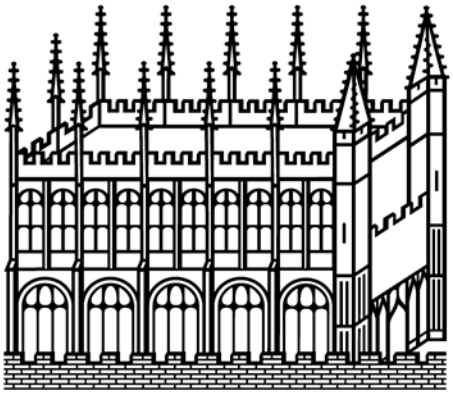

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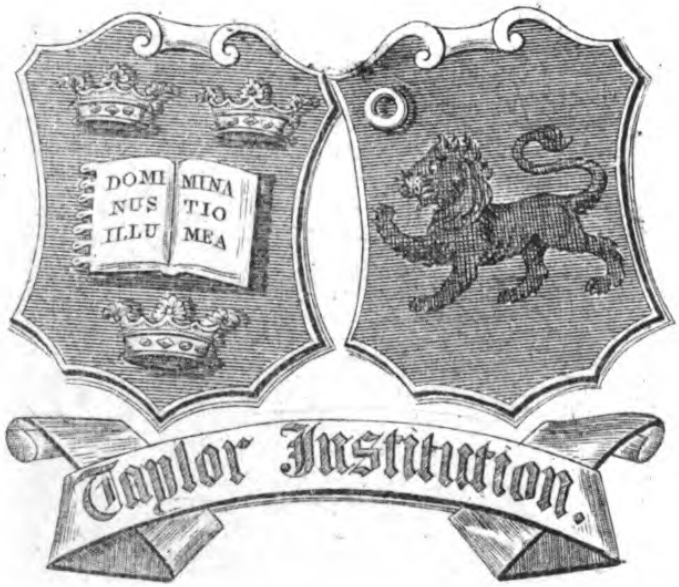

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Timothy Lane

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THE FABLE OF THE BEES:

OR,

Private Vices, Publick Benefits.

With an ESSAY on

Charity *and* Charity-Schools.

AND

A Search into the Nature of Society.

The SIXTH EDITION.

To which is added,

A VINDICATION of the BOOK from the Aſperſions contain'd in a Preſentment of the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, and an abuſive Letter to Lord C.

LONDON,

Printed: And Sold by J. TONSON, at *Shakeſpear's-Head*, over-againſt *Katherine-Street* in the *Strand*.

MDCCXXIX.

THE PREFACE.

LAWS and Government are to the Political Bodies of Civil Societies, what the Vital Spirits and Life it ſelf are to the Natural Bodies of Animated Creatures; and as thoſe that ſtudy the Anatomy of Dead Carkaſſes may ſee, that the chief Organs and niceſt Springs more immediately required to continue the Motion of our Machine, are not hard Bones, ſtrong Muſcles and Nerves, nor the ſmooth white Skin that ſo beautifully covers them, but ſmall trifling Films and little Pipes that are either over-look'd, or elſe ſeem inconſiderable to Vulgar Eyes; ſo they that examine into the Nature of Man, abſtract from Art and Education, may obſerve, that what renders him a Sociable Animal, conſiſts not in his deſire of Company, good Nature, Pity, Affability, and other Graces of a fair Outſide; but that his vileſt and moſt hateful Qualities are the moſt neceſſary Accompliſhments to fit him for the largeſt, and, according to the World, the happieſt and moſt flouriſhing Societies.

The Preface.

The following Fable, in which what I have ſaid is ſet forth at large, was printed about fifteen Years ago * in a Six Penny Pamphlet, call'd, *the Grumbling Hive*; or *Knaves turn'd Honeſt*; and being ſoon after Pyrated, cry'd about the Streets in a Half Penny Sheet. Since the firſt publiſhing of it I have met with ſeveral that either wilfully or ignorantly miſtaking the Deſign, would have it, that the Scope of it was a Satyr upon Virtue and Morality, and the whole wrote for the Encouragement of Vice. This made me reſolve, whenever it ſhould be Reprinted, ſome way or other to inform the Reader of the real Intent this little Poem was wrote with. I do not dignify theſe few looſe Lines with the Name of Poem, that I would have the Reader expect any Poetry in them, but barely becauſe they are Rhime, and I am in reality puzled what Name to give them; for they are neither Heroick nor Paſtoral, Satyr, Burleſque nor Heroi-comick; to be a Tale they want Probability, and the whole is rather too long for a Fable. All I can ſay of them is, that they are a Story told in Dogrel, which without the leaſt deſign of being Witty, I have endeavour'd to do in as eaſy and familiar a manner as I was able: The Reader ſhall be welcome to call them what he pleaſes. 'Twas ſaid of *Montagne*, that he was pretty well vers'd in the Defects of Mankind, but unacquainted with the Excellencies of human Nature; If I fare no worſe, I ſhall think my ſelf well uſed.

What

* This was wrote in 1714.

The Preface.

What Country ſoever in the Univerſe is to be underſtood by the *Bee-Hive* repreſented here, it is evident from what is ſaid of the Laws and Conſtitution of it, the Glory, Wealth, Power and Induſtry of its Inhabitants, that it muſt be a large, rich and warlike Nation that is happily govern'd by a limited Monarchy. The Satyr therefore to be met with in the following Lines upon the ſeveral Profeſſions and Callings, and almoſt every Degree and Station of People, was not made to injure and point to particular Perſons, but only to ſhew the Vileneſs of the Ingredients that all together compoſe the wholeſome Mixture of a well-order'd Society; in order to extol the wonderful Power of Political Wiſdom, by the help of which ſo beautiful a Machine is rais'd from the moſt contemptible Branches. For the main Deſign of the Fable, (as it is briefly explain'd in the Moral) is to ſhew the Impoſſibility of enjoying all the moſt elegant Comforts of Life that are to be met with in an induſtrious, wealthy and powerful Nation, and at the ſame time be bleſs'd with all the Virtue and Innocence that can be wiſh'd for in a Golden Age; from thence to expoſe the Unreaſonableneſs and Folly of thoſe, that deſirous of being an opulent and flouriſhing People, and wonderfully greedy after all the Benefits they can receive as ſuch, are yet always murmuring at and exclaiming againſt thoſe Vices and Inconveniencies, that from the Beginning of the World to this preſent Day, have been inſeparable from all Kingdoms and States that ever

were fam'd for Strength, Riches, and Politeneſs, at the ſame time.

To do this, I firſt ſlightly touch upon ſome of the Faults and Corruptions the ſeveral Profeſſions and Callings are generally charged with. After that I ſhew that thoſe very Vices of every particular Perſon by skilful Management, were made ſubſervient to the Grandeur and worldly Happineſs of the whole. Laſtly, by ſetting forth what of neceſſity muſt be the conſequence of general Honeſty and Virtue and National Temperance, Innocence and Content, I demonſtrate that if Mankind could be cured of the Failings they are Naturally guilty of, they would ceaſe to be capable of being rais'd into ſuch vaſt, potent and polite Societies, as they have been under the ſeveral great Common-wealths and Monarchies that have flouriſh'd ſince the Creation.

If you ask me, why I have done all this, *cui bono?* and what Good theſe Notions will produce? truly, beſides the Reader's Diverſion, I believe none at all; but if I was ask'd, what Naturally ought to be expected from 'em, I wou'd anſwer, That in the firſt Place the People, who continually find Fault with others, by reading them, would be taught to look at home, and examining their own Conſciences, be made aſham'd of always railing at what they are more or leſs guilty of themſelves; and that in the next, thoſe who are ſo fond of the Eaſe and Comforts, and reap all the Benefits that are the Conſequence of a great and flouriſhing Nation, would

learn

learn more patiently to ſubmit to thoſe Inconveniencies, which no Government upon Earth can remedy, when they ſhould ſee the Impoſſibility of enjoying any great ſhare of the firſt, without partaking likewiſe of the latter.

This I ſay ought naturally to be expected from the publiſhing of theſe Notions, if People were to be made better by any thing that could be ſaid to them; but Mankind having for ſo many Ages remain'd ſtill the ſame, notwithſtanding the many inſtructive and elaborate Writings, by which their Amendment has been endeavour'd, I am not ſo vain as to hope for better Succeſs from ſo inconſiderable a Trifle.

Having allow'd the ſmall Advantage this little Whim is likely to produce, I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſhew, that it cannot be prejudicial to any; for what is publiſhed, if it does no good, ought at leaſt to do no harm: In order to this I have made ſome Explanatory Notes, to which the Reader will find himſelf refer'd in thoſe Paſſages that ſeem to be moſt liable to Exceptions.

The Cenſorious that never ſaw the *Grumbling Hive*, will tell me, that whatever I may talk of the Fable, it not taking up a Tenth Part of the Book, was only contriv'd to introduce the *Remarks*; that inſtead of clearing up the doubtful or obſcure Places, I have only pitch'd upon ſuch as I had a mind to expatiate upon; and that far from ſtriving to extenuate the Errors committed before, I have made Bad worſe, and ſhewn my ſelf a more bareſac'd Champion for Vice, in the

rambling

rambling Digreſſions, than I had done in the Fable it ſelf.

I ſhall ſpend no time in anſwering theſe Accuſations; where Men are prejudic'd, the beſt Apologies are loſt; and I know that thoſe who think it Criminal to ſuppoſe a neceſſity of Vice in any caſe whatever, will never be reconcil'd to any part of the Performance; but if this be thoroughly examin'd, all the Offence it can give, muſt reſult from the wrong Inferences that may perhaps be drawn from it, and which I deſire no body to make. When I aſſert, that Vices are inſeparable from great and potent Societies, and that it is impoſſible their Wealth and Grandeur ſhould ſubſiſt without, I do not ſay that the particular Members of them who are guilty of any ſhould not be continually reprov'd, or not be puniſh'd for them when they grow into Crimes.

There are, I believe, few People in *London*, of thoſe that are at any time forc'd to go a-foot, but what could wiſh the Streets of it much cleaner than generally they are; whilſt they regard nothing but their own Cloaths and private Conveniency: but when once they come to conſider, that what offends them is the reſult of the Plenty, great Traffick and Opulency of that mighty City, if they have any Concern in its Welfare, they will hardly ever wiſh to ſee the Streets of it leſs dirty. For if we mind the Materials of all Sorts that muſt ſupply ſuch an infinite number of Trades and Handicrafts, as are always going forward; the vaſt quantity of Victuals,

tuals, Drink and Fewel that are daily conſum'd in it, the Waſte and Superfluities that muſt be produced from them; the multitudes of Horſes and other Cattle that are always dawbing the Streets, the Carts, Coaches and more heavy Carriages that are perpetually wearing and breaking the Pavement of them, and above all the numberleſs Swarms of People that are continually harraſſing and trampling through every part of them: If, I ſay, we mind all theſe, we ſhall find that every Moment muſt produce new Filth; and conſidering how far diſtant the great Streets are from the River-ſide, what Coſt and Care ſoever be beſtow'd to remove the Naſtineſs almoſt as faſt as 'tis made, it is impoſſible *London* ſhould be more cleanly before it is leſs flouriſhing. Now would I ask if a good Citizen, in conſideration of what has been ſaid, might not aſſert, that dirty Streets are a neceſſary Evil inſeparable from the Felicity of *London*, without being the leaſt hindrance to the cleaning of Shoes, or ſweeping of Streets, and conſequently without any Prejudice either to the *Blackguard* or the *Scavingers*.

But if, without any regard to the Intereſt or Happineſs of the City, the Queſtion was put, What Place I thought moſt pleaſant to walk in? No body can doubt but, before the ſtinking Streets of *London*, I would eſteem a fragrant Garden, or a ſhady Grove in the Country. In the ſame manner, if laying aſide all worldly Greatneſs and Vain-Glory, I ſhould be ask'd where I thought it was moſt probable that Men might enjoy true

Happineſs, I would prefer a ſmall peaceable Society, in which Men, neither envy'd nor eſteem'd by Neighbours, ſhould be contented to live upon the Natural Product of the Spot they inhabit, to a vaſt Multitude abounding in Wealth and Power, that ſhould always be conquering others by their Arms Abroad, and debauching themſelves by Foreign Luxury at Home.

Thus much I had ſaid to the Reader in the Firſt Edition; and have added nothing by way of Preface in the Second. But ſince that, a violent Out-cry has been made againſt the Book, exactly anſwering the Expectation I always had of the Juſtice, the Wiſdom, the Charity, and Fair-dealing of thoſe whoſe Good-will I deſpair'd of. It has been preſented by the Grand-Jury, and condemn'd by thouſands who never ſaw a word of it. It has been preach'd againſt before my Lord Mayor; and an utter Refutation of it is daily expected from a Reverend Divine, who has call'd me Names in the Advertiſements, and threatned to anſwer me in two Months time for above five Months together. What I have to ſay for my ſelf, the Reader will ſee in my Vindication at the End of the Book, where he will likewiſe find the Grand-Jury's Preſentment, and a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord *C.* which is very Rhetorical beyond Argument or Connexion. The Author ſhews a fine Talent for Invectives, and great Sagacity in diſcovering Atheiſm, where others can find none. He is zealous againſt wicked Books, points at the *Fable*

of the Bees, and is very angry with the Author: he beſtows four ſtrong Epithets on the Enormity of his Guilt, and by ſeveral elegant Innuendo's to the Multitude, as the Danger there is in ſuffering ſuch Authors to live, and the Vengeance of Heaven upon a whole Nation, very charitably recommends him to their Care.

Conſidering the length of this Epiſtle, and that it is not wholly levell'd at me only, I thought at firſt to have made ſome Extracts from it of what related to my ſelf; but finding, on a nearer Enquiry, that what concern'd me was ſo blended and interwoven with what did not, I was oblig'd to trouble the Reader with it entire; not without Hopes that, prolix as it is, the Extravagancy of it will be entertaining to thoſe who have peruſed the Treatiſe it condemns with ſo much Horror.

Juſt Publiſhed,

The Tenth EDITION of

PUFFENDORF's Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Principal Kingdoms and States of *Europe*. With an APPENDIX, containing an Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Principal Sovereign States of *Italy*; particularly *Venice*, *Modena*, *Mantua*, *Florence*, and *Savoy*.

THE

Grumbling HIVE:

OR,

KNAVES *turn'd Honeſt.*

A Spacious Hive well ſtockt with Bees,
That liv'd in Luxury and Eaſe;
And yet as fam'd for Laws and Arms,
As yielding large and early Swarms;
Was counted the great Nurſery
Of Sciences and Induſtry.
No Bees had better Government,
More Fickleneſs, or leſs Content:
They were not Slaves to Tyranny,
Nor rul'd by wild *Democracy*;
But Kings, that could not wrong, becauſe
Their Power was circumſcrib'd by Laws.
These Inſects liv'd like Men, and all
Our Actions they perform'd in ſmall:
They did whatever's done in Town,
And what belongs to Sword or Gown:
Tho' th' Artful Works, by nimble Slight
Of minute Limbs, 'ſcap'd Human Sight;
Yet we've no Engines, Labourers,
Ships, Caſtles, Arms, Artificers,

Craft, Science, Shop, or Inſtrument,
But they had an Equivalent:
Which, ſince their Language is unknown,
Muſt be call'd, as we do our own.
As grant, that among other Things,
They wanted Dice, yet they had Kings;
And thoſe had Guards; from whence we may
Juſtly conclude, they had ſome Play;
Unleſs a Regiment be ſhewn
Of Soldiers, that make uſe of none.
VAST Numbers throng'd the fruitful Hive;
Yet thoſe vaſt Numbers made 'em thrive;
Millions endeavouring to ſupply
Each other's Luſt and Vanity;
Whilſt other Millions were employ'd,
To ſee their Handy-works deſtroy'd;
They furniſh'd half the Univerſe;
Yet had more Work than Labourers.
Some with vaſt Stocks, and little Pains,
Jump'd into Buſineſs of great Gains;
And ſome were damn'd to Sythes and Spades,
And all thoſe hard laborious Trades;
Where willing Wretches daily ſweat,
And wear out Strength and Limbs to eat:
(A) Whilſt others follow'd Myſteries,
To which few Folks bind 'Prentices;
That want no Stock, but that of Braſs,
And may ſet up without a Croſs;
As Sharpers, Paraſites, Pimps, Players,
Pick-pockets, Coiners, Quacks, South-ſayers,
And all thoſe, that in Enmity,
With downright Working, cunningly
Convert to their own Uſe the Labour
Of their good-natur'd heedleſs Neighbour.
(B) Theſe were call'd Knaves, but bar the Name,
The grave Induſtrious were the ſame:
All Trades and Places knew ſome Cheat,
No Calling was without Deceit.

