, or four minutes with any manner of concert. I assure you, my lord, for the concern I have for the common cause, with relation to affairs both at home and abroad, and from the personal love I bear to our friends in power, I never led a life so thoroughly uneasy as I do at present. Our situation is so bad, that our enemies could not, without abundance of invention and ability, have placed us so ill, if we had left it entirely to their management. For my own part, my head turns round; and, after every conversation, I come away just one degree worse informed than I

went. I am glad, for the honour of our nation, to find by your excellency's letter, that some other courts have a share of frenzy, though not equal, nor of the same nature with ours. The height of honest mens wishes at present is to rub off this session; after which, no body has the impudence to expect that we shall not immediately fall to pieces: nor is any thing I write the least secret, even to a Whig footman.

The queen is pretty well at present; but the least disorder she has, puts all in alarm; and, when it is over, we act as if she were immortal. Neither is it possible to persuade people to make any preparations against an evil day. There is a negotiation now in hand, which, I hope, will not be abortive: the States-General are willing to declare themselves fully satisfied with the peace and the queen's measures, &c. and that is too popular a matter to flight. It is impossible to tell you whether the prince of *Hanover* intends to come over or no. I should think the latter, by the accounts I have seen; yet our adversaries continue strenuously to assert otherwise, and very industriously give out, that the lord treasurer is at the bottom; which has given some jealousies not only to his best friends, but to some I shall not name; yet I am confident they do him wrong. This formidable journey is the perpetual subject both of court and coffee-house chat.

Our mysterious and unconcerted ways of proceeding have, as it is natural, taught every
body

body to be refiners, and to reason themselves into a thousand various conjectures: even I, who converse most with people in power, am not free from this evil: and, particularly, I thought myself twenty times in the right, by drawing conclusions very regularly from premises which have proved wholly wrong. I think this, however, to be a plain proof that we act altogether by chance, and that the game, such as it is, plays itself.

By the present enclosed in your excellency's letter, I find the *Sicilians* to be bad delineators, and worse poets. As sneakingly as the prince looks at the bishop's foot, I could have made him look ten times worse; and have done more right to the piece, by placing your excellency there representing your mistress the queen, and delivering the crown to the bishop, with orders where to place it. I should like your new king very well, if he would make *Sicily* his constant residence, and use *Savoy* only as a commendam. Old books have given me great ideas of that island. I imagine every acre there worth three in *England*; and that a wise prince, in such a situation, would, after some years, be able to make what figure he pleased in the *Mediterranean*.

The duke of *Shrewsbury*, not liking the weather on our side the water, continues in *Ireland*, although he formally took his leave there six weeks ago. *Tom Harley* is every hour expected here, and writes me word, he has succeeded at *Hanover* to his wishes. Lord

Strafford writes the same, and gives himself no little merit upon it.

Barber the printer was, some time ago, in great distress, upon printing a pamphlet, of which evil tongues would needs call me the author [e]: he was brought before your House, which addressed the queen in a body, who kindly published a proclamation, with 300*l.* to discover. The fault was, calling the *Scots* a fierce poor Northern people. So well protected are those who scribble for the government. Upon which, I now put one query to your excellency, what has a man without employment to do among ministers, when he can neither serve himself, his friends, nor the public?

In my former letter, which I suppose was sent to *Paris* to meet you there, I gave you joy of the government of *Minorca*. One advantage you have by being abroad, that you keep your friends; and I can name almost a dozen great men who thoroughly hate one another, yet all love your lordship. If you have a mind to preserve their friendship, keep at a distance; or come over and shew your power, by reconciling at least two of them; and remember, at the same time, that this last is an impossibility. If your excellency were here, I would speak to you without any constraint; but the fear of accidents, in the conveyance of the letter, makes me keep to ge-

[e] The Public Spirit of the Whigs.

L E T T E R S, 455

nerals. I am sure you would have prevented a great deal of ill, if you had continued among us; but people of my level must be content to have their opinion asked, and to see it not followed; although I have always given it with the utmost freedom and impartiality. I have troubled you too much; and, as a long letter from you is the most agreeable thing one can receive, so the most agreeable return would be a short one. I am ever, with the greatest respect and truth,

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's

most obedient and

most humble servant.

L E T T E R XXI.

To Lord Treasurer OXFORD.

MY LORD,

July 1st, 1714.

WHEN I was with you, I have said more than once that I would never allow quality or station made any real difference between men. Being now absent and forgotten, I have changed my mind: you have a thousand people who can pretend they love you, with as much appearance of sincerity as I; so that, according to common justice, I can

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have

have but a thousandth part in return of what I give. And this difference is wholly owing to your station. And the misfortune is still the greater, because I always loved you just so much the worse for your station. For, in your public capacity, you have often angered me to the heart; but, as a private man, never once. So that, if I only look towards myself, I could wish you a private man tomorrow. For, I have nothing to ask, at least nothing that you will give, which is the same thing: and then you would see whether I should not, with much more willingness, attend you in a retirement, whenever you please to give me leave, than ever I did at *London* or *Windsor*. From these sentiments, I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private person, or allow myself to have been obliged by you in any other capacity.

The memory of one great instance of your candour and justice, I will carry to my grave: that, having been in a manner domestic with you for almost four years, it was never in the power of any public or concealed enemy to make you think ill of me, though malice and envy were often employed to that end. If I live, posterity shall know that, and more; which, though you and some body that shall be nameless seem to value less than I could wish, is all the return I can make you. Will you give me leave to say how I would desire to stand in your memory? As one who was truly sensible of the honour you did
him,

him, though he was too proud to be vain upon it: as one who was neither assuming, officious, nor teasing; who never wilfully misrepresented persons or facts to you, nor consulted his passions when he gave a character: and, lastly, as one whose indiscretions proceeded altogether from a weak head, and not an ill heart. I will add one thing more, which is the highest compliment I can make, that I never was afraid of offending you, nor am now in any pain for the manner I write to you in. I have said enough; and, like one at your levee, having made my bow, I shrink back into the crowd. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXII.

To the Duke of ORMOND.

MY LORD,

July 17th, 1714.

I NEVER expected that a great man should remember me in absence, because I knew it was unreasonable, and that your grace is too much troubled with persons about you, to think of those who are out of the way. But, if Dr. *Pratt* has done me right, I am mistaken; and your grace has almost declared that you expected a letter from me; which you should never have had, if the ministry had been like you: for then I should have always been near enough to have carried my

own messages. But I was heartily weary of them; and your grace will be my witness, that I despaired of any good success, from their manner of proceeding, some months before I left town; where I thought it became me to continue no longer, when I could do no service either to myself, my friends, or the public. By the accounts I have from particular friends, I find the animosity between the two great men does not at all diminish: though I hear it is given out that your grace's successor [f] has undertaken a general reconciliation. If it be true, this will succeed like the rest of his late undertakings.

I must beg your grace's pardon, if I intreat you, for several reasons, to see lady *Masham* as often as you conveniently can: and I must likewise desire you, to exert yourself in the disposal of the bishopricks in *Ireland*. It is a scandal to the crown, and an injury to the church, that they should be so long delayed. There are some hot-headed people, on the other side the water, who understand nothing of our court, and would confound every thing; always employed to raise themselves upon the ruins of those characters they have blasted. I wish their intermeddling may not occasion a worse choice than your grace approved of last winter. However, I beg you will take care that no injury be done to Dr. *Pratt*, or Dr. *Elwood*, who have more merit

[f] The Duke of *Strewsbury*.

and

and candour than a hundred of their detractors. I am, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's most obedient,

and most obliged

humble servant,

J. S.

LETTER XXIII.

To Lord OXFORD,

On hearing his Intentions to resign his Staff.

MY LORD,

July 25th, 1714.

TO-MORROW se'en-night I shall set out from hence to *Ireland*; my licence for absence being so near out, that I can stay no longer without taking another. I say this, that, if you have any commands, I shall have just time enough to receive them before I go. And, if you resign in a few days, as I am told you design to do, you may possibly retire to *Herefordshire*, where I shall readily attend you, if you soon withdraw; or, after a few months stay in *Ireland*, I will return at the beginning of winter, if you please to command

command me. I speak in the dark, because I am altogether so; and what I say may be absurd. You will please to pardon me; for, as I am wholly ignorant, so I have none of your composure of mind. I pray God Almighty direct and defend you, &c.

L E T T E R XXIV.

To Lady M A S H A M.

MADAM,

Aug. 7th, 1714.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your ladyship a week ago; and, the day after, came the unfortunate news of the queen's death, which made it altogether unseasonable, as perhaps it may be still, to give your ladyship this kind of trouble. Although my concern be as great as that of any other good subject, for the loss of so excellent a princess; yet I can assure you, madam, it is little to what I suffer upon your ladyship's particular account. As you excel in the several duties of a tender mother, a true friend, and a loving wife, so you have been the best and most faithful servant to your mistress, that ever any sovereign had. And, although you have not been rewarded suitable to your merits, I doubt not but God will make it up to you in another life, and to your children and posterity

posterity in this. I cannot go about to comfort your ladyship in your great affliction, otherwise than by begging you to make use of your own piety and your own wisdom, of both which you have so great a share. You are no longer a servant, but you are still a wife, a mother, and a friend; and you are bound in conscience to take care of your health, in order to acquit yourself of these duties, as well as you did of the other, which is now at an end.

I pray God to support your ladyship, under so great a share of load, in this general calamity: and remain, with the greatest respect and truth,

MADAM, Your ladyship's

Most obedient, and

most obliged servant.

I most heartily thank your ladyship for the favourable expressions and intentions in your letter, written at a time when you were at the height of favour and power.

L E T-

LETTER XXV.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

August 7th, 1714.

MY LORD,

I HAD yours of the third, and our country-post is so ordered, that I could acknowledge it no sooner. It is true, my lord, the events of five days last week might furnish morals for another volume of *Seneca*. As to my lord *Oxford*, I told him freely my opinion before I left the town, that he ought to resign at the end of the session. I said the same thing often to your lordship and my lady *Masham*, although you seemed to think otherwise, for some reasons; and said so to him one afternoon, when I met you there with my lord chancellor. But, I remember, one of the last nights I saw him (it was at lady *Masham's* lodgings), I said to him, that, upon the foot your lordship and he then were, it was impossible you could serve together two months; and, I think, I was just a week out in my calculation. I am only sorry, that it was not a resignation, rather than a removal; because the personal kindness and distinction I always received from his lordship and you, gave me such a love for you both (if you great men will allow that expression in a little one) that I resolved to preserve it entire, however you differed between yourselves;

selves; and in this I did, for some time, follow your commands and example. I impute it more to the candour of each of you, than to my own conduct, that, having been, for two years, almost the only man who went between you, I never observed the least alteration in either of your countenances towards me. I will swear for no man's sincerity, much less for that of a minister of state: but thus much I have said, wherever it was proper, that your lordship's proposals were always the fairest in the world, and I faithfully delivered them as I was empowered; and, although I am no very skilful man at intrigue, yet I durst forfeit my head, that, if the case were mine, I could have either agreed with you, or put you *dans votre tort*. When I saw all reconciliation impracticable, I thought fit to retire; and was resolved, for some reasons (not to be mentioned at this distance) to have nothing to do with whoever was to be last in. For, either I should not be needed or not be made use of. And, let the case be what it would, I had rather be out of the way. All I pretended was, to speak my thoughts freely, to represent persons and things without any mingle of my own interest or passions, and, sometimes, to make use of an evil instrument, which was like to cost me dear, even from those for whose service it was employed. I did believe there would be no further occasion for me, upon any of those accounts. Besides, I had so ill an opinion of the queen's health,

that

that I was confident you had not a quarter of time left for the work you had to do; having let slip the opportunity of cultivating those dispositions she had got after her sickness at *Windſor*. I never left preſſing my lord *Oxford* with the utmoſt earneſtneſs (and perhaps more than became me) that we might be put in ſuch a condition, as not to lie at mercy on this great event. And I am your lordſhip's witneſs, that you have nothing to anſwer for in that matter. I will, for once, talk in my trade, and tell you that I never ſaw any thing more reſemble our proceedings, than a man of fourſcore, or in a deep conſumption, going on in his ſins, although his phyſician aſſured him he could not live a week. Thoſe wonderful refinements, of keeping men in expectation, and not letting your friends be too ſtrong, might be proper in their ſeaſon. *Sed nunc non erat his locus*. Beſides, you kept your bread and butter till it was too ſtale for any body to care for it. Thus your machine of four years modelling is daſhed to pieces in a moment: and, as well by the choice of the regents as by their proceedings, I do not find there is any intention of managing you in the leaſt. The whole nineteen conſiſt either of the higheſt party-men, or (which mightily mends the matter) of ſuch who left us upon the ſubject of the peace, and affected jealousies about the ſucceſſion. It might reaſonably be expected, that this quiet poſſeſſion might convince the ſucceſſor of the good diſpoſitions of
the

the church-party towards him; and I ever thought there was a mighty failure somewhere or other, that this could not have been done in the queen's life. — But this is too much for what is past; and yet, whoever observed and disliked the causes, hath some title to quarrel with the effects. As to what is to come, your Lordship is in the prime of your years, *plein des esprits qui fournissent les esperances*; and you are now again to act that part (though in another assembly) which you formerly discharged so much to your own honour, and the advantage of your cause. You set out with the wind and tide against you; yet, at last, arrived at your port, from whence you are now driven back into open sea again. But, not to involve myself in an allegory, I doubt whether, after this disappointment, you can go on with the same vigour you did in your more early youth. Experience, which has added to your wisdom, has lessened your resolution. You are now a general, who, after many victories, hath lost a battle, and have not the same confidence in yourself or your troops. Your fellow labourers have either made their fortunes, or are past them, or will go over to seek them on the other side. — Yet, after all, and to resume a little courage: to be at the head of the church-interest is no mean station; and that, as I take it, is now in your lordship's power. In order to which, I could heartily wish for that union you mention; because, I need not tell

tell you, that some are more dextrous at pulling down their enemies than, &c. We have certainly more heads and hands than our adversaries ; but, it must be confessed, they have stronger shoulders and better hearts. I only doubt my friends, the rabble, are at least grown trimmers ; and that, setting up the cry of *Trade and Wool*, against *Sacheverel* and the *Church*, hath cooled their zeal. I take it for granted, there will be a new parliament against winter ; and if they will retain me on the other side, as their counsellor, I will engage them a majority. But, since it is possible I may not be so far in their good graces, if your lordship thinks my service may be of any use in this new world, I will be ready to attend you by the beginning of winter. For the misfortune is, that I must go to *Ireland* to take the oaths ; which I never reflected on till I had notice from some friends in *London*. And the sooner I go the better, to prevent accidents ; for I would not willingly want a favour at present. I think to set out in a few days, but not before your lordship's commands and instructions may reach me.

I cannot conclude without offering my humblest thanks and acknowledgements, for your lordship's kind intentions towards me (if this accident had not happened) of which I received some general hints.—I pray God direct your lordship : and I desire you will believe me to be, what I am with the utmost truth and respect,

Your lordship's most obedient, &c.

L E T.

LETTER XXVI.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

Dublin, Sept. 14th, 1714.

MY LORD,

I HOPE your lordship, who were always so kind to me while you were a servant, will not forget me now in your greatness. I give you this caution, because I really believe you will be apt to be exalted in your new station of retirement, which was the only honourable post that those who gave it you were capable of conferring. And, as in other employments, the circumstances with which they are given are sometimes said to be equally valuable with the gift itself, so it was in your case. The sealing up your office, and especially without any directions from the king, discovered such sentiments of you in such persons, as would make any honest man proud to share them.

I must be so free to tell you, that this new office of retirement will be harder for you to keep than that of secretary: and you lie under one great disadvantage besides your being too young; that, whereas none but knaves and fools desire to deprive you of your former post, all the honest men in *England* will be for putting you out of this.

I go

I go on in writing, though I know not how to send you my letter. If I were sure it would be opened by the sealers of your office, I would fill it with some terms of art, that they would better deserve than relish.

It is a point of wisdom too hard for me, not to look back with vexation upon past management. Divines tell us often from their pulpits, that half the pains which some men take to be damned, would have comparassed their salvation: this, I am sure, was extremely our case. I know not what motions your lordship intends; but, if I see the old whig-measures taken in the next elections, and that the Court, the Bank, East-India, and South-sea, act strenuously, and procure a majority; I shall lie down, and beg of *Jupiter* to heave the cart out of the dirt.

I would give all I am worth, for the sake of my country, that you had left your mantle with some body in the house of commons, or that a dozen honest men among them had only so many shreds of it.—And so, having dispatched all our friends in *England*, off flies a splinter, and knocks two governors of *Ireland* dead. I remember, we never had leisure to think of that kingdom. The poor dead queen is used like the giant *Longaron* in *Rabelais*. *Pantagruel* took *Longaron* by the heels, and made him his weapon to kill twenty other giants; then flung him over a river in the town, and killed two ducks and an old cat. I could talk very wisely to you, but you would regard me not. I could bid
you,

you, *non desperare de republicâ*; and say, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari*. But I will cut all short, and assure you, that, if you do not save us, I will not be at the pains of racking my invention to guess how we shall be saved; and yet I have read *Polybius*.

They tell me you have a very good crop of wheat, but the barley is bad. Hay will certainly be dear, unless we have an open winter. I hope you found your hounds in good condition, and that *Bright* has not made a stirrup-leather of your jocky-belt.

I imagine you now smoaking with your humdrum squire (I forget his name) who can go home at midnight, and open a dozen gates when he is drunk.

I beg your lordship not to ask me to lend you any money. If you will come and live at the deanry, and furnish up an apartment, I will find you in victuals and drink, which is more than ever you got by the court: and, as proud as you are, I hope to see you accept a part of this offer before I die.

The — takes this country; it has, in three weeks, spoilt two as good sixpenny pamphlets, as ever a proclamation was issued out against. And, since we talk of that, will there not be * * * * * [g]. I shall be cured of loving *England*, as the fellow was of his ague, by getting himself whipt through the town.

[g] Here are two or three words in the manuscript totally erased and illegible.

I would retire too if I could ; but my country-seat, where I have an acre of ground, is gone to ruin. The wall of my own apartment is fallen down, and I want mud to rebuild it, and straw to thatch it. Besides, a spiteful neighbour has seized on six foot of ground, carried off my trees, and spoiled my grove. All this is literally true, and I have not fortitude enough to go and see those devastations.

But, in return, I live a country-life in town, see no-body, and go every day once to prayers ; and hope, in a few months, to grow as stupid as the present situation of affairs will require.

Well, after all, parsons are not such bad company, especially when they are under subjection ; and I let none but such come near me.

However, pray God forgive them, by whose indolence, neglect, or want of friendship, I am reduced to live with twenty leagues of salt-water between your lordship and me, &c.

LETTER XXVII.

To the Earl of OXFORD.

Dublin, July 19, 1715.

MY LORD,

IT may look like an idle or officious thing in me, to give your lordship any interruption under your present circumstances : Yet I could

could never forgive myself, if, after being treated for several years with the greatest kindness and distinction, by a person of your lordship's virtue, I should omit making you, at this time, the humblest offers of my poor service and attendance. It is the first time I ever solicited you in my own behalf; and, if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me. I do not think myself obliged to regulate my opinions by the proceedings of a house of lords or commons; and therefore, however they may acquit themselves in your lordship's case, I shall take the liberty of thinking and calling your lordship the ablest and faithfullest minister, and truest lover of your country, that this age hath produced. And I have already taken care, that you shall be so represented to posterity, in spite of all the rage and malice of your enemies. And this I know will not be wholly indifferent to your lordship; who, next to a good conscience, always esteemed reputation your best possession. Your intrepid behaviour, under this prosecution, astonisheth every one but me, who know you so well, and how little it is in the power of human actions, or events, to discompose you. I have seen your lordship labouring under greater difficulties, and exposed to greater dangers, and over-coming both by the providence of God, and your own wisdom and courage. Your life hath been already attempted by private malice; it is now pursued by public resentment. Nothing else remained. You were

destined to both trials ; and the same power which delivered you out of the paws of the lion and the bear, will, I trust, deliver you out of the hands of the uncircumcised.

I can write no more. You suffer for a good cause, for having preserved your country, and for having been the great instrument, under God, of his present majesty's peaceable accession to the throne. This I know, and this your enemies know ; and this I will take care that all the world shall know, and future ages be convinced of. God Almighty protect you, and continue to you that fortitude and magnanimity he hath endowed you with. Farewel.

J. S.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

MY LORD,

May, 1719.