The

Lawyers and Cheats

THE Lawyers, of whoſe Art the Baſis
Was raiſing Feuds and ſplitting Caſes,
Oppoſed all Regiſters, that Cheats
Might make more Work with dipt Eſtates;
As wer't unlawful, that one's own,
Without a Law-Suit, ſhould be known.
They kept off Hearings willfully,
To finger the refreſhing Fee;
And to defend a wicked Cauſe,
Examin'd and ſurvey'd the Laws,
As Burglars Shops and Houſes do,
To find out where they'd beſt break through.
PHYSICIANS valu'd Fame and Wealth
Above the drooping Patient's Health,
Or their own Skill: The greateſt Part
Study'd, inſtead of Rules of Art,
Grave penſive Looks and dull Behaviour,
To gain th'Apothecary's Favour;
The Praiſe of Mid-wives, Prieſts, and all
That ſerv'd at Birth or Funeral.
To bear with th'ever-talking Tribe,
And hear my Lady's Aunt preſcribe;
With formal Smile, and kind How d'ye,
To fawn on all the Family;
And, which of all the greateſt Curſe is,
T'endure th' Impertinence of Nurſes.
AMONG the many Prieſts of *Jove*,
Hir'd to draw Bleſſings from Above,
Some few were Learn'd and Eloquent,
But thouſands Hot and Ignorant:
Yet all paſs'd Muſter that could hide
Their Sloth, Luſt, Avarice and Pride;
For which they were as fam'd as Taylors
For Cabbage, or for Brandy Sailors:
Some meagre-look'd, and meanly clad,
Would myſtically pray for Bread,
Meaning by that an ample Store,
Yet lit'rally receiv'd no more;

And, whilſt theſe holy Drudges ſtarv'd,
The lazy Ones, for which they ſerv'd,
Indulg'd their Eaſe, with all the Graces
Of Health and Plenty in their Faces.
Soldiers (C) The Soldiers, that were forc'd to fight,
If they ſurviv'd, got Honour by't;
Tho' ſome, that ſhunn'd the bloody Fray,
Had Limbs ſhot off, that ran away:
Some Valiant Gen'rals fought the Foe;
Others took Bribes to let them go:
Some ventur'd always where 'twas warm,
Loſt now a Leg, and then an Arm;
Till quite diſabled, and put by,
They liv'd on half their Salary;
Whilſt others never came in Play,
And ſtaid at Home for double Pay.
Courtiers Bribed ones Their Kings were ſerv'd, but Knaviſhly
Cheated by their own Miniſtry;
Many, that for their Welfare ſlaved,
Robbing the very Crown they ſaved:
Penſions were ſmall, and they liv'd high,
Yet boaſted of their Honeſty.
Calling, whene'er they ſtrain'd their Right,
The ſlipp'ry Trick a Perquiſite;
And when Folks underſtood their Cant,
They chang'd that for Emolument;
Unwilling to be ſhort or plain,
In any thing concerning Gain;
(D.) For there was not a Bee but would
Get more, I won't ſay, than he ſhould;
But than he dar'd to let them know,
(E.) That pay'd for't; as your Gameſters do,
That, tho' at fair Play, ne'er will own
Before the Loſers what they've won.
Dung Sellers But who can all their Frauds repeat?
The very Stuff, which in the Street
They ſold for Dirt t' enrich the Ground,
Was often by the Buyers found

Sophi-

Sophiſticated with a quarter
Of good-for-nothing Stones and Mortar;
Tho' *Flail* had little Cauſe to mutter
Who ſold the other Salt for Butter.
JUSTICE her ſelf, fam'd for fair Dealing,
By Blindneſs had not loſt her Feeling;
Her Left Hand, which the Scales ſhould hold,
Had often dropt 'em, brib'd with Gold;
And, tho' ſhe ſeem'd Impartial,
Where Puniſhment was corporal,
Pretended to a reg'lar Courſe,
In Murther, and all Crimes of Force;
Tho' ſome, firſt pillory'd for Cheating,
Were hang'd in Hemp of their own beating;
Yet, it was thought, the Sword ſhe bore
Check'd but the Deſp'rate and the Poor;
That, urg'd by meer Neceſſity,
Were ty'd up to the wretched Tree
For Crimes, which not deſerv'd that Fate,
But to ſecure the Rich and Great.
THUS every Part was full of Vice,
Yet the Whole Maſs a Paradiſe;
Flatter'd in Peace, and fear'd in Wars,
They were th' Eſteem of Foreigners,
And laviſh of their Wealth and Lives,
The Ballance of all other Hives.
Such were the Bleſſings of that State;
Their Crimes conſpir'd to make them Great:
(F.) And Virtue, who from Politicks
Had learn'd a Thouſand Cunning Tricks,
Was, by their happy Influence,
Made Friends with Vice: And ever ſince,
(G.) The worſt of all the Multitude
Did ſomething for the Common Good.
This was the State's-Craft, that maintain'd
The Whole, of which each Part complain'd:
This, as in Muſick Harmony
Made Jarrings in the main agree;

(*H.*) Parties directly oppoſite,
Aſſiſt each other, as 'twere for Spight;
And Temp'rance with Sobriety,
Serve Drunkenneſs and Gluttony.
(*I.*) The Root of Evil, Avarice,
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful Vice,
Was Slave to Prodigality,
(*K.*) That noble Sin; (*L.*) whilſt Luxury
Employ'd a Million of the Poor,
(*M.*) And odious Pride a Million more:
(*N.*) Envy it ſelf, and Vanity,
Were Miniſters of Induſtry;
Their darling Folly, Fickleneſs,
In Dyet, Furniture and Dreſs,
That ſtrange ridic'lous Vice, was made
The very Wheel that turn'd the Trade.
Their Laws and Cloaths were equally
Objects of Mutability;
For, what was well done for a time,
In half a Year became a Crime;
Yet whilſt they alter'd thus their Laws,
Still finding and correcting Flaws,
They mended by Inconſtancy
Faults, which no Prudence could foreſee.
Thus Vice nurs'd Ingenuity,
Which joyn'd with Time and Induſtry,
Had carry'd Life's Conveniencies,
(*O*) It's real Pleaſures, Comforts, Eaſe,
(*P.*) To ſuch a Height, the very Poor
Liv'd better than the Rich before,
And nothing could be added more.
How Vain is Mortal Happineſs!
Had they but known the Bounds of Bliſs;
And that Perfection here below
Is more than Gods can well beſtow;
The Grumbling Brutes had been content
With Miniſters and Government.
But they, at every ill Succeſs,
Like Creatures loſt without Redreſs,

Curs'd

Curs'd Politicians, Armies, Fleets;
Whilſt every one cry'd, *Damn the Cheats*,
And would, tho' conſcious of his own,
In others barb'rouſly bear none.
ONE, that had got a Princely Store,
By cheating Maſter, King and Poor,
Dar'd cry aloud, *The Land muſt ſink*
For all its Fraud; And whom d'ye think
The Sermonizing Raſcal chid?
A Glover that ſold Lamb for Kid.
THE leaſt Thing was not done amiſs,
Or croſs'd the Publick Buſineſs;
But all the Rogues cry'd brazenly,
Good Gods, Had we but Honeſty!
Merc'ry ſmil'd at th' Impudence,
And others call'd it want of Senſe,
Always to rail at what they lov'd:
But *Jove* with Indignation mov'd,
At laſt in Anger ſwore, *He'd rid*
The Bawling Hive of Fraud; and did.
The very Moment it departs,
And Honeſty fills all their Hearts;
There ſhews 'em, like th' Inſtructive Tree,
Thoſe Crimes which they're aſham'd to ſee;
Which now in Silence they confeſs,
By bluſhing at their Uglineſs:
Like Children, that would hide their Faults,
And by their Colour own their Thoughts;
Imag'ning, when they're look'd upon,
That others ſee what they have done.
BUT, Oh ye Gods! What Conſternation,
How vaſt and ſudden was th' Alteration!
In half an Hour, the Nation round,
Meat fell a Penny in the Pound.
The Maſk Hypocriſy's flung down,
From the great Stateſman to the Clown:
And ſome in borrow'd Looks well known,
Appear'd like Strangers in their own.

The Bar was ſilent from that Day;
For now the willing Debtors pay,
Ev'n what's by Creditors forgot;
Who quitted them that had it not.
Thoſe, that were in the Wrong, ſtood mute,
And dropt the patch'd vexatious Suit:
On which, ſince nothing leſs can thrive,
Than Lawyers in an honeſt Hive,
All, except thoſe that got enough,
With Inkhorns by their ſides troop'd off.
JUSTICE hang'd ſome, ſet others free;
And after Goal Delivery,
Her Preſence being no more requir'd,
With all her Train and Pomp retir'd.
Firſt march'd ſome Smiths with Locks and Grates,
Fetters, and Doors with Iron Plates:
Next Goalers, Turnkeys and Aſſiſtants:
Before the Goddeſs, at ſome diſtance,
Her chief and faithful Miniſter,
'Squire CATCH, the Law's great Finiſher,
Bore not th' imaginary Sword,
But his own Tools, an Ax and Cord:
Then on a Cloud the Hood-wink'd Fair,
JUSTICE her ſelf was puſh'd by Air:
About her Chariot, and behind,
Were Serjeants, Bums of every kind,
Tip-ſtaffs, and all thoſe Officers,
That ſqueeze a Living out of Tears.
THO' Phyſick liv'd, whilſt Folks were ill,
None would preſcribe, but Bees of ſkill,
Which through the Hive diſpers'd ſo wide,
That none of them had need to ride;
Wav'd vain Diſputes, and ſtrove to free
The Patients of their Miſery;
Left Drugs in cheating Countries grown,
And us'd the Product of their own;
Knowing the Gods ſent no Diſeaſe
To Nations without Remedies.

Doctors got honest

THEIR

THEIR Clergy rouz'd from Lazineſs,
Laid not their Charge on Journey-Bees;
But ſerv'd themſelves, exempt from Vice,
The Gods with Pray'r and Sacrifice;
All thoſe, that were unfit, or knew
Their Service might be ſpar'd, withdrew:
Nor was there Buſineſs for ſo many,
(If th' Honeſt ſtand in need of any,)
Few only with the High-Prieſt ſtaid,
To whom the reſt Obedience paid:
Himſelf employ'd in holy Cares;
Reſign'd to others State-Affairs.
He chas'd no Starv'ling from his Door,
Nor pinch'd the Wages of the Poor;
But at his Houſe the Hungry's fed,
The Hireling finds unmeaſur'd Bread,
The needy Trav'ler Board and Bed.

AMONG the King's great Miniſters,
And all th' inferior Officers
The Change was great; (*Q.*) for frugally
They now liv'd on their Salary:
That a poor Bee ſhould ten times come
To aſk his Due, a trifling Sum,
And by ſome well-hir'd Clerk be made
To give a Crown, or ne'er be paid,
Would now be call'd a downright Cheat,
Tho' formerly a Perquiſite.
All Places manag'd firſt by Three,
Who watch'd each other's Knavery,
And often for a Fellow-feeling,
Promoted one another's ſtealing,
Are happily ſupply'd by One,
By which ſome thouſands more are gone.
(*R.*) No Honour now could be content,
To live and owe for what was ſpent;
Liv'ries in Brokers Shops are hung,
They part with Coaches for a Song;
Sell ſtately Horſes by whole Sets;
And Country-Houſes, to pay Debts.

Courtiers turned honeſt.

Livers Coaches & horſes &c.

VAIN Coſt is ſhunn'd as much as Fraud;
They have no Forces kept Abroad;
Laugh at th'Eſteem of Foreigners,
And empty Glory got by Wars;
They fight, but for their Country's ſake,
When Right or Liberty's at Stake.
Now mind the glorious Hive, and ſee
How Honeſty and Trade agree.
The Shew is gone, it thins apace;
And looks with quite another Face.
For 'twas not only that They went,
By whom vaſt Sums were Yearly ſpent;
But Multitudes that liv'd on them,
Were daily forc'd to do the ſame.
In vain to other Trades they'd fly;
All were o'er-ſtock'd accordingly.
THE Price of Land and Houſes falls;
Mirac'lous Palaces, whoſe Walls,
Like thoſe of *Thebes*, were rais'd by Play,
Are to be let; whilſt the once gay,
Well-ſeated Houſhold Gods would be
More pleas'd to expire in Flames, than ſee
The mean Inſcription on the Door
Smile at the lofty ones they bore.
The building Trade is quite deſtroy'd,
Artificers are not employ'd;
(*S.*) No Limner for his Art is fam'd,
Stone-cutters, Carvers are not nam'd.
THOSE, that remain'd, grown temp'rate, ſtrive,
Not how to ſpend, but how to live,
And, when they paid their Tavern Score,
Reſolv'd to enter it no more:
No Vintner's Jilt in all the Hive
Could wear now Cloth of Gold, and thrive;
Nor *Torcol* ſuch vaſt Sums advance,
For *Burgundy* and *Ortelans*;
The Courtier's gone, that with his Miſs
Supp'd at his Houſe on *Chriſtmas* Peas;

Spend-

Spending as much in two Hours ſtay,
As keeps a Troop of Horſe a Day.
THE haughty *Chloe*, to live Great,
Had made her (*T.*) Husband rob the State:
But now ſhe ſells her Furniture,
Which th' *Indies* had been ranſack'd for;
Contracts th' expenſive Bill of Fare,
And wears her ſtrong Suit a whole Year:
The ſlight and fickle Age is paſt;
And Cloaths, as well as Faſhions, laſt.
Weavers, that join'd rich Silk with Plate,
And all the Trades ſubordinate,
Are gone. Still Peace and Plenty reign,
And every Thing is cheap, tho' plain:
Kind Nature, free from Gard'ners Force,
Allows all Fruits in her own Courſe;
But Rarities cannot be had,
Where Pains to get 'em are not paid.
As Pride and Luxury decreaſe,
So by degrees they leave the Seas.
Not Merchants now, but Companies
Remove whole Manufacturies.
All Arts and Crafts neglected lie;
(*V.*) Content, the Bane of Induſtry,
Makes 'em admire their homely Store,
And neither ſeek nor covet more.
So few in the vaſt Hive remain,
The hundredth Part they can't maintain
Againſt th' Inſults of numerous Foes;
Whom yet they valiantly oppoſe:
'Till ſome well-fenc'd Retreat is found,
And here they die, or ſtand their Ground.
No Hireling in their Army's known;
But bravely fighting for their own,
Their Courage and Integrity
At laſt were crown'd with Victory.
They triumph'd not without their Coſt,
For many Thouſand Bees were loſt.

Hard'ned

Hard'ned with Toils and Exerciſe,
They counted Eaſe it ſelf a Vice;
Which ſo improv'd their Temperance;
That, to avoid Extravagance,
They flew into a hollow Tree,
Bleſt with Content and Honeſty.

The MORAL.

THEN leave Complaints: Fools only ſtrive
(X.) To make a Great an Honeſt Hive.
(Y.) T'enjoy the World's Conveniencies,
Be fam'd in War, yet live in Eaſe,
Without great Vices, is a vain
EUTOPIA *ſeated in the Brain.*
Fraud, Luxury and Pride muſt live,
Whilſt we the Benefits receive:
Hunger's a dreadful Plague, no doubt,
Yet who digeſts or thrives without?
Do we not owe the Growth of Wine
To the dry ſhabby crooked Vine?
Which, whilſt its ſhoots neglected ſtood,
Choak'd other Plants, and ran to Wood;
But bleſt us with its noble Fruit,
As ſoon as it was ty'd and cut:
So Vice is beneficial found,
When it's by Juſtice lopt and bound;
Nay, where the People would be great,
As neceſſary to the State,
As Hunger is to make 'em eat.
Bare Virtue can't make Nations live
In Splendor; they, that would revive
A Golden Age, muſt be as free,
For Acorns, as for Honeſty.

FINIS.

THE INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the greateſt Reaſons why ſo few People underſtand themſelves, is, that moſt Writers are always teaching Men what they ſhould be, and hardly ever trouble their Heads with telling them what they really are. As for my part, without any Compliment to the Courteous Reader, or my ſelf, I believe Man (beſides Skin, Fleſh, Bones, &c. that are obvious to the Eye) to be a Compound of various Paſſions, that all of them, as they are provoked and come uppermoſt, govern him by turns, whether he will or no. To ſhew, that theſe Qualifications, which we all pretend to be aſham'd of, are the great Support of a flouriſhing Society, has been the Subject of the foregoing Poem. But there being ſome Paſſages

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in it ſeemingly Paradoxical, I have in the Preface promiſed ſome explanatory Remarks on it; which to render more uſeful, I have thought fit to enquire, how Man, no better qualify'd, might yet by his own Imperfections be taught to diſtinguiſh between Virtue and Vice: And here I muſt deſire the Reader *once for all to take notice, that when I ſay Men, I mean neither* Jews *nor* Chriſtians; *but meer Man, in the State of Nature and Ignorance of the true Deity.*

AN

AN

ENQUIRY

Into the ORIGIN of

MORAL VIRTUE.

ALL untaught Animals are only ſollicitious of pleaſing themſelves, and naturally follow the bent of their own Inclinations, without conſidering the Good or Harm that from their being pleaſed will accrue to others. This is the Reaſon, that in the wild State of Nature thoſe Creatures are fitteſt to live peaceably together in great Numbers, that diſcover the leaſt of Underſtanding, and have the feweſt Appetites to gratify; and conſequently no Species of Animals is, without the Curb of Government, leſs capable of agreeing long together in Multitudes than that of Man; yet ſuch are his Qualities, whether Good or Bad, I ſhall not determine, that no Creature beſides himſelf can ever be made ſociable: But being an extraordinary ſelfiſh and headſtrong, as well as cunning Animal, however he may be ſubdued by ſuperior Strength, it is impoſſible by Force alone to make him tractable, and receive the Improvements he is capable of.

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The Chief Thing therefore, which Law-givers and other Wiſe Men, that have laboured for the Eſtabliſhment of Society, have endeavour'd, has been to make the People they were to govern, believe, that it was more beneficial for every Body to conquer than indulge his Appetites, and much better to mind the Publick than what ſeem'd his private Intereſt. As this has always been a very difficult Taſk, ſo no Wit or Eloquence has been left untried to compaſs it; and the Moraliſts and Philoſophers of all Ages employed their utmoſt Skill to prove the Truth of ſo uſeful an Aſſertion. But whether Mankind would have ever believ'd it or not, it is not likely that any body could have perſwaded them to diſapprove of their natural Inclinations, or prefer the Good of others to their own, if at the ſame time he had not ſhew'd them an Equivalent to be enjoy'd as a Reward for the Violence, which by ſo doing they of neceſſity muſt commit upon themſelves. Thoſe that have undertaken to civilize Mankind, were not ignorant of this; but being unable to give ſo many real Rewards as would ſatisfie all Perſons for every individual Action, they were forc'd to contrive an imaginary one, that as a general Equivalent for the trouble of Self-denial ſhould ſerve on all occaſions, and without coſting any thing either to themſelves or others, be yet a moſt acceptable Recompence to the Receivers.

They thoroughly examin'd all the Strength and Frailties of our Nature, and obſerving that none were either ſo ſavage as not to be charm'd with Praiſe, or ſo deſpicable as patiently to bear Contempt, juſtly concluded, that Flattery muſt be the moſt powerful Argument that could be uſed to Human Creatures. Making uſe of this bewitching Engine, they extoll'd the Excellency of our Nature above other Animals, and ſetting forth with unbounded Praiſes the Wonders of our Sagacity and Vaſtneſs of Underſtanding, beſtow'd a thouſand

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Encomiums on the Rationality of our Souls, by the help of which we were capable of performing the moſt noble Atchievements. Having by this artful way of Flattery inſinuated themſelves into the Hearts of Men, they began to inſtruct them in the Notions of Honour and Shame; repreſenting the one as the worſt of all Evils, and the other as the higheſt Good to which Mortals could aſpire: Which being done, they laid before them how unbecoming it was the Dignity of ſuch ſublime Creatures to be ſollicitous about gratifying thoſe Appetites, which they had in common with Brutes, and at the ſame time unmindful of thoſe higher Qualities that gave them the pre-eminence over all viſible Beings. They indeed confeſs'd, that thoſe impulſes of Nature were very preſſing; that it was troubleſome to reſiſt, and very difficult wholly to ſubdue them. But this they only uſed as an Argument to demonſtrate, how glorious the Conqueſt of them was on the one hand, and how ſcandalous on the other not to attempt it.

To introduce moreover an Emulation amongſt Men, they divided the whole Species in two Claſſes, vaſtly differing from one another: The one conſiſted of abject, low-minded People, that always hunting after immediate Enjoyment, were wholly incapable of Self-denial, and without regard to the Good of others, had no higher Aim than their private Advantage; ſuch as being enſlaved by Voluptuouſneſs, yielded without Reſiſtance to every groſs deſire, and make no uſe of their Rational Faculties but to highten their Senſual Pleaſure. Theſe vile grov'ling Wretches, they ſaid, were the Droſs of their Kind, and having only the Shape of Men, differ'd from Brutes in nothing but their outward Figure. But the other Claſs was made up of lofty high-ſpirited Creatures, that free from ſordid Selfiſhneſs, eſteem'd the Improvements of the Mind to be their faireſt Poſſeſſions; and ſetting a true value

value upon themſelves, took no delight but in embelliſhing that Part in which their Excellency conſiſted; ſuch as deſpiſing whatever they had in common with irrational Creatures, oppoſed by the help of Reaſon their moſt violent Inclinations; and making a continual War with themſelves, to promote the Peace of others, aim'd at no leſs than the Publick Welfare and the Conqueſt of their own Paſſion.

Fortior eſt qui ſe quam qui fortiſſima Vincit
Mœnia ——— ——— ———

Theſe they call'd the true Repreſentatives of their ſublime Species, exceeding in worth the firſt Claſs by more degrees, than that it ſelf was ſuperior to the Beaſts of the Field.

As in all Animals that are not too imperfect to diſcover Pride, we find, that the fineſt and ſuch as are the moſt beautiful and valuable of their kind, have generally the greateſt Share of it; ſo in Man, the moſt perfect of Animals, it is ſo inſeparable from his very Eſſence (how cunningly ſoever ſome may learn to hide or diſguiſe it) that without it the Compound he is made of would want one of the chiefeſt Ingredients: Which, if we conſider, it is hardly to be doubted but Leſſons and Remonſtrances, ſo ſkilfully adapted to the good Opinion Man has of himſelf, as thoſe I have mentioned, muſt, if ſcatter'd amongſt a Multitude, not only gain the aſſent of moſt of them, as to the Speculative Part, but likewiſe induce ſeveral, eſpecially the fierceſt, moſt reſolute, and beſt among them, to endure a thouſand Inconveniencies, and undergo as many Hardſhips, that they may have the pleaſure of counting themſelves Men of the ſecond Claſs, and conſequently appropriating to themſelves all the Excellencies they have heard of it.

From what has been ſaid we ought to expect in the firſt place, that the Heroes, who took ſuch extra-

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ordinary Pains to maſter ſome of their natural Appetites, and preferr'd the Good of others to any viſible Intereſt of their own, would not recede an Inch from the fine Notions they had receiv'd concerning the Dignity of Rational Creatures; and having ever the Authority of the Government on their ſide, with all imaginable Vigour aſſert the Eſteem that was due to thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, as well as the Superiority over the reſt of their kind. In the ſecond, that thoſe, who wanted a ſufficient Stock of either Pride or Reſolution to buoy them up in mortifying of what was deareſt to them, follow'd the ſenſual Dictates of Nature, would yet be aſham'd of confeſſing themſelves to be thoſe deſpicable Wretches that belong'd to the inferior Claſs, and were generally reckon'd to be ſo little remov'd from Brutes; and that therefore in their own Defence they would ſay, as others did, and hiding their own Imperfections as well as they could, cry up Self-denial and Publick-ſpiritedneſs as much as any: For it is highly probable, that ſome of them, convinced by the real Proofs of Fortitude and Self-Conqueſt they had ſeen, would admire in others what they found wanting in themſelves; others be afraid of the Reſolution and Proweſs of thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, and that all of them were kept in awe by the Power of their Rulers, wherefore it is reaſonable to think, that none of them (whatever they thought in themſelves) would dare openly contradict, what by every body elſe was thought Criminal to doubt of.

This was (or at leaſt might have been) the manner after which Savage Man was broke; from whence it is evident, that the firſt Rudiments of Morality, broach'd by ſkilful Politicians, to render Men uſeful to each other as well as tractable, were chiefly contriv'd that the Ambitious might reap the more Benefit from, and govern vaſt Numbers of them with the greater Eaſe and Security. This

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Foundation of Politicks being once laid, it is impoſſible that Man ſhould long remain unciviliz'd: For even thoſe, who only ſtrove to gratify their Appetites, being continually croſs'd by others of the ſame Stamp, could not but obſerve, that whenever they check'd their Inclinations or but follow'd them with more Circumſpection, they avoided a world of Troubles, and often eſcap'd many of the Calamities that generally attended the too eager Purſuit after Pleaſure.

Firſt, they receiv'd, as well as others, the benefit of thoſe Actions that were done for the good of the whole Society, and conſequently could not forbear wiſhing well to thoſe of the ſuperior Claſs that perform'd them. Secondly, the more intent they were in ſeeking their own Advantage, without Regard to others, the more they were hourly convinced, that none ſtood ſo much in their way as thoſe that were moſt like themſelves.

It being the Intereſt then of the very worſt of them, more than any, to preach up Publick-ſpiritedneſs, that they might reap the Fruits of the Labour and Self-denial of others, and at the ſame time indulge their own Appetites with leſs diſturbance, they agreed with the reſt, to call every thing, which, without Regard to the Publick, Man ſhould commit to gratify any of his Appetites, VICE; if in that Action there cou'd be obſerv'd the leaſt proſpect, that it might either be injurious to any of the Society, or ever render himſelf leſs ſerviceable to others: And to give the Name of VIRTUE to every Performance, by which Man, contrary to the impulſe of Nature, ſhould endeavour the Benefit of others, or the Conqueſt of his own Paſſions out of a Rational Ambition of being Good.

It ſhall be objected, that no Society was ever any ways civiliz'd before the major part had agreed upon ſome Worſhip or other of an over-ruling Power,

Power, and conſequently that the Notions of Good and Evil, and the Diſtinction between *Virtue* and *Vice*, were never the Contrivance of Politicians, but the pure Effect of Religion. Before I anſwer this Objection, I muſt repeat what I have ſaid already, that in this *Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue*, I ſpeak neither of *Jews* nor *Chriſtians*, but Man in his State of Nature and Ignorance of the true Deity; and then I affirm, that the Idolatrous Superſtitions of all other Nations, and the pitiful Notions they had of the Supreme Being, were incapable of exciting Man to Virtue, and good for nothing but to awe and amuſe a rude and unthinking Multitude. It is evident from Hiſtory, that in all conſiderable Societies, how ſtupid or ridiculous ſoever People's received Notions have been, as to the Deities they worſhipp'd, Human Nature has ever exerted it ſelf in all its Branches, and that there is no earthly Wiſdom or Moral Virtue, but at one time or other Men have excell'd in it in all Monarchies and Commonwealths, that for Riches and Power have been any ways remarkable.

The *Ægyptians*, not ſatisfy'd with having deify'd all the ugly Monſters they could think on, were ſo ſilly as to adore the Onions of their own ſowing; yet at the ſame time their Country was the moſt famous Nurſery of Arts and Sciences in the World, and themſelves more eminently ſkill'd in the deepeſt Myſteries of Nature than any Nation has been ſince.

No States or Kingdoms under Heaven have yielded more or greater Patterns in all ſorts of Moral Virtues than the *Greek* and *Roman* Empires, more eſpecially the latter; and yet how looſe, abſurd and ridiculous were their Sentiments as to Sacred Matters? For without reflecting on the extravagant Number of their Deities, if we only conſider the infamous Stories they father'd upon them, it is not to be denied but that their Religion, far from

from teaching Men the Conqueſt of their Paſſions, and the Way to Virtue, ſeem'd rather contriv'd to juſtify their Appetites, and encourage their Vices. But if we would know what made 'em excell in Fortitude, Courage and Magnanimity, we muſt caſt our Eyes on the Pomp of their Triumphs, the Magnificence of their Monuments and Arches; their Trophies, Statues, and Inſcriptions; the variety of their Military Crowns, their Honours decreed to the Dead, Publick Encomiums on the Living, and other imaginary Rewards they beſtow'd on Men of Merit; and we ſhall find, that what carried ſo many of them to the utmoſt Pitch of Self-denial, was nothing but their Policy in making uſe of the moſt effectual Means that human Pride could be flatter'd with.

It is viſible then that it was not any Heathen Religion or other Idolatrous Superſtition, that firſt put Man upon croſſing his Appetites and ſubduing his deareſt Inclinations, but the ſkilful Management of wary Politicians; and the nearer we ſearch into human Nature, the more we ſhall be convinced, that the Moral Virtues are the Political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride.

There is no Man of what Capacity or Penetration ſoever, that is wholly Proof againſt the Witchcraft of Flattery, if artfully perform'd, and ſuited to his Abilities. Children and Fools will ſwallow Perſonal Praiſe, but thoſe that are more cunning, muſt be manag'd with greater Circumſpection; and the more general the Flattery is, the leſs it is ſuſpected by thoſe it is levell'd at. What you ſay in Commendation of a whole Town is receiv'd with Pleaſure by all the Inhabitants: Speak in Commendation of Letters in general, and every Man of Learning will think himſelf in particular obliged to you. You may ſafely praiſe the Employment a Man is of, or the Country he was born in; becauſe you give him an Opportunity of ſcreening

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the Joy he feels upon his own account, under the Eſteem which he pretends to have for others.

It is common among cunning Men, that underſtand the Power which Flattery has upon Pride, when they are afraid they ſhall be impos'd upon, to enlarge, tho' much againſt their Conſcience, upon the Honour, fair Dealing and Integrity of the Family, Country, or ſometimes the Profeſſion of him they ſuſpect; becauſe they know that Men often will change their Reſolution, and act againſt their Inclination, that they may have the Pleaſure of continuing to appear in the Opinion of Some, what they are conſcious not to be in reality. Thus Sagacious Moraliſts draw Men like Angels, in hopes that the Pride at leaſt of Some will put 'em upon copying after the beautiful Originals which they are repreſented to be.

When the Incomparable Sir *Richard Steele*, in the uſual Elegance of his eaſy Style, dwells on the Praiſes of his ſublime Species, and with all the Embelliſhments of Rhetoric ſets forth the Excellency of Human Nature, it is impoſſible not to be charm'd with his happy Turns of Thought, and the Politeneſs of his Expreſſions. But tho' I have been often moved by the Force of his Eloquence, and ready to ſwallow the ingenious Sophiſtry with Pleaſure, yet I could never be ſo ſerious but reflecting on his artful Encomiums, I thought on the Tricks made uſe of by the Women that would teach Children to be mannerly. When an aukward Girl, before ſhe can either Speak or Go, begins after many Entreatries to make the firſt rude Eſſays of Curt'ſying, the Nurſe falls in an ecſtacy of Praiſe; *There's a delicate Curt'ſy! O fine Miſs! There's a pretty Lady! Mama! Miſs can make a better Curt'ſy than her Siſter* Molly! The ſame is eccho'd over by the Maids, whilſt Mama almoſt hugs the Child to pieces; only Miſs *Molly*, who being four Years older knows how to make a very handſome Curt'ſy, wonders at

the Perverſeneſs of their Judgment, and ſwelling with Indignation, is ready to cry at the Injuſtice that is done her, till, being whiſper'd in the Ear that it is only to pleaſe the Baby, and that ſhe is a Woman, ſhe grows Proud at being let into the Secret, and rejoycing at the Superiority of her Underſtanding repeats what has been ſaid with large Additions, and inſults over the Weakneſs of her Siſter, whom all this while ſhe fancies to be the only Bubble among them. Theſe extravagant Praiſes would by any one, above the Capacity of an Infant, be call'd fulſome Flatteries, and, if you will, abominable Lies; yet Experience teaches us, that by the help of ſuch groſs Encomiums, young Miſſes will be brought to make pretty Curt'ſies, and behave themſelves womanly much ſooner, and with leſs trouble, than they would without them. 'Tis the ſame with Boys, whom they'll ſtrive to perſuade, that all fine Gentlemen do as they are bid, and that none but Beggar Boys are rude, or dirty their Cloaths; nay, as ſoon as the wild Brat with his untaught Fiſt begins to fumble for his Hat, the Mother, to make him pull it off, tells him before he is two Years old, that he is a Man; and if he repeats that Action when ſhe deſires him, he's preſently a Captain, a Lord Mayor, a King, or ſomething higher if ſhe can think of it, till egg'd on by the force of Praiſe, the little Urchin endeavours to imitate Man as well as he can, and ſtrains all his Faculties to appear what his ſhallow Noddle imagines he is believ'd to be.

The meaneſt Wretch puts an ineſtimable value upon himſelf, and the higheſt wiſh of the Ambitious Man is to have all the World, as to that particular, of his Opinion: So that the moſt inſatiable Thirſt after Fame that ever Heroe was inſpir'd with, was never more than an ungovernable Greedineſs to engroſs the Eſteem and Admiration of others in future Ages as well as his own; and what

Morti-

Mortification ſoever this Truth might be to the ſecond Thoughts of an *Alexander* or a *Cæſar*) the great Recompence in view, for which the moſt exalted Minds have with ſo much Alacrity ſacrificed their Quiet, Health, ſenſual Pleaſures, and every Inch of themſelves, has never been any thing elſe but the Breath of Man, the Aerial Coin of Praiſe. Who can forbear Laughing when he thinks on all the Great Men that have been ſo ſerious on the Subject of that *Macedonian* Madman, his Capacious Soul, that mighty Heart, in one Corner of which, according to *Lorenzo Gratian*, the World was ſo commodiouſly Lodged, that in the whole there was room for Six more? Who can forbear Laughing, I ſay, when he compares the fine things that have been ſaid of *Alexander*, with the End he propoſed to himſelf from his vaſt Exploits, to be proved from his own Mouth; when the vaſt Pains he took to paſs the *Hydaſpes* forc'd him to cry out? *Oh ye* Athenians, *could you believe what Dangers I expoſe my ſelf to, to be praiſed by you!* To define then the Reward of Glory in the ampleſt manner, the moſt that can be ſaid of it, is, that it conſiſts in a ſuperlative Felicity which a Man, who is conſcious of having perform'd a noble Action, enjoys in Self-love, whilſt he is thinking on the Applauſe he expects of others.

But here I ſhall be told, that beſides the noiſy Toils of War and publick Buſtle of the Ambitious, there are noble and generous Actions that are perform'd in Silence; that Virtue being its own Reward, thoſe who are really Good have a Satisfaction in their Conſciouſneſs of being ſo, which is all the Recompence they expect from the moſt worthy Performances; that among the Heathens there have been Men, who, when they did good to others, were ſo far from coveting Thanks and Applauſe, that they took all imaginable Care to be for ever conceal'd from thoſe on whom they beſtow'd their Benefits, and conſequently that Pride has no hand

in ſpurring Man on to the higheſt pitch of Self-denial.

In anſwer to this I ſay, that it is impoſſible to judge of a Man's Performance, unleſs we are thoroughly acquainted with the Principle and Motive from which he acts. Pity, tho' it is the moſt gentle and the leaſt miſchievous of all our Paſſions, is yet as much a Frailty of our Nature, as Anger, Pride, or Fear. The weakeſt Minds have generally the greateſt Share of it, for which Reaſon none are more Compaſſionate than Women and Children. It muſt be own'd, that of all our Weakneſſes it is the moſt amiable, and bears the greateſt Reſemblance to Virtue; nay, without a conſiderable mixture of it the Society could hardly ſubſiſt: But as it is an Impulſe of Nature, that conſults neither the publick Intereſt nor our own Reaſon, it may produce Evil as well as Good. It has help'd to deſtroy the Honour of Virgins, and corrupted the Integrity of Judges; and whoever acts from it as a Principle, what Good ſoever he may bring to the Society, has nothing to boaſt of but that he has indulged a Paſſion that has happened to be beneficial to the Publick. There is no Merit in ſaving an Innocent Babe ready to drop into the Fire: The Action is neither good nor bad, and what Benefit ſoever the Infant received, we only obliged our ſelves; for to have ſeen it fall, and not ſtrove to hinder it, would have cauſed a Pain, which Self-preſervation compell'd us to prevent: Nor has a rich Prodigal, that happens to be of a commiſerating Temper, and loves to gratify his Paſſions, greater Virtue to boaſt of, when he relieves an Object of Compaſſion with what to himſelf is a Trifle.

But ſuch Men, as without complying with any Weakneſs of their own, can part from what they value themſelves, and, from no other Motive but their Love to Goodneſs, perform a worthy Action in Silence; Such Men, I confeſs, have acquir'd more

more refin'd Notions of Virtue than thoſe I have hitherto ſpoke of; yet even in theſe (with which the World has yet never ſwarm'd) we may diſcover no ſmall Symptoms of Pride, and the humbleſt Man alive muſt confeſs, that the Reward of a Virtuous Action, which is the Satisfaction that enſues upon it, conſiſts in a certain Pleaſure he procures to himſelf by contemplating on his own Worth: Which Pleaſure, together with the Occaſion of it, are as certain Signs of Pride, as looking Pale and Trembling at any imminent Danger, are the Symptoms of Fear.

If the too ſcrupulous Reader ſhould at firſt View condemn theſe Notions concerning the Origin of Moral Virtue, and think them perhaps offenſive to Chriſtianity, I hope he'll forbear his Cenſures, when he ſhall conſider, that nothing can render the unſearchable depth of the Divine Wiſdom more conſpicuous, than that *Man*, whom Providence had deſigned for Society, ſhould not only by his own Frailties and Imperfections be led into the Road to Temporal Happineſs, but likewiſe receive, from a ſeeming Neceſſity of Natural Cauſes, a Tincture of that Knowledge, in which he was afterwards to be made perfect by the True Religion, to his Eternal Welfare.

REMARKS.

(*A.*) *Whilſt others follow'd Myſteries,*
To which few Folks bind 'Prentices:

Page 2. Line 25.

IN the Education of *Youth*, in order to their getting of a *Livelihood* when they ſhall be arrived at *Maturity*, moſt People look out for ſome warrantable Employment or other, of which there are whole *Bodies* or *Companies*, in every large *Society of Men*. By this means all *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as *Trades* and *Handicrafts*, are perpetuated in the *Commonwealth*, as long as they are found uſeful; the Young Ones that are daily brought up to 'em, continually ſupplying the loſs of the Old Ones that die. But ſome of theſe Employments being vaſtly more Creditable than others, according to the great difference of the Charges required to ſet up in each of them, all prudent *Parents* in the choice of them chiefly conſult their own *Abilities* and the *Circumſtances* they are in. A Man that gives Three or Four Hundred Pounds with his *Son* to a great *Merchant*, and has not Two or Three Thouſand Pounds to ſpare againſt he is out of his Time to begin the World with, is much to blame not to have brought his *Child* up to ſomething that might be follow'd with leſs *Money*.

There are abundance of *Men* of a *Genteel* Education, that have but very ſmall *Revenues*, and yet are forced, by their Reputable *Callings*, to make a greater *Figure* than ordinary People of twice their *Income*.

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If theſe have any *Children*, it often happens, that as their *Indigence* renders them incapable of bringing them up to Creditable *Occupations*, ſo their Pride makes 'em unwilling to put them out to any of the mean laborious *Trades*, and then, in hopes either of an Alteration in their *Fortune*, or that ſome Friends, or favourable *Opportunity* ſhall offer, they from time to time put off the diſpoſing of them, 'till inſenſibly they come to be of *Age*, and are at laſt brought up to nothing. Whether this Neglect be more barbarous to the Children, or prejudicial to the Society, I ſhall not determine. At *Athens* all *Children* were forc'd to aſſiſt their *Parents*, if they came to *Want*: But *Solon* made a Law, that no *Son* ſhould be oblig'd to relieve his *Father*, who had not bred him up to any *Calling*.

Some *Parents* put out their *Sons* to good *Trades* very ſuitable to their then preſent Abilities, but happen to dye, or fail in the World, before the Children have finiſh'd their *Apprenticeſhips*, or are made fit for the *Buſineſs* they are to follow: A great many Young Men again on the other hand are handſomely provided for and ſet up for themſelves, that yet (ſome for want of *Induſtry* or elſe a ſufficient *Knowledge* in their *Callings*, others by indulging their *Pleaſures*, and ſome few by *Misfortunes*) are reduced to Poverty, and altogether unable to maintain themſelves by the Buſineſs they were brought up to. It is impoſſible but that the Neglects, Miſmanagements and Misfortunes I named, muſt very frequently happen in Populous Places, and conſequently great Numbers of People be daily flung unprovided for into the wide World, how Rich and Potent a Commonwealth may be, or what Care ſoever a Government may take to hinder it. How muſt theſe People be diſpos'd of? The Sea, I know, and Armies, which the World is ſeldom without, will take off ſome. Thoſe that are honeſt Drudges, and of a laborious Temper, will become *Journey-*

men to the Trades they are of, or enter into ſome other Service: Such of them as ſtudy'd and were ſent to the Univerſity, may become Schoolmaſters, Tutors, and ſome few of them get into ſome Office or other: But what muſt become of the *Lazy* that care for no manner of working, and the *Fickle* that hate to be confin'd to any Thing?