I FORGET whether I formerly mentioned to you what I have observed in *Cicero* ; that, in some of his letters, while he was in exile, there is a sort of melancholy pleasure which is wonderfully affecting. I believe the reason must be, that, in those circumstances of life, there is more leisure for friendship to operate, without any mixture of envy, interest, or ambition. But, I am afraid, this was chiefly when *Cicero* writ to his brethren in exile, or they to him ; because common dis-
tress

tricks is a great promoter both of friendship and speculation. For, I doubt, prosperity and adversity are too much at variance, ever to suffer a near alliance between their owners.

Friendship, we say, is created by a resemblance of humours. You allow that adversity both taught you to think and reason much otherwise than you did; whereas, I can assure you, that those who contrived to stay at home, and keep what they had, are not changed at all; and, if they sometimes drink an absent friend's health, they have fully discharged their duty. I have been, for some time, nursing up an observation, which perhaps may be a just one: that no men are used so ill, upon a change of times, as those who acted upon a public view, without regard to themselves. I do not mean from the circumstance of saving more or less money, but because I take it, that the same grain of caution, which disposeth a man to fill his coffers, will teach him how to preserve them upon all events. And I dare hold a wager that the duke of *Marlborough*, in all his campaigns, was never known to lose his baggage. I am heartily glad to hear of that unconditional offer you mention; because I have been taught to believe there is little good-nature to be had from that quarter: and, if the offer were sincere, I know not why it has not succeeded, since every thing is granted that can be asked for, unless there be an exception only for generous and good-natured actions.

When I think of you with relation to Sir Roger, I imagine a youth of sixteen marrying a woman of thirty for love; she decays every year, while he grows up to his prime; and, when it is too late, he wonders how he could think of so unequal a match, or what is become of the beauty he was so fond of.— I am told, he outdoes himself in every quality for which we used to quarrel with him. I do not think, that leisure of life, and tranquillity of mind, which fortune and your own wisdom hath given you, could be better employed than in drawing up very exact memoirs of those affairs, wherein, to my knowledge, you had the most difficult and weighty part: and I have often thought, in comparing periods of time, there never was a more important one in *England* than that which made up the four last years of the late queen. Neither do I think any thing could be more entertaining, or useful, than the story of it fully and exactly told, with such observations, in such a spirit, style, and method as you alone are capable of performing it. One reason why we have so few memoirs written by principal actors, is because much familiarity with great affairs makes men value them too little; yet such persons will read *Tacitus* and *Commines* with wonderful delight. Therefore I must beg two things; first, that you will not omit any passage because you think it of little moment; and, secondly, that you will write to an ignorant world, and not suppose your reader to be only of the present age,

age, or to live within ten miles of *London*. There is nothing more vexes me in old historians, than when they leave me in the dark in some passages which they suppose every one to know. It is this laziness, pride, or incapacity of great men, that hath given way to the impertinents of the nation where you are, to pester us with memoirs full of trifling and romance. Let a *Frenchman* talk twice with a minister of state, he desires no more to furnish out a volume; and I, who am no *Frenchman*, despairing ever to see any thing of what you tell me, have been some time providing materials for such a work, only upon the strength of having been always amongst you, and used with more kindness and confidence, than it often happens to men of my trade and level. But I am heartily glad of so good a reason to think no further that way, although I could say many things which you will never allow yourself to write. I have already drawn your character at length in one tract, and a sketch of it in another. But I am sensible that, when *Cæsar* describes one of his own battles, we conceive a greater idea of him from thence, than from all the praises any other writer can give him.

I read your Paraphrase with great pleasure, and the goodness of the poetry convinces me of the truth of your philosophy. I agree, that a great part of our wants is imaginary, yet there is a different proportion, even in real want, between one man and another. A king, deprived of his kingdom, would be
allowed

allowed to live in real want, although he had ten thousand a year; and the case is parallel in every degree of life. When I reason thus on the case of some absent friends, it frequently takes away all the quiet of my mind. I think it indecent to be merry, or take satisfaction in any thing, while those who presided in councils, or armies, and by whom I had the honour to be beloved, are either in humble solitude, or attending, like *Hannibal*, in foreign courts, *donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno*. My health (a thing of no moment) is somewhat mended; but, at best, I have an ill head and an aching heart. Pray God send you soon back to your country in peace and honour, that I may once more see him *cum quo morantem sæpe diem fregi*, &c.

LETTER XXIX.

To Lord BOLINGBROKE.

December 19, 1719.

MY LORD,

I FIRST congratulate with you upon growing rich; for I hope our friend's information is true, *Omne solum diti patria*. *Euripides* makes the queen *Jocasta* ask her exiled son, how he got his victuals? But, who ever expected to see you a trader, or dealer in stocks? I thought to have seen you where you are, or perhaps nearer: but *diis aliter visum*. It may be with one's country as with

a lady: if she be cruel and ill-natured, and will not receive us, we ought to consider that we are better without her. But, in this case, we may add, she has neither virtue, honour, nor justice. I have gotten a mezzotinto (for want of a better) of *Aristippus*, in my drawing-room: The motto at the top is, *Omnis Aristippum, &c.* and at the bottom, *Tantâ fœdus cum gente ferire, commissum juveni.* But, since what I heard of *Mississippi*, I am grown fonder of the former motto. You have heard that *Plato* followed merchandize three years, to shew he knew how to grow rich as well as to be a philosopher: and, I guess, *Plato* was then about forty, the period which the *Italians* prescribe for being wise, in order to be rich at fifty. *Senes ut in otia tuta recedant.* I have known something of courts and ministers longer than you, who knew them so many thousand times better; but I do not remember to have ever heard of, or seen one great genius, who had long success in the ministry: and, recollecting a great many, in my memory and acquaintance, those who had the smoothest time were, at best, men of middling degree in understanding. But, if I were to frame a romance of a great minister's life, he should begin it as *Aristippus* has done; then be sent into exile, and employ his leisure in writing the memoirs of his own administration; then be recalled, invited to resume his share of power, act as far as was decent; at last, retire to the country, and be a pattern of hospitality,

hospitality, politeness, wisdom, and virtue. Have you not observed, that there is a lower kind of discretion and regularity, which seldom fails of raising men to the highest stations in the court, the church, and the law? It must be so: for Providence, which designed the world should be governed by many heads, made it a business within the reach of common understandings; while one great genius is hardly found among ten millions. Did you never observe one of your clerks cutting his paper with a blunt ivory knife? Did you ever know the knife to fail going the true way? Whereas, if he had used a razor, or a pen-knife, he had odds against him of spoiling a whole sheet. I have twenty times compared the motion of that ivory implement to those talents that thrive best at court. Think upon lord *Bacon*, *Williams*, *Strafford*, *Laud*, *Clarendon*, *Shaftebury*, the last duke of *Buckingham* [b]; and of my own acquaintance, the earl of *Oxford* and yourself, all great geniuses in their several ways; and, if they had not been so great, would have been less unfortunate. I remember but one exception, and that was lord *Sommers*, whose timorous nature, joined with the trade of a common lawyer and the consciousness of a mean extraction, had taught him the regularity of an alderman, or a gentleman-usher. But, of late years, I have even refined upon this thought: for I plainly see, that fellows

[b] *Villiers Duke of Buckingham.*

of low intellectuals, when they are gotten at the head of affairs, can fall into the highest exorbitances, with much more safety, than a man of great talents can make the least step out of the way. Perhaps it is for the same reason, that men are more afraid of attacking a vicious than a mettlesome horse: but I rather think it owing to that incessant envy, wherewith the common rate of mankind pursues all superior natures to their own. And, I conceive, if it were left to the choice of an ass, he would rather be kicked by one of his own species than a better. If you will recollect that I am towards six years older than when I saw you last, and twenty years duller, you will not wonder to find me abound in empty speculations: I can now express in an hundred words what would formerly have cost me ten. I can write epigrams of fifty distichs, which might be squeezed into one. I have gone the round of all my stories three or four times with the younger people, and begin them again. I give hints how significant a person I have been, and no body believes me: I pretend to pity them, but am inwardly angry. I lay traps for people to desire I would shew them some things I have written, but cannot succeed; and wreak my spite, in condemning the taste of the people and company where I am. But it is with place, as it is with time. If I boast of having been valued three hundred miles off, it is of no more use than if I told how handsome I was when I was young. The worst of it
is,

is, that lying is of no use; for the people here will not believe one half of what is true. If I can prevail on any one to personate a hearer and admirer, you would wonder what a favourite he grows. He is sure to have the first glass out of the bottle, and the best bit I can carve.—Nothing has convinced me so much that I am of a little subaltern spirit, *inopis atque pusilli animi*, as to reflect how I am forced into the most trifling amusements, to divert the vexation of former thoughts, and present objects.—Why cannot you lend me a shred of your mantle, or, why did you not leave a shred of it with me when you was snatched from me?—You see I speak in my trade, although it is growing fast a trade to be ashamed of.

I cannot but wish that you would make it possible for me to see a copy of the papers you are about; and I do protest it necessary that such a thing should be in some person's hands besides your own, and I scorn to say how safe they would be in mine. Neither would you dislike my censures, as far as they might relate to circumstantial. I tax you with two minutes a day, until you have read this letter, although I am sensible you have not half so much from business more useful and entertaining.

My letter which miscarried [*i*] was, I believe, much as edifying as this, only thank-

[*i*] He means Letter XXVIII. which he hath endorsed on the back as having miscarried.

ing and congratulating with you for the delightful verses you sent me. And I ought to have expressed my vexation, at seeing you so much better a philosopher than myself; a trade you were neither born nor bred to: But I think it is observed, that gentlemen often dance better than those who live by the art. You may thank fortune that my paper is no longer, &c.

L E T T E R XXX.

To the BISHOP of MEATH.

MY LORD,

July 5, 1721.

I HAVE received an account of your lordship's refusing to admit my proxy at your visitation, with several circumstances of personal reflexions on myself, although my proxy attested my want of health; to confirm which, and to lay before you the justice and Christianity of your proceeding, above a hundred persons of quality and distinction can witness, that, since *Friday* the 26th of *May*, I have been tormented with an ague, in as violent a manner as possible, which still continues, and forces me to make use of another hand in writing to you. At the same time, I must be plain to tell you, that, if this accident had not happened, I should have used all endeavours to avoid your visitation, upon the public promise I made you three years ago, and the motives which occasioned

it; because I was unwilling to hear any more very injurious treatment and appellations given to my brethren or myself; and, by the grace of God, I am still determined to absent myself on the like occasions, as far as I can possibly be dispensed with by any law, while your lordship is in that diocese and I a member of it. In which resolution I could not conceive but your lordship would be easy: because, although my presence might possibly contribute to your real (at least future) interest, I was sure it could not to your present satisfaction.

If I had had the happiness to have been acquainted with any one clergyman in the diocese, of your lordship's principles, I should have desired him to represent me with hopes of better success: but I wish you would sometimes think it convenient to distinguish men as well as principles, and not to look upon every person, who happens to owe you canonical obedience, as if [k]—

I have the honour to be Ordinary over a considerable number of as eminent divines as any in this kingdom, who owe me the same obedience as I owe to your lordship, and are equally bound to attend my visitation; yet neither I, nor any of my predecessors, to my knowledge, did ever refuse a regular proxy.

I am only sorry that you, who are of a country famed for good-nature, have found

[k] The remainder of this paragraph he has left to the bishop's own conjecture.

a way

a way to unite the hasty passion of your own countrymen [1], with the long, sedate resentment of a *Spaniard*: but I have an honourable hope, that this proceeding has been more owing to party than complexion. I am,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's

most humble servant.

L E T T E R XXXI.

To the Earl of OXFORD.

October 11th, 1722.

MY LORD,

I OFTEN receive letters franked *Oxford*, but always find them written and subscribed by your lordship's servant, *Mynett*. His meaning is some business of his own, wherein I am his solicitor; but he makes his court by giving me an account of the state of your family, and perpetually adds a clause, that your lordship soon intends to write to me. I knew you indeed when you were not so great a man as you are now, I mean when you were treasurer; but you are grown so proud since your retirement, that there is no enduring you: and you have reason, for you never

[1] The bishop was a *Welshman*; his name *Evans*,

acted so difficult a part of life before. In the two great scenes of power and persecution, you have excelled mankind; and, in this of retirement, you have most injuriously forgotten your friends. Poor *Prior* often sent me his complaints on this occasion; and I have returned him mine. I never courted your acquaintance when you governed *Europe*, but you courted mine; and now you neglect me, when I use all my insinuations to keep myself in your memory. I am very sensible, that, next to receiving thanks and compliments, there is nothing you more hate than writing letters: but, since I never gave you thanks nor made you compliments, I have so much more merit than any of those thousands whom you have less obliged, by only making their fortunes, without taking them into your friendship, as you did me, whom you always countenanced in too public and particular a manner to be forgotten, either by the world or myself; for which never man was more proud or less vain.

I have now been ten years soliciting for your picture; and, if I had solicited you for a thousand pounds (I mean of your own money, not the public), I could have prevailed in ten days. You have given me many hundred hours, can you not now give me a couple? Have my mortifications been so few, or are you so malicious to add a greater than I ever yet suffered? Did you ever refuse me any thing I asked you? and will you now begin? In my conscience, I believe, and by the whole

whole conduct of your life I have reason to believe, that you are too poor to bear the expence. I ever told you, I was the richer man of the two; and I am now richer by five hundred pounds, than I was at the time when I was boasting at your table of my wealth, before *Diamond Pitt*.

I have hitherto taken up with a scurvy print of you, under which I have placed this lemma :

—*Veteres actus primamque juventam
Prosequar? ad sese mentem presentia ducunt.*

And this I will place under your picture, whenever you are rich enough to send it me. I will promise, in return, that it shall never lose you the reputation of poverty; which, to one of your birth, patrimony, and employments, is one of the greatest glories of your life, and so shall be celebrated by me.

I intreat your lordship, if your leisure and your health will permit, to let me know when I can be a month with you at *Brampton-castle*; because I have a great deal of business with you that relates to posterity. Mr. *Mynett* has, for some time, led me an uncomfortable life with his ill accounts of your health; but, God be thanked, his style is of late much altered for the better.

My hearty and constant prayers are perpetually offered up for the preservation of you and your excellent family. Pray, my lord, write to me; or you never loved me, or I have done something to deserve your displea-

sure. My lord and lady *Harriot*, my brother and sister [*m*], pretend to atone by making me fine presents; but I would have his lordship know, that I would value two of his lines more than two of his manors, &c.

LETTER XXXII.

To His Excellency Lord CARTERET,
Lord-Lieutenant of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

April 28th, 1724.

MANY of the principal persons in this kingdom, distinguished for their loyalty to his present majesty, hearing that I had the honour to be known to your excellency, have for some time pressed me very earnestly, since you were declared lord-lieutenant of this kingdom, to represent to your excellency the apprehensions they are under concerning Mr. *Wood's* patent for coining half-pence to pass in *Ireland*. Your excellency knows the unanimous sentiments of the parliament here upon that matter: and, upon enquiry, you will find, that there is not one person, of any rank or party, in this whole kingdom, who does not look upon that patent as the most ruinous project that ever was contrived against any nation. Neither is it doubted, that, when your excellency shall be thoroughly in-

[*m*] The members of the *Saturday's* club all called one another Brothers, and consequently their wives were Sisters to the several members.

formed,

formed, your justice and compassion for an injured people will force you to employ your credit for their relief.

I have made bold to send you inclosed two small tracts on this subject, one written (as it is supposed) by the earl of *Abercorn*; the other is entitled to a weaver, and suited to the vulgar, but thought to be the work of a better hand.

I hope your excellency will forgive an old humble servant, and one who always loved and esteemed you, for interfering in matters out of his province; which he would never have done, if many of the greatest persons here had not, by their importunity, drawn him out of his retirement, to venture giving you a little trouble, in hopes to save their country from utter destruction, for which the memory of your government will be blessed by posterity.

I hope to have the honour of seeing your excellency here; and do promise neither to be a frequent visitor nor troublesome solicitor, but ever, with the greatest respect, &c.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

To the same.

MY LORD,

June 9th, 1724.

IT is above a month since I took the boldness of writing to your excellency, upon a subject where the welfare of this kingdom is highly concerned.

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I writ

I writ at the desire of several considerable persons here, who could not be ignorant that I had the honour of being well known to you.

I could have wished your excellency had condescended so far, as to let one of your under-clerks have signified to me that a letter was received.

I have been long out of the world, but have not forgotten what used to pass among those I lived with, while I was in it: and I can say, that, during the experience of many years and many changes in affairs, your excellency, and one more, who is not worthy to be compared to you, are the only great persons that ever refused to answer a letter from me, without regard to business, party, or greatness; and if I had not a peculiar esteem for your personal qualities, I should think myself to be acting a very inferior part in making this complaint.

I never was so humble, as to be vain upon my acquaintance with men in power, and always rather chose to avoid it when I was not called. Neither were their power or titles sufficient, without merit, to make me cultivate them; of which I have witnesses enough left, after all the havock made among them by accidents of time, or by changes of persons, measures, and opinions.

I know not how your conceptions of yourself may alter, by every new high station; but mine must continue the same, or alter for the worse.

I often

I often told a great minister, whom you well know, that I valued him for being the same man through all the progress of power and place. I expected the like in your lordship; and still hope that I shall be the only person who will ever find it otherwise.

I pray God to direct your excellency in all your good undertakings, and especially in your government of this kingdom.

I shall trouble you no more; but remain, with great respect,

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's

most obedient, and

most humble servant.

L E T T E R XXXIV.

To the same.

MY LORD, *July 9th, 1724.*

I HUMBLY claim the privilege of an inferior, to be the last writer; yet with great acknowledgments for your condescension in answering my letters. I cannot but complain of you for putting me in the wrong. I am in the circumstances of a waiting-woman, who told her lady, that nothing vexed her more than to be caught in a lie. But, what

M 5 is

is worse, I have discovered in myself somewhat of the bully; and that, after all my rattling, you have brought me down to be as humble as the most distant attender at your levee. It is well your excellency's talents are in few hands; for, if it were otherwise, we, who pretend to be free speakers, in quality of philosophers, should be utterly cured of our forwardness; at least, I am afraid there will be an end of mine, with regard to your excellency. Yet, my lord, I am ten years older than I was when I had the honour to see you last, and consequently ten times more testy. Therefore I foretel, that you, who could so easily conquer so captious a person, and of so little consequence, will quickly subdue this whole kingdom to love and reverence you. I am, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD, &c.

LETTER XXXV.

TO EDWARD Earl of OXFORD.

On his Father's Death.

MY LORD,

July 1724.

ALTHOUGH I had, for two years past, inured myself to expect the death of my lord your father, from the frequent accounts of the bad condition of his health; yet the news

news of it struck me so sensibly, that I had not spirit enough to condole with your lordship, as I ought to have done, for so great a loss to the world and yourself. It is true, indeed, you no longer wanted his care and tenderness, nor his example, to incite you to virtue; but his friendship and conversation you will ever want, because they are qualities so rare in the world, and in which he so much excelled all others. It hath pleased me, in the midst of my grief, to hear that he preserved the greatness, and calmness, and intrepidity of his mind to his last minutes: for it was fit that such a life should terminate with equal lustre to the whole progress of it.

I must now beg leave to apply to your lordship's justice. He was often pleased to promise me his picture; but his troubles and sickness, and want of opportunity, and my absence, prevented him. I do therefore humbly insist, that your lordship will please to discharge what I almost look upon as a legacy.

I would entreat another and much greater favour of your lordship, that, at your leisure hours, you would please to inspect among your father's papers, whether there be any memorials that may be of use towards writing his life; which I have sometimes mentioned to him, and often thought on, when I little thought to survive him. I have formerly gathered several hints, but want many memorials, especially of his more early times, which might be easily supplied. And such a work

most properly belongs to me, who loved and respected him above all men, and had the honour to know him better than any other of my level did.

I humbly beg your lordship's pardon for so long a letter upon so mournful an occasion; and expect your justice to believe, that I am, and shall ever be, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's most obedient,

Most obliged, and

most humble servant.

I desire to present my most humble respects to my lady *Oxford*.

LETTER XXXVI.

To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET,
Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

Sept. 3d, 1724.