Thoſe that ever took Delight in Plays and Romances, and have a ſpice of Gentility, will, in all probability, throw their Eyes upon the *Stage*, and if they have a good Elocution with tollerable Mein, turn *Actors*. Some that love their Bellies above any thing elſe, if they have a good Palate, and a little Knack at Cookery, will ſtrive to get in with *Gluttons* and *Epicures*, learn to cringe and bear all manner of Uſage, and ſo turn *Paraſites*, ever flattering the Maſter, and making Miſchief among the reſt of the *Family*. Others, who by their own and Companion's Lewdneſs judge of People's Incontinence, will naturally fall to Intriguing, and endeavour to live by Pimping for ſuch as either want Leiſure or Addreſs to ſpeak for themſelves. Thoſe of the moſt abandon'd Principles of all, if they are ſly and dexterous, turn Sharpers, Pick-pockets, or Coiners, if their Skill and Ingenuity give them leave. Others again, that have obſerv'd the Credulity of ſimple Women, and other fooliſh People, if they have Impudence and a little Cunning, either ſet up for Doctors, or elſe pretend to tell Fortunes; and every one turning the Vices and Frailties of others to his own Advantage, endeavours to pick up a Living the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way his Talent and Abilities will let him.

Theſe are certainly the Bane of Civil Society; but they are Fools, who not conſidering what has been ſaid, ſtorm at the Remiſneſs of the Laws that ſuffer them to live, whilſt wiſe Men content themſelves with taking all imaginabie Care not to be circumvented by them; without quarrelling, at what no human Prudence can prevent. (*B*) *Theſe*

(B.) *Theſe were call'd* Knaves, *But bar the Name,*
The grave Induſtrious were the ſame.

Page 2. Line 35.

THIS I confeſs is but a very indifferent Compliment to all the Trading Part of the People. But if the Word *Knave* may be underſtood in its full Latitude, and comprehend every Body that is not ſincerely honeſt, and does to others what he would diſlike to have done to himſelf, I don't queſtion but I ſhall make good the Charge. To paſs by the innumerable Artifices, by which Buyers and Sellers out-wit one another, that are daily allowed of and practiſed among the faireſt of *Dealers*; ſhew me the *Tradeſman* that has always diſcovered the Defects of his Goods to thoſe that cheapen'd them; nay, where will you find one that has not at one time or other induſtriouſly conceal'd them, to the detriment of the *Buyer*? Where is the Merchant that has never againſt his Conſcience extoll'd his Wares beyond their Worth, to make them go off the better?

Decio, a Man of great Figure, that had large Commiſſions for Sugar from ſeveral Parts beyond Sea, treats about a conſiderable parcel of that Commodity with *Alcander* an Eminent *Weſt-India* Merchant; both underſtood the Market very well, but could not agree: *Decio* was a Man of Subſtance, and thought no body ought to buy cheaper than himſelf; *Alcander* was the ſame, and not wanting Money, ſtood for his Price. Whilſt they were driving their Bargain at a Tavern near the *Exchange*, *Alcander*'s Man brought his Maſter a Letter from the *Weſt-Indies*, that inform'd him of a much greater

quantity of Sugars coming for *England* than was expected. *Alcander* now wiſh'd for nothing more than to ſell at *Decio*'s Price, before the News was publick; but being a cunning Fox, that he might not ſeem too precipitant, nor yet loſe his Cuſtomer, he drops the Diſcourſe they were upon, and putting on a Jovial Humour, commends the Agreeableneſs of the Weather, from whence falling upon the Delight he took in his Gardens, invites *Decio* to go along with him to his Country-Houſe, that was not above Twelve Miles from *London*. It was in the Month of *May*, and as it happen'd upon a *Saturday* in the Afternoon: *Decio*, who was a ſingle Man, and would have no Buſineſs in Town before *Tueſday*, accepts of the other's Civility, and away they go in *Alcander*'s Coach. *Decio* was ſplendidly entertain'd that Night and the Day following; the *Monday* Morning, to get himſelf an Appetite, he goes to take the Air upon a Pad of *Alcander*'s, and coming back meets with a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, who tells him News was come the Night before that the *Barbadoes* Fleet was deſtroy'd by a Storm, and adds, that before he came out it had been confirm'd at *Lloyd*'s Coffee-Houſe, where it was thought Sugars would riſe 25 *per Cent.* by Change Time. *Decio* returns to his Friend, and immediately reſumes the Diſcourſe they had broke off at the Tavern: *Alcander*, who thinking himſelf ſure of his Chap, did not deſign to have moved it till after Dinner, was very glad to ſee himſelf ſo happily prevented; but how deſirous ſoever he was to ſell, the other was yet more eager to buy; yet both of them afraid of one another, for a conſiderable time counterfeited all the Indifference imaginable; 'till at laſt *Decio* fired with what he had heard, thought Delays might prove dangerous, and throwing a Guinea upon the Table, ſtruck the Bargain at *Alcander*'s Price. The next Day they went to *London*; the News prov'd true, and *Decio* got Five Hundred

Hundred Pounds by his Sugars. *Alcander*, whilſt he had ſtrove to over-reach the other, was paid in his own Coin: yet all this is called fair dealing; but I am ſure neither of them would have deſired to be done by, as they did to each other.

(C.) *The Soldiers that were forc'd to fight,*
If they ſurviv'd, got Honour by't.

Page 4. Line 5.

SO unaccountable is the Deſire to be thought well of in Men, that tho' they are dragg'd into the War againſt their Will, and ſome of them for their Crimes, and are compell'd to fight with Threats, and often Blows, yet they would be eſteem'd for what they would have avoided, if it had been in their Power: Whereas if Reaſon in Man was of equal weight with his Pride, he could never be pleas'd with Praiſes, which he is conſcious he don't deſerve.

By Honour, in its proper and genuine Signification, we mean nothing elſe but the good Opinion of others, which is counted more or leſs Subſtantial, the more or leſs Noiſe or Buſtle there is made about the demonſtration of it; and when we ſay the Sovereign is the Fountain of Honour, it ſignifies that he has the Power, by Titles or Ceremonies, or both together, to ſtamp a Mark upon whom he pleaſes, that ſhall be as current as his Coin, and procure the Owner the good Opinion of every Body, whether he deſerves it or not.

The Reverſe of Honour is Diſhonour, or Ignominy, which conſiſts in the bad Opinion and Contempt of others; and as the firſt is counted a Reward for good Actions, ſo this is eſteem'd a Puniſh-

ment for bad ones; and the more or leſs publick or heinous the manner is in which this Contempt of others is ſhewn, the more or leſs the Perſon ſo ſuffering is degraded by it. This Ignominy is likewiſe called Shame, from the effect it produces; for tho' the Good and Evil of Honour and Diſhonour are imaginary, yet there is a Reality in Shame, as it ſignifies a Paſſion, that has its proper Symptoms, over-rules our Reaſon, and requires as much Labour and Self-denial to be ſubdued, as any of the reſt; and ſince the moſt important Actions of Life often are regulated according to the Influence this Paſſion has upon us, a thorough Underſtanding of it muſt help to illuſtrate the Notions the World has of Honour and Ignominy. I ſhall therefore deſcribe it at large.

Firſt, to define the Paſſion of Shame, I think it may be call'd *a ſorrowful Reflection on our own Unworthineſs, proceeding from an Apprehenſion that others either do, or might, if they knew all, deſervedly deſpiſe us.* The only Objection of weight that can be rais'd againſt this Definition is, that innocent Virgins are often aſham'd, and bluſh when they are guilty of no Crime, and can give no manner of Reaſon for this Frailty: And that Men are often aſham'd for others, for, or with whom, they have neither Friendſhip or Affinity, and conſequently that there may be a thouſand Inſtances of Shame given, to which the Words of the Definition are not applicable. To anſwer this, I would have it firſt conſider'd, that the Modeſty of Women is the Reſult of Cuſtom and Education, by which all unfaſhionable Denudations and filthy Expreſſions are render'd frightful and abominable to them, and that notwithſtanding this, the moſt Virtuous Young Woman alive will often, in ſpite of her Teeth, have Thoughts and confus'd Ideas of Things ariſe in her Imagination, which ſhe would not reveal to ſome People for a Thouſand Worlds. Then, I ſay, that when obſcene Words are

ſpoken

ſpoken in the preſence of an unexperienc'd Virgin, ſhe is afraid that ſome Body will reckon her to underſtand what they mean, and conſequently that ſhe underſtands this, and that, and ſeveral things which ſhe deſires to be thought ignorant of. The reflecting on this, and that Thoughts are forming to her Diſadvantage, brings upon her that Paſſion which we call Shame; and whatever can fling her, tho' never ſo remote from Lewdneſs, upon that Set of Thoughts I hinted, and which ſhe thinks Criminal, will have the ſame Effect, eſpecially before Men, as long as her Modeſty laſts.

To try the Truth of this, let them talk as much Bawdy as they pleaſe in the Room next to the ſame Virtuous Young Woman, where ſhe is ſure that ſhe is undiſcover'd, and ſhe will hear, if not hearken to it, without bluſhing at all, becauſe then ſhe looks upon herſelf as no Party concern'd; and if the Diſcourſe ſhould ſtain her Cheeks with red, whatever her Innocence may imagine, it is certain that what occaſions her Colour is a Paſſion not half ſo mortifying as that of Shame; but if in the ſame Place ſhe hears ſomething ſaid of herſelf that muſt tend to her Diſgrace, or any thing is named, of which ſhe is ſecretly Guilty, then 'tis Ten to One but ſhe'll be aſhamed and bluſh, tho' no Body ſees her; becauſe ſhe has room to fear, that ſhe is, or, if all was known, ſhould be thought of Contemptibly.

That we are often aſham'd, and bluſh for others, which was the ſecond part of the Objection, is nothing elſe but that ſometimes we make the Caſe of others too nearly our own; ſo People ſhriek out when they ſee others in danger: Whilſt we are reflecting with too much earneſt on the effect which ſuch a blameable Action, if it was ours, would produce in us, the Spirits, and conſequently the Blood, are inſenſibly moved after the ſame manner, as if the Action was our own, and ſo the ſame Symptoms muſt appear.

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The Shame that raw, ignorant, and ill-bred People, tho' ſeemingly without a Cauſe, diſcover before their Betters is always accompanied with, and proceeds from a Conſciouſneſs of their Weakneſs and Inabilities; and the moſt modeſt Man, how Virtuous, Knowing and Accompliſh'd ſoever he might be, was never yet aſham'd without ſome Guilt or Diffidence. Such as out of Ruſticity, and want of Education are unreaſonably ſubject to, and at every turn overcome by this Paſſion, we call baſhful; and thoſe who out of diſreſpect to others, and a falſe Opinion of their own Sufficiency, have learned not to be affected with it, when they ſhould be, are call'd Impudent or Shameleſs. What ſtrange Contradictions Man is made of! The Reverſe of Shame is Pride, (*ſee Remark M.*) yet no Body can be touch'd with the firſt, that never felt any thing of the latter; for that we have ſuch an extraordinary Concern in what others think of us, can proceed from nothing but the vaſt Eſteem we have for ourſelves.

That theſe two Paſſions, in which the Seeds of moſt Virtues are contained, are Realities in our Frame, and not imaginary Qualities, is demonſtrable from the plain and different Effects, that in ſpite of our Reaſon are produced in as ſoon as we are affected with either.

When a Man is overwhelm'd with Shame, he obſerves a ſinking of the Spirits; the Heart feels cold and condenſed, and the Blood flies from it to the Circumference of the Body; the Face glows, the Neck and part of the Breaſt partake of the Fire: He is heavy as Lead; the Head is hung down, and the Eyes through a Miſt of Confuſion are fix'd on the Ground: No Injuries can move him; he is weary of his Being, and heartily wiſhes he could make himſelf inviſible: But when, gratifying his Vanity, he exults in his Pride, he diſcovers quite contrary Symptoms; His Spirits ſwell and fan

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the Arterial Blood; a more than ordinary Warmth ſtrengthens and dilates the Heart; the Extremities are cool; he feels light to himſelf, and imagines he could tread on Air; his Head is held up, his Eyes roll'd about with Sprightlineſs; he rejoices at his Being, is prone to Anger, and would be glad that all the World could take Notice of him.

It is incredible how neceſſary an Ingredient Shame is to make us ſociable; it is a Frailty in our Nature; all the World, whenever it affects them, ſubmit to it with Regret, and would prevent it if they could; yet the Happineſs of Converſation depends upon it, and no Society could be poliſh'd, if the Generality of Mankind were not ſubject to it. As therefore the Senſe of Shame is troubleſome, and all Creatures are ever labouring for their own Defence, it is probable, that Man ſtriving to avoid this Uneaſineſs would in a great meaſure conquer his Shame by that he was grown up; but this would be detrimental to the Society, and therefore from his Infancy throughout his Education, we endeavour to increaſe inſtead of leſſening or deſtroying this Senſe of Shame; and the only Remedy preſcrib'd, is a ſtrict Obſervance of certain Rules to avoid thoſe Things that might bring this troubleſome Senſe of Shame upon him. But as to rid or cure him of it, the Politician would ſooner take away his Life.

The Rules I ſpeak of conſiſt in a dextrous Management of our ſelves, a ſtifling of our Appetites, and hiding the real Sentiments of our Hearts before others. Thoſe who are not inſtructed in theſe Rules long before they come to Years of Maturity, ſeldom make any Progreſs in them afterwards. To acquire and bring to Perfection the Accompliſhment I hint at, nothing is more aſſiſting than Pride and good Senſe. The Greedineſs we have after the Eſteem of others, and the Raptures we enjoy in the Thoughts of being liked, and perhaps admired,

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are Equivalents that over-pay the Conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt Paſſions, and conſequently keep us at a great Diſtance from all ſuch Words or Actions that can bring Shame upon us. The Paſſions we chiefly ought to hide for the Happineſs and Embelliſhment of the Society are Luſt, Pride, and Selfiſhneſs; therefore the Word Modeſty has three different Acceptations, that vary with the Paſſions it conceals.

As to the firſt, I mean that Branch of Modeſty, that has a general Pretenſion to Chaſtity for its Object, it conſiſts in a ſincere and painful Endeavour, with all our Faculties to ſtifle and conceal before others that Inclination which Nature has given us to propagate our Species. The Leſſons of it, like thoſe of *Grammar*, are taught us long before we have occaſion for, or underſtand the Uſefulneſs of them; for this Reaſon Children often are aſhamed, and bluſh out of Modeſty, before the Impulſe of Nature I hint at makes any Impreſſion upon them. A Girl who is modeſtly educated, may, before ſhe is two Years old, begin to obſerve how careful the Women, ſhe converſes with, are of covering themſelves before Men; and the ſame Caution being inculcated to her by Precept, as well as Example, it is very probable that at Six ſhe'll be aſhamed of ſhewing her Leg, without knowing any Reaſon why ſuch an Act is blameable, or what the Tendency of it is.

To be modeſt, we ought in the firſt place to avoid all unfaſhionable Denudations: A Woman is not to be found fault with for going with her Neck bare, if the Cuſtom of the Country allows of it; and when the Mode orders the Stays to be cut very low, a blooming Virgin may, without Fear of rational Cenſure, ſhew all the World;

How firm her pouting Breaſts, that white as Snow
On th' ample Cheſt at mighty diſtance grow.

But to ſuffer her Ancle to be ſeen, where it is the Faſhion

Faſhion for Women to hide their very Feet, is a Breach of Modeſty; and ſhe is impudent, who ſhews half her Face in a Country where Decency bids her to be veil'd. In the ſecond, our Language muſt be chaſte, and not only free, but remote from Obſcenities, that is, whatever belongs to the Multiplication of our Species is not to be ſpoke of, and the leaſt Word or Expreſſion, that tho' at a great Diſtance has any relation to that Performance, ought never to come from our Lips. Thirdly, all Poſtures and Motions that can any ways ſully the Imagination, that is, put us in mind of what I have call'd Obſcenities, are to be forbore with great Caution.

A young Woman moreover, that would be thought well-bred, ought to be circumſpect before Men in all her Behaviour, and never known to receive from, much leſs to beſtow Favours upon them, unleſs the great Age of the Man, near Conſanguinity, or a vaſt Superiority on either Side plead her Excuſe. A young Lady of refin'd Education keeps a ſtrict Guard over her Looks, as well as Actions, and in her Eyes we may read a Conſciouſneſs that ſhe has a Treaſure about her, not out of Danger of being loſt, and which yet ſhe is reſolv'd not to part with at any Terms. Thouſand Satyrs have been made againſt Prudes, and as many Encomiums to extol the careleſs Graces, and negligent Air of virtuous Beauty. But the wiſer ſort of Mankind are well aſſured, that the free and open Countenance of the Smiling Fair, is more inviting, and yields greater Hopes to the Seducer, than the ever-watchful Look of a forbidding Eye.

This ſtrict Reſervedneſs is to be comply'd with by all young Women, eſpecially Virgins, if they value the Eſteem of the Polite and knowing World; Men may take greater Liberty, becauſe in them the Appetite is more violent and ungovernable. Had equal Harſhneſs of Diſcipline been impoſed upon

upon both, neither of them could have made the firſt Advances, and Propagation muſt have ſtood ſtill among all the Faſhionable People: which being far from the Politician's Aim, it was adviſable to eaſe and indulge the Sex that ſuffer'd moſt by the Severity, and make the Rules abate of their Rigour, where the Paſſion was the ſtrongeſt, and the Burthen of a ſtrict Reſtraint would have been the moſt intolerable.

For this Reaſon, the Man is allow'd openly to profeſs the Veneration and great Eſteem he has for Women, and ſhew greater Satisfaction, more Mirth and Gaiety in their Company, than he is uſed to do out of it. He may not only be complaiſant and ſerviceable to them on all Occaſions, but it is reckon'd his Duty to protect and defend them. He may praiſe the good Qualities they are poſſeſs'd of, and extol their Merit with as many Exaggerations as his Invention will let him, and are conſiſtent with good Senſe. He may talk of Love, he may ſigh and complain of the Rigours of the Fair, and what his Tongue muſt not utter he has the Privilege to ſpeak with his Eyes, and in that Language to ſay what he pleaſes; ſo it be done with Decency, and ſhort abrupted Glances: But too cloſely to purſue a Woman, and faſten upon her with one's Eyes, is counted very unmannerly; the Reaſon is plain, it makes her uneaſy, and, if ſhe be not ſufficiently fortify'd by Art and Diſſimulation, often throws her into viſible Diſorders. As the Eyes are the Windows of the Soul, ſo this ſtaring Impudence flings a raw, unexperienc'd Woman into panick Fears, that ſhe may be ſeen through; and that the Man will diſcover, or has already betray'd, what paſſes within her; it keeps her on a perpetual Rack, that commands her to reveal her ſecret Wiſhes, and ſeems deſign'd to extort from her the grand Truth, which Modeſty bids her with all her Faculties to deny.

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The Multitude will hardly believe the exceſſive Force of Education, and in the difference of Modeſty between Men and Women aſcribe that to Nature, which is altogether owing to early Inſtruction: *Miſs* is ſcarce three Years old, but ſhe is ſpoke to every day to hide her Leg, and rebuk'd in good Earneſt if ſhe ſhews it; whilſt *Little Maſter* at the ſame Age is bid to take up his Coats, and piſs like a Man. It is Shame and Education that contain the Seeds of all Politeneſs, and he that has neither, and offers to ſpeak the Truth of his Heart, and what he feels within, is the moſt contemptible Creature upon Earth, tho' he committed no other Fault. If a Man ſhould tell a Woman, that he could like no body ſo well to propagate his Species upon, as her ſelf, and that he found a violent Deſire that Moment to go about it, and accordingly offer'd to lay hold of her for that purpoſe; the Conſequence would be, that he would be call'd a Brute, the Woman would run away, and himſelf never be admitted in any civil Company. There is no body that has any Senſe of Shame, but would conquer the ſtrongeſt Paſſion rather than be ſo ſerv'd. But a Man need not conquer his Paſſions, it is ſufficient that he conceals them. Virtue bids us ſubdue, but good Breeding only requires we ſhould hide our Appetites. A faſhionable Gentleman may have as violent an Inclination to a Woman as the brutiſh Fellow; but then he behaves himſelf quite otherwiſe; he firſt addreſſes the Lady's Father, and demonſtrates his Ability ſplendidly to maintain his Daughter; upon this he is admitted into her Company, where, by Flattery, Submiſſion, Preſents, and Aſſiduity, he endeavours to procure her Liking to his Perſon, which if he can compaſs, the Lady in a little while reſigns her ſelf to him before Witneſſes in a moſt ſolemn manner; at Night they go to Bed together, where the moſt reſerv'd Virgin very tamely ſuffers him to do

what he pleaſes, and the upſhot is, that he obtains what he wanted without having ever aſk'd for it.

The next Day they receive Viſits, and no body laughs at them, or ſpeaks a Word of what they have been doing. As to the young Couple themſelves, they take no more Notice of one another, I ſpeak of well-bred People, than they did the Day before; they eat and drink, divert themſelves as uſually, and having done nothing to be aſham'd of, are look'd upon as, what in reality they may be, the moſt modeſt People upon Earth. What I mean by this, is to demonſtrate, that by being well bred, we ſuffer no Abridgment in our ſenſual Pleaſures, but only labour for our mutual Happineſs, and aſſiſt each other in the luxurious Enjoyment of all worldly Comforts. The fine Gentleman I ſpoke of, need not practiſe any greater Self-Denial than the Savage, and the latter acted more according to the Laws of Nature and Sincerity than the firſt. The Man that gratifies his Appetites after the manner the Cuſtom of the Country allows of, has no Cenſure to fear. If he is hotter than Goats or Bulls, as ſoon as the Ceremony is over let him ſate and fatigue himſelf with Joy and Ecſtaſies of Pleaſure, raiſe and indulge his Appetites by turns as extravagantly as his Strength and Manhood will give him leave, he may with ſafety laugh at the Wiſe Men that ſhould reprove him; all the Women and above Nine in Ten of the Men are of his ſide; nay he has the Liberty of valuing himſelf upon the Fury of his unbridled Paſſion, and the more he wallows in Luſt and ſtrains every Faculty to be abandondly voluptuous, the ſooner he ſhall have the Good Will and gain the Affection of the Women, not the Young, Vain and Laſcivious only, but the Prudent, Grave and moſt Sober Matrons.

Becauſe Impudence is a Vice, it does not follow that Modeſty is a Virtue; it is built upon Shame, a Paſſion in our Nature, and may be either Good

or

or Bad according to the Actions perform'd from that Motive. Shame may hinder a Proſtitute from yielding to a Man before Company, and the ſame Shame may cauſe a baſhful good natur'd Creature, that has been overcome by Frailty, to make away with her Infant. Paſſions may do Good by chance, but there can be no Merit but in the Conqueſt of them.

Was there Virtue in Modeſty, it would be of the ſame force in the Dark as it is in the Light, which it is not. This the Men of Pleaſure know very well, who never trouble their Heads with a Woman's Virtue ſo they can but conquer her Modeſty; Seducers therefore don't make their Attacks at Noonday, but cut their Trenches at Night.

Illa verecundis lux eſt præbenda puellis,
Qua timidus latebras ſperat habere pudor.

People of Subſtance may Sin without being expos'd for their ſtolen Pleaſure; but Servants and the poorer ſort of Women have ſeldom an Opportunity of concealing a Big Belly, or at leaſt the Conſequences of it. It is poſſible that an unfortunate Girl of good Parentage may be left deſtitute, and know no Shift for a Livelihood than to become a Nurſery, or a Chambermaid: She may be Diligent, Faithful and Obliging, have abundance of Modeſty, and if you will, be Religious: She may reſiſt Temptations, and preſerve her Chaſtity for Years together, and yet at laſt meet with an unhappy Moment in which ſhe gives up her Honour to a Powerful Deceiver, who afterwards neglects her. If ſhe proves with Child, her Sorrows are unſpeakable, and ſhe can't be reconcil'd with the Wretchedneſs of her Condition; the fear of Shame attacks her ſo lively, that every Thought diſtracts her. All the Family ſhe lives in have a great opinion of her Virtue, and her laſt Miſtreſs took her for a Saint. How will her Enemies, that envied her

her Character, rejoyce! How will her Relations deteſt her! The more modeſt ſhe is now, and the more violently the dread of coming to Shame hurries her away, the more Wicked and more Cruel her Reſolutions will be, either againſt her ſelf or what ſhe bears.

It is commonly imagined, that ſhe who can deſtroy her Child, her own Fleſh and Blood, muſt have a vaſt ſtock of Barbarity, and be a Savage Monſter, different from other Women; but this is likewiſe a miſtake, which we commit for want of underſtanding Nature and the force of Paſſions. The ſame Woman that murders her Baſtard in the moſt execrable manner, if ſhe is Married afterwards, may take care of, cheriſh and feel all the tenderneſs for her Infant that the fondeſt Mother can be capable of. All Mothers naturally love their Children; but as this is a Paſſion, and all Paſſions center in Self-Love, ſo it may be ſubdued by any Superior Paſſion, to ſooth that ſame Self-Love, which if nothing had interven'd, would have bid her fondle her Offspring. Common Whores, whom all the World knows to be ſuch, hardly ever deſtroy their Children; nay even thoſe who aſſiſt in Robberies and Murders ſeldom are guilty of this Crime; not becauſe they are leſs Cruel or more Virtuous, but becauſe they have loſt their Modeſty to a greater degree, and the fear of Shame makes hardly any Impreſſion upon them.

Our Love to what never was within the reach of our Senſes is but poor and inconſiderable, and therefore Women have no Natural Love to what they bear; their Affection begins after the Birth; what they feel before is the reſult of Reaſon, Education, and the Thoughts of Duty. Even when Children firſt are Born the Mother's Love is but weak, and encreaſes with the Senſibility of the Child, and grows up to a prodigious height, when by ſigns it begins to expreſs his Sorrows and Joys, makes his

his Wants known, and diſcovers his Love to novelty and the multiplicity of his Deſires. What Labours and Hazards have not Women undergone to maintain and ſave their Children, what force and fortitude beyond their Sex have they not ſhewn in their Behalf! But the vileſt Women have exerted themſelves on this head as violently as the beſt. All are prompted to it by a natural Drift and Inclination, without any Conſideration of the Injury or Benefit the Society receives from it. There is no Merit in pleaſing our ſelves, and the very Offspring is often irreparably ruin'd by the exceſſive Fondneſs of Parents; for tho' Infants for two or three Years may be the better for this indulging Care of Mothers, yet afterwards, if not moderated, it may totally ſpoil them, and many it has brought to the Gallows.

If the Reader thinks I have been too tedious on that Branch of Modeſty, by the help of which we endeavour to appear Chaſte, I ſhall make him amends in the Brevity with which I deſign to treat of the remaining part, by which we would make others believe, that the Eſteem we have for them exceeds the Value we have for our ſelves, and that we have no Diſregard ſo great to any Intereſt as we have to our own. This laudable quality is commonly known by the name of Manners and Good Breeding, and conſiſts in a Faſhionable Habit, acquir'd by Precept and Example, of flattering the Pride and Selfiſhneſs of others, and concealing our own with Judgment and Dexterity. This muſt be only underſtood of our Commerce with our Equals and Superiors, and whilſt we are in Peace and Amity with them; for our Complaiſancy muſt never interfere with the Rules of Honour, nor the Homage that is due to us from Servants and others that depend upon us.

With this Caution, I believe, that the Definition will quadrate with every thing that can be alledg'd

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as a piece or an example of either Good Breeding or Ill Manners; and it will be very difficult throughout the various Accidents of Human Life and Converſation to find out an inſtance of Modeſty or Impudence that is not comprehended in, and illuſtrated by it, in all Countries and in all Ages. A Man that aſks conſiderable Favours of one who is a Stranger to him, without conſideration, is call'd Impudent, becauſe he ſhews openly his Selfiſhneſs without having any regard to the Selfiſhneſs of the other. We may ſee in it likewiſe the Reaſon why a Man ought to ſpeak of his Wife and Children, and every thing that is dear to him, as ſparing as is poſſible, and hardly ever of himſelf, eſpecially in Commendation of them. A well-bred Man may be deſirous, and even greedy after Praiſe and the Eſteem of others, but to be prais'd to his Face offends his Modeſty: the reaſon is this; all Human Creatures, before they are yet poliſh'd, receive an extraordinary Pleaſure in hearing themſelves praiſed: this we are all conſcious of, and therefore when we ſee a Man openly enjoy and feaſt on this Delight, in which we have no Share, it rouſes our Selfiſhneſs, and immediately we begin to envy and hate him. For this reaſon the well-bred Man conceals his Joy, and utterly denies that he feels any, and by this means conſulting and ſoothing our Selfiſhneſs, he averts that Envy and Hatred, which otherwiſe he would have juſtly to fear. When from our Childhood we obſerve how thoſe are ridicul'd who calmly can hear their own Praiſes, it is poſſible that we may ſo ſtrenuouſly endeavour to avoid that Pleaſure, that in tract of time we grow uneaſy at the approach of it: but this is not following the Dictates of Nature, but warping her by Education and Cuſtom; for if the Generality of Mankind took no delight in being prais'd, there could be no Modeſty in refuſing to hear it.

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The Man of Manners picks not the beſt but rather takes the worſt out of the Diſh, and gets of every thing, unleſs it be forc'd upon him, always the moſt indifferent Share. By this Civility the Beſt remains for others, which being a Compliment to all that are preſent, every Body is pleas'd with it: The more they love themſelves the more they are forc'd to approve of his Behaviour, and Gratitude ſtepping in, they are oblig'd almoſt whether they will or not, to think favourably of him. After this manner it is that the well-bred Man inſinuates himſelf in the eſteem of all the Companies he comes in, and if he gets nothing elſe by it, the Pleaſure he receives in reflecting on the Applauſe which he knows is ſecretly given him, is to a proud Man more than an Equivalent for his former Self-denial, and over-pays to Self-love with Intereſt, the loſs it ſuſtain'd in his Complaiſance to others.

If there are Seven or Eight Apples or Peaches among Six People of Ceremony, that are pretty near equal, he who is prevail'd upon to chuſe firſt, will take that, which, if there be any conſiderable difference, a Child would know to be the worſt: this he does to inſinuate, that he looks upon thoſe he is with to be of Superior Merit, and that there is not one whom he wiſhes not better to than he does to himſelf. 'Tis Cuſtom and a general Practice that makes this Modiſh Deceit familiar to us, without being ſhock'd at the Abſurdity of it; for if People had been uſed to ſpeak from the Sincerity of their Hearts, and act according to the natural Sentiments they felt within, 'till they were Three or Four and Twenty, it would be impoſſible for them to aſſiſt at this Comedy of Manners, without either loud Laughter or Indignation; and yet it is certain, that ſuch Behaviour makes us more tolerable to one another than we could be otherwiſe.

It is very Advantageous to the Knowledge of our ſelves, to be able well to diſtinguiſh between

good Qualities and Virtues. The Bond of Society exacts from every Member a certain Regard for others, which the Higheſt is not exempt from in the preſence of the Meaneſt even in an Empire: but when we are by our ſelves, and ſo far remov'd from Company as to be beyond the Reach of their Senſes, the Words Modeſty and Impudence loſe their meaning; a Perſon may be Wicked, but he cannot be Immodeſt whilſt he is alone, and no Thought can be Impudent that never was communicated to another. A Man of Exalted Pride may ſo hide it, that no Body ſhall be able to diſcover that he has any; and yet receive greater Satisfaction from that Paſſion than another, who indulges himſelf in the Declaration of it before all the World. Good Manners have nothing to do with Virtue or Religion; inſtead of extinguiſhing, they rather inflame the Paſſions. The Man of Senſe and Education never exults more in his Pride than when he hides it with the greateſt dexterity; and in feaſting on the Applauſe which he is ſure all good Judges will pay to his Behaviour, he enjoys a Pleaſure altogether unknown to the ſhort-ſighted, ſurly Alderman, that ſhews his Haughtineſs glaringly in his Face, pulls off his Hat to no Body, and hardly deigns to ſpeak to an Inferior.

A Man may carefully avoid every thing that in the Eye of the World is eſteem'd to be the reſult of Pride, without mortifying himſelf, or making the leaſt conqueſt of his Paſſion. It is poſſible that he only ſacrifices the inſipid outward Part of his Pride, which none but ſilly Ignorant People take delight in, to that part we all feel within, and which the Men of the higheſt Spirit and moſt exalted Genius feed on with ſo much ecſtaſy in ſilence. The Pride of Great and Polite Men is no where more conſpicuous than in the Debates about Ceremony and Precedency, where they have an Opportunity of giving their Vices the appearance of

Virtues,

Virtues, and can make the World believe that it is their Care, their Tenderneſs for the Dignity of their Office, or the Honour of their Maſters, what is the reſult of their own perſonal Pride and Vanity. This is moſt manifeſt in all Negotiations of Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries, and muſt be known by all that obſerve what is tranſacted at publick Treaties, and it will ever be true, that Men of the beſt Taſte have no Reliſh in their Pride as long as any Mortal can find out that they are Proud.

(*D.*) *For there was not a Bee but would*
Get more, I won't ſay, than he ſhould;
But than, &c.

Page 4. Line 29.

THE vaſt Eſteem we have of our ſelves, and the ſmall Value we have for others, make us all very unfair Judges in our own Caſes. Few Men can be perſwaded that they get too much by thoſe they ſell to, how extraordinary ſoever their Gains are, when at the ſame time there is hardly a Profit ſo inconſiderable, but they'll grudge it to thoſe they buy from; for this reaſon the Smallneſs of the Seller's Advantage being the greateſt perſwaſive to the Buyer, Tradeſmen are generally forced to tell Lyes in their own Defence, and invent a thouſand improbable Stories, rather than diſcover what they really get by their Commodities. Some Old Standers indeed that pretend to more Honeſty, (or what is more likely, have more Pride) than their Neighbours, are uſed to make but few Words with their Cuſtomers, and refus'd to ſell at a lower price than what they aſk'd at firſt. But theſe are commonly Cunning Foxes that are above the World, and know that thoſe who have Money, get often more by

being ſurly, than others by being obliging. The Vulgar imagine they can find more Sincerity in the ſower Looks of a grave old Fellow, than there appears in the ſubmiſſive Air and inviting Complacency of a Young Beginner. But this is a grand Miſtake; and if they are Mercers, Drapers, or others, that have many ſorts of the ſame Commodity, you may ſoon be ſatisfied; look upon their Goods and you'll find each of them have their private Marks, which is a certain Sign that both are equally careful in concealing the prime Coſt of what they ſell.

(E.) ——— *As your Gameſters do,*
Who, tho' at fair Play, ne'er will own
Before the Loſers what they've won.

Page 4. Line 32.

THis being a general Practice which no Body can be ignorant of that has ever ſeen any Play, there muſt be ſomething in the Make of Man that is the occaſion of it: But as the ſearching into this will ſeem very trifling to many, I deſire the Reader to ſkip this Remark, unleſs he be in perfect good Humour, and has nothing at all to do.

That Gameſters generally endeavour to conceal their Gains before the Loſers, ſeems to me to proceed from a mixture of Gratitude, Pity and Self-Preſervation. All Men are naturally grateful whilſt they receive a Benefit, and what they ſay or do, whilſt it affects and feels warm about them, is real, and comes from the Heart; but when that is over, the returns we make generally proceed from Virtue, good Manners, Reaſon, and the Thoughts of Duty, but not from Gratitude, which is a Motive of the Inclination. If we conſider, how tyranically the immoderate Love we bear to our ſelves,

ſelves, obliges us to eſteem every body that with or without deſign acts in our favour, and how often we extend our Affection to things inanimate, when we imagine them to contribute to our preſent Advantage: If, I ſay, we conſider this, it will not be difficult to find out which way our being pleaſed with thoſe whoſe Money we win is owing to a Principle of Gratitude. The next Motive is our Pity, which proceeds from our conſciouſneſs of the Vexation there is in loſing; and as we love the Eſteem of every body, we are afraid of forfeiting theirs by being the Cauſe of their Loſs. Laſtly, we apprehend their Envy, and ſo Self-Preſervation makes that we ſtrive to extenuate firſt the Obligation, then the Reaſon why we ought to Pity, in hopes that we ſhall have leſs of their Ill-will and Envy. When the Paſſions ſhew themſelves in their full Strength, they are known by every body: When a Man in Power gives a great Place to one that did him a ſmall kindneſs in his Youth, we call it Gratitude: When a Woman howls and wrings her Hands at the loſs of her Child, the prevalent Paſſion is Grief; and the Uneaſineſs we feel at the ſight of great Misfortunes, as a Man's breaking his Legs or daſhing his Brains out, is every where called Pity. But the gentle ſtroaks, the ſlight touches of the Paſſions, are generally overlook'd or miſtaken.

To prove my Aſſertion, we have but to obſerve what generally paſſes between the *Winner* and the *Loſer*. The firſt is always Complaiſant, and if the other will but keep his Temper, more than ordinarily obliging; he is ever ready to humour the *Loſer*, and willing to rectify his Miſtakes with Precaution, and the Height of good Manners. The Loſer is uneaſy, captious, moroſe, and perhaps ſwears and ſtorms; yet as long as he ſays or does nothing deſignedly affronting, the Winner takes all in good part, without offending, diſturbing, or contradicting

tradicting him. *Loſers*, ſays the Proverb, *muſt have leave to rail:* All which ſhews, that the Loſer is thought in the Right to complain, and for that very Reaſon pity'd. That we are afraid of the Loſer's Ill-will is plain from our being conſcious that we are diſpleaſed with thoſe we loſe to, and Envy we always dread when we think our ſelves happier than others: From whence it follows, that when the Winner endeavours to conceal his Gains, his deſign is to avert the Miſchiefs he apprehends, and this is Self-Preſervation; the Cares of which continue to affect us as long as the Motives that firſt produced them remain.

But a Month, a Week, or perhaps a much ſhorter time after, when the Thoughts of the Obligation, and conſequently the Winner's Gratitude are worn off, when the Loſer has recover'd his Temper, laughs at his Loſs, and the Reaſon of the Winner's Pity ceaſes; when the Winner's Apprehenſion of drawing upon him the Ill-will and Envy of the Loſer is gone; that is to ſay, as ſoon as all the Paſſions are over, and the Cares of Self-Preſervation employ the Winner's Thoughts no longer, he'll not only make no ſcruple of owning what he has won, but will, if his Vanity ſteps in, likewiſe, with Pleaſure, brag of, if not exaggerate his Gains.