BEING ten years older than when I had the honour to see your excellency last, by consequence, if I am subject to any ailments, they are now ten times worse, and so it has happened. For I have been, this month past, so pestered with the return of a noise and deafness

deafness in my ears, that I had not spirit to perform the common offices of life, much less to write to your excellency, and least of all to answer so obliging and condescending a letter as that I received from you. But these ugly ten years have a worse consequence; that they utterly destroy any title to the good opinion you are pleased to express of me, as an amuser of the world and myself. To have preserved that talent, I ought, as I grew older, to have removed into a better climate, instead of being sunk for life in a worse. I imagine *France* would be proper for me now, and *Italy* ten years hence. However, I am not so bad as they would make me: for, since I left *England*, such a parcel of trash has been there fathered upon me, that nothing but the good judgment of my friends could hinder them from thinking me the greatest dunce alive.

There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for *England*; it is Dr. *George Berkeley*, dean of *Derry*, the best preferment among us, being worth 1100*l.* a year. He takes the *Bath* in his way to *London*; and will, of course, attend your excellency, and be presented, I suppose, by his friend my lord *Burlington*. And, because I believe you will chuse out some very idle minutes to read this letter, perhaps you may not be ill entertained with some account of the man, and his errand. He was a fellow in the *University* here; and, going to *England* very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the found-
er

der of a sect there called the *Immaterialists*, by the force of a very curious book upon that subject. Dr. *Smaldrige* and many other eminent persons were his profelytes. I sent him secretary and chaplain, to *Sicily*, with my lord *Peterborow*; and, upon his lordship's return, Dr. *Berkeley* spent above seven years in travelling over most parts of *Europe*, but chiefly through every corner of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and other islands. When he came back to *England*, he found so many friends, that he was effectually recommended to the duke of *Grafton*, by whom he was lately made dean of *Derry*. Your excellency will be frighted, when I tell you all this is but an introduction: for I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher, with regard to money, titles, and power; and, for three years past, hath been struck with a notion of founding an university at *Bermudas*, by a charter from the Crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment: but, in *England*, his conquests are greater; and, I doubt, will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract, which he designs to publish; and there your excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for *Indian* scholars and missionaries; where he, most exorbitantly, proposeth a whole hundred pounds a year for himself,

himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his deanry be not taken from him, and left to your excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible, and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I do humbly entreat your excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom, for learning and virtue, quiet at home, or assist him, by your credit, to compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.

I must now, in all humility, intreat one favour of you, as you are lord lieutenant. Mr. *Proby*, surgeon of the army here, laid out the greatest part of his fortune to buy a captainship for his eldest son. The young man was lately accused of discovering an inclination to popery, while he was quartered in *Galway*. The report of the court-martial is transmitted to your excellency. The universal opinion here is, that the accusation was false and malicious: and the archbishop of *Tuam*, in whose diocese *Galway* is, upon a strict enquiry, hath declared it to be so. But all this is not to sway with your excellency, any more than that the father is the most universally beloved of any I ever knew in his station. But I intreat, that you will please to hear the opinion of others, who may speak in his favour; and, perhaps, will tell
you,

you, that, as party is not in the case, so you cannot do any personal thing more acceptable to the people of *Ireland*, than in inclining towards lenity to Mr. *Proby* and his family; although I have reason to be confident, that they neither need nor desire more than justice. I beg your excellency will remember my request to be only that you would hear others, and not think me so very weak, as to imagine I could have hopes of giving the least turn to your mind. Therefore I hope, what I have said is pardonable in every respect, but that of taking up your time.

My lord, we are here preparing for your reception, and for a quiet session under your government; but, whether you approve the manner, I can only guess. It is by universal declarations against *Wood's* coin. One thing I am confident of, that your excellency will find and leave us under dispositions very different, towards your person and high station, from what have appeared towards others.

I have no other excuse for the length of this letter, but a faithful promise that I will never be guilty of the same fault a second time, I am, &c.

LET-

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To Mrs. P R A T T.

March 18th, 1724-5.

MADAM,

MRS. *Fitzmorrice* did the unkindest thing she could imagine; she sends an open note by a servant (for she was too much a prude to write me a letter), directing me to enquire for one *Howard*, master of a ship, who had brought over a screen to me from Mrs. *Pratt*. Away I ran to the Custom-house, where they told me the ship was expected every day: but the God of Winds, in confederacy with Mrs. *Fitzmorrice* to teaze me, kept the ship at least a month longer, and left me miserable in a state of impatience between hope and fear, worse than a lady who apprehends her cloaths will not be ready against the birth-day.

I will not move your good-nature, by representing how many restless days and nights I have passed, with what dreams my sleep hath been disturbed, when I sometimes saw the ship sinking, and my screen floating in the sea, and the mermaids struggling which of them should get it. At last Mr. *Medlicott* [n], whose heart inclines him to pity the distressed, gave me notice of it's safe arrival. He

[n] One of the commissioners of the customs.

interposed

interposed his authority; and, over-ruling the tedious forms of the Custom house, sent me my screen to the Deanry: where it was immediately opened, on *Tuesday* the 16th instant, three minutes seven seconds after four o'clock, the day being fair but somewhat windy, the sun in *Aries*, and the moon within 39 hours 8 seconds and a half of being full. All which I find, by consulting *Ptolemy*, to be fortunate incidents, and that, with due care, my screen will escape the mops of the housemaid, and the greasy hands of the footmen.

At the opening of the screen, just after dinner, some company of both sexes were present. The ladies were full of malice, and the men of envy, while I was very affectedly calm. But all agreed, that nothing shewed a better judgment than to know how to make a proper present, and that no present could be more judiciously chosen. For no man in this kingdom wanted a screen so much as myself: and, besides, since I had left the world, it was very kind to send the world to me. As for my own part, I confess I never expected to be sheltered by the world, when I have been so long endeavouring to shelter myself from it. See how ill you bestow your favours, when you meet with nothing but complaints and reproaches, instead of acknowledgments, for thinking, in the midst of courts, upon an absent insignificant man, buried in obscurity. But I know it is as hard to give thanks as to take them: Therefore I shall

shall say no more, than that I receive your acceptable present just as I am sure you desire I should. But I cannot promise that it will add one jot to the love and esteem I have for you; because it is impossible for me to be more than I have always been,

MADAM,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET,
Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND.

Deanry-house, April 17, 1725

MY LORD,

I HAVE been so long afflicted with a deafness, and at present with a giddiness in my head (both old distempers), that I have not been able to attend your excellency and my lady *Carteret*, as my inclination and duty oblige me; and I am now hasting into the country, to try what exercise and better air will do towards my recovery. Not knowing how long I may be absent, nor how soon you may think fit to leave this kingdom, I take this occasion of returning your excellency, and my lady *Carteret*, my most humble acknowledgments for your great civilities towards

towards me, which I wish it were in my power to deserve.

I have only one humble request to make to your excellency, which I had in my heart ever since you were nominated lord lieutenant; and it is in favour of Mr. *Sheridan*. I beg you will take your time for bestowing on him some church-living, to the value of 150*l.* per annum. He is agreed on all hands, to have done more public service, by many degrees, in the education of lads, than any five of his vocation; and has much more learning than usually falls to the share of those who profess teaching, being perfectly skilled in the *Greek* as well as *Latin* tongue, and acquainted with all the antient writers, in poetry, philosophy, and history. He is a man of good sense, modesty, and virtue. His greatest fault is a wife and four children, for which there is no excuse, but that a wife is thought necessary to a school-master. His constitution is so weak, that, in a few years, he must give up his business; and probably must starve, without some preferment, for which he is an ill solicitor. My lord bishop of *Elphin* hath promised to recommend this request to your excellency. And I hope you will please to believe that it proceeds wholly from justice and humanity, for he is neither a dependent nor relation of mine.

I humbly take my leave, and remain, with the utmost respect,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T.

LETTER XXXIX.

To Mrs. HOWARD [o].

February 1st, 1726-7.

MADAM,

I AM so very nice, and my workmen so fearful, that there is yet but one piece finished of the two, which you commanded me to send to her royal highness. The other was done; but the undertaker, confessing it was not to the utmost perfection, hath obtained my leave for a second attempt; in which he promises to do wonders, and tells me it will be ready in another fortnight; although, perhaps, the humour may be quite off both with the princess and you: for such were courts when I knew them. I desire you will order her royal highness to go to *Richmond* as soon as she can this summer, because she will have the pleasure of my neighbourhood; for I hope to be in *London* by the middle of *March*, and I do not love you much when you are there: and I expect to find you are altered by flattery, or ill company. I am glad to tell you now, that I honour you with my esteem; because, when the princess grows a crowned head, you shall have no more such compliments; and it is a hundred to one whether you will deserve

[o] Afterwards countess of *Suffolk*.

4

them.

them. I do not approve of your advice to bring over pumps for myself, but will rather provide another shoe for his Royal Highness [p], against there shall be occasion. I will tell you an odd accident that happened this night: While I was careffing one of my *Houybnbms*, he bit my little finger so cruelly, that I am hardly able to write; and I impute the cause to some foreknowledge in him, that I was going to write to a *Sieve Yaboo* [q] (for so you are pleased to call yourself). Pray tell sir *Robert Walpole*, that if he does not use me better next summer than he did last, I will study revenge, and it shall be *vengeance ecclesiastique*. I hope you will get your house and wine ready, to which Mr. *Gay* and I are to have free access when you are at court; for, as to Mr. *Pope*, he is not worth considering on such occasions. I am sorry I have no complaints to make of her royal highness: therefore, I think, I may let you tell her, That every grain of virtue and good sense, in one of her rank, considering the bad education among flatterers and adorers, is worth a dozen in any inferior person. Now, if what the world says be true, that she excells all other ladies at least a dozen times; then, multiply one dozen by the other, you will find the number to be one hundred and forty-four. If any one can say a civiler

[p] Vide *Gulliver's Travels*, chap. IV.

[q] *i. e.* A Court-lady. See *Gulliver's Travels*, in the Voyage to *Loputa*, chap. V.

thing,

thing, let him; for I think it too much for me.

I have some title to be angry with you, for not commanding those who write to me to mention your remembrance. Can there be any thing more base, than to make me the first advances, and then be inconstant. It is very hard, that I must cross the sea, and ride two hundred miles, to reproach you in person; when, at the same time, I feel myself, with the most entire respect,

MADAM, &c.

L E T T E R XL.

To the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN [r].

MY LORD, May 18th, 1727.

I UNDERSTAND, by some letters just come to my hands, that, at your grace's visitation of the dean and chapter of *St. Patrick's*, a proxy was insisted on from the dean, the visitation adjourned, and a rule entered that a proxy be exhibited within a month. If your grace can find, in any of your old records or of ours, that a proxy was ever demanded for a dean of *St. Patrick's*, you will have some reason to insist upon it: but, as it is a thing wholly new and unheard of, let

[r] *Dr. William King.*

the consequences be what they will, I shall never comply with it. I take my chapter to be my proxy, if I want any: it is only through them that you visit me, and my sub-dean is to answer for me. I am neither civilian nor canonist: your grace may probably be both, with the addition of a dextrous deputy. My proceeding shall be only upon one maxim: never to yield to an oppression, to justify which no precedent can be produced. I see very well how personal all this proceeding is; and how, from the very moment of the queen's death, your grace hath thought fit to take every opportunity of giving me all sorts of uneasiness, without ever giving me, in my whole life, one single mark of your favour beyond common civilities. And, if it were not below a man of spirit to make complaints, I could date them from six and twenty years past. This hath something in it the more extraordinary, because, during some years, when I was thought to have credit with those in power, I employed it to the utmost for your service, with great success, where it could be most useful, against many violent enemies you then had, however unjustly; by which I got more ill-will than by any other action of my life, I mean from my friends. My lord, I have lived, and by the grace of God will die, an enemy to servitude and slavery of all kinds: and I believe, at the same time, that persons of such a disposition will be the most ready to pay obedience wherever it is due. Your grace hath often said, you
would

would never infringe any of our liberties. I will call back nothing of what is past : I will forget, if I can, that you mentioned to me a licence to be absent. Neither my age, health, humour, or fortune, qualify me for little brangles ; but I will hold to the practice delivered down by my predecessors. I thought, and have been told, that I deserved better from that church and that kingdom : I am sure, I do from your grace. And, I believe, people on this side will attest, that all my merits are not very old. It is a little hard, that, the occasion of my journey hither being partly for the advantage of that kingdom, partly on account of my health, partly on business of importance to me, and partly to see my friends ; I cannot enjoy the quiet of a few months, without your grace interposing to disturb it. But, I thank God, the civilities of those in power here, who allow themselves to be my professed adversaries, make some atonement for the unkindness of others, who have so many reasons to be my friends. I have not long to live ; and, therefore, if conscience were quite out of the case for me to do a base thing, I will set no unworthy examples for my successors to follow : and, therefore, repeating it again that I shall not concern myself upon the proceeding of your lordship, I am, &c.

LETTER XLI.

To the Countess of SUFFOLK.

Tewickenham, Aug. 15, 1727.

MADAM,

I WISH I were a young lord, and you were unmarried: I should make you the best husband in the world, for I am ten times deafer than ever you were in your life; and, instead of a poor pain in my face, I have a good substantial giddiness and head-ache. The best of it is, that, although we might lay our heads together, you could tell me no secrets that might not be heard five rooms distant. These disorders of mine, if they hold me as long as they used to do some years ago, will last as long as my leave of absence, which I shall not renew: and then the queen will have the misfortune not to see me, and I shall go back with the satisfaction never to have seen her since she was queen, but when I kissed her hand. And, although she were a thousand queens, I will not lose my privilege of never seeing her but when she commands it. I told my two landlords, that I would write you a love-letter; which, I remember, you commanded me to do last year: but I would not shew it to either of them. I am the greatest courtier and flatterer you have; because I try your good sense and taste, more than

than all of them put together, which is the greatest compliment I could put upon you : and you have hitherto behaved yourself tolerably well under it ; much better than your mistress, if what a lady told me was true : that, talking with the queen about me, her majesty said, I was an odd sort of a man. But I forgive her, for it is an odd thing to speak freely to princes. I will say another thing in your praise, that goodness would become you better than any person I know : and, for that very reason, there is no body I wish to be good so much as yourself. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XLII.

To his Excellency the Lord CARTERET,
Lord-Lieutenant of IRELAND.

January, 18, 1727-8.

MY LORD,

I WAS informed, that, your excellency having referred to the University here some regulation of his majesty's benefaction for professors ; they have, in their answer, insinuated as if they thought it best, that the several professorships should be limited to their fellows, and to be held only as they continue to be so. I need not inform your excellency, how contrary such a practice is to that of all the universities in *Europe*. Your excellency well knows how many learned men, of

the two last ages, have been invited by princes to be professors in some art or science, for which they were renowned; and that the like rule hath been followed in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. I hope your excellency will shew no regard to so narrow and impartial an opinion, which can only tend to mend fellowships, and spoil professorships: although I should be sorry, that any fellow should be thought incapable on that account, when otherwise qualified. And I should be glad that any person, whose education hath been in this university, should be preferred before another upon equal deservings. But that must be left to those who shall be your excellency's successors, who may not always be great clerks: and I wish you could, in some measure, provide against having this benefaction made a perquisite of humour or favour. Whoever is preferred to a bishoprick, or to such a preferment as shall hinder him from residing within a certain distance of this town, should be obliged to resign his professorship.

As long as you are governor here, I shall always expect the liberty of telling you my thoughts: and I hope you will consider them, until you find I grow impertinent, or have some bias of my own.

If I had not been confined to my chamber by the continuance of an unconvertible disorder, I would have exchanged your trouble of reading for that of hearing. I am,
 &c.

I de.

I desire to present my most humble respects to my lady *Carteret*.

Your friend *Walpole* hath lately done one of the cruellest actions that ever I knew, even in a minister of state, these thirty years past; which, if the queen hath not intelligence of, may my right hand forget it's cunning.

L E T T E R XLIII.

To the same [s].

About *May 10, 1728.*

MY LORD,

I TOLD your excellency that you were to run on my errands. My lord *Burlington* hath a very fine monument of his ancestor the earl of *Cork*, in my cathedral, which your excellency hath seen. I and the chapter have written to him in a body to have it repaired, and I in person have desired he would do it. And I desired likewise, that he would settle a parcel of land, worth five pounds a year (not an annuity), to keep it always in repair. He said he would do any thing to oblige me; but was afraid that, in future times, the five pounds a year would be misapplied, and secured by the dean and chapter to their own use. I answered, that a dean and twenty-

[s] This letter is not dated, but endorsed "To lord lieutenant *Carteret*, before his going off."

four members of so great a chapter, who, in livings, estates, &c. had about 4000*l.* a year amongst them, would hardly divide four shillings among them to cheat his posterity; and that we could have no view but to consult the honour of his family. I therefore command your excellency to lay this before him, and the affront he hath put upon us, in not answering a letter written to him by the dean and chapter in a body.

The great duke of *Schomberg* is buried under the altar in my cathedral. My lady *Holderness* is my old acquaintance, and I writ to her about a small sum, to make a monument for her grandfather. I writ to her myself; and also, there was a letter from the dean and chapter, to desire she would order a monument to be raised for him in my cathedral. It seems *Mildmay*, now lord *Fitzwalter*, her husband, is a covetous fellow; or, whatever is the matter, we have had no answer. I desire you will tell lord *Fitzwalter*, that, if he will not send fifty pounds to make a monument for the old duke, I and the chapter will erect a small one of ourselves for ten pounds; wherein it shall be expressed, That the posterity of the duke, naming particularly lady *Holderness* and Mr. *Mildmay*, not having the generosity to erect a monument, we have done it of ourselves. And if, for an excuse, they pretend they will send for his body, let them know it is mine; and, rather than send it, I will take up the bones, and make of it a skeleton, and put it in my registry-office, to be

a memo.

a memorial of their baseness to all posterity. This I expect your excellency will tell Mr. *Mildmay*, or, as you now call him, lord *Fitz-walter*: and I expect likewise, that he will let sir *Conyers Darcy* know how ill I take his neglect in this matter; although, to do him justice, he averred, that *Mildmay* was so avaricious a wretch, that he would let his own father be buried without a coffin, to save charges.

I expect likewise, that, if you are acquainted with your successor, you will let him know how impartial I was in giving you characters of a clergymen, without regard to party; and what weight you laid on them: and that, having but one clergyman who had any relation to me, I let him pass unpreferred. And, lastly, that you will let your said successor know, that you lament the having done nothing for Mr. *Robert Gratton*; and give him such a recommendation, that he may have something to mend his fortune.

These are the matters I leave in charge to your excellency: and I desire that I, who have done with courts, may not be used like a courtier. For, as I was a courtier when you were a school-boy, I know all your arts. And so God bless you, and all your family, my old friends: and remember, I expect you shall not dare to be a courtier to me. I am,
Sc.

LETTER XLIV.

To Mr. P O P E.

S I R,

March 6th, 1728-9.

IF I am not a good correspondent, I have bad health; and that is as good. I passed eight months in the country, with sir *Arthur* and my lady *Acheson*, and had at least half a dozen returns of my giddiness and deafness, which lasted me about three weeks a piece; and, among other inconveniencies, hindred me from visiting my chapter and punishing enormities, but did not save me the charges of a visitation-dinner. This disorder neither hinders my sleeping, nor much my walking, yet is the most mortifying malady I can suffer. I have been just a month in town, and have just got rid of it in a fortnight: and, when it is on me, I have neither spirits to write, or read, or think, or eat. But I drink as much as I like; which is a resource you cannot fly to when you are ill. And I like it as little as you: but I can bear a pint better than you can a spoonful. You were very kind in your care for Mr. *Whalley*; but, I hope, you remembered, that *Daniel* is a damnable poet, and consequently a public enemy to mankind. But I despise the lords decree, which is a jest upon common sense: for, what did it signify to the merits of the cause,

cause, whether *George* the Old, or the Young, were on the throne?

No: I intended to pass last winter in *England*, but my health said No: and I did design to live a gentleman, and, as *Sancho's* wife said, to go in my coach to court. I know not whether you are in earnest to come hither in spring: if not, pray God you may never be in jest. Dr. *Delany* shall attend you at *Chester*, and your apartment is ready; and I have a most excellent chaise, and about sixteen dozen of the best cyder in the world; and you shall command the town and kingdom, and *digito monstrari*, &c. And, when I cannot hear, you shall have choice of the best people we can afford, to hear you, and nurses enough; and your apartment is on the sunny side.

The next paragraph strikes me dumb. You say I am to blame, if I refuse the opportunity of going with my lady *Bolingbroke* to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. I must tell you, that a foreign language is mortal to a deaf man. I must have good ears to catch up the words of so nimble a tongued race as the *French*, having been a dozen years without conversing among them. Mr. *Gay* is a scandal to all lusty young fellows with healthy countenance; and, I think, he is not intemperate in a physical sense. I am told he has an asthma, which is a disease I commiserate more than deafness, because it will not leave a man quiet either sleeping or waking. I hope he does not intend

tend to print his Opera [t] before it is acted; for I defy all your subscriptions to amount to 800*l.* And yet, I believe, he lost as much more for want of human prudence.

I told you some time ago, that I was dwindled to a writer of libels on the lady of the family where I lived, and upon myself; but they never went further: and my lady *Acheson* made me give her up all the foul copies, and never gave the fair ones out of her hands, or suffered them to be copied. They were sometimes shewn to intimate friends, to occasion mirth, and that was all. So that I am vexed at your thinking I had any hand in what could come to your eyes. I have some confused notion of seeing a paper called *Sir Ralph the Patriot*, but am sure it was bad or indifferent; and, as to the *Lady at Quadrille*, I never heard of it. Perhaps it may be the same with a paper of verses called, *The Journal of a Dublin Lady*, which I writ at Sir *Arthur Acheson's*; and, leaving out what concerned the family, I sent it to be printed in a paper which doctor *Sheridan* had engaged in, called, *The Intelligencer*, of which he made but sorry work, and then dropt it. But the verses were printed by themselves, and most horridly mangled in the press, and were very mediocre in themselves; but did well enough in the manner I mentioned, of a family-jest. I do sincerely assure you, that my frequent old disorder, and the scene where I

[t] The Second Part of the *Beggar's Opera*.

am, and the humour I am in, and some other reasons which time hath shewn, and will shew more if I live; have lowered my small talents with a vengeance, and cooled my disposition to put them in use. I want only to be rich, for I am hard to be pleased; and, for want of riches, people grow every day less solicitous to please me. Therefore I keep humble company, who are happy to come where they can get a bottle of wine without paying for it. I give my vicar a supper, and his wife a shilling, to play with me an hour at back-gammon once a fortnight. To all people of quality, and especially of titles, I am not within; or, at least, am deaf a week or two after I am well. But, on *Sunday*-evenings, it costs me six bottles of wine to people whom I cannot keep out. Pray, come over in *April*, if it be only to convince you that I tell no lies, and the journey will be certainly for your health. Mrs. *Brent*, my house-keeper, famous in print for digging out the great bottle [u], says she will be your nurse; and the best physicians we have shall attend you without fees: although, I believe, you will have no occasion but to converse with one or two of them to make them proud.

Your letter came but last post, and you see my punctuality. I am unlucky at every thing I send to *England*. Two bottles of usquebaugh were broken. Well, my humble service to my lord *Bolingbroke*, lord *Bathurst*,

[u] See Vol. VI.

lord *Masham*, and his lady my dear friend, and Mr. *Pultney*, and the doctor, and Mr. *Lewis*, and our sickly friend *Gay*, and my lady *Bolingbroke*; and very much to *Patty* [w], who I hope will learn to love the world less, before the world leaves off to love her. I am much concerned to hear of my lord *Peterborow* being ill. I am exceedingly his servant, and pray God recover his health. As for your courtier Mrs. *Howard*, and her Mistress, I have nothing to say, but that they have neither memory nor manners; else I should have some mark of the former from the latter, which I was promised above two years ago: but, since I made them a present, it would be mean to remind them. I am told poor Mrs. *Pope* is ill: Pray God preserve her to you, or raise you up as useful a friend.

This letter is an answer to Mr. *Ford*, whose hand I mistook for yours, having not heard from him this twelve-month. Therefore you are not to stare; and it must not be lost, for it talks to you only.

Again, forgive my blunders: for, reading the letter by candle-light, and not dreaming of a letter from Mr. *Ford*, I thought it must be yours, because it talks of our friends.

The letter talks of *Gay*, and Mr. *Walley*, and lord *Bolingbroke*, which made me conclude it must be yours: so all the answering part must go for nothing.

[w] *Patty Blount.*

LET.

LETTER XLV.

To a certain ESQUIRE.

January 3d, 1729-30.

SIR,

SEEN your frank on the outside, and your address in the same hand, it was obvious who was the writer. And, before I opened it, a worthy friend being with me, I told him the contents of the difference between us. That, your tythes being generally worth five or six pounds *per annum*, and, by the terror of squireship, frightening my agent to take what you graciously thought fit to give, you wronged me of half my due every year. That, having held from your father an island worth three pence a year, which I planted and paid two shillings annually for; and being out of possession of the said island seven or eight years, there could not possibly be above four shillings due to you; for which you have thought proper to stop three or four years tythe, at your own rate of two pounds five shillings a year (as I remember) and still continue to stop it, on pretence that the said island was not surrendered to you in form; although you have cut down more plantations of willows, and abeles, than would purchase a dozen such islands. I told my friend, that this talent of squires prevailed very much formerly in the country: that, as to yourself,

from the badness of your education, against all my advices and endeavours, and from the cast of your nature, as well as another circumstance which I shall not mention; I expected nothing from you that became a gentleman: that I had expostulated this scurvy matter very gently with you: that I conceived this letter was an answer. That, from the prerogative of a good estate, however gotten, and the practice of lording over a few *Irish* wretches, and from the natural want of better thinking, I was sure your answer would be extremely rude and stupid, full of very bad language in all senses. That a bear in a wilderness will as soon fix on a philosopher as on a cottager: and a man, wholly void of education, judgment, or distinction of persons, has no regard, in his insolence, but to the passion of fear: and, how heartily I wished, that, to make you shew your humility, your quarrel had rather been with a captain of dragoons, than the dean of *St. Patrick's*.

All this happened before my opening your letter; which, being read, my friend told me I was an ill guesser. That you affirmed you despised me only as a clergyman by your own confession; and that you had reason, because clergymen pretend to learning, wherein you value yourself as what you are an utter stranger to.

I took some pains in providing and advising about your education; but, since you have made so ill use of my rules, I cannot deny, that, according to your own principles, your
usage

usage of me is just. You are wholly out of my danger: the weapons I use will do you no hurt; and to that which would keep nicer men in awe you are insensible. A needle against a stone-wall can make no impression. Your faculty lies in making bargains: stick to that. Leave your children a better estate than your father left you; as he left you much more than your grandfather left him. Your father and you are much wiser than I, who gave among you fifty years purchase for land, for which I am not to see one farthing. This was intended as an encouragement to a clergyman to reside among you, whenever any of your posterity shall be able to distinguish a man from a beast. One thing I desire you will be set right in: I do not despise all squires. It is true, I despise the bulk of them. But pray take notice, that a squire must have some merit before I shall honour him with my contempt: for I do not despise a fly, a maggot, or a mite.

If you send me an answer to this, I shall not read it, but open it before company, and in their presence burn it; for no other reason but the detestation of bad spelling, no grammar, and that pertness which proceeds from ignorance and an invincible want of taste.

I have ordered a copy of this letter to be taken, with an intention to print it, as a mark of my esteem for you; which, however, perhaps I shall not pursue: for I could willingly excuse our two names from standing in the

same paper, since I am confident you have as little desire of fame as I have to give it you.

I wish many happy new years to you and your family; and am, with truth,

Your friend and

humble servant.

Let me add something serious : That, as it is held an imprudent thing to provoke valour ; so, I confess, it was imprudent in me to provoke rudeness : which, as it was my own standing rule never to do, except in cases where I had power to punish it, so my error proceeded from a better opinion of you than you have thought fit to make good. For, with every fault in your nature, your education, and your understanding, I never imagined you so utterly devoid of knowing some little distinction between persons.

L E T T E R XLVL

To Lady W O R S L E Y.

MADAM,

April 19th, 1730.

MY lady *Carteret* (if you know such a lady) commands me to pursue my own inclination ; which is, to honour myself with writing you a letter ; and thereby endeavouring

ing to preserve myself in your memory, in spite of an acquaintance of more years, than in regard to my own reputation, as a young gentleman, I care to recollect. I forgot whether I had not some reasons to be angry with your ladyship, when I was last in *England*. I hope to see you very soon the youngest-great-grand-mother in *Europe*: and fifteen years hence (which I shall have nothing to do with) you will be at the amusement of "Rise up, daughter," &c. You are to answer this letter, and to inform me of your health and humour; and, whether you like your daughter better or worse, after having so long conversed with the *Irish* world, and so little with me. Tell me what are your amusements at present; cards, court, books, visiting, or fondling (I humbly beg your ladyship's pardon, but it is between ourselves) your grand-children? My lady *Carteret* hath been the best queen we have known in *Ireland* these many years; yet is she mortally hated by all the young girls, because (and it is your fault) she is handsomer than all of them together. Pray, do not insult poor *Ireland* on this occasion, for it would have been exactly the same thing in *London*. And therefore I shall advise the K—g, when I go next to *England*, to send no more of her sort (if such another can be found) for fear of turning all his loyal female-subjects here against him.

How is our old friend Mrs. *Barton*? (I forget her new name). I saw her three years

ago, at court, almost dwindled to an echo, and hardly knew her; while your eyes dazzled me as much as when I first met them: which, considering myself, is a greater compliment than you are aware of. I wish you may have grace to find it.

My lady *Carteret* hath made me a present, which I take to be malicious, with a design to stand in your place. Therefore I would have you to provide against it by another, and something of your own work, as hers is. For you know I always expect advances and presents from ladies. Neither was I ever deceived in this last article by any of your sex but the *Q—n*, whom I taxed three years ago with a present of ten pounds value. Upon taking my leave, she said she intended a medal for me, but it was not finished. I afterwards sent her, on her own commands, about five and thirty pounds worth of silk, for herself and the princesses; but never received the medal to this day. Therefore, I will trust your sex no more. You are to present my most humble service to my old friend sir *Robert Worsley*. I hope my friend *Harry* is well, and fattening in the sun, and continuing a batchelor to enrich the poor *Worsley* family.

I command you to believe me to be, with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

L E T -

LETTER XLVII.

To the Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

November 10th, 1730.

MY LORD,

I WAS positively advised by a friend, whose opinion hath much weight with me, and who hath a great veneration for your lordship, to venture a letter of sollicitation: and it is the first request of this kind that I ever made since the public changes, in times, persons, measures, and opinions, drove me into distance and obscurity.

There is an honest man, whose name is *Launcelot*; he hath been long a servant to my lord *Suffex*: He married a relation of mine, a widow, with a tolerable jointure; which, depending upon a lease which the duke of *Grafton* suffered to expire about three years ago, sunk half her little fortune. Mr. *Launcelot* had many promises from the duke of *Dorset*, while his grace held that office which is now in your lordship [x], but they all failed, after the usual fate that the bulk of court-suiters must expect.

I am very sensible that I have no manner of claim to the least favour from your lordship, whom I have hardly the honour to be known

[x] The earl of *Chesterfield* was then lord steward of his majesty's household.

to, although you were always pleased to treat me with much humanity, and with more distinction than I could pretend to deserve. I am likewise conscious of that demerit which I have largely shared with all those who concerned themselves in a court and ministry, whose maxims and proceedings have been ever since so much exploded. But your lordship will grant me leave to say, that, in those times, when any persons of the ejected party came to court, and were of tolerable consequence, they never failed to succeed in any reasonable request they made for a friend. And, when I sometimes added my poor solicitations, I used to quote the then ministers a passage in the Gospel, *The poor* (meaning their own dependents) *you have always with you, &c.*

This is the strongest argument I have to entreat your lordship's favour for Mr. *Launcelot*, who is a perfect honest man, and as loyal as you could wish. His wife, my near relation, hath been my favourite from her youth, and as deserving as it is possible for one of her level. It is understood, that some little employments about the court may be often in your lordship's disposal; and that my lord *Suffex* will give Mr. *Launcelot* the character he deserves: and then let my petition be (to speak in my own trade) a drop in the bucket.

Remember, my lord, that, although this letter be long, yet what particularly concerns my request is but of a few lines.

I shall

I shall not congratulate with your lordship upon any of your present great employments, or upon the greatest that can possibly be given to you; because you are one of those very few who do more honour to a court, than you can possibly receive from it: which I take to be a greater compliment to any court than it is to your lordship. I am,

MY LORD, &c.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

To the Countess of SUFFOLK.

November 21, 1730.

MADAM,

I DO now pity the leisure you have to read a letter from me; and this letter shall be a history. First, therefore, I call you to witness that I did not attend on the Q—n till I had received her own repeated messages; which, of course, occasioned my being introduced to you. I never asked any thing, till, upon leaving *England* the first time, I desired from you a present worth a guinea, and from her majesty one worth ten pounds, by way of a memorial. Your's I received; and the Q—n, upon my taking leave of her, made an excuse that she had intended a medal for me; which not being ready, she would send it me the *Christmas* following: yet this was

never done, nor at all remembered when I went back to *England* the next year, and, by her commands, attended her as I had done before. I must now tell you, madam, that I will receive no medal from her majesty, nor any thing less than her picture at half length, drawn by *Jervas*; and, if he takes it from another original, the Q—n shall sit at least twice for him to touch it up. I desire you will let her majesty know this in plain words, although I have heard that I am under her displeasure. But this is a usual thing with princes as well as ministers, upon every false representation; and so I took occasion to tell the Q—n, upon the quarrel Mr. *Walpole* had with our friend *Gay*, the first time I ever had the honour to attend her.

Against you I have but one reproach: That, when I was last in *England*, and just after the present king's accession, I resolved to pass that summer in *France*, for which I had then a most lucky opportunity; from which those who seemed to love me well dissuaded me, by your advice: and, when I sent you a note, conjuring you to lay aside the character of a courtier and a favourite upon that occasion, your answer positively directed me not to go in that juncture; and you said the same thing to my friends, who seemed to have power of giving me hints, that I might reasonably hope for a settlement in *England*. Which, God knows, was no very great ambition, considering the station I should leave here,

here, of greater dignity, and which might have easily been managed to be disposed of as the Q—n pleased. If these hints came from you, I affirm you then acted too much like a courtier. But I forgive you, and esteem you as much as ever. You have your reasons, which I shall not enquire into; because I always believed you had some virtues, besides all the accomplishments of mind and person that can adorn a lady.

I am angry with the Q—n for sacrificing my friend *Gay* to the mistaken piques of sir *Robert Walpole*, about a libel written against him; although he were convinced at the same time of Mr. *Gay's* innocence, and although, as I said before, I told her majesty the whole story. Mr. *Gay* deserved better treatment amongst you, upon all accounts, and particularly for his excellent unregarded Fables, dedicated to prince *William*, which I hope his royal highness will often read for his instruction. I wish her majesty would a little remember what I largely said to her about *Ireland*, when, before a witness, she gave me leave, and commanded me to tell her what she spoke to me upon that subject; and ordered me, that, if I lived to see her in her present station, to send her our grievances, promising to read my letter, and do all good offices in her power for this miserable and most loyal kingdom, now at the brink of ruin, and never so near as now. As to myself, I repeat again, that I never asked any thing more than a trifle, as a memorial of some

distinction which her majesty graciously seem-
ed to make between me and every common
clergyman : but that trifle was forgotten, ac-
cording to the usual method of princes, al-
though I was taught to think myself upon a
foot of pretending to some little exception.

As to yourself, madam, I most heartily
congratulate with you for being delivered
from the toil, the envy, the slavery, and vex-
ation of a favourite, where you could not
always answer the good intentions that I hope
you had. You will now be less teized with
solicitations, one of the greatest evils in life.
You possess an easy employment, with quiet
of mind, although it be by no means equal
to your merit : and, if it shall please God to
establish your health, I believe and hope you
are too wise to hope for more. *Mr. Pope*
hath always been an advocate for your sincer-
ity ; and even I, in the character I gave you
of yourself, allowed you as much of that
virtue as could be expected in a lady, a cour-
tier, and a favourite. Yet, I confess, I ne-
ver heartily pledged your health as a toast,
upon any other regards than beauty, wit,
good sense, and an unblemished character.
For, as to friendship, truth, sincerity, and
other trifles of that kind, I never concerned
myself about them ; because I knew them to
be only parts of the lower morals, which are
altogether useles at courts. I am content
that you should tell the Q—n all I have said
of her, and in my own words, if you please.
I could

I could have been a better prophet in the character I gave you of yourself, if it had been good manners, in the height of your credit, to put you in mind of it's mortality. For, you are not the first, by at least three ladies, whom I have known to undergo the same turn of fortune. It is allowed, that ladies are often very good scaffoldings; and I need not tell you the use that scaffoldings are put to by all builders, as well political as mechanic. I should have begun this letter by telling you, that I was encouraged to write it by my best friend, and one of your great admirers; who told me, that, from something that had passed between you, he thought you would not receive it ill. After all, I know no person of your sex, for whom I have so great an esteem, as I do and believe I shall always continue to bear for you, I mean a private person; for I must except the Q—n, and it is not an exception of form: because I have really a great veneration for her great qualities, altho' I have reason to complain of her conduct to me; which I could not excuse although she had fifty kingdoms to govern. I have but room to conclude with my sincere professions of being, with true respect,

MADAM,

Your most obedient

humble servant.

LET-

LETTER XLIX.

To Lady SANTRY.

MADAM, 1730, at a conjecture.

MY reason for waiting on you, some time ago, was grounded on the esteem I always had for you; which continued still the same, although I had hardly the least acquaintance with your lord, nor was at all desirous to cultivate it; because I did not at all approve of his conduct. In two or three days after I saw you at sir *Compton Donvile's* house, all my acquaintance told me how full the town was of the visit I had made you; and of the cruel treatment you received from me, with relation to your son. I will not believe your ladyship was so weak as to spread this complaint yourself, but I lay it wholly to those two young women who were then in the same room, I suppose as visitors. But, if you were really discontented, and thought to publish your discontent in aggravating words, I must cut off at least nine tenths of the friendship I had for you, and list you in the herd of *Irish* ladies, whose titles, or those of their husbands, with me never have the weight of a feather, or the value of a pebble. I imagined you had so much sense as to understand, that all I said was intended for the service both of you and your son. I have often spoken much more severely to persons of
 much

much higher quality than your son, and in a kingdom where to be a lord is of importance; and I have received hearty thanks, as well as found amendment. One thing I shall observe, upon your account; which is, Never to throw away any more advice upon any *Irish* lord, or his mother; because I thought you would be one of the last to deceive me.

I called four times at the house where you lodge, and you were always denied, by which, I suppose, you would have me think you are angry; whereas I am the person who ought to complain, because all I said to you proceeded from friendship, and a desire of reforming your son. But that desire is now utterly at an end.

L E T T E R L.

To the Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

January 5, 1730-1.

MY LORD,

I RETURN your lordship my most humble thanks for the honour and favour of your letter, and desire your justice to believe, that, in writing to you a second time, I have no design of giving you a second trouble. My only end at present is to beg your pardon for a fault of ignorance. I ought to have remembered, that the arts of courts are like those

those of play; where, if the most expert be absent for a few months, the whole system is so changed, that he hath no more skill than a new beginner. Yet I cannot but wish, that your lordship had pleased to forgive one, who hath been an utter stranger to public life above sixteen years. *Bussy Rabutin* himself, the politest person of his age, when he was recalled to court after a long banishment, appeared ridiculous there: and what could I expect from my antiquated manner of addressing your lordship in the prime of your life, in the height of fortune, favour, and merit; so distinguished by your active spirit, and greatness of your genius? I do here repeat to your lordship, that I lay the fault of my misconduct entirely on a friend whom I exceedingly love and esteem, whom I dare not name, and who is as bad a courtier by nature as I am grown by want of practice. God forbid that your lordship should continue in an employment, however great and honourable, where you only can be an ornament to the court so long, until you have an opportunity to provide offices for a dozen low people like the poor man whom I took the liberty to mention. And God forbid, that, in one particular branch of the king's family, there should ever be such a mortality, as to take away a dozen of his meaner servants in less than a dozen years.

Give me leave, in further excuse of my weakness, to confess, that, besides some hints from my friends, your lordship is in great
measure

measure to blame, for your obliging manner of treating me in every place where I had the honour to see you; which I acknowledge to have been a distinction that I had not the least pretence to, and consequently as little to ground upon it the request of a favour.

As I am an utter stranger to the present forms of the world, I have imagined more than once, that your lordship's proceeding with me may be a refinement introduced by yourself: and that as, in my time, the most solemn and frequent promises of great men usually failed, against all probable appearances, so that single slight one of your lordship, may, by your generous nature, early succeed against all visible impossibilities. I am, &c.

LETTER LI.

To VENTOSO.

SIR,

April 28th, 1731.