It is poſſible, that when People play together who are at Enmity, and perhaps deſirous of picking a Quarrel, or where Men playing for Trifles contend for Superiority of Skill, and aim chiefly at the Glory of Conqueſt, nothing ſhall happen of what I have been talking of. Different Paſſions oblige us to take different Meaſures; what I have ſaid I would have underſtood of ordinary Play for Money, at which Men endeavour to get, and venture to loſe what they value: And even here I know it will be objected by many, that tho' they have been guilty of concealing their Gains, yet they never obſerv'd thoſe Paſſions which I alledge as

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the Cauſes of that Frailty; which is no wonder, becauſe few Men will give themſelves leiſure, and fewer yet take the right Method of examining themſelves as they ſhould do. It is with the Paſſions in Men as it is with Colours in Cloth: It is eaſy to know a Red, a Green, a Blue, a Yellow, a Black, &c. in as many different Places; but it muſt be an Artiſt that can unravel all the various Colours and their Proportions, that make up the Compound of a well-mix'd Cloth. In the ſame manner may the Paſſions be diſcover'd by every Body whilſt they are diſtinct, and a ſingle one employs the whole Man; but it is very difficult to trace every Motive of thoſe Actions that are the Reſult of a mixture of Paſſions.

(*F.*) *And Virtue, who from Politicks*
Had learn'd a thouſand cunning Tricks,
Was, by their happy Influence,
Made Friends with Vice. ——

Page 5. Line 29.

IT may be ſaid, that Virtue is made Friends with Vice, when induſtrious good People, who maintain their Families and bring up their Children handſomely, pay Taxes, and are ſeveral ways uſeful Members of the Society, get a Livelihood by ſomething that chiefly depends on, or is very much influenced by the Vices of others, without being themſelves guilty of, or acceſſary to them, any otherwiſe than by way of Trade, as a Druggiſt may be to Poyſoning, or a Sword-Cutler to Blood-ſhed.

Thus the Merchant, that ſends Corn or Cloth into Foreign Parts to purchaſe Wines and Brandies, encourages the Growth or Manufactury of his own Country; he is a Benefactor to Navigation, en-

creaſes the Cuſtoms, and is many ways beneficial to the Publick; yet it is not to be denied but that his greateſt dependance is *Laviſhneſs* and *Drunkenneſs*: For if none were to drink Wine but ſuch only as ſtand in need of it, nor any Body more than his Health requir'd, that multitude of Wine-Merchants, Vintners, Coopers, *&c.* that make ſuch a conſiderable Shew in this flouriſhing City, would be in a miſerable Condition. The ſame may be ſaid not only of Card and Dice-makers, that are the immediate Miniſters to a Legion of Vices; but that of Mercers, Upholſterers, Taylors, and many others, that would be ſtarv'd in half a Year's time, if *Pride* and *Luxury* were at once to be baniſh'd the Nation.

(G.) *The worſt of all the Multitude*
Did ſomething for the Common Good.

Page 5. Line 33.

THIS I know will ſeem to be a ſtrange Paradox to many; and I ſhall be aſk'd what Benefit the Publick receives from Thieves and Houſebreakers. They are, I own, very pernicious to Human Society, and every Government ought to take all imaginable Care to root out and deſtroy them; yet if all People were ſtrictly honeſt, and no body would meddle with or pry into any thing but his own, half the Smiths of the Nation would want Employment; and abundance of Workmanſhip (which now ſerves for Ornament as well as Defence) is to be ſeen every where both in Town and Country, that would never have been thought of, but to ſecure us againſt the Attempts of Pilferers and Robbers.

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If what I have ſaid be thought far fetch'd, and my Aſſertion ſeems ſtill a Paradox, I deſire the Reader to look upon the Conſumption of things, and he'll find that the lazyeſt and moſt unactive, the profligate and moſt miſchievous are all forced to do ſomething for the common good, and whilſt their Mouths are not ſow'd up, and they continue to wear and otherwiſe deſtroy what the Induſtrious are daily employ'd about to make, fetch and procure, in ſpight of their Teeth oblig'd to help maintain the Poor and the publick Charges. The Labour of Millions would ſoon be at an End, if there were not other Millions, as I ſay in the Fable,

——— ——— ——— *Employ'd,*
To ſee their Handy-works deſtroy'd.

But Men are not to be judg'd by the Conſequences that may ſucceed their Actions, but the Facts themſelves, and the Motives which it ſhall appear they acted from. If an ill-natur'd Miſer, who is almoſt a Plumb, and ſpends but Fifty Pounds a Year, tho' he has no Relation to inherit his Wealth, ſhould be Robb'd of Five Hundred or a Thouſand Guineas, it is certain that as ſoon as this Money ſhould come to Circulate, the Nation would be the better for the Robbery, and receive the ſame and as a real Benefit from it, as if an Archbiſhop had left the ſame Sum to the Publick; yet Juſtice and the peace of the Society require that he or they who robb'd the Miſer ſhould be hang'd, tho' there were half a dozen of 'em concerned.

Thieves and Pick-pockets ſteal for a Livelihood, and either what they can get Honeſtly is not ſufficient to keep them, or elſe they have an averſion to conſtant Working: they want to gratify their Senſes, have Victuals, Strong Drink, Lewd Women, and to be Idle when they pleaſe. The Victualler, who entertains them and takes their Money, knowing which way they come at it, is very

near as great a Villain as his Gueſts. But if he fleeces them well, minds his Buſineſs and is a prudent Man, he may get Money and be punctual with them he deals with: The Truſty Out-Clerk, whoſe chief aim is his Maſter's Profit, ſends him in what Beer he wants, and takes care not to loſe his Cuſtom; whilſt the Man's Money is good, he thinks it no Buſineſs of his to examine whom he gets it by. In the mean time the Wealthy Brewer, who leaves all the Management to his Servants, knows nothing of the matter, but keeps his Coach, treats his Friends, and enjoys his Pleaſure with eaſe and a good Conſcience, he gets an Eſtate, builds Houſes, and educates his Children in Plenty, without ever thinking on the Labour which Wretches perform, the Shifts Fools make, and the Tricks Knaves play to come at the Commodity, by the vaſt Sale of which he amaſſes his great Riches.

A Highwayman having met with a conſiderable Booty, gives a poor common Harlot, he fancies, ten Pounds to New rig her from Top to Toe; is there a Spruce Mercer ſo conſcientious that he will refuſe to ſell her a Thread Sattin, tho' he knew who ſhe was? She muſt have Shoes and Stockings, Gloves, the Stay and Manteau-maker, the Sempſtreſs, the Linnen-draper, all muſt get ſomething by her, and a hundred different Tradeſmen dependent on thoſe ſhe laid her Money out with, may touch Part of it before a Month is at an end. The Generous Gentleman, in the mean time, his Money being near ſpent, ventur'd again on the Road, but the Second Day having committed a Robbery near *Highgate*, he was taken with one of his Accomplices, and the next Seſſions both were condemn'd, and ſuffered the Law. The Money due on their Conviction fell to three Country Fellows, on whom it was admirably well beſtow'd. One was an Honeſt Farmer, a Sober Pains-taking Man, but reduced by Misfortunes: The Summer before by the Mortality

lity among the Cattle he had loſt Six Cows out of Ten, and now his Landlord, to whom he owed Thirty Pounds, had ſeiz'd on all his Stock. The other was a Day-Labourer, who ſtruggl'd hard with the World, had a ſick Wife at Home and ſeveral ſmall Children to provide for. The Third was a Gentleman's Gardiner, who maintain'd his Father in Priſon, where being bound for a Neighbour he had lain for Twelve Pounds almoſt a Year and a Half; this Act of Filial Duty was the more meritorious, becauſe he had for ſome time been engaged to a young Woman whoſe Parents lived in good Circumſtances, but would not give their Conſent before our Gardiner had Fifty Guineas of his own to ſhew. They receiv'd above Fourſcore Pounds each, which extricated every one of them out of the Difficulties they labour'd under, and made them in their Opinion the happieſt People in the World.

Nothing is more deſtructive, either in regard to the Health or the Vigilance and Induſtry of the Poor than the infamous Liquor, the name of which, deriv'd from Juniper in *Dutch*, is now by frequent uſe and the Laconick Spirit of the Nation, from a word of middling Length ſhrunk into a Monoſyllable, Intoxicating Gin, that charms the unactive, the deſperate and crazy of either Sex, and makes the ſtarving Sot behold his Rags and Nakedneſs with ſtupid Indolence, or banter both in ſenſeleſs Laughter, and more inſipid Jeſts; It is a fiery Lake that ſets the Brain in Flame, burns up the Entrails, and ſcorches every Part within; and at the ſame time a *Lethe* of Oblivion, in which the Wretch immers'd drowns his moſt pinching Cares, and with his Reaſon all anxious Reflection on Brats that cry for Food, hard Winters Froſts, and horrid empty Home.

In hot and aduſt Tempers it makes Men Quarrelſome, renders 'em Brutes and Savages, ſets 'em on to fight for nothing, and has often been the

Cauſe of Murder. It has broke and deſtroyed the ſtrongeſt Conſtitutions, thrown 'em into Conſumptions, and been the fatal and immediate occaſion of Apoplexies, Phrenſies and ſudden Death. But as theſe latter Miſchiefs happen but ſeldom, they might be overlook'd and conniv'd at, but this cannot be ſaid of the many Diſeaſes that are familiar to the Liquor, and which are daily and hourly produced by it; ſuch as Loſs of Appetite, Fevers, Black and Yellow Jaundice, Convulſions, Stone and Gravel, Dropſies, and Leucophlegmacies.

Among the doating Admirers of this Liquid Poiſon, many of the meaneſt Rank, from a ſincere Affection to the Commodity it ſelf, become Dealers in it, and take delight to help others to what they love themſelves, as Whores commence Bawds to make the Profits of one Trade ſubſervient to the Pleaſures of the other. But as theſe Starvelings commonly drink more than their Gains, they ſeldom by ſelling mend the wretchedneſs of Condition they labour'd under whilſt they were only Buyers. In the Fag-end and Out-ſkirts of the Town, and all Places of the vileſt Reſort, it's ſold in ſome part or other of almoſt every Houſe, frequently in Cellars, and ſometimes in the Garret. The petty Traders in this *Stygian* Comfort are ſupply'd by others in ſomewhat higher Station, that keep profeſs'd Brandy Shops, and are as little to be envied as the former; and among the middling People, I know not a more miſerable Shift for a Livelihood than their Calling; whoever would thrive in it muſt in the firſt place be of a watchful and ſuſpicious, as well as a bold and reſolute Temper, that he may not be impoſed upon by Cheats and Sharpers, nor out-bully'd by the Oaths and Imprecations of Hackney-Coachmen and Foot-Soldiers; in the ſecond, he ought to be a dabſter at groſs Jokes and loud Laughter, and have all the winning Ways to allure Cuſtomers and draw out their Money,

ney, and be well vers'd in the low Jeſts and Ralleries the Mob make uſe of to banter Prudence and Frugality. He muſt be affable and obſequious to the moſt deſpicable; always ready and officious to help a Porter down with his Load, ſhake Hands with a Baſket-Woman, pull off his Hat to an Oyſter Wench, and be familiar with a Beggar; with Patience and good Humour he muſt be able to endure the filthy Actions and viler Language of naſty Drabs, and the lewdeſt Rake-hells, and without a Frown or the leaſt Averſion bear with all the Stench and Squalor, Noiſe and Impertinence that the utmoſt Indigence, Lazineſs and Ebriety, can produce in the moſt ſhameleſs and abandon'd Vulgar.

The vaſt Number of the Shops I ſpeak of throughout the City and Suburbs, are an aſtoniſhing Evidence of the many Seducers, that in a Lawful Occupation are acceſſary to the Introduction and Increaſe of all the Sloth, Sottiſhneſs, Want and Miſery, which the Abuſe of Strong Waters is the immediate Cauſe of, to lift above Mediocrity perhaps half a ſcore Men that deal in the ſame Commodity by wholeſale, whilſt among the Retailers, though qualify'd as I requir'd, a much greater Number are broke and ruin'd, for not abſtaining from the *Circean* Cup they hold out to others, and the more fortunate are their whole Life time obliged to take the uncommon Pains, endure the Hardſhips, and ſwallow all the ungrateful and ſhocking Things I named, for little or nothing beyond a bare Suſtenance, and their daily Bread.

The ſhort-ſighted Vulgar in the Chain of Cauſes ſeldom can ſee further than one Link; but thoſe who can enlarge their View, and will give themſelves the Leiſure of gazing on the Proſpect of concatenated Events, may, in a hundred Places, ſee *Good* ſpring up and pullulate from *Evil*, as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs. The Money that ariſes from the Duties upon Malt is a conſiderable Part

of

of the National Revenue, and ſhould no Spirits be diſtill'd from it, the *Publick* Treaſure would prodigiouſly ſuffer on that Head. But if we would ſet in a true Light the many Advantages, and large Catalogue of ſolid Bleſſings that accrue from, and are owing to the Evil I treat of, we are to conſider the Rents that are received, the Ground that is till'd, the Tools that are made, the Cattle that are employ'd, and above all, the Multitude of Poor that are maintain'd, by the Variety of Labour, required in Husbandry, in Malting, in Carriage and Diſtillation, before we can have the Product of Malt, which we call *Low Wines*, and is but the Beginning from which the various Spirits are afterwards to be made.

Beſides this, a ſharp ſighted good-humour'd Man might pick up abundance of Good from the Rubbiſh, which I have all flung away for Evil. He would tell me, that whatever Sloth and Sottiſhneſs might be occaſion'd by the Abuſe of Malt-Spirits, the moderate Uſe of it was of ineſtimable Benefit to the Poor, who could purchaſe no Cordials of higher Prices, that it was an univerſal Comfort, not only in Cold and Wearineſs, but moſt of the Afflictions that are peculiar to the Neceſſitous, and had often to the moſt deſtitute ſupply'd the Places of Meat, Drink, Cloaths, and Lodging. That the ſtupid Indolence in the moſt wretched Condition occaſion'd by thoſe compoſing Draughts, which I complain'd of, was a Bleſſing to Thouſands, for that certainly thoſe were the happieſt, who felt the leaſt Pain. As to Diſeaſes, he would ſay, that, as it cauſed ſome, ſo it cured others, and that if the Exceſs in thoſe Liquors had been ſudden Death to ſome few, the Habit of drinking them daily prolong'd the Lives of many, whom once it agreed with; that for the Loſs ſuſtain'd from the inſignificant Quarrels it created at home, we were overpaid in the Advantage we receiv'd from it abroad, by upholding

ing the Courage of Soldiers, and animating the Sailors to the Combat; and that in the two laſt Wars no conſiderable Victory had been obtain'd without.

To the diſmal Account I have given of the Retailers, and what they are forced to ſubmit to, he would anſwer, that not many acquired more than middling Riches in any Trade, and that what I had counted ſo offenſive and intollerable in the Calling, was trifling to thoſe who were uſed to it; that what ſeem'd irkſome and calamitous to ſome, was delightful and often raviſhing to others; as Men differ'd in Circumſtances and Education. He would put me in mind, that the Profit of an Employment ever made amends for the Toil and Labour that belonged to it, nor forget, *Dulcis odor lucri è re qualibet*; or to tell me, that the Smell of Gain was fragrant even to Night-Workers.

If I ſhould ever urge to him, that to have here and there one great and eminent Diſtiller was a poor equivalent for the vile Means, the certain Want, and laſting Miſery of ſo many thouſand Wretches, as were neceſſary to raiſe them, he would anſwer, that of this I could be no Judge, becauſe I don't know what vaſt Benefit they might afterwards be of to the Commonwealth. Perhaps, would he ſay, the Man thus rais'd will exert himſelf in the Commiſſion of the Peace, or other Station, with Vigilance and Zeal againſt the Diſſolute and Diſaffected, and retaining his ſtirring Temper, be as induſtrious in ſpreading Loyalty, and the Reformation of Manners throughout every cranny of the wide populous Town, as once he was in filling it with Spirits; till he becomes at laſt the Scourge of Whores, of Vagabonds and Beggars, the Terrour of Rioters and diſcontented Rabbles, and conſtant Plague to Sabbath-breaking Butchers. Here my good-humour'd Antagoniſt would Exult and Triumph over me, eſpecially if he could inſtance to me ſuch a bright Example. What an uncommon Bleſſing,

ſing, would he cry out, is this Man to his Country! how ſhining and illuſtrious his Virtue!

To juſtify his Exclamation he would demonſtrate to me, that it was impoſſible to give a fuller Evidence of Self-denial in a grateful Mind, than to ſee him at the Expence of his Quiet and hazard of his Life and Limbs, be always harraſing, and even for Trifles perſecuting that very Claſs of Men to whom he owes his Fortune, from no other Motive than his Averſion to Idleneſs, and great Concern for Religion and the Publick Welfare.

(H.) *Parties directly oppoſite,*
Aſſiſt each other, as 'twere for ſpight.

Page 61. Line 1.

NOthing was more inſtrumental in forwarding the Reformation, than the Sloth and Stupidity of the *Roman* Clergy; yet the ſame Reformation has rouz'd 'em from the Lazineſs and Ignorance they then labour'd under; and the Followers of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and others, may be ſaid to have reform'd not only thoſe whom they drew in to their Sentiment, but likewiſe thoſe who remain'd their greateſt Oppoſers. The Clergy of *England* by being ſevere upon the Schiſmaticks, and upbraiding them with want of Learning, have raiſed themſelves ſuch formidable Enemies as are not eaſily anſwer'd; and again, the Diſſenters by prying into the Lives, and diligently watching all the Actions of their powerful Antagoniſts, render thoſe of the Eſtabliſh'd Church more cautious of giving Offence, than in all probability they would, if they had no malicious Over-lookers to fear. It is very much owing to the great number of *Hugonots* that have always been in *France*, ſince the late utter Extirpation of them,

them, that that Kingdom has a leſs diſſolute and more learned Clergy to boaſt of than any other *Roman Catholick* Country. The Clergy of that Church are no where more Sovereign than in *Italy*, and therefore no where more debauch'd; nor any where more Ignorant than they are in *Spain*, becauſe their Doctrine is no where leſs oppos'd.

Who would imagine, that Virtuous Women, unknowingly, ſhould be inſtrumental in promoting the Advantage of Proſtitutes? Or (what ſtill ſeems the greater Paradox) that Incontinence ſhould be made ſerviceable to the Preſervation of Chaſtity? And yet nothing is more true. A vicious young Fellow, after having been an Hour or two at Church, a Ball, or any other Aſſembly, where there is a great parcel of handſome Women dreſs'd to the beſt Advantage, will have his Imagination more fired than if he had the ſame time been Poling at *Guildhall*, or walking in the Country among a Flock of Sheep. The conſequence of this is, that he'll ſtrive to ſatisfy the Appetite that is raiſed in him; and when he finds honeſt Women obſtinate and uncomatable, 'tis very natural to think, that he'll haſten to others that are more compliable. Who would ſo much as ſurmiſe, that this is the Fault of the Virtuous Women? They have no Thoughts of Men in dreſſing themſelves, poor Souls, and endeavour only to appear clean and decent, every one according to her Quality.

I am far from encouraging Vice, and think it would be an unſpeakable Felicity to a State, if the Sin of Uncleanneſs could be utterly baniſh'd from it; but I am afraid it is impoſſible: The Paſſions of ſome People are too violent to be curb'd by any Law or Precept; and it is Wiſdom in all Governments to bear with leſſer Inconveniencies to prevent greater. If Courtezans and Strumpets were to be proſecuted with as much Rigour as ſome ſilly People would have it, what Locks or Bars would

be

be ſufficient to preſerve the Honour of our Wives and Daughters? For 'tis not only that the Women in general would meet with far greater Temptations, and the Attempts to enſnare the Innocence of Virgins would ſeem more excuſable even to the ſober part of Mankind than they do now: But ſome Men would grow outragious, and Raviſhing would become a common Crime. Where ſix or ſeven Thouſand Sailors arrive at once, as it often happens at *Amſterdam*, that have ſeen none but their own Sex for many Months together, how is it to be ſuppos'd that honeſt Women ſhould walk the Streets unmoleſted, if there were no Harlots to be had at reaſonable Prices? For which Reaſon the Wiſe Rulers of that well-order'd City always tolerate an uncertain number of Houſes, in which Women are hir'd as publickly as Horſes at a Livery Stable; and there being in this Toleration a great deal of Prudence and Oeconomy to be ſeen, a ſhort Account of it will be no tireſome Digreſſion.

In the firſt place the Houſes I ſpeak of are allow'd to be no where but in the moſt ſlovenly and unpoliſh'd part of the Town, where Seamen and Strangers of no Repute chiefly Lodge and Reſort. The Street in which moſt of them ſtand is counted ſcandalous, and the Infamy is extended to all the Neighbourhood round it. In the ſecond, they are only Places to meet and bargain in, to make Appointments, in order to promote Interviews of greater Secreſy, and no manner of Lewdneſs is ever ſuffered to be tranſacted in them; which Order is ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, that bar the ill Manners and Noiſe of the Company that frequent them, you'll meet with no more Indecency, and generally leſs Laſciviouſneſs there, than with us are to be ſeen at a Playhouſe. Thirdly, the Female Traders that come to theſe Evening Exchanges are always the Scum of the People, and generally ſuch as in

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the Day time carry Fruit and other Eatables about in Wheel-Barrows. The Habits indeed they appear in at Night are very different from their ordinary ones; yet they are commonly ſo ridiculouſly Gay, that they look more like the *Roman* Dreſſes of ſtroling Actreſſes than Gentlewomen's Cloaths: If to this you add the aukwardneſs, the hard Hands, and courſe breeding of the Damſels that wear them, there is no great Reaſon to fear, that many of the better ſort of People will be tempted by them.

The Muſick in theſe Temples of *Venus* is perform'd by Organs, not out of Reſpect to the Deity that is worſhip'd in them, but the frugality of the Owners, whoſe Buſineſs it is to procure as much Sound for as little Money as they can, and the Policy of the Government, who endeavour as little as is poſſible to encourage the Breed of Pipers and Scrapers. All Sea-faring Men, eſpecially the *Dutch*, are like the Element they belong to, much given to loudneſs and roaring, and the Noiſe of half a dozen of them, when they call themſelves Merry, is ſufficient to drown twice the number of Flutes or Violins; whereas with one pair of Organs they can make the whole Houſe ring, and are at no other Charge than the keeping of one ſcurvy Muſician, which can coſt them but little; yet notwithſtanding the good Rules and ſtrict Diſcipline that are obſerv'd in theſe Markets of Love, the *Schout* and his Officers are always vexing, mulcting, and upon the leaſt Complaint removing the miſerable Keepers of them: Which Policy is of two great Uſes; firſt it gives an opportunity to a large parcel of Officers, the Magiſtrates make uſe of on many Occaſions, and which they could not be without, to ſqueeze a Living out of the immoderate Gains accruing from the worſt of Employments, and at the ſame time puniſh thoſe neceſſary Profligates the Bawds and Panders, which, tho' they abominate, they deſire yet not wholly to deſtroy. Secondly,

condly, as on ſeveral Accounts it might be dangerous to let the Multitude into the Secret, that thoſe Houſes and the Trade that is drove in them are conniv'd at, ſo by this means appearing unblameable, the wary Magiſtrates preſerve themſelves in the good Opinion of the weaker ſort of People, who imagine that the Government is always endeavouring, tho' unable, to ſuppreſs what it actually tolerates: Whereas if they had a mind to rout them out, their Power in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice is ſo ſovereign and extenſive, and they know ſo well how to have it executed, that one Week, nay one Night, might ſend them all a packing.

In *Italy* the Toleration of Strumpets is yet more barefac'd, as is evident from their publick Stews. At *Venice* and *Naples* Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick; the *Courtezans* at *Rome*, and the *Cantoneras* in *Spain*, compoſe a Body in the State, and are under a Legal Tax and Impoſt. 'Tis well known, that the Reaſon why ſo many good Politicians as theſe tolerate Lewd Houſes, is not their Irreligion, but to prevent a worſe Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour. *About Two Hundred and Fifty Years ago*, ſays Monſieur *de St. Didier*, Venice *being in want of Courtezans, the Republick was obliged to procure a great number from Foreign Parts. Doglioni*, who has written the memorable Affairs of *Venice*, highly extols the Wiſdom of the Republick in this Point, which ſecured the Chaſtity of Women of Honour daily expoſed to publick Violences, the Churches and Conſecrated Places not being a ſufficient Azylum for their Chaſtity.

Our Univerſities in *England* are much bely'd if in ſome Colleges there was not a Monthly Allowance *ad expurgandos Renes*: and time was when the Monks and Prieſts in *Germany* were allow'd Concubuines on paying a certain Yearly Duty to their Prelate. *'Tis generally believ'd*, ſays Monſieur *Bayle*,

(to

(to whom I owe the laſt Paragraph) *that Avarice was the Cauſe of this ſhameful Indulgence; but it is more probable their deſign was to prevent their tempting modeſt Women, and to quiet the uneaſineſs of Husbands, whoſe Reſentments the Clergy do well to avoid.* From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that there is a Neceſſity of ſacrificing one part of Womankind to preſerve the other, and prevent a Filthineſs of a more heinous Nature. From whence I think I may juſtly conclude (what was the ſeeming Paradox I went about to prove) that Chaſtity may be ſupported by Incontinence, and the beſt of Virtues want the Aſſiſtance of the worſt of Vices.

(I.) *The Root of Evil, Avarice,*
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful Vice,
Was Slave to Prodigality.

Page 6. Line 5.

I Have joyn'd ſo many odious Epithets to the Word Avarice, in compliance to the Vogue of Mankind, who generally beſtow more ill Language upon this than upon any other Vice; and indeed not undeſervedly; for there is hardly a Miſchief to be named which it has not produced at one time or other: But the true Reaſon why every Body exclaims ſo much againſt it, is, that almoſt every Body ſuffers by it; for the more the Money is hoarded up by ſome, the ſcarcer it muſt grow among the reſt, and therefore when Men rail very much at Miſers there is generally Self-Intereſt at Bottom.

As there is no living without Money, ſo thoſe that are unprovided, and have no Body to give them any, are oblig'd to do ſome Service or other to the Society, before they can come at it; but every Body

Body eſteeming his Labour as he does himſelf, which is generally not under the Value, moſt People that want Money only to ſpend it again preſently, imagine they do more for it than it is worth. Men can't forbear looking upon the Neceſſaries of Life as their due, whether they work or not; becauſe they find that Nature, without conſulting whether they have Victuals or not, bids them eat whenever they are hungry; for which Reaſon every Body endeavours to get what he wants with as much Eaſe as he can; and therefore when Men find that the trouble they are put to in getting Money is either more or leſs, according as thoſe they would have it from are more or leſs tenacious, it is very natural for them to be angry at Covetouſneſs in general; for it obliges them either to go without what they have occaſion for, or elſe to take greater Pains for it than they are willing.

Avarice, notwithſtanding it is the occaſion of ſo many Evils, is yet very neceſſary to the Society, to glean and gather what has been dropt and ſcatter'd by the contrary Vice. Was it not for Avarice, Spendthrifts would ſoon want Materials; and if none would lay up and get faſter than they ſpend, very few could ſpend faſter than they get. That it is a Slave to Prodigality, as I have call'd it, is evident from ſo many Miſers as we daily ſee toil and labour, pinch and ſtarve themſelves to enrich a laviſh Heir. Tho' theſe two Vices appear very oppoſite, yet they often aſſiſt each other. *Florio* is an extravagant young Blade, of a very profuſe Temper; as he is the only Son of a very rich Father, he wants to live high, keep Horſes and Dogs, and throw his Money about, as he ſees ſome of his Companions do: but the old Hunks will part with no Money, and hardly allows him Neceſſaries. *Florio* would have borrow'd Money upon his own Credit long ago; but as all would be loſt, if he died before his Father, no prudent Man would lend him any.

any. At laſt he has met with the greedy *Cornaro*, who lets him have Money at Thirty *per Cent*, and now *Florio* thinks himſelf happy, and ſpends a Thouſand a Year. Where would *Cornaro* ever have got ſuch a prodigious Intereſt, if it was not for ſuch a Fool as *Florio*, who will give ſo great a price for Money to fling it away? And how would *Florio* get it to ſpend, if he had not lit of ſuch a greedy Uſurer as *Cornaro*, whoſe exceſſive Covetouſneſs makes him overlook the great Riſque he runs in venturing ſuch great Sums upon the Life of a wild Debauchee.

Avarice is no longer the Reverſe of Profuſeneſs, than whilſt it ſignifies that ſordid love of Money, and narrowneſs of Soul that hinders Miſers from parting with what they have, and makes them covet it only to hoard up. But there is a ſort of Avarice which conſiſts in a greedy deſire of Riches, in order to ſpend them, and this often meets with Prodigality in the ſame Perſons, as is evident in moſt Courtiers and great Officers, both Civil and Military. In their Buildings and Furniture, Equipages and Entertainments, their Gallantry is diſplay'd with the greateſt Profuſion; whilſt the baſe Actions they ſubmit to for Lucre, and the many Frauds and Impoſitions they are guilty of diſcover the utmoſt Avarice. This mixture of contrary Vices comes up exactly to the Character of *Cataline*, of whom it is ſaid, that he was *appetens alieni & ſui profuſus*, greedy after the Goods of others and laviſh of his own.

(K.) *That noble Sin* —— —— ——

Page 6. Line 8.

THE Prodigality, I call a noble Sin, is not that which has Avarice for its Companion, and makes

makes Men unreaſonably profuſe to ſome of what they unjuſtly extort from others, but that agreeable good-natur'd Vice that makes the Chimney ſmoak, and all the Tradeſmen ſmile; I mean the unmix'd Prodigality of heedleſs and Voluptuous Men, that being educated in Plenty, abhor the vile Thoughts of Lucre, and laviſh away only what others took pains to ſcrape together; ſuch as indulge their Inclinations at their own Expence, that have the continual Satisfaction of bartering Old Gold for new Pleaſures, and from the exceſſive largeneſs of a diffuſive Soul, are made guilty of deſpiſing too much what moſt People over-value.

When I ſpeak thus honourably of this Vice, and treat it with ſo much Tenderneſs and good Manners as I do, I have the ſame thing at Heart that made me give ſo many Ill Names to the Reverſe of it, *viz.* the Intereſt of the Publick; for as the Avaricious does no good to himſelf, and is injurious to all the World beſides, except his Heir, ſo the Prodigal is a Bleſſing to the whole Society, and injures no body but himſelf. It is true, that as moſt of the firſt are Knaves, ſo the latter are all Fools; yet they are delicious Morſels for the Publick to feaſt on, and may with as much Juſtice as the *French* call the Monks the Partridges of the Women, be ſtyled the Woodcocks of the Society. Was it not for Prodigality, nothing could make us amends for the Rapine and Extortion of Avarice in Power. When a Covetous Stateſman is gone, who ſpent his whole Life in fat'ning himſelf with the Spoils of the Nation, and had by pinching and plundering heaped up an immenſe Treaſure, it ought to fill every good Member of the Society with Joy, to behold the uncommon Profuſeneſs of his Son. This is refunding to the Publick what was robb'd from it. Reſuming of Grants is a barbarous way of ſtripping, and it is ignoble to ruin a Man faſter than he does it himſelf, when he ſets about it in

ſuch

ſuch good earneſt. Does he not feed an infinite Number of Dogs of all ſorts and ſizes, tho' he never hunts; keep more Horſes than any Nobleman in the Kingdom, tho' he never Rides 'em, and give as large an Allowance to an ill-favour'd Whore as would keep a Dutcheſs, tho' he never lies with her? Is he not ſtill more extravagant in thoſe things he makes uſe of? Therefore let him alone, or praiſe him, call him publick-ſpirited Lord, nobly bountiful and magnificently generous, and in a few Years he'll ſuffer himſelf to be ſtript his own way. As long as the Nation has its own back again, we ought not to quarrel with the manner in which the Plunder is repay'd.

Abundance of moderate Men I know that are Enemies to Extreams will tell me, that Frugality might happily ſupply the Place of the two Vices I ſpeak of, that, if Men had not ſo many profuſe ways of ſpending Wealth, they would not be tempted to ſo many evil Practices to ſcrape it together, and conſequently that the ſame number of Men by equally avoiding both Extreams, might render themſelves more happy, and be leſs vicious without than they could with them. Whoever argues thus ſhews himſelf a better Man than he is a Politician. Frugality is like Honeſty, a mean ſtarving Virtue, that is only fit for ſmall Societies of good peaceable Men, who are contented to be poor ſo they may be eaſy; but in a large ſtirring Nation you may have ſoon enough of it. 'Tis an idle dreaming Virtue that employs no Hands, and therefore very uſeleſs in a trading Country, where there are vaſt numbers that one way or other muſt be all ſet to Work. Prodigality has a thouſand Inventions to keep People from ſitting ſtill, that Frugality would never think of; and as this muſt conſume a prodigious Wealth, ſo Avarice again knows innumerable Tricks to rake it together, which Frugality would ſcorn to make uſe of.

Authors

Authors are always allow'd to compare ſmall things to great ones, eſpecially if they aſk leave firſt. *Si licet exemplis*, &c. but to compare great things to mean trivial ones is inſufferable, unleſs it be in Burleſque; otherwiſe I would compare the Body Politick (I confeſs the Simile is very low) to a Bowl of Punch. Avarice ſhould be the ſow'ring and Prodigality the ſweetning of it. The Water I would call the Ignorance, Folly and Credulity of the floating inſipid Multitude; whilſt Wiſdom, Honour, Fortitude and the reſt of the ſublime Qualities of Men, which ſeparated by Art from the Dregs of Nature, the fire of Glory has exalted and refined into a Spiritual Eſſence, ſhould be an equivalent to Brandy. I don't doubt but a *Weſtphalian*, *Laplander*, or any other dull Stranger that is unacquainted with the wholeſome Compoſition, if he was to taſte the ſeveral Ingredients apart, would think it impoſſible they ſhould make any tolerable Liquor. The Lemons would be too ſower, the Sugar too luſcious, the Brandy he'll ſay is too ſtrong ever to be drank in any quantity, and the Water he'll call a taſteleſs Liquor only fit for Cows and Horſes: Yet Experience teaches us, that the Ingredients I named judiciouſly mixt, will make an excellent Liquor, lik'd of and admir'd by Men of exquiſite Palates.

As to our two Vices in particular, I could compare Avarice, that cauſes ſo much Miſchief, and is complain'd of by every body who is not a Miſer, to a griping Acid that ſets our Teeth on Edge, and is unpleaſant to every Palate that is not debauch'd: I could compare the gaudy Trimming and ſplendid Equipage of a profuſe Beau, to the gliſtning brightneſs of the fineſt Loaf Sugar; for as the one by correcting the ſharpneſs prevents the Injuries which a gnawing Sower might do to the Bowels, ſo the other is a pleaſing Balſam that heals and makes amends for the ſmart, which the Multitude always

always ſuffers from the Gripes of the Avaricious; whilſt the Subſtances of both melt away alike, and they conſume themſelves by being beneficial to the ſeveral Compoſitions they belong to. I could carry on the Simile as to proportions, and the exact nicety to be obſerv'd in them, which would make it appear how little any of the Ingredients could be ſpared in either of the Mixtures; But I will not tire my Reader by purſuing too far a ludicrous Compariſon, when I have other Matters to entertain him with of greater Importance; and to ſum up what I have ſaid in this and the foregoing Remark, ſhall only add, that I look upon Avarice and Prodigality in the Society as I do upon two contrary Poyſons in Phyſick, of which it is certain that the noxious qualities being by mutual miſchief corrected in both, they may aſſiſt each other, and often make a good Medicine between them.

(L.) —— —— —— *Whilſt Luxury Employ'd a Million of the Poor*, &c.

Page 6. Line 8.

IF every thing is to be Luxury (as in ſtrictneſs it ought) that is not immediately neceſſary to make Man ſubſiſt as he is a living Creature, there is nothing elſe to be found in the World, no not even among the naked Savages; of which it is not probable that there are any but what by this time have made ſome Improvements upon their former manner of Living; and either in the Preparation of their Eatables, the ordering of their Huts, or otherwiſe, added ſomething to what once ſufficed them. This Definition every body will ſay is too rigorous; I am of the ſame Opinion; but if we are

to abate one Inch of this Severity, I am afraid we ſhan't know where to ſtop. When People tell us they only deſire to keep themſelves *ſweet* and *clean*, there is no underſtanding what they would be at; if they made uſe of theſe Words in their genuine proper literal Senſe, they might ſoon be ſatisfy'd without much coſt or trouble, if they did not want Water: But theſe two little Adjectives are ſo comprehenſive, eſpecially in the Dialect of ſome Ladies, that no body can gueſs how far they may be ſtretcht. The Comforts of Life are likewiſe ſo various and extenſive, that no body can tell what People mean by them, except he knows what ſort of Life they lead. The ſame obſcurity I obſerve in the words *Decency* and *Conveniency*, and I never underſtand them unleſs I am acquainted with the Quality of the Perſons that make uſe of them. People may go to Church together, and be all of one Mind as much as they pleaſe, I am apt to believe that when they pray for their daily Bread, the Biſhop includes ſeveral things in that Petition which the Sexton does not think on.

By what I have ſaid hitherto I would only ſhew, that if once we depart from calling every thing Luxury that is not abſolutely neceſſary to keep a Man alive, that then there is no Luxury at all; for if the wants of Men are innumerable, then what ought to ſupply them has no bounds; what is called ſuperfluous to ſome degree of People, will be thought requiſite to thoſe of higher Quality; and neither the World nor the Skill of Man can produce any thing ſo curious or extravagant, but ſome moſt Gracious Sovereign or other, if it either eaſes or diverts him, will reckon it among the Neceſſaries of Life; not meaning every Body's Life, but that of his Sacred Perſon.