YOUR letter hath lain by me without acknowledging it, longer than I intended; not for want of civility, but because I was wholly at a loss what to say: for, as your scheme of thinking, conversing, and living, differs in every point diametrically from mine, so I think myself the most improper person in the world to converse or correspond with you. You would be glad to be thought a proud man, and yet there is not a grain of
pride

pride in you : for you are pleased that people should know you have been acquainted with persons of great names and titles, whereby you confess that you take it for an honour ; which a proud man never does : and, besides, you ran the hazard of not being believed. You went abroad, and strove to engage yourself in a desperate cause, very much to the damage of your fortune, and might have been to the danger of your life, if there had not been, as it were, a combination of some, who would not give credit to the account you gave of your transactions ; and of others, who, either really or pretending to believe you, have given you out as a dangerous person (of which last notion I once hinted something to you) : because, if what you repeated of yourself were true, it was necessary that you had either made your peace, or must have been prosecuted for high-treason. The reputation (if there be any) of having been acquainted with princes and other great persons, arises from it's being generally known to others, but never once mentioned by ourselves, if it can possibly be avoided. I say this perfectly for your service ; because an universal opinion among those who know, or have heard of you, that you have always practised a direct contrary proceeding, hath done you more hurt than your natural understanding, left to itself, could ever have brought upon you. The world will never allow any man that character which he gives
to

to himself, by openly professing it to those with whom he converseth. Wit, learning, valour, great acquaintance, the esteem of good men, will be known, although we should endeavour to conceal them, however they may pass unrewarded: but, I doubt, our own bare assertions, upon any of those points, will very little avail, except in tempting the hearers to judge directly contrary to what we advance. Therefore, at this season of your life, I should be glad you would act after the common custom of mankind, and have done with thoughts of courts, of ladies, of lords, of politics, and all dreams of being important in the world. I am glad your country-life hath taught you *Latin*, of which you were altogether ignorant when I knew you first; and I am astonished how you came to recover it. Your new friend *Horace* will teach you many lessons agreeable to what I have said, for which I could refer to a dozen passages in a few minutes. I should be glad to see the house wholly swept of these cobwebs, and that you would take an oath never to mention a prince, or princess, a foreign or domestic lord, an intrigue of state or of love; but suit yourself to the climate and company, where your prudence will be to pass the rest of your life. It is not a farthing matter to you what is doing in *Europe*, more than to every alderman who reads the news in a coffee-house. If you could resolve to act thus, your understanding is good enough

enough to qualify you for any conversation in this kingdom. Families will receive you without fear or constraint, nor watch to hear you talk in the grand style, laugh when you are gone, and tell it to all their acquaintance. It is a happiness that this quality may, by a man of sense, be as easily shaken off as it is acquired, especially when he hath no proper claim to it: for you were not bred to be a man of business; you never were called to any employments at courts; but destined to be a private gentleman, to entertain yourself with country business and country acquaintance; or, at best, with books of amusement in your own language. It is an uncontrolled truth, that no man ever made an ill figure who understood his own talents, nor a good one who mistook them. I am, &c.

L E T T E R · LII.

A COUNTERFEIT LETTER to the Q—N [y].

MADAM. *Dublin, June 22d, 1731.*

I HAVE had the honour to tell your Majesty on another occasion, that provinces labour under one mighty misfortune, which

[y] Thus indorsed by Dr. Swift: "Counterfeit letter from me to the Q—n, sent to me by Mr. Pope, dated June 22d, 1731. Received July 19th, 1731. Given by the Countess of Suffolk."

is, in a great measure, the cause of all the rest; and that is, That they are for the most part far removed from the prince's eye, and, of consequence, from the influence both of his wisdom and goodness. This is the case of *Ireland* beyond expression!

There is not one mortal here, who is not well satisfied of your majesty's good intentions to all your people: and yet your subjects of this isle are so far from sharing the effects of your good dispositions, in any equitable degree; are so far from enjoying all the good to which they are entitled from your majesty's most gracious inclinations, that they often find great difficulty how to enjoy even the relief of complaint.

To omit a thousand other instances, there is one person of *Irish* birth, eminent for genius and merit of many kinds, *an honour* to her country, and to her sex! I will be bold to say, *not less so in her sphere than your majesty in yours.* And yet all her talents and virtues have not yet been able to influence any one person about your majesty, so far as to introduce her into your least notice. As I am your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subject, it is a debt I owe your majesty to acquaint you, that *Mrs. Barber, the best female poet of this or perhaps of any age,* is now in your majesty's capital, known to lady *Hartford*, lady *Torrington*, lady *Walpole*, &c. A woman whose genius is honoured by every man of genius in this kingdom, and either *honoured* or *envied* by every man of genius in *England*.

Your

Your majesty is justly revered for those great abilities with which God hath blessed you; for your regard to learning, and your zeal for true religion: compleat your character, by your regard to persons of genius; especially those, who make the greatness of their talents, after your majesty's example, subservient to the good of mankind and the glory of God; which is most remarkably Mrs. Barber's case and character.

Give me leave to tell you, madam, that every subject of understanding and virtue, throughout your dominions, is appointed by Providence of your council. And this, madam, is an open and an honest apology for this trouble; or, to speak more properly, for this dutiful information. It is your true interest, that all your subjects should see that merit is regarded by you in one instance; or, rather, that it is not disregarded in any instance. Let them daily bless God for every gift of wisdom and goodness bestowed upon you, and pray incessantly for the long continuance of them; as doth

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and

Loyal subject and servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

To Mr. POPE [z].

Dear Sir,

July 20th, 1731.

I WRIT you a long letter not many days ago, which therefore did not arrive until after your last that I received yesterday, with the inclosed from me to the Q—n. You hinted something of this in a former letter: I will tell you sincerely how the affair stands. I never was at Mr. *Barber's* house in my life, except once that I chanced to pass by her shop, was desired to walk in, and went no farther, nor staid three minutes. Dr. *Delany* hath been long her protector; and he, being many years my acquaintance, desired my good offices for her, and brought her several times to the deanry. I knew she was poetically given, and, for a woman, had a sort of genius that way. She appeared very modest and pious, and I believe was sincere, and wholly turned to poetry. I did conceive her journey to *England* was on the score of her trade, being a woollen-drapier, until Dr. *Delany* said, she had a design of printing her poems by subscription, and desired I would befriend her: which I did chiefly by your means; the doctor still urging me on:

[z] Occasioned by the preceding counterfeit letter.
upon

upon whose request I writ to her two or three times, because she thought that my countenancing of her might be of use. Lord *Carteret* very much befriended her, and she seems to have made her way not ill. As for those three letters you mention, supposed all to be written by me to the Q—n, on Mrs. *Barber's* account, especially the letter which bears my name: I can only say, that the apprehensions one may be apt to have of a friend doing a foolish thing, is an effect of kindness: and God knows who is free from playing the fool some time or other. But in such a degree, as to write to the Q—n, who hath used me ill without any cause, and to write in such a manner as the letter you sent me, and in such a style, and to have so much zeal for one almost a stranger, and to make such a description of a woman as to prefer her before all mankind, and to instance it as one of the greatest grievances of *Ireland*, that her majesty hath not encouraged Mrs. *Barber*, a woollen-drapier's wife declined in the world, because she hath a knack at versifying; was to suppose, or fear, a folly so transcendent, that no man could be guilty of who was not fit for *Bedlam*. You know the letter you sent inclosed is not my hand; and why I should disguise, and yet sign my name, should seem unaccountable: especially when I am taught, and have reason to believe, that I am under the Q—n's displeasure on many accounts, and one very late, for having fixed up a stone over the burying-

burying place of the duke of *Schomberg*, in my cathedral: which, however, I was assured by a worthy person, who solicited that affair last summer with some relations of the duke, that her majesty, on hearing the matter, said they ought to erect a monument. Yet I am told assuredly, that the K—g, not long ago, on the representation and complaint of the *Prussian* envoy (with a hard name), who hath married a grand-daughter of the duke, said publicly in the drawing-room, That I had put up that stone out of malice, to raise a quarrel between his majesty and the King of *Prussia* [a]. This perhaps may be false, because it is absurd: for I thought it was a whiggish action to honour duke *Schomberg*, who was so instrumental in the Revolution, and was stadtholder of *Prussia*, and otherwise in the service of that electorate, which is now a kingdom. You will observe, the letter you sent me concluded, “Your majesty’s loyal subject;” which is absolutely absurd; for we are only subjects to the king, and so is her majesty herself. I have had the happiness to be known to you above twenty years; and I appeal, whether you have known me to exceed the common indiscretions of mankind; or that, when I conceived myself to have been so very ill used by her majesty, whom I never attended but on her own commands, I should turn solicitor to her for Mrs.

[a] See his Epitaph, Vol. VII. p. 311.

Barber? If the Q—-n had not an inclination to think ill of me, she knows me too well to believe in her own heart that I should be such a coxcomb. I am pushed on by that unjust suspicion to give up so much of my discretion, as to write next post to my lady *Suffolk* on this occasion, and to desire she will shew what I write to the Q—-n; although I have as much reason to complain of her as of her majesty, upon the score of her pride and negligence, which make her fitter to be an *Irish* lady than an *English* one. You told me she complained that I did not write to her: when I did, upon your advice, and a letter that required an answer, she wanted the civility to acquit herself. I shall not be less in the favour of God, or the esteem of my friends, for either of their majesties hard thoughts, which they only take up from misrepresentations. The first time I saw the Q—-n, I took occasion, upon the subject of Mr. *Gay*, to complain of that very treatment which innocent persons often receive from princes and great ministers; that they too easily receive bad impressions; and, although they are demonstrably convinced that those impressions had no grounds, yet they will never shake them off. This I said upon sir *Robert Walpole's* treatment of Mr. *Gay* about a libel, and the Q—-n fell entirely in with me, yet now falls into the same error. As to the lett * * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * [b] of accidents, and out of perfect commiseration, &c.

L E T T E R LIV.

To the Countess of SUFFOLK [c].

MADAM,

July 24th, 1731.

I GIVE you joy of your new title, and of the consequences it may have, or hath had, on your rising at court, whereof I know nothing but by common fame: for you remember how I prophesied of your behaviour, when you should come to be a great lady, at the time I drew your character; and hope you have kept it. I writ to you some time ago by the advice of Mr. Pope: I writ to you civilly; but you did not answer my letter, although you were not then a countess; and if you were, your neglect was so much the worse. For your title hath not increased your value with me, and your conduct must be very good, if it will not lessen you. Neither should you have heard from me now, if it were not on a particular occasion. I find, from several instances, that I am un-

[b] Here the paper is accidentally torn. There seem to be wanting eight small quarto lines, and concludes with those few words on the back of the page which follow the asterisks.

[c] Occasioned by the counterfeit letter to the queen.

der the Q—n's displeasure; and, as it is usual among princes, without any manner of reason. I am told there were three letters sent to her majesty in relation to one Mrs. Barber, who is now in London, and soliciting for a subscription to her poems. It seems, the Q—n thinks that these letters were written by me; and I scorn to defend myself, even to her majesty, grounding my scorn upon the opinion I had of her justice, her taste, and good sense; especially when the last of those letters, whereof I have just received the original from Mr. Pope, was signed with my name: and why I should disguise my hand, which you know very well, and yet write my name, is both ridiculous and unaccountable. Last post, I writ my whole sentiments on the matter to Mr. Pope; who tells me, that you and he vindicated me on all the three letters; which, indeed, was but bare justice in you both, for he is my old friend, and you are in my debt on account of the esteem I had for you. I desire you would ask the Q—n, whether, since the time I had the honour to be known to her, I ever did one single action, or said one single word to disoblige her? I never asked her for any thing; and you well know, that, when I had an intention to go to France, about the time that the late K—g died, I desired your opinion (not as you were a courtier) whether I should go or no; and that you absolutely forbid me, as a thing that would look disaffected, and for other reasons, wherein I confess I was
 your

your dupe, as well as somebody's else: and, for want of that journey, I fell sick, and was forced to return hither to my unenvied home. I hear the Q—n hath blamed me for putting a stone, with a *Latin* inscription, over the duke of *Schomberg's* burying-place in my cathedral; and that the K—g said publicly, I had done it in malice, to creat a quarrel between him and the king of *Prussia*. But the public prints, as well as the thing itself, will vindicate me: and the hand the duke had in the Revolution made him deserve the best monument. Neither could the king of *Prussia* justly take it ill, who must needs have heard that the duke was in the service of *Prussia*, and stad-holder of it, as I have seen in his titles. The first time I saw the Q—n, I talked to her largely upon the conduct of princes and great ministers (it was on a particular occasion) That, when they receive an ill account of any person, although they afterwards have the greatest demonstration of the falsehood, yet, will they never be reconciled: and, although the Q—n fell in with me upon the hardship of such a proceeding, yet now she treats me exactly in the same manner. I have faults enough, but never was guilty of any either to her majesty or to you: and as little to the K—g, whom I never saw, but when I had the honour to kiss his hand. I am sensible that I owe a great deal of this usage to sir *Robert Walpole*; whom yet I never offended, although he was pleased to quarrel with me very unjustly: for which I shewed not the least resentment (whatever I might

have in my heart) nor was ever a partaker with those who have been battling him for some years past [d]. I am contented that the Q—n should see this letter; and would please to consider how severe a censure it is to believe I should write three to her, only to find fault with her ministry, and recommend Mrs. Barber; whom I never knew until she was recommended to me by a worthy friend, to help her to subscribers, which by her writings I thought she deserved. Her majesty gave me leave, and even commanded me, above five years ago, if I lived until she was Q—n, to write to her on behalf of *Ireland*: for the miseries of this kingdom she appeared then to be much concerned. I desired the friend who introduced me to be a witness of her majesty's promise. Yet that liberty I never took, although I had too many occasions; and is it not wonderful, that I should be suspected of writing to her in such a style, in such a counterfeit hand, and my name subscribed; upon a perfect trifle, at the same time that I well knew myself to be very much out of her majesty's good graces? I am, perhaps, not so very much awed with majesty as others, having known courts more or less from my early youth. And I have

[e] It is true, there are but two or three passages in *Swift's Works* that could, in the least, offend Sir R. W. before this period; but instantly after, even in this very year 1731, he attacks him with a good deal of severity. Vide his Poems,

more

more than once told the Q—n, that I did not regard her station half so much, as the good understanding I heard and found to be in her: neither did I ever once see the late K—g, although her majesty was pleased to chide me on that account, for my singularity. In this I am a good whig, by thinking it sufficient to be a dutiful subject, without any personal regard for princes, further than as their virtues deserve; and, upon that score, had a most particular respect for the Q—n, your mistress. One who asks nothing may talk with freedom, and that is my case. I have not said half that was in my heart, but I will have done: And, remembering that you are a countess, will borrow so much ceremony, as to remain, with great respect,

MADAM,

Your ladyship's

most obedient and

most humble servant.

L E T.

LETTER LV.

To Lady BETTY GERMAINE.

January, 1732-3.

MADAM,

ALTHOUGH I have but just received the honour of your ladyship's letter, yet, as things stand, I am determin'd, against my usual practice, to give you no respite, but to answer it immediately; because you have provok'd me with your lady *Suffolk*. It is six years last spring since I first went to visit my friends in *England*, after the Queen's death. Her present majesty heard of my arrival, and sent at least nine times to command my attendance before I would obey her, for several reasons not hard to guess; and, among others, because I had heard her character from those who knew her well. At last I went, and she received me very graciously. I told her the first time, that I was inform'd she loved to see odd persons; and that, having sent for a wild boy from *Germany*, she had a curiosity to see a wild Dean from *Ireland*. I was not much struck with the honour of being sent for, because I knew the same distinction had been offer'd to others, with whom it would not give me much pride to be compar'd. I never went once but upon command; and Mrs. *Howard*, now lady *Suffolk*,

Suffolk, was usually the person who sent for me, both at *Leicester-house* and *Richmond*. Mr. *Pope* (with whom I lived) and Mr. *Gay* were then great favourites of Mrs. *Howard*, especially the latter, who was then one of her led-captains. He had wrote a very ingenious book of Fables, for the use of her younger son, and she often promised to provide for him. But, sometime before, there came out a libel against Mr. *Walpole*, who was informed that it was written by Mr. *Gay*; and, although Mr. *Walpole* owned he was convinced that it was not written by *Gay*, yet he never would pardon him, but did him a hundred ill offices to the princess. *Walpole* was at that time very civil to me, and so were all the people in power. He invited me and some of my friends to dine with him at *Chelsea*. After dinner, I took an occasion to say, what I had observed of princes and great ministers, that, if they heard an ill thing of a private person, who expected some favour, although they were afterwards convinced that the person was innocent, yet they would never be reconciled. Mr. *Walpole* knew well enough that I meant Mr. *Gay*. I afterwards said the same thing to the princess, with the same intention, and she confessed it a great injustice. But Mr. *Walpole* gave it another turn: for he said to some of his friends, and particularly to a lord, a near relation of yours, that I had dined with him, and had been making apologies for myself: it seems for my conduct in her late majesty's reign, in which

no man was more innocent; and, particularly, more officious to do good offices to many of that party, which was then out of power, as it is well known. Mrs. *Howard* was then in great favour, and openly protected Mr. *Gay*; at least, she saw him often, and professed herself his friend: but Mr. *Walpole* could hardly be persuaded to let him hold a poor little office for a second year, of commissioner to a lottery. When I took my leave of her highness, on coming hither, she was very gracious; told me the medals she had promised me were not ready, but she would send them to me. However, by her commands, I sent her some plaids for herself and the princesses, and was too gallant to hear of any offers of payment. Next spring, I came again to *England*, was received the same way; and, as I had many hints given me that the court at *Leicester-Fields* would endeavour to settle me in *England* (which I did not much regard) the late king died. I went, by Mrs. *Howard's* commands, to kiss their new majesties hands, and was particularly distinguished by the Q—n. In a few weeks, the Q—n said to Mrs. *Howard*, (alluding to one of Mr. *Gay's* Fables) that she would take up the Hare; and bade her to put her in mind, in settling the family, to find some employment for Mr. *Gay*: But, in the event, it proved only an offer to be a gentleman-usher to a girl of two years old, which all his friends (and I among the rest) advised him not to accept; and accordingly he
excused

excused himself with the utmost respect. This I and every body else were sure must have been a management of Mr. *Walpole*. As to myself, in a few weeks after the king's death, I found myself not well, and was resolved to take a step to *Paris* for my health, having an opportunity of doing it with some advantages and recommendations. But my friends advised me first to consult Mrs. *Howard*; because, as they knew less of courts than I, they were strongly possessed that the promise made me might succeed, since a change was all I desired. I writ to her for her opinion; and particularly conjured her, since I had long done with courts, not to use me like a courtier, but give me her sincere advice; which she did, both in a letter and to some friends. It was by all means not to go: it would look singular, and perhaps disaffected; and, to my friends, enlarged upon the good intentions of the court towards me. I staid; my health grew worse: I left Mr. *Pope's* house; went to a private lodging near *Hammer-smith*: and, continuing ill, I writ to Mrs. *Howard*, with my duty to the Q—n, took coach for *Chester*, recovered in my journey, and came over hither: where, although I have ever since lived in obscurity, yet I have the misfortune, without any grounds, except misinformation, to lie under her majesty's displeasure, as I have been assured by more than two honourable persons of both sexes; and Mr. *Gay* is in the same condition. For these reasons, as
I did

I did always, so I do still think Mrs. *Howard*, now my lady *Suffolk*, to be an absolute courtier. Let her shew you the character I writ of her [c], and whereof no one else hath a copy: And I take Mr. *Pope* and Mr. *Gay*, who judge more favourably, to be a couple of simpletons. In my answer to the last letter which my lady *Suffolk* honoured me with, I did, with great civility, discharge her from ever giving herself another trouble of that kind, I have a great esteem for her good sense and taste. She would be an ornament to any court: and I do not in the least pity her for not being a female minister, which I never looked on as an advantageous character to a great and wise lady; of which I could easily produce instances. Mr. *Pope*, beside his natural and acquired talents, is a gentleman of very extraordinary candour; and is, consequently, apt to be too great a believer of assurances, promises, professions, encouragements, and the like words of course. He asks nothing, and thinks, like a philosopher, that he wants nothing. Mr. *Gay* is, in all regards, as honest and sincere a man as ever I knew; whereof neither princes nor ministers are either able to judge or inclined to encourage: which, however, I do not take for so high a reach of politicks as they usually suppose. For, however insignificant wit, learning, and virtue may be thought in the world, it perhaps would do government no

[c] See Vol. XV, p. 75.

hurt to have a little of them on it's side. If you have gone thus far in reading, you are not so wise as I thought you to be. But I will never offend again with so much length. I write only to justify myself. I know you have been always a zealous Whig, and so am I to this day: But nature hath not given you leave to be virulent. As to myself, I am of the old Whig principles, without the modern articles and refinements.

Your ladyship says not one syllable, to inform me whether you approve of what I sent you to be written on the monument, nor whether you would have it in *Latin* or *English*. I am ever, with true respect and high esteem,

MADAM,

Your ladyship's, &c.

The friend I named, who I was afraid would die, is recovered; and his preferment is by turns in the Crown and the Primate; but the next vacancy will not be in the Crown's disposal.

LETTER LVI.

To the BISHOP of GLOGHER [*f*].*July, 1733.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE been often told, by some of our common acquaintance, that you have sometimes expressed your wonder that I never waited on you for some years past, as I used to do for many years before; and that you could not guess the reason, because, to your knowledge, you never once disobliged me. As nothing is more common than dropping acquaintance by the usual occurrences of life, without any fault on either side, I never intended to say or think any thing of the matter, until a late proceeding of yours, which no way relates to me, put me upon a desire of finding matter to justify you to your friends here, as well as to myself; because I always wished you well, and because I have been more than once instrumental to your service. When I first came acquainted with you, we were both private clergymen in a neighbourhood: you were afterwards chancellor of *St. Patrick's*; then was chosen dean, in which election I was the most busy of all your solicitors. When the compromise was made between

[*f*] *Dr. John Stearne.*

the government and you, to make you easy, and Dr. *Synge* chancellor, you absolutely and frequently promised to give me the curacy of St. *Nicholas Without*: but you thought fit, by concert with the archbishop, to hold it yourself, and apply the revenue to build another church; against which it became me to say nothing, being a party concerned and injured, although it was generally thought by others, as well as myself, that it was an ill and dangerous precedent to build a church with the revenue of the minister. I desire no thanks for being instrumental in your next promotion; because, as things then stood, I consulted my own advantage. However, upon the queen's death, when I had done for ever with courts, I returned to reside at my post, yet with some kind of hopes of getting some credit with you; very unwisely: because, upon the affair of St. *Nicholas*, I had told you frankly, that I would always respect you, but never hope for the least friendship from you. But, trying to forget all former treatment, I came like others to your house; and, since you were a bishop, have once or twice recommended persons to you, who were no relations or friends of mine, but merely for their general good character: which availed so little, that those very persons had the greatest share of your neglect. I then gave over all thoughts of being instrumental to place merit and virtue under your protection by my recommendations; and, as I was

ever averse from mingling with multitudes and strangers, I forbore by degrees to be a partaker of your hospitality, rather than purchase a share of it at so dear a rate. This is the history of my conduct with regard to your Lordship: and it is now a great comfort to me, that I acted in this manner. For, otherwise, when those two abominable bills, for enslaving and beggaring the clergy (which took their birth from Hell) were upon the anvil, if I had found your Lordship's name among the bishops who would have turned them into a law, I might have been apt to discover such marks of indignation, horror, and despair, both in words and deportment, as would have ill become me to a person of your station. For, I call God to witness, that I did then, and do now, and shall for ever firmly believe, that every bishop, who gave his vote for either of these bills, did it with no other view (bating further promotion) than a premeditated design, from the spirit of ambition and love of arbitrary power, to make the whole body of the clergy, their slaves and vassals until the day of Judgment, under the load of poverty and contempt. I have no room for more charitable thoughts, except for those who will answer now, as they must at that dreadful day, that what they did was out of perfect ignorance, want of consideration, hope of future promotion (an argument not to be conquered), or the persuasion of cunninger brethren than themselves;

selfes; when I saw a bishop, whom I had known so many years, fall into the same *snare*, which word I use in partiality to your lordship. Upon this open avowed attempt, in almost the whole bench, to destroy the church, I resolved to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who, I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper. It is happy for me that I know the persons of very few bishops, and it is my constant rule never to look into a coach; by which I avoid the terror that such a sight would strike me with.

In the beginning of my letter, I told your lordship of a desire to know the particulars of a late proceeding, which is in the mouths of many among your acquaintance; from some of whom I received the following account. That you have the great tythes of two livings in your diocese, which were let to some fanatic knight, whose name I forget. It seems you felt the beginning of a good motion in yourself, which was to give up those tythes to the two incumbents (the fanatic's lease being near out) either for a very small reserved rent, or entirely, provided you could do so without lessening the revenue of the fee. And the condition was, that your tenants among them should raise the rents 150*l.* which was what the fanatic paid you for both the said parishes. It is affirmed, that sir *Ralph Gore*, one of your tenants, much approving so generous a proposal, engaged to

prevail on the tenants to agree, and offered a large advancement of his own part. The matter was thus fixed, when suddenly you changed your mind, and renewed the lease to the same fanatic for 300*l.* fine. The reasons of this singular action are said to be two: the first is, That you declared you wanted power to resist the temptation of such a fine; the other, That you were dissuaded from it by some of your brethren, as an example very dangerous, and of ill consequence, if it should be followed by others. This last I do not in the least wonder at, because such advice is of the same leaven with the two enslaving and beggaring bills. I profess to your lordship, that I have no other motive in desiring to be satisfied upon this point, than a resolution to justify you to the world, as far as the truth will give me power. I am,
 &c.

L E T T E R LVII.

To the Duke of D O R S E T.

MY LORD,

Jan. 1733-4

IT hath been my great misfortune, that, since your grace's return to this kingdom, I have not been able to attend you, as my duty and gratitude for your favours, as well as the honour of having been so many years known to you, obliged me to do. I have been pursued by two old disorders, a giddi-
 ness

ness and deafness, which used to leave me in three or four weeks, but now have continued four months. Thus I am put under a necessity to write what I would rather have chosen to say in your grace's presence.

On *Monday* last week, towards evening, there came to the deanry one Mr. *Bettesworth*; who, being told by the servants that I was gone to a friend's house, went thither to enquire for me, and was admitted into the street-parlour. I left my company in the back room, and went to him. He began with asking me, whether I were author of certain verses, wherein he was reflected on [g]? The singularity of the man, in his countenance, manner, action, style, and tone of voice, made me call to mind that I had once seen him, about two or three years ago, at Mr. *Ludlow's* country-house. But I could not recollect his name, and of what calling he might be I had never heard. I therefore desired to know who, and what he was; said I had heard of some such verses, but knew no more. He then signified to me, that he was a serjeant at law, and a member of parliament. After which, he repeated the lines that concerned him with great emphasis; said, I was mistaken in one thing, for he assured me he was no booby, but owned himself to be a coxcomb. However, that being a point

[g] See these verses, Vol. VII. p. 204. See also the *Resolution of the Inhabitants of St. Patrick's*, with the *Dean's Answer*, in the *Life of Dr. Swift*, at the beginning of Vol. I.

of controversy wherein I had no concern, I let it drop. As to the verses, he insisted, that, by his taste and skill in poetry, he was as sure I writ them as if he had seen them fall from my pen. But I found the chief weight of his argument lay upon two words that rhymed to his name, which he knew could come from none but me. He then told me, That, since I would not own the verses, and that since he could not get satisfaction by any course of law, he would get it by his pen, and shew the world what a man I was. When he began to grow overwarm and eloquent, I called in the gentleman of the house, from the room adjoining; and the serjeant, going on with less turbulence, went away. He had a footman in the hall during all his talk, who was to have opened the door for one or more fellows, as he hath since reported; and, likewise, that he had a sharp knife in his pocket, ready to stab or maim me. But the master and mistress of the house, who knew his character, and could hear every word from the room they were in, had prepared a sufficient defence in such a case, as they afterwards told me. He hath since related to five hundred persons of all ranks, above five hundred falsehoods of this conversation, of my fears and his own brutalities, against all probability as well as fact; and some of them, as I have been assured, even in the presence of your grace. His meanings and his movements

ments were indeed peevish enough, but his words were not. He threatened me with nothing but his pen, yet owned he had no pretence to wit. And indeed I am heartily glad, for his own sake, that he proceeded no further; for, the least uproar would have called his nearest neighbours [b] first to my assistance, and next, to the manifest danger of his life. And I would not willingly have even a dog killed upon my account. Ever since he hath amused himself with declaring, in all companies, especially before bishops, and lords, and members of parliament, his resolutions for vengeance, and the several manners by which he will put it in execution.

It is only to the advice of some judicious friends that your grace owes the trouble of this letter. For, though I may be dispirited enough by sickness and years, yet I have little reason to apprehend any danger from that man: and those who seem to have most regard for my safety, are no more apprehensive than myself, especially such as best know his character. For his very enemies, and even his ridiculers, who are, of the two, by far the greater number, allow him to be a peaceable man in all things except his words, his rhetorical actions, his looks, and his hatred to the clergy; which however are all known, by abundance of experience, to be perfectly harmless; and par-

[b] Dr. *Swift* was then at the Rev. Mr. *Worral's* house, which happened to be within three or four doors of Mr. *Bettesworth's*.

ticularly as to the clergy. I do not doubt, but, if he will be so good as to continue steadfast in his principles and practices, he may at proper junctures contribute very much to the honour and interests of that reverend body, as well as employ and improve the wit of many young gentlemen in the city, the university, and the rest of the kingdom.

What I have said to your grace is only meant as a poor endeavour to preserve myself in your good opinion, and in the continuance of your favour. I am, with the highest respect, &c.

LETTER LVIII.

To Miss HOADLEY [i].

MADAM,

June 4th, 1734

WHEN I lived in *England*, once every year I issued out an edict, commanding that all ladies of wit, sense, merit, and quality, who had an ambition to be acquainted with me, should make the first advances at their peril; which edict, you may believe, was universally obeyed. When (much against my will) I came to live in this kingdom, I published the same edict, only, the harvest there being not altogether so plentiful, I con-

[i] Daughter of Dr. *John Hoadley*, archbishop of *Dublin*.

fined myself to a smaller compass. This made me often wonder how you came so long to neglect your duty; for, if you pretend ignorance, I may produce legal witnesses against you.

I have heard of a judge bribed with a pig, but it was discovered by the squeaking; and, therefore, you have been so politic as to send me a dead one, which can tell no tales. Your present of butter was made with the same design, as a known court-practice, to grease my fist that I might keep silence. These are great offences, contrived on purpose to corrupt my integrity. And besides I apprehend, that, if I should wait on you to return my thanks, you will deny that the pig and butter were any advances at all on your side, and give out that I made them first; by which I may endanger the fundamental privilege that I have kept so many years in two kingdoms, at least make it a point of controversy. However, I have two ways to be revenged: first, I will let all the ladies of my acquaintance know, that you, the sole daughter and child of his grace of *Dublin*, are so mean as to descend to understand house-wifery, which every girl of this town, who can afford sixpence a month for a chair, would scorn to be thought to have the least knowledge in: and this will give you as ill a reputation, as if you had been caught in the fact of reading a history, or handling a needle, or walking in a field at *Tallough*. My other revenge shall be this: When my lord's gentleman delivered

his message, after I put him some questions, he drew out a paper containing your directions, and in your hand: I said it properly belonged to me; and, when I had read it, I put it in my pocket, and am ready to swear, when lawfully called, that it is written in a fair hand, rightly spelt, and good plain sense. You now may see I have you at mercy; for, upon the least offence given, I will shew the paper to every female scrawler I meet, who will soon spread about the town, that your writing and spelling are ungenteel and unfashionable, more like a parson than a lady.

I suppose, by this time, you are willing to submit; and therefore, I desire you may stint me to two China-bowls of butter a week; for my breakfast is that of a sickly man, rice-gruel, and I am wholly a stranger to tea and coffee, the companions of bread and butter. I received my third bowl last night, and I think my second is almost entire. I hope and believe my lord archbishop will teach his neighbouring tenants and farmers a little *English* country management: and I lay it upon you, Madam, to bring housewifery in fashion among our ladies; that, by your example, they may no longer pride themselves on their natural or affected ignorance. I am, with the truest respect and esteem,

MADAM,

Your most obedient

and obliged, &c.

I desire

I desire to present my most, &c. to his grace
and the ladies.

LETTER LIX.

To the Duke of CHANDOIS.

MY LORD,

Aug. 31, 1734.

ALTHOUGH I have long had the honour to be an old humble servant to your grace, yet I do not remember to have ever written you a letter, at least since her majesty's death. For this reason, your grace will reasonably wonder to find a man wholly forgotten begin a commerce by making a request. For which I can offer no other excuse, than that frequent application to me, by many worthy and learned persons of this city and kingdom; who, having heard that I was not unknown to you, seldom failed any opportunity of pressing me to sollicit your grace, of whose generous nature fame has well informed them, to make a present of those antient records, in paper or parchment, which relate to this kingdom, that were formerly collected, as we have heard, by the late earl of *Clarendon*, during his government here, and are now in your grace's possession. They can be of no use in *England*, and the sight of them will be of little value to foreign virtuosi; and they naturally belong to this poor kingdom. I could wish they were of great intrinsic value,
so

so as to be sold on the Exchange for 1000*l.* because you would then part with them at the first hint, merely to gratify your darling passion of generosity and munificence: and yet, since they are only valuable in the place of their birth, like the rest of our natives, I hope you will be prevailed on to part with them, at the humble request of many very deserving persons in this city and university. In return for which bounty, the memory of it shall be preserved in that honourable manner, which so generous a patron of learning as your grace will certainly be pleased with. And, at their request alone, I desire your compliance, without the least mention of myself as any way instrumental.

I intreat your grace's pardon for this interruption, and remain, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's, &c.

LETTER LX.

To the Duke of DORSET.

MY LORD,

Jan. 14, 1734-5.

I AM assured, that your grace will have several representations of an affair relating to the university here, from some very considerable persons in this kingdom. However, I could not refuse the application made me
by

by a very worthy person of that society, who was commissioned by some principal members of the body to desire my good offices to your grace; because they believed you thought me an honest man, and because I had the honour to be known to you from your early youth. The matter of their request related wholly to a dreadful apprehension they lie under, of *Dr. Whitcomb's* endeavour to procure a dispensation for holding his fellowship along with that church-preferment bestowed on him by your grace. The person sent to me on this message gave me a written paper, containing the reasons why they hope your grace will not be prevailed upon to grant such a dispensation. I presume to send you an abstract of these reasons; because I may boldly assure your grace, that party or faction have not the least concern in the whole affair; and, as to myself, it happens that I am an entire stranger to *Dr. Whitcomb*.

It is alledged, that this preferment given to the doctor consists of a very large parish, worth near six hundred pounds a year, in a very fine country thirty miles from *Dublin*; that it abounds very much with Papists, and consequently a most important cure, requiring the rector's residence, besides some other assistant; which, being so rich, it might well afford.

That as to such dispensations, they find in their college-books but three or four instances since the Revolution, and these in cases very different from the present. For those
few

few livings, which had dispensations to be held with a fellowship, were sinecures of small value, not sufficient to induce a fellow to leave his college; and, in the body of those dispensations, is inserted a reason for granting them, That they were such livings as could be no hindrance in the discharge of a fellow's duty.

That dispensations are very hurtful to their society; because they put a stop to the succession of fellowships, and thereby give a check to that emulation, industry, and improvement in learning, which the hopes of gaining a fellowship will best incite young students with.

That, if this dispensation should take place, it may prove a precedent for the like practice in future times; which will be very injurious to the society, by encouraging fellows to apply for dispensations, when they have interest enough to get preferments, by which the senior fellows will be settled in the college for life; and thus, for want of a succession any other way than by death or marriage, all encouragement to young diligent students will be wholly lost.

That a junior fellowship is of very small value, and to arrive at it requires good sense, as well as long and close study; to which young students are only encouraged by hopes of succeeding, in a reasonable time, to be one of the seven seniors; which hopes will be quite cut off, when those seniors are perpetuated by dispensations.

That

That the fellows, at their admittance into their fellowships, take a solemn oath never to accept of any church-preferment above a certain value and distance from *Dublin*, as long as they continue fellows: to which oath the accepting of a dispensation by Dr. *Whitcomb* is directly contrary, in both particulars of value and distance.

That, at this time, there is a set of very hopeful young men in long and close study, to stand for the first vacant fellowship, who will be altogether discouraged, and drop their endeavours in the pursuit of learning, by being disappointed in their hopes of Dr. *Whitcomb's* leaving the college, and opening a way for one of them to succeed in a fellowship.

These, my lord, are the sum of the reasons brought me by a very worthy person, a fellow of that college, and recommended by some of the most deserving in that body; and I have shortened them as much as I could.

I shall only trouble your grace with one or two of my own remarks upon this subject.

The university, and in some sense the whole kingdom, are full of acknowledgment for the honour your grace hath done them, in trusting the care of one of your sons to be educated in the college of *Dublin*, which hopes to be always in your grace's favour; and by your influence, while you govern here, as well as the credit you will always deserve

deserve at court, will ever desire to be protected in their rights.

Your grace will please to know, that a fellowship in this university differs much in some very important circumstances from most of those in either of the universities in *England*.

My lord *George* will tell your grace, that a fellowship here is obtained with great difficulty, by the number of candidates, the strict examination in many branches of learning, and the regularity of life and manners. It is also disposed of with much solemnity: the examiners take an oath at the altar to give their vote according to their consciences.

The university is patron of some church-preferments, which are offered to the several fellows downwards to the lowest in holy orders.

I beg your grace to consider, That, there being very little trade here, there is no encouragement for gentlemen to breed their sons to merchandize: that not many great employments, in church or law, fall to the share of persons born here: that the last resource of younger sons is to the church; where, if well befriended, they may chance to rise to some reasonable spiritual maintenance, although we do not want instances of some clergymen, well born and of good reputation, who have been, and still are curates for thirty years; which hath been a great discouragement to others, who have no other means left to provide for their children.

Your

Your grace will not want opportunities, while you continue in this government, and by your most deserved favour with his majesty, to make Dr. *Whitcomb* easier in his preferment, by some addition, that no person or society can have the least pretence to complain of. And I humbly beg your grace, out of the high veneration I bear to your person and virtues, that you will please to let Dr. *Whitcomb* content himself for a while with that rich preferment (one of the best in the kingdom), until it shall lie in your way further to promote him to his own content. If, upon his admittance to his fellowship, he took an oath never to accept a church-living thus circumstantiated, and hold it with his fellowship, it will be thought hardly reconcilable to conscience to receive a dispensation.

I humbly entreat your grace to forgive this long trouble I have given you, wherein I have no sort of interest, except that which proceeds from an earnest desire, that your grace may continue, as you have begun from your youth, without incurring the least censure from the world, or giving the least cause of discontent to any deserving person. I am, &c.

LETTER LXI.

To * * * * *, Esq;

SIR,

March 19th, 1734.

I HAD, some days ago, a very long letter from a young gentleman whom I never saw; but, by the name subscribed, I found it came from a younger son of yours, I suppose your second. He lays before me, in a very particular manner, the forlorn condition he is in, by the severities of you and your lady, his mother. He freely owns his boyish follies, when he was first brought up to town, at fourteen years old; but he appeals to Dr. *Sheridan* for the improvement he made in the doctor's school, and to his tutor for his behaviour in the college, where he took his degree with particular credit, being made one of the moderators of his class; by which it appears that he passed for one of the four best scholars in it. His letter contains four large pages in folio, and written in a very small hand; where he gives a history of his life, from the age of fourteen to the present time. It is written with so much spirit, nature, and good sense, as well as appearance of truth, that, having first razed out the writer's name, I have shown it to several gentlemen my friends, of great worth, learning, and taste; who all agree in my opinion of the letter, and think it a pity that so hopeful a youth should not
have

have proper encouragement, unless he hath some very disagreeable faults, whereof they and I are ignorant. When I had written thus far, Dr. *Sheridan* came to see me: I read your son's letter to him, and he was equally pleased with it, and justified the progress the young man had made in his school. I went this evening to visit a lady, who hath a very great esteem and friendship for you and Mrs. ****: she told me that the young man's great fault was too much pertness, and conceit of himself, which he often shewed in your house, and even among company. Which, I own, is a very bad quality in any young man, and is not easily cured: yet, I think, if I had a son who had understanding, wit, and humour, to write such a letter, I could not find in my heart to cast him off, but try what good advice and maturer years would do towards amendment; and, in the mean time, give him no cause to complain of wanting convenient food, lodging, and raiment. He lays the whole weight of his letter to me upon the truth of the facts, and is content to stand or fall by them. If he be a liar, he is into the bargain an unpardonable fool; and his good natural, as well as acquired parts, shall be an aggravation to me to render him more odious. I hear he is turned of one and twenty years; and what he alledges seems to be true, that he is not yet put into any way of living, either by law, physic, or divinity; although, in his letter, he pretends to have studied the first,

on your promise to send him to the *Temple*; but, your mind altering, and you rather chusing to send him to *Leyden*, he applied himself to study physic, and made some progress in it; but, for many months, he hath heard nothing from you; so that now he is in utter despair, loaden with the hatred of both his parents, and lodges in a garret in *William-street*, with only the liberty to dine at your house, and no further care taken of him.

Sir, although I have seldom been in your company, it is many years since I had the honour of being known to you; and I always thought, as well as heard, that you were a gentleman of great honour, truth, knowledge, modesty, good-nature, and candour. As to your lady, I never saw her but once, and then but for a few minutes: she hath the character of being a very polite and accomplished person; and therefore, very probably, her son's rough, over weening, forward behaviour, among company with her, without that due deference which only can recommend youth, may be very disgustful to her. Your son desires me in his letter, to apply to some friends who have most credit with you, that you will please to put him into some way of life; and he wishes that those friends would be so generous to join in contributing some allowance to support him at *Leyden*. I think, it would have been well if he had been sent to sea in the proper time, or had now a commission

mission in the army. Yet, if he were the original writer of that letter sent to me under his name, I confess myself so very partial, as to be extremely sorry if he should not deserve and acquire the favour of you and your lady: in which case, any parents might be forgiven for being proud of such a son. I have no acquaintance with his tutor, Dr. *King*; but, if I can learn from those who have, I shall be glad to hear that he confirms the character of the young man's good parts and learning, as Dr. *Sheridan* hath done.

I intreat your pardon for this long letter, and for offering to interfere in a domestic point, where I have no information but from one side: but I can faithfully assure you, that my regard is altogether for the service and ease of you and your lady and family. I have always thought that a happy genius is seldom without some bent towards virtue, and therefore deserves some indulgence. Most of the great villains I have known (which were not a small number) have been brutes in their understandings as well as their actions.

But I have already run out my paper, as well as your patience. I shall therefore conclude with the sincere profession of being, with great esteem and truth,

SIR,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant.

LET-

LETTER, LXII.

To Lady BETTY GERMAINE.

June 8th, 1735.

MADAM,

I TROUBLE you sooner than usual, in acknowledging your letter of *May 27th*, because there are some passages in it that seem to require a quick answer. If I forget the date of mine, you must impute it to my ill head; and, if I live two years longer, I shall first forget my own name, and last your ladyship's. I gave my lady *Kerry* an account of what you said in relation to her son, with which she is fully satisfied. I detest the house of lords for their indulgence to such a profligate prostitute villain as *Curle*; but am at a loss how he could procure any letters written to Mr. *Pope*, although, by the vanity or indiscretion of correspondents, the rogue might have pickt up some that went from him. Those letters have not yet been sent hither, therefore I can form no judgment on them. When I was leaving *England*, upon the queen's death, I burnt all the letters I could find, that I had received from ministers for several years before. But, as to the letters I receive from your ladyship, I neither ever did or ever will burn any of them, take it as you please: for I never burn a letter that is entertaining, and consequently will give me new
pleasure

pleasure when it is forgotten. It is true, I have kept some letters merely out of friendship, although they sometimes wanted true spelling and good sense, and some others whose writers are dead. For I live like a monk, and hate to forget my departed friends, Yet I am sometimes too nice; for I burnt all my lord ****'s letters, upon receiving one where he used these words to me, *All I pretend to is a great deal of sincerity*: which, indeed, was the chief virtue he wanted. Of those from my lord **** I burnt all but one, which I keep as a most admirable original of court promises and professions. I confess also that I have read some passages in many of your letters, to a friend, but without naming you, only that the writer was a lady, which had such marks of good sense, that often the hearers would not believe me. And yet I never had a letter of mine printed, nor of any others to me.

Your ladyship very much surprises me with one passage in your letter, which however I do not in the least understand; where you say, *You have been honoured in print by amorous, satirical, and gallant letters, where there was no sword but your bare name mentiond.* I can assure you, this is to me altogether a riddle, and what I never heard the least syllable of; and wish you would explain it. No, madam, I will never forgive your insolent niece, without a most humble submission under her own
R hands;

hands; which if she will not comply with, I shall draw up letters between us, and send them to *Curle*.

I will tell your ladyship a cause I have of complaint against the duke of *Dorset*. I have written to him about four times since he was lieutenant, and three of my letters were upon subjects that concerned him much more than it did any friend of mine, and not at all myself; but he was never pleased to return me an answer. Which omission (for I disdain to call it contempt) I can account for only by some of the following reasons. He is either extremely busy in affairs of the highest importance; or he is a Duke with a garter; or he is a lieutenant of *Ireland*; or he is of a very antient noble extraction; or so obscure a man as I am is not worth his remembrance; or, like the duke of *Chandois*, he is an utter stranger to me: and it would grieve me to the soul to put them together upon any one article. The last letter I writ to his grace was upon an affair relating to one of the favourite party, and yet a very honest gentleman; which last circumstance, with submission to your ladyship, is what I seldom grant; and the matter desired was a trifle. The letter before that related to a request made him by a senior fellow of this university, upon which I was earnestly pressed to write by some considerable members of the same body, which it highly concerned, as well as his grace's honour; the demand being
directly

directly contrary to their statutes, and of the most pernicious consequence, not only to the university, but the kingdom: and for that reason, it is thought, his grace hath chosen to let it fall, I suppose by much better causes of conviction than mine. I do assure you, Madam, that I have not been troublesome to my lord duke in any particular: since he hath been governor, my letters have been at most but one a year, and my personal requests not so many; nor any of them for the least interest that regarded myself. And although it be true that I do not much approve the conduct of affairs in either kingdom, wherein I agree with vast numbers of both parties; yet I have utterly waved intermeddling even in this enslaved kingdom, where perhaps I might have some influence to be troublesome; yet I have long quitted all such thoughts, out of perfect despair: although I have sometimes wished, that the true loyal Whigs here might be a little more considered in the disposition of employments, notwithstanding their misfortune of being born on this side the channel; which would gain abundance of hearts both to the crown and his grace. My paper is so full, that I have not room to excuse its length. I remain

Your Ladyship's

Most obedient humble servant.

LETTER LXIII.

TO SIR CHARLES WOGAN, in SPAIN [k].

HONOURED SIR,

1735.

I THINK you are the only person alive who can justly charge me with ingratitude: because, although I were utterly unknown to you, and become an obscure exile in a most obscure and enslaved country, you were at the pains to find me out, and send me your very agreeable writings, with which I have often entertained some very ingenious friends, as well as myself; I mean not only your poetry, in *Latin* and *English*, but your poetical history in prose of your own life and actions, inscribed to me: which I often wished it were safe to print here, or in *England*, under the madness of universal party now reigning: I mean particularly in this kingdom, to which I would prefer living among the *Hottentots*, if it were in my power [l].

I have been often told, that you have a brother [m] and some near relations in this country, and have oftener employed my

[k] See a Character of this Gentleman, Vol. XIV. p. 204.

[l] These writings are at present in the hands of the editor of these volumes, all of them under Sir Charles Wogan's own hand.

[m] Mr. Wogan, of Rathcoffee.

friends

friends in vain to learn when any of them came to this town. But, I suppose, on account of their religion, they are so prudent as to live in privacy: although the court hath thought it better in point of politics, and, to keep the good-will of cardinal *Fleury* hath thought it proper, to make the Catholics here much more easy than their ill-willers, of no religion, approve of in their hearts. And I can assure you, that those wretches here, who call themselves a Parliament, abhor the clergy of our church more than those of yours, and have made an universal association to defraud us of our undoubted dues.

I have further thanks to give you for your generous present of excellent *Spanish* wine, whereof I have been so choice, that my butler tells me there are still some bottles left [n]. I did very often ask some merchants here, who trade with *Spain*, whether this country could not afford something that might be acceptable in *Spain*, but could not get any satisfaction. The price, I am sure, would be but a trifle. And I am told by one of them, that he heard you were informed of my desire: to which you answered in a disinterested manner, That you only desired my works. It is true indeed that a printer [o] here, about a year ago, did collect all that was printed in *London* which passed for mine, as

[n] Dr. *Swift*, in greatful remembrance of sir *Charles Wogan*, used to call this *Spanish* wine his Hero Wine.

[o] Mr. *Faulkner*.

well as several single papers in verse and prose, that he could get from my friends, and desired my leave to publish them in four volumes. He reasoned, That printers here had no property in their copies: that mine would fall into worse hands: that he would submit to me and my friends what to publish or omit. On the whole, I would not concern myself; and so they have appeared abroad, as you will see them in those I make bold to send you. I must now return to mention wine. The last season for it was very bad in *France*, upon which our merchants have raised the price twenty *per cent.* already, and the present weather is not like to mend it. Upon this, I have told some merchants my opinion, or perhaps my fancy: that when the warmth of summer happens to fail in the several wine-countries, *Spain* and *Portugal* wines, and those in the South of *Italy*, will be at least as ripe as those of *France* in a good year. If there be any truth in this conceit, I would desire our merchants to deal this year in those warmer climates: because I hear that in *Spain* *French* vines are often planted, and the wine is more mellow; although, perhaps, the natural *Spanish* grape may fail, for want of its usual share of sun. In this point, I would have your opinion; wherein if you agree, I will make *Mr. Hall*, an honest Catholic merchant here, who deals in *Spanish* wine, to bring me over as large a cargo as I can afford, of wines as like *French* claret as he can get. For my disorders,

disorders, with the help of years, make wine absolutely necessary to support me. And, if you were not a person of too considerable a rank (and now become half a *Spaniard*) I would try to make you descend so low, as to order some merchants there to consign to some of ours, directed to me, some good quantity of wine that you approve of; such as our claret-drinkers here will be content with. For, when I give them a pale wine (called by Mr. *Hall Cassalia*), they say, it will do for one glass, and then (to speak in their language) call for Honest Claret.

LETTER LXIV.

TO BISHOP HORTE [p].

MY LORD,

May 12th, 1736.

I HAVE two or three times begun a letter to your lordship, and as often laid it aside; until, by the unasked advice of some friends of yours, and of all my own, I resolved at last to tell you my thoughts upon the affair of the poor printer, who suffered so much upon your lordship's account, confined to a dungeon among common thieves, and others with infectious diseases, to the hazard of his life; besides the expence of above twenty-five pounds, and besides the ignominy to be sent to *Newgate* like a common malefactor.

[p] Dr. *Josiah Horte*, Bishop of *Kilmore*.

His

His misfortunes do also very highly and personally concern me. For, your lordship declaring your desire to have that paper looked for, he did at my request search his shop, and unfortunately found it: and, although he had absolutely refused before to print it, because my name as the author was fixed to it; which was very legible, notwithstanding there was a scratch through the words; yet, at my desire, he ventured to print it. Neither did *Faulkner* ever name you as the author, although you sent the paper by a clergyman, one of your dependents: but your friends were the only persons who gave out the report of it's having been your performance. I read your lordship's letter written to the printer, wherein you argue that he is, in these dealings, the adventurer, and must run the hazard of gain or loss. Indeed, my lord, the case is otherwise. He sells such papers to the running-boys for farthings a-piece, and is a gainer by each, less than half a farthing; and it is seldom he sells above a hundred, unless they be of such as only spread by giving offence, and consequently endanger the printer both in loss of money and liberty, as it was the case of that very paper: which, although it be written with spirit and humour, yet, if it had not affected *Betterworth*, would scarce have cleared above a shilling to *Faulkner*; neither would he have done it at all, but at my urgency, which was the effect of your lordship's commands to me. But, as your lordship hath since been
univer-

universally known for the author, although never named by *Faulkner* or me, so it is as generally known that you never gave him the least consideration for his losses, disgraces, and dangers of his life. I have heard this, and more, from every person of my acquaintance, whom I see at home or abroad: and particularly from one person too high to name, who told me all the particulars; and I heartily wished, upon your account, that I could have assured him that the poor man had received the least mark of your justice, or, if you please to call it so, your generosity, which I would gladly inform that great person of before he leaves us.

Now, my lord, as God, assisting your own good management of a very ample fortune, hath made you extremely rich, I may venture to say, that the printer hath a demand, in all conscience, justice, and honour, to be fully refunded, both for his disgraces, his losses, and the apparent danger of his life; and that my opinion ought to be of some weight, because I was an innocent instrument, drawn in by your lordship, against *Faulkner's* will, to be an occasion of his sufferings: and, if you shall please to recompence him in the manner that all people hope or desire, it will be no more in your purse than a drop in the bucket. And, as soon as I shall be informed of it, I shall immediately write to that very great person, in such a manner as will be most to the advantage of your character: for which, I am sure, he will

will rejoice, and so will all your friends; or, if you have any enemies, they will be put to silence.

Your lordship hath too good an understanding to imagine, that my principal regard in this affair is not to your reputation, although it be likewise mingled with pity to the innocent sufferer. And I hope you will consider, that this case is not among those, where it is a mark of magnanimity to despise the censure of the world: because all good men will differ from you, and impute your conduct only to a sparing temper, upon an occasion where common justice and humanity required a direct contrary proceeding.

I conclude with assuring your lordship again, that what I have written was chiefly for your lordship's credit and service: because I am, with great truth,

Your Lordship's most, &c.

LETTER LXV.

To Lady BETTY GERMAINE.

MADAM,

June 15th, 1736.

I WRITE this letter to your ladyship, in the employment you have chosen of being a go-between the duke of *Dorset* and me. I must preface this letter with an honest declaration, That I never proposed any one thing to his grace wherein I did not chiefly
consult

consult his honour and the general opinion of the kingdom. I had the honour to know him from a boy, as I did your ladyship from a child; and yet, excepting great personal civilities, I never was able to obtain the favour of getting one church-preferment for any friend, except one too inconsiderable to mention. I writ to, and told my lord duke, that there was a certain family here, called the *Grattans*, and that they could command ten thousand men: two of them are parsons, (as you whigs call them) another is lord mayor of this city, and was knighted by his grace a month or two ago. But there is another cousin of theirs, who is a *Grattan*, though his name be *John Jackson*, as worthy a clergyman as any in this kingdom. He lives upon his own small estate, four miles from this town, and in his own parish; but he hath four children. He only wants some little addition of 100*l.* a-year: for he hath laid out 800*l.* to build upon his own small estate in his own parish, which he cannot leave, and we cannot spare him. He hath lain a weight upon my shoulders for many years; and I have often mentioned him to my lord duke as a most deserving person. His grace hath now an opportunity to help him. One Mr. *Ward*, who died this morning, had a deanry of small value: it was a hedge-deanry (my lord duke will tell you what I mean); we have many of them in *Ireland*: but, as it doth not require living there, except a month or two in the year, although

although it be but of forty or fifty pounds yearly rent, it will be a great ease to him. He is no partyman, but a loyal subject. It is the deanry of *Cloyne*: he is well acquainted with the bishop, who is *Dr. Berkeley*. I have reasons enough to complain of my lord duke, who absolutely refused to provide for a most worthy man whom he had made one of his chaplains before he came over: and therefore, if he will not consent to give this poor deanry to *Mr. John Jackson*, I will fall out with him for ever. I desire your ladyship to let the duke know all this.

Somebody read a part of a news-paper to me the other day, wherein your faucy niece is mentioned as married, with forty-five thousand pounds to her fortune. I desire to present her with my most humble service, and that we may be friends for the future. I hope your ladyship still preserves your health and good humour. Your virtues I am in no pain about, for you are confirmed in them by your education and birth, as well as by constant practice. I pray God preserve you long, for the good you do to the world, and for your happiness hereafter.

I will (notwithstanding your commands to the contrary) be so bold to tell you, that I am, with the greatest respect and esteem,

MADAM,

your ladyship's

most obedient and

obliged humble servant.

LET.

LETTER LXVI.

TO Mr. ALDERMAN BARBER.

March 30, 1737.

DEAR MR. ALDERMAN,

YOU will read the character of the bearer, Mr. *Lloyd*, which he will deliver to you, signed by the magistrates and chief inhabitants of *Coleraine*. It seems your society hath raised the rents in that town, and of your lands about it, within three years past, to four times the value of what the tenants formerly paid; which is beyond what I have ever heard, even among the most screwing landlords of this kingdom: and the consequence hath already been, that many of your tenants in that town and the lands about it are preparing to the plantations of *America*, for the same reasons that are driving some thousands of families in the North to the same plantations; I mean the oppression of landlords. My dear friend, you are to consider, That no society can or ought, in prudence or justice, let their lands at so high a rate as a squire, who lives upon his estate, and is able to distrain at an hour's warning. All bodies corporate must give easy bargains, so as to be ready to pay all the incident charges to which they are subject. Thus bishops, deans, and chapters, as well as other

corporations, seldom or never let their lands even so high as half the value: and when they raise those rents which are unreasonably low, it is by degrees. I have instances of this conduct in my own practice, as well as that of my chapter, although my own lands, as dean, are let four fifths under their value. On the other side, there is no reason why an honourable society should rent their estate for a trifle. And therefore I told Mr. *Lloyd* my opinion: That if you could be prevailed on just to double the rent and no more, I hoped the tenants might be able to live in a tolerable manner. For I am as much convinced as I can be of any thing human, that this wretched oppressed country must necessarily decline for ever. If, by a miracle, things should mend, you may, in a future renewal, make a moderate increase of rent; but not by such leaps as you are now taking: for you ought to remember the fable of the hen who laid every second day a golden egg, upon which her mistress killed her to get the whole lump together. I am told that one condition in your charter is, to plant a colony of *English* in those parts. If that be so, you are too wise to let it be a colony of *Irish* beggars. I would not have said thus much in an affair, and about persons to whom I am a stranger, if I had not been long assured of the poor condition those people in and about *Coleraine* have lain under, since that enormous raising of their rents. The bearer, whom I never saw until yesterday, seems to be a gentleman of
truth

truth and good sense. Yet, if he hath misrepresented this matter to me, I shall never be his advocate again.

My health is very indifferent: spirits I have none left. I decline every day. I hope and hear it is better with you. May you live as long as you desire: for I have lost so many friends without getting any new, that I must keep you as a sample of the former. I am, my dear friend,

Your's, &c.

L E T T E R LXVII.

To the Earl of OXFORD.

MY LORD,

June 14, 1737.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your lordship, dated *April* the 7th, which I was not prepared to answer until this time. Your lordship must needs have known, that the History you mention of the four last years of the queen's reign, was written at *Windsor*, just upon finishing the peace; at which time, your father and my lord *Bolingbroke* had a misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad consequences. When I came to *Ireland* to take this deanry (after the peace was made) I could not stay here above a fortnight, being recalled by an hundred letters to hasten back, and to use my endea-

yours in reconciling those ministers. I left them the History you mention, which I had finished at *Windsor*, to the time of the peace. When I returned to *England*, I found their quarrels and coldness encreased. I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able: I contrived to bring them to my lord *Masbam's*, at *St. James's*; My lord and lady *Masbam* left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good consequences. I was to go to *Windsor* next day with my lord treasurer: I pretended business that prevented me: expecting they would come to some * * * * * [q]. But I followed them to *Windsor*; where my lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that my scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same rate: they grew more estranged every day. My lord treasurer found his credit daily declining. In *May* before the queen died, I had my last meeting with them at my lord *Masbam's*. He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both; and told them I would retire, for I found all was gone: lord *Bolingbroke* whispered me, I was in the right; your father said, All would do well. I told him that I would go to *Oxford* on *Monday*, since I found it was impossible to be of any use. I took coach to *Oxford* on *Monday*; went to a friend in *Berkshire*; there staid until the queen's death; and then to

[q] Here is a blank left for some word or other; such as *agreement*, *reconciliation*, or the like.

my station here ; where I staid twelve years, and never saw my lord your father afterwards. They could not agree about printing the History of the four last years : and therefore I have kept it to this time, when I determine to publish it in *London*, to the confusion of all those rascals who have accused the queen and that ministry of making a bad peace ; to which that party entirely owes the Protestant succession. I was then in the greatest trust and confidence with your father the lord treasurer, as well as with my lord *Bolingbroke*, and all others who had part in the administration. I had all the letters from the secretary's office, during the treaty of peace : out of those and what I learned from the ministry, I formed that history which I am now going to publish for the information of posterity, and to controul the most impudent falsehoods which have been published since. I wanted no kind of materials. I knew your father better than you could at that time ; and I do impartially think him the most virtuous minister, and the most able, that ever I remember to have read of. If your lordship has any particular circumstances that may fortify what I have said in the History, such as letters or other materials, I am content they should be printed at the end, by way of appendix. I loved my lord your father better than any other man in the world, although I had no obligation to him on the score of preferment, having been driven to

this wretched kingdom, to which I was almost a stranger, by his want of power to keep me in what I ought to call my own country; although I happened to be dropt here, and was a year old before I left it: and, to my sorrow, did not die before I came back to it again. I am extremely glad of the felicity you have in your alliances, and desire to present my most humble respects to my lady *Oxford*, and your daughter the duchess [q]. As to the History, it is only of affairs which I know very well; and had all the advantages possible to know, when you were in some sort but a lad. One great design of it, is to do justice to the ministry at that time, and to refute all the objections against them, as if they had a design of bringing in Popery and the Pretender; and further to demonstrate, that the present settlement of the crown was chiefly owing to my lord your father. I can never expect to see *England*: I am now too old and too sickly, added to almost a perpetual deafness and giddiness. I live a most domestic life: I want nothing that is necessary; but I am in a cursed, factious, oppressed, miserable country; not made so by nature, but by the slavish, hellish principles of an execrable prevailing faction in it. Farewell, my lord. I have tired you and myself. I desire again to present my most humble respects to my lady *Oxford*, and the duchess your daughter. Pray

[r] *Duchess of Portland.*

God

God preserve you long and happy. I shall diligently enquire into your conduct from those who will tell me. You have hitherto continued right; let me hear that you persevere so. Your task will not be long; for I am not in a condition of health or time to trouble this world, and I am heartily weary of it already; and so should be in *England*, which I hear is full as corrupt as this poor enslaved country. I am, with the truest love and respect,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's

most obedient and

most obliged, &c.

LETTER XLVIII.

TO ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq; [r].

July 23, 1737.

DEAR FRIEND,

WHILE any of those who used to write to me were alive, I always inquired after you. But, since your secretaryship in the queen's time, I believed you were so glutted

[s] Formerly private secretary to the Earl of Oxford.

with the office, that you had not patience to venture on a letter to an absent useless acquaintance: and I find I owe yours to my lord *Oxford*. The History you mention was written above a year before the queen's death. I left it with the treasurer and lord *Bolingbroke*, when I first came over to take this deanry. I returned in less than a month; but the ministry could not agree about the printing it: It was to conclude with the peace. I staid in *London* above nine months; but, not being able to reconcile the quarrels between those two, I went to a friend in *Berkshire*, and, on the queen's death, came hither for good and all. I am confident you read that History, as this lord *Oxford* did, as he owns in his two letters, the last of which reached me not above ten days ago. You know, on the queen's death, how the peace and all proceedings were universally condemned. This I knew would be done; and the chief cause of my writing was, not to let such a queen and ministry lie under such a load of infamy, or posterity be so ill informed, &c. Lord *Oxford* is in the wrong to be in pain about his father's character, or his proceedings in his ministry; which is so drawn, that his greatest admirers will rather censure me for partiality; neither can he tell me any thing material out of his papers, which I was not then informed of. Nor do I know any body but yourself who could give me more light than what I then received: for I remember I often consulted with you, and
took

took memorials of many important particulars which you told me, as I did of others, for four years together. I can find no way to have the original delivered to lord *Oxford* or to you; for the person who hath it will not trust it out of his hands; but, I believe, would be contented to let it be read to either of you, if it could be done without letting it out of his hands, although perhaps that may be too late [t]. If my health would have

[t] As, a little before this period, the great abilities of *Dr. Swift* had begun to fail, he had, in order to gratify some of his acquaintance, called for the *History* of the four last years of the *Queen's* reign once or twice out of his friend's hands, and lent it abroad; by which means part of the contents of it were whispered about the town, and several had pretended to have read it, who perhaps had never seen one line of it. And this caused it to be apprehended, that, if the dean should frequently lend the *History*, a copy of it might be taken some time or other. Whereupon *Mrs. Whiteaway*, the next time the dean put the original into her hands, told him plainly, That, if she ever again he should take the charge of that manuscript, he should never lend it again to any man alive; and that if should, at any time hereafter, call for it again, and insist upon having it in his own possession, she would never take the charge of it more: and, accordingly, she took it upon these conditions, and has faithfully kept it from that day to this; the history which is now abroad having been printed from a spurious manuscript, taken, as it is supposed, from a copy of the original which had been sent to *England*, by the

permitted me, for some years past, to have ventured as far as *London*, I would have satisfied both my lord and you. I believe you know that lord *Bolingbroke* is now busy in *France*, to write the history of his own time, and how much he grew to hate the treasurer you know too well; and I know how much lord *Bolingbroke* hates his very memory. This is what the present lord *Oxford* should be in most pain at, not about me. I have had my share of affliction sufficient, in the loss of Dr. *Arbutnot*, and poor *Gay* and others; and I heartily pity poor lord *Masham*. I would fain know whether his son be a valuable young man; because I much disliked his education. When I was last among you, sir *William Wyndham* was in a bad state of health: I always loved him, and rejoice to hear from you the figure he makes. But I know so little of what passeth, that I never heard of lady *Blandford*, his present wife.

Lord *Bath* used to write to me, but hath dropped it some years. Pray, is *Charles Ford* yet alive? for he hath dropped me too; or perhaps my illness hath hindered me from

late earl of *Corke* and *Ortery*, for the dean's friends to peruse. Mr. *Nugent*, the present representative in parliament for the city of *Bristol*, who read the original in Mrs. *Whiteway's* parlour in the year 1739, can, if he please, vouch the authenticity of this fact, as he could not have the pleasure of reading that History (which the dean was desirous enough to lend him) at his own lodgings.

provoking

provoking his remembrance : For I have been long in a very bad condition. My deafness, which used to be occasional and for a short time, hath stuck by me now several months without remission ; so that I am unfit for any conversation, except one or two Stentors of either sex, and my old giddiness is likewise become chonical, although not in equal violence with my former short fits.

I was never so much deceived in any *Scot*, as by that execrable lord K* * * *, whom I loved extremely, and now detest beyond expression.

You say so little of yourself, that I know not whether you are in health or sickness, only that you lead a mere animal life ; which, with nine parts in ten, is a sign of health. I find you have not, like me, lost your memory ; nor, I hope, your sense of hearing, which is the greatest loss of any, and more comfortless than even being blind ; I mean in the article of company. Writing no longer amuseth me, for I cannot think. I dine constantly at home, in my chamber, with a grave housekeeper, whom I call *Sir Robert*, and sometimes receive one or two friends and a female cousin, with strong high tenor voices. I am, &c.

LETTER LXIX.

To Miss RICHARDSON.

Jan. 28, 1737-8.

MADAM,

I MUST begin my correspondence by letting you know that your uncle is the most unreasonable person I was ever acquainted with; and, next to him, you are the second, although I think impartially that you are worse than he. I never had the honour and happiness of seeing you, nor can ever expect it, unless you make the first advance by coming up to town, where I am confined by want of health; and my travelling days are over. I find you follow your uncle's steps, by maliciously bribing a useless man, who can never have it in his power to serve or divert you. I have indeed continued a very long friendship with alderman *Barber*, who is governour of the *London-society* about your parts; whereupon Mr. *Richardson* came to the deanry, although it was not in my power to do him the least good office, further than writing to the alderman. However, your uncle came to me several times; and I believe, after several invitations, dined with me once or twice. This was all the provocation I
ever

ever gave him ; but he had revenge in his breast, and you shall hear how he gratified it. First, he was told that my ill stomach, and a giddiness I was subject to, forced me, in some of those fits, to take a spoonful of usquebagh : he discovered where I bought it, and sent me a dozen bottles, which cost him three pounds. He next was told, that, as I never drank malt-liquors, so I was not able to drink *Dublin-claret* without mixing it with a little sweet *Spanish* wine : he found out the merchant with whom I deal, by the treachery of my butler, and sent me twelve dozen pints of that wine, for which he paid six pounds. But what can I say of a man, who, some years before I ever saw him, was loading me every season with salmons, that surfeited myself and all my visitors ? Whereby it is plain, that his malice reached to my friends as well as to myself. At last, to complete his ill designs, he must needs force his niece into the plot ; because, it can be proved, that you are his prime minister, and so ready to encourage him in his bad proceedings ; that you have been his partaker and seconder in mischief, by sending me half a dozen of shirts, although I never once gave you the least cause of displeasure. And, what is yet worse, the few ladies that come to the deanry assure me, they never saw so fine linen, or better worked up, or more exactly fitted. It is a happiness they were not stockings, for then you would have known the
length

length of my foot. Upon the whole, madam, I must deal so plain, as to repeat, that you are more cruel even than your uncle; to such a degree, that, if my health and a good summer can put it in my power to travel to *Summer-Seat*, I must take that journey on purpose to expostulate with you for all the unprovoked injuries you have done me. I have seen some persons who live in your neighbourhood, from whom I have enquired into your character; but I found you had bribed them all by never sending them any such dangerous presents: for they swore to me, that you were a lady adorned with all perfections, such as virtue, prudence, wit, humour, excellent conversation, and even good house-wifery; which last is seldom the talent of ladies in this kingdom. But I take so ill your manner of treating me, that I shall not believe one syllable of what they said, until I have it by a letter under your own hand. Our common run of ladies here dare not read before a man, and much less dare to write, for fear (as their expression is) of being exposed. So that when I see any of your sex, if they be worth mending, I beat them all, call them names, until they leave off their follies, and ask pardon. And therefore, because princes are said to have long hands, I wish I were a prince with hands long enough to beat you at this distance, for all your faults, particularly your ill treatment of me. However, I will conclude with charity.

rity. May you never give me cause to change, in any single article, the opinion and idea I have of your person and qualities. May you very long continue the delight of your uncle, and your neighbours round, who deserve your good-will, and of all who have merit enough to distinguish you. I am, with great respect and the highest esteem,

MADAM,

Your most obedient

and most obliged

humble servant.

LETTER LXX.

To Mr. ALDERMAN BARBER.

August 8, 1738.

My dear and honoured Friend,

I HAVE received yours of *July 27th*, and two days ago had a letter from Mr. *Pope*, with a dozen lines from my lord *Bolingbroke*, who tells me he is just going to *France*, and, I suppose, designs to continue there as long as he lives. I am very sorry he is under a necessity of selling *Darwley*: pray, let me know whether he be tolerable easy in his fortunes; for he hath, these several years, lived very expensively. Is his lady still alive? and hath he still a country-house and an estate of hers to live on? I should be glad to live so long, as to see his History of his own Times, which would be a work very worthy of his lordship, and will be a defence of that ministry, and a justification of our late glorious Queen, against the malice, ignorance, falsehood, and stupidity of our present times and managers. I very much like Mr. *Pope's* last poem, entitled M DCC XXXVIII, called Dialogue II.; but I live so obscurely, and know so little of what passes in *London*, that I cannot know the names of persons and things by initial letters.

I am

I am very glad to hear that the duke of *Ormond* lives so well at ease and in so good health, as well as with so valuable a companion. His grace hath an excellent constitution at so near to fourscore. Mr. *Dunkin* is not in town, but I will send to him when I hear he is come. I extremely love my lord and lady *Oxford*, but his way of managing his fortune is not to be endured. I remember a rascally butcher, one *Morley*, a great land-jobber and knave, who was his lordship's manager, and hath been the principal cause of my lord's wrong conduct, in which you agree with me in blaming his weakness and credulity. I desire you will please, upon occasion, to present my humble service to my lord and lady *Oxford*, and to my lord *Bathurst*. I just expected the character you give of young *****. I hated him from a boy. I wonder Mr. *Ford* is alive; perhaps, walking preserves him.

I very much lament your asthma. I believe temperance and exercise have preserved me from it. I seldom walk less than four miles, sometimes six, eight, ten, or more, never beyond my own limits; or, if it rains, I walk as much through the house, up and down stairs: And, if it were not for this cruel deafness, I would ride through the kingdom, and half through *England*; pox on the modern phrase, *Great-Britain*, which is only to distinguish it from *Little Britain*, where old cloaths and old books are to be bought and sold. However, I will put Dr.
Sheridan

Sheridan (the best scholar in both kingdoms) upon taking your receipt for a terrible asthma. I wish you were rich enough to buy and keep a horse, and ride every tolerable day twenty miles. Mr. *Richardson* is, I think, still in *London*. I assure, you he is very grateful to me, and is too wise and discreet to give any just occasion of complaint, by which he must be a great loser in reputation, and a greater in his fortune.

I have not written so much this many a day. I have tired myself much; but, in revenge, I will tire you.

I am, dear Mr. Alderman, with very great esteem,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant.

LET.

LETTER LXXI.

Mr. POPE to Dr. SWIFT.

Twitnam, Oct. 12, 1738.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I COULD gladly tell you every week the many things that pass in my heart, and revive the memory of all your friendship to me; but I am not so willing to put you to the trouble of shewing it (though I know you have it as warm as ever) upon little or trivial occasions. Yet, this once, I am unable to refuse the request of a very particular and very deserving friend; one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many, now dead, banished, or unfortunate. I mean Mr. *Lyttelton*, one of the worthiest of the rising generation. His nurse has a son, whom I would beg you to promote to the next vacancy in your choir. I loved my own nurse, and so does *Lyttelton*: he loves, and is loved, through the whole chain of relations, dependents, and acquaintance. He is one who would apply to any person to please me, or to serve mine: I owe it to him to apply to you for this man, whose name is *William Lamb*, and he is the bearer of this letter. I presume he is qualified for
that

that which he desires; and I doubt not, if it be consistent with justice, you will gratify me in him.

Let this, however, be an opportunity of telling you—— What?—— what I cannot tell, the kindness I bear you, the affection I feel for you, the hearty wishes I form for you, my prayers for your health of body and mind; or, the best softening of the want of either, quiet and resignation. You lose little by *not bearing* such things as this idle and base generation has to tell you: you lose not much by *forgetting* most of what *now* passes in it. Perhaps, to have a memory that retains the past scenes of our country and forgets the present, is the means to be happier and better contented. But, if the *evil of the day* be not intolerable (though sufficient, God knows, at any period of life) we *may*, at least we *should*, nay we *must* (whether patiently or impatiently) bear it, and make the best of what we cannot make better, but may make worse. To hear that this is your situation and your temper, and that peace attends you at home, and one or two true friends who are tender about you, would be a great ease to me to know, and know from yourself. Tell me who those are whom you now love or esteem, that I may love and esteem them too; and, if ever they come into *England*, let them be my friends. If, by any thing I can here do, I can serve you, or please you, be certain it will mend my happiness;

piness; and that no satisfaction any thing gives me here will be superior, if equal to it.

My dear Dean, whom I never will forget, or think of with coolness, many are yet living here who frequently mention you with affection and respect. Lord *Orrery*, lord *Bathurst*, lord *Bolingbroke*, lord *Oxford*, lord *Masham*, *Lewis*, Mrs. *P. Blount* (allow one woman to the list, for she is as constant to old friendships as any man); and many young men there are, nay all that are any credit to this age, who love you unknown, who kindle at your fire, and learn by your genius. Nothing of you can die, nothing of you can decay, nothing of you can suffer, nothing of you can be obscured, or locked up from esteem and admiration, except what is at the Deanry; just as much of you only as God made mortal. May the rest of you (which is all) be as happy hereafter as honest men may expect and need not doubt; while (knowing nothing more) they know, that their Maker is merciful. Adieu.

Your's ever,

A. POPE.

LETTER XXXIII.

To the Honourable the SOCIETY of the
GOVERNOUR and ASSISTANTS, *London*,
for the NEW PLANTATION in *Ulster*, with-
in the Realm of *Ireland*, at their Cham-
ber in *Guild-hall, London*.

By conjecture, 1731.

WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

I HEARTILY recommend to your very
worshipful society, the reverend Mr. *Wil-
liam Dunkin*, for the living of *Colerain*, va-
cant by the death of *Dr. Squire*. Mr. *Dunkin*
is a gentleman of great learning and wit,
true religion, and excellent morals. It is
only for these qualifications that I recom-
mend him to your patronage; and I am con-
fident that you will never repent the choice
of such a man, who will be ready at any
time to obey your commands. You have my
best wishes, and all my endeavours for your
prosperity: and I shall, during my life, con-
tinue

tinue to be with the trueſt reſpect and higheſt eſteem,

WORTHY SIRS,

Your moſt obedient and

moſt humble ſervant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

L E T T E R LXXIII.

To Mr. P O P E.

May 10th, 1739, at a conjecture.

YOU are to ſuppoſe, for the little time I ſhall live, that my memory is entirely gone, and eſpecially of any thing that was told me laſt night, or this morning. I have one favour to entreat from you. I know the high eſteem and friendſhip you bear to your friend Mr. *Lyttelton*, whom you call the riſing genius of this age. His fame, his virtue, honour, and courage, have been early ſpread even among us. I find he is ſecretary to the prince of *Wales*; and his royal highneſs hath been for ſeveral years chancellor of the univerſity in *Dublin*. All this is a prelude to a requeſt I am going to make you. There is in this city one *Alexander M^cAulay*, a lawyer of great diſtinction for ſkill and
honesty,

honesty, zealous for the liberty of the subject, and loyal to the house of *Hanover*; and particularly to the prince of *Wales*, for his highness's love to both kingdoms.

Mr. *M'Aulay* is now soliciting for a seat in parliament here, vacant by the death of Dr. *Coghill*, a civilian, who was one of the persons chosen for this university: And, as his royal highness continues still chancellor of it, there is no person so proper to nominate the representative as himself. If this favour can be procured, by your good-will and Mr. *Lytleton's* interest, it will be a particular obligation to me, and grateful to the people of *Ireland*, in giving them one of their own nation to represent this university.

There is a man in my choir, one Mr. *Lamb*; he hath at present but half a vicarship: the value of it is not quite 50 *l. per annum*. You writ to me in his favour some time ago; and, if I outlive any one vicar choral; Mr. *Lamb* shall certainly have a full place, because he very well deserves it: and I am obliged to you very much for recommending him.

LETTER LXXV.

To Mr. LYTTTELTON [t].

June 5th, 1739.

S I R,

Y O U treat me very hard, by beginning your letter with owning an obligation to me on account of Mr. *Lamb*, which deserves mine and my chapter's thanks, for recommending so useful a person to my choir. It is true I gave Mr. *Deane Swift* a letter [u] to my dear friend Mr. *Pope*, that he might have the happiness to see and know so great a genius in poetry, and so agreeable in all other good qualities; but the young man (several years older than you) was much surpris'd to see his junior in so high a station, as secretary to his royal highness the Prince of *Wales*, and to find himself treated by you in so kind a manner. In one article, you are greatly mistaken. For, however ignorant we may be in the affairs of *England*, your character is well known among us, in every particular, as it is in the Prince your Master's court, and indeed all over this poor kingdom.

[t] Now Lord Lyttelton. [u] See vol. XII. p. 215.

T

You

You will find that I have not altogether forgotten my old court-politics : for, in a letter I writ to Mr. *Pope*, I desired him to recommend Mr. *M'Aulay* to your favour and protection, as a most worthy, honest, and deserving gentleman ; and, I perceive, you have effectually interceded with the prince, to prevail with the university to chuse him for a member to represent that learned body in parliament, in the room of Dr. *Cogbill*, deceased.

I have been just now informed, that some of the fellows have sent over an apology, or rather a remonstrance, to the Prince of *Wales*, pretending they were under a prior engagement to one Mr. *Tisdal* ; and therefore have desired his royal highness to withdraw his commendation. A modest request indeed, to demand from their Chancellor what they think is dishonourable in themselves, to give up an engagement. Their whole proceeding, on this occasion, against their Chancellor, heir of the Crown, is universally condemned here, and seems to be the last effort of such men ; who, without duly considering, make rash promises, not consistent with the prudence expected from them.

I can hardly venture the boldness to desire, that his Royal Highness may know from you the profound respect, honour, esteem, and veneration, I bear towards his princely virtues. All my friends on your side the water represent him to me in the most amiable light ; and the people infallibly reckon upon a golden age in both kingdoms, when it shall please
God

God to make him the Restorer of the liberties of his people.

I ought to accuse you highly for your ill-treatment of me, by wishing yourself in the number of my friends: but you shall be pardoned, if you please to be one of my protectors; and your protection cannot be long. You shall therefore make it up in thinking favourably of me. Years have made me lose my memory in every thing but friendship and gratitude: and you, whom I have never seen, will never be forgotten by me, until I am dead. I am, honourable sir, with the highest respect,

Your most obedient and

Obliged humble servant.

END of VOL. XVI.