It is a receiv'd Notion, that Luxury is as deſtructive to the Wealth of the whole Body Politick, as it is to that of every individual Perſon who is guilty of it,

and

and that a National Frugality enriches a Country in the ſame manner as that which is leſs general increaſes the Eſtates of private Families. I confeſs, that tho' I have found Men of much better Underſtanding than my ſelf of this Opinion, I cannot help diſſenting from them in this Point. They argue thus: We ſend, ſay they, for Example to *Turkey* of Woollen Manufacture, and other things of our own Growth, a Million's worth every Year; for this we bring back Silk, Mohair, Drugs, &c. to the value of Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds, that are all ſpent in our own Country. By this, ſay they, we get nothing; but if moſt of us would be content with our own Growth, and ſo conſume but half the quantity of thoſe Foreign Commodities, then thoſe in *Turkey*, who would ſtill want the ſame quantity of our Manufactures, would be forc'd to pay ready Money for the reſt, and ſo by the Ballance of that Trade only, the Nation ſhould get Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

To examine the force of this Argument, we'll ſuppoſe (what they would have) that but half the Silk, &c. ſhall be conſumed in *England* of what there is now; we'll ſuppoſe likewiſe, that thoſe in *Turkey*, tho' we refuſe to buy above half as much of their Commodities as we uſed to do, either can or will not be without the ſame quantity of our Manufactures they had before, and that they'll pay the Balance in Money; that is to ſay, that they ſhall give us as much Gold or Silver, as the value of what they buy from us exceeds the value of what we buy from them. Tho' what we ſuppoſe might perhaps be done for one Year, it is impoſſible it ſhould laſt: Buying is Bartering, and no Nation can buy Goods of others that has none of her own to purchaſe them with. *Spain* and *Portugal*, that are yearly ſupply'd with new Gold and Silver from their Mines, may for ever buy for ready Money as long as their yearly increaſe of Gold or Silver con-

tinues, but then Money is their Growth and the Commodity of the Country. We know that we could not continue long to purchaſe the Goods of other Nations, if they would not take our Manufactures in Payment for them; and why ſhould we judge otherwiſe of other Nations? If thoſe in *Turkey* then had no more Money fall from the Skies than we, let us ſee what would be the conſequence of what we ſuppoſed. The Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds in Silk, Mohair, &c. that are left upon their Hands the firſt Year, muſt make thoſe Commodities fall conſiderably: Of this the *Dutch* and *French* will reap the Benefit as much as our ſelves; and if we continue to refuſe taking their Commodities in Payment for our Manufactures, they can Trade no longer with us, but muſt content themſelves with buying what they want of ſuch Nations as are willing to take what we refuſe, tho' their Goods are much worſe than ours, and thus our Commerce with *Turkey* muſt in few Years be infallibly loſt.

But they'll ſay, perhaps, that to prevent the ill conſequence I have ſhew'd, we ſhall take the *Turkiſh* Merchandizes as formerly, and only be ſo frugal as to conſume but half the quantity of them our ſelves, and ſend the reſt Abroad to be ſold to others. Let us ſee what this will do, and whether it will enrich the Nation by the Balance of that Trade with Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds. In the firſt Place, I'll grant them that our People at Home making uſe of ſo much more of our own Manufactures, thoſe who were employ'd in Silk, Mohair, &c. will get a living by the various Preparations of Woollen Goods. But in the ſecond, I cannot allow that the Goods can be ſold as formerly; for ſuppoſe the Half that is wore at Home to be ſold at the ſame Rate as before, certainly the other Half that is ſent Abroad will want very much of it: For we muſt ſend thoſe Goods to Markets already ſupply'd; and beſides that there muſt be

Freight,

Freight, Inſurance, Proviſion, and all other Charges deducted, and the Merchants in general muſt loſe much more by this Half that is re-ſhipp'd, than they got by the Half that is conſumed here. For tho' the Woollen Manufactures are our own Product, yet they ſtand the Merchant that ſhips them off to Foreign Countries, in as much as they do the Shopkeeper here that retails them; ſo that if the Returns for what he ſends Abroad repay him not what his Goods coſt him here, with all other Charges, till he has the Money and a good Intereſt for it in Caſh, the Merchant muſt run out, and the Upſhot would be, that the Merchants in general finding they loſt by the *Turkiſh* Commodities they ſent Abroad, would ſhip no more of our Manufactures than what would pay for as much Silk, Mohair, &c. as would be conſumed here. Other Nations would ſoon find Ways to ſupply them with as much as we ſhould ſend ſhort, and ſome where or other to diſpoſe of the Goods we ſhould refuſe: So that all we ſhould get by this Frugality would be, that thoſe in *Turkey* would take but half the Quantity of our Manufactures of what they do now, whilſt we encourage and wear their Merchandizes, without which they are not able to purchaſe ours.

As I have had the Mortification for ſeveral Years to meet with Abundance of ſenſible People againſt this Opinion, and who always thought me wrong in this Calculation, ſo I had the Pleaſure at laſt to ſee the Wiſdom of the Nation fall into the ſame Sentiments, as is ſo manifeſt from an Act of Parliament made in the Year 1721, where the Legiſlature diſobliges a powerful and valuable Company, and overlooks very weighty Inconveniencies at Home, to promote the Intereſt of the *Turkey* Trade, and not only encourages the Conſumption of Silk and Mohair, but forces the Subjects on Penalties to make uſe of them whether they will or not.

What is laid to the Charge of Luxury beſides, is, that it encreaſes Avarice and Rapine: And where they are reigning Vices, Offices of the greateſt Truſt are bought and ſold; the Miniſters that ſhould ſerve the Publick, both Great and Small, corrupted, and the Countries every Moment in danger of being betray'd to the higheſt Bidders: And laſtly, that it effeminates and enervates the People, by which the Nations become an eaſy Prey to the firſt Invaders. Theſe are indeed terrible Things; but what is put to the Account of Luxury belongs to Male-Adminiſtration, and is the Fault of bad Politicks. Every Government ought to be thoroughly acquainted with, and ſtedfaſtly to purſue the Intereſt of the Country. Good Politicians by dextrous Management, laying heavy Impoſitions on ſome Goods, or totally prohibiting them, and lowering the Duties on others, may always turn and divert the Courſe of Trade which way they pleaſe; and as they'll ever prefer, if it be equally conſiderable, the Commerce with ſuch Countries as can pay with Money as well as Goods, to thoſe that can make no Returns for what they buy, but in the Commodities of their own Growth and Manufactures, ſo they will always carefully prevent the Traffick with ſuch Nations as refuſe the Goods of others, and will take nothing but Money for their own. But above all, they'll keep a watchful Eye over the Ballance of Trade in general, and never ſuffer that all the Foreign Commodities together, that are imported in one Year, ſhall exceed in Value what of their own Growth or Manufacture is in the ſame exported to others. Note, that I ſpeak now of the Intereſt of thoſe Nations that have no Gold or Silver of their own Growth, otherwiſe this Maxim need not to be ſo much inſiſted on.

If what I urg'd laſt be but diligently look'd after, and the Imports are never allow'd to be ſuperior to the Exports, no Nation can ever be impoveriſh'd by

by Foreign Luxury; and they may improve it as much as they pleaſe, if they can but in proportion raiſe the Fund of their own that is to purchaſe it.

Trade is the Principal, but not the only Requiſite to aggrandize a Nation: There are other Things to be taken care of beſides. The *Meum* and *Tuum* muſt be ſecur'd, Crimes puniſh'd, and all other Laws concerning the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, wiſely contriv'd, and ſtrictly executed. Foreign Affairs muſt be likewiſe prudently manag'd, and the Miniſtry of every Nation ought to have a good Intelligence Abroad, and be well acquainted with the Publick Tranſactions of all thoſe Countries, that either by their Neighbourhood, Strength or Intereſt, may be hurtful or beneficial to them, to take the neceſſary Meaſures accordingly, of croſſing ſome and aſſiſting others, as Policy and the Ballance of Power direct. The Multitude muſt be aw'd, no Man's Conſcience forc'd, and the Clergy allow'd no greater Share in State Affairs than our Saviour has bequeathed them in his Teſtament. Theſe are the Arts that lead to worldly Greatneſs; what Sovereign Power ſoever makes a good Uſe of them, that has any conſiderable Nation to govern, whether it be a Monarchy, a Commonwealth, or a Mixture of both, can never fail of making it flouriſh in ſpight of all the other Powers upon Earth, and no Luxury or other Vice is ever able to ſhake their Conſtitution.——But here I expect a full-mouth'd Cry againſt me; What! has God never puniſh'd and deſtroy'd great Nations for their Sins? Yes, but not without Means, by infatuating their Governors, and ſuffering them to depart from either all or ſome of thoſe general Maxims I have mentioned; and of all the famous States and Empires the World has had to boaſt of hitherto, none ever came to Ruin whoſe Deſtruction was not principally owing to the bad Politicks, Neglects, or Miſmanagements of the Rulers.

There is no doubt but more Health and Vigour is to be expected among a People, and their Offſpring, from Temperance and Sobriety, than there is from Gluttony and Drunkenneſs; yet I confeſs, that as to Luxury's effeminating and enervating a Nation, I have not ſuch frightful Notions now as I have had formerly. When we hear or read of Things which we are altogether Strangers to, they commonly bring to our Imagination ſuch Ideas of what we have ſeen, as (according to our Apprehenſion) muſt come the neareſt to them: And I remember, that when I have read of the Luxury of *Perſia*, *Egypt*, and other Countries where it has been a reigning Vice, and that were effeminated and enervated by it, it has ſometimes put me in Mind of the cramming and ſwilling of ordinary Tradeſmen at a City Feaſt, and the Beaſtlineſs, their over-gorging themſelves is often attended with; at other Times it has made me think on the Diſtraction of diſſolute Sailors, as I had ſeen them in Company of half a dozen lewd Women roaring along with Fiddles before them; and was I to have been carried into any of their great Cities, I would have expected to have found one Third of the People ſick a-bed with Surfeits; another laid up with the Gout, or crippled by a more ignominious Diſtemper; and the reſt, that could go without leading, walk along the Streets in Petticoats.

It is happy for us to have Fear for a Keeper, as long as our Reaſon is not ſtrong enough to govern our Appetites: And I believe that the great Dread I had more particularly againſt the Word, *to enervate*, and ſome conſequent Thoughts on the Etymology of it, did me Abundance of Good when I was a School-boy: But ſince I have ſeen ſomething of the World, the Conſequences of Luxury to a Nation ſeem not ſo dreadful to me as they did. As long as Men have the ſame Appetites, the ſame Vices will remain. In all large Societies, ſome will love

love Whoring and others Drinking. The Luſtful that can get no handſome clean Women, will content themſelves with dirty Drabs; and thoſe that cannot purchaſe true *Hermitage* or *Pontack*, will be glad of more ordinary *French* Claret. Thoſe that can't reach Wine, take up with worſe Liquors, and a Foot Soldier or a Beggar may make himſelf as drunk with Stale-Beer or Malt-Spirits, as a Lord with *Burgundy*, *Champaign* or *Tockay*. The cheapeſt and moſt ſlovenly way of indulging our Paſſions, does as much Miſchief to a Man's Conſtitution, as the moſt elegant and expenſive.

The greateſt Exceſſes of Luxury are ſhewn in Buildings, Furniture, Equipages and Cloaths: Clean Linnen weakens a Man no more than Flannel; Tapiſtry, fine Painting or good Wainſcot are no more unwholeſome than bare Walls; and a rich Couch, or a gilt Chariot are no more enervating than the cold Floor or a Country Cart. The refin'd Pleaſures of Men of Senſe are ſeldom injurious to their Conſtitution, and there are many great Epicures that will refuſe to eat or drink more than their Heads or Stomachs can bear. Senſual People may take as great Care of themſelves as any; and the Errors of the moſt viciouſly luxurious, don't ſo much conſiſt in the frequent Repetitions of their Lewdneſs, and their Eating and Drinking too much, (which are the Things which would moſt enervate them) as they do in the operoſe Contrivances, the Profuſeneſs and Nicety they are ſerv'd with, and the vaſt Expence they are at in their Tables and Amours.

But let us once ſuppoſe that the Eaſe and Pleaſures the Grandees and the rich People of every great Nation live in, render them unfit to endure Hardſhips, and undergo the Toils of War. I'll allow that moſt of the Common Council of the City would make but very indifferent Foot Soldiers; and I believe heartily, that if your Horſe was to be

compos'd of Aldermen, and ſuch as moſt of them are, a ſmall Artillery of Squibs would be ſufficient to rout them. But what have the Aldermen, the Common-Council, or indeed all People of any Subſtance to do with the War, but to pay Taxes? The Hardſhips and Fatigues of War that are perſonally ſuffer'd, fall upon them that bear the Brunt of every Thing, the meaneſt indigent Part of the Nation, the working ſlaving People: For how exceſſive ſoever the Plenty and Luxury of a Nation may be, ſome Body muſt do the Work, Houſes and Ships muſt be built, Merchandizes muſt be remov'd, and the Ground till'd. Such a Variety of Labours in every great Nation require a vaſt Multitude, in which there are always looſe, idle, extravagant Fellows enough to ſpare for an Army; and thoſe that are robuſt enough to Hedge and Ditch, Plow and Thraſh, or elſe not too much enervated to be Smiths, Carpenters, Sawyers, Clothworkers, Porters or Carmen, will always be ſtrong and hardy enough in a Campaign or two to make good Soldiers, who, where good Orders are kept, have ſeldom ſo much Plenty and Superfluity come to their Share as to do them any hurt.

The Miſchief then to be fear'd from Luxury among the People of War, cannot extend it ſelf beyond the Officers. The greateſt of them are either Men of a very high Birth and Princely Education, or elſe extraordinary Parts, and no leſs Experience; and whoever is made choice of by a wiſe Government to command an Army *en chef*, ſhould have a conſummate Knowledge in Martial Affairs, Intrepidity to keep him calm in the midſt of Danger, and many other Qualifications that muſt be the work of Time and Application, on Men of a quick Penetration, a diſtinguiſh'd Genius, and a world of Honour. Strong Sinews and ſupple Joints are trifling Advantages not regarded in Perſons of their Reach and Grandeur, that can deſtroy Cities a-

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bed, and ruin whole Countries whilſt they are at Dinner. As they are moſt commonly Men of great Age, it would be ridiculous to expect a hail Conſtitution and Agility of Limbs from them: So their Heads be but Active and well furniſhed, 'tis no great Matter what the reſt of their Bodies are. If they cannot bear the Fatigue of being on Horſeback, they may ride in Coaches, or be carried in Litters. Men's Conduct and Sagacity are never the leſs for their being Cripples, and the beſt General the King of *France* has now, can hardly crawl along. Thoſe that are immediately under the chief Commanders muſt be very nigh of the ſame Abilities, and are generally Men that have rais'd themſelves to thoſe Poſts by their Merit. The other Officers are all of them in their ſeveral Stations oblig'd to lay out ſo large a ſhare of their Pay in fine Cloaths, Accoutrements, and other Things by the Luxury of the Times call'd Neceſſary, that they can ſpare but little Money for Debauches; for as they are advanced and their Salleries rais'd, ſo they are likewiſe forc'd to encreaſe their Expences and their Equipages, which as well as every thing elſe, muſt ſtill be proportionable to their Quality: By which means the greateſt part of them are in a manner hindred from thoſe Exceſſes that might be deſtructive to Health; whilſt their Luxury thus turn'd another way ſerves moreover to heighten their Pride and Vanity, the greateſt Motives to make them behave themſelves like what they would be thought to be. (*See Remark (R.)*

There is nothing refines Mankind more than Love and Honour. Thoſe two Paſſions are equivalent to many Virtues, and therefore the greateſt Schools of Breeding and good Manners are Courts and Armies; the firſt to accompliſh the Women, the other to poliſh the Men. What the generality of Officers among civiliz'd Nations affect is a perfect knowledge of the World and the Rules of Honour;

nour; an Air of Frankneſs, and Humanity peculiar to Military Men of Experience, and ſuch a mixture of Modeſty and Undauntedneſs, as may beſpeak them both Courteous and Valiant. Where good Senſe is faſhionable, and a genteel Behaviour is in eſteem, Gluttony and Drunkenneſs can be no reigning Vices. What Officers of Diſtinction chiefly aim at, is not a Beaſtly, but a ſplendid way of Living, and the Wiſhes of the moſt Luxurious in their ſeveral degrees of Quality, are to appear handſomely, and excel each other in Finery of Equipage, Politeneſs of Entertainments, and the Reputation of a judicious Fancy in every thing about them.

But if there ſhould be more diſſolute Reprobates among Officers than there are among Men of other Profeſſions, which is not true, yet the moſt debauch'd of them may be very ſerviceable, if they have but a great Share of Honour. It is this that covers and makes up for a multitude of Defects in them, and it is this that none (how abandon'd ſoever they are to Pleaſure) dare pretend to be without. But as there is no Argument ſo convincing as Matter of Fact, let us look back on what ſo lately happen'd in our two laſt Wars with *France*. How many puny young Striplings have we had in our Armies, tenderly Educated, nice in their Dreſs, and curious in their Dyet, that underwent all manner of Duties with Gallantry and Chearfulneſs?

Thoſe that have ſuch diſmal Apprehenſions of Luxury's enervating and effeminating People, might in *Flanders* and *Spain* have ſeen embroider'd Beaux with fine lac'd Shirts and powder'd Wigs ſtand as much Fire, and lead up to the Mouth of a Cannon, with as little Concern as it was poſſible for the moſt ſtinking Slovens to have done in their own Hair, tho' it had not been comb'd in a Month; and met with abundance of wild Rakes, who had actually impar'd their Healths, and broke their Conſtitutions

ſtitutions with Exceſſes of Wine and Women, that yet behav'd themſelves with Conduct and Bravery againſt their Enemies. Robuſtneſs is the leaſt Thing requir'd in an Officer, and if ſometimes Strength is of uſe, a firm Reſolution of Mind, which the Hopes of Preferment, Emulation, and the Love of Glory inſpire them with, will at a Puſh ſupply the Place of bodily Force.

Thoſe that underſtand their Buſineſs, and have a ſufficient Senſe of Honour, as ſoon as they are uſed to Danger will always be capable Officers: And their Luxury, as long as they ſpend no Body's Money but their own, will never be prejudicial to a Nation.

By all which I think I have proved what I deſign'd in this Remark on Luxury. Firſt, That in one Senſe every Thing may be call'd ſo, and in another there is no ſuch Thing. Secondly, That with a wiſe Adminiſtration all People may ſwim in as much Foreign Luxury as their Product can purchaſe, without being impoveriſh'd by it. And Laſtly, That where Military Affairs are taken care of as they ought, and the Soldiers well paid and kept in good Diſcipline, a wealthy Nation may live in all the Eaſe and Plenty imaginable; and in many Parts of it, ſhew as much Pomp and Delicacy, as Human Wit can invent, and at the ſame Time be formidable to their Neighbours, and come up to the Character of the Bees in the Fable, of which I ſaid, That

Flatter'd in Peace, and fear'd in Wars,
They were th' Eſteem of Foreigners,
And laviſh of their Wealth and Lives,
The Ballance of all other Hives.

(See what is farther ſaid concerning Luxury in the *Remarks* (*M.*) and (*Q.*)

(*M.*) *And odious Pride a Million more.*

Page 6. Line 10.

PRIDE is that Natural Faculty by which every Mortal that has any Underſtanding overvalues, and imagines better Things of himſelf than any impartial Judge, thoroughly acquainted with all his Qualities and Circumſtances, could allow him. We are poſſeſs'd of no other Quality ſo beneficial to Society, and ſo neceſſary to render it wealthy and flouriſhing as this, yet it is that which is moſt generally deteſted. What is very peculiar to this Faculty of ours, is, that thoſe who are the fulleſt of it, are the leaſt willing to connive at it in others; whereas the Heinouſneſs of other Vices is the moſt extenuated by thoſe who are guilty of 'em themſelves. The Chaſte Man hates Fornication, and Drunkenneſs is moſt abhorr'd by the Temperate; but none are ſo much offended at their Neighbour's Pride, as the proudeſt of all; and if any one can pardon it, it is the moſt Humble: From which I think we may juſtly infer, that it being odious to all the World, is a certain Sign that all the World is troubled with it. This all Men of Senſe are ready to confeſs, and no Body denies but that he has Pride in general. But, if you come to Particulars, you'll meet with few that will own any Action you can name of theirs to have proceeded from that Principle. There are likewiſe many who will allow that among the ſinful Nations of the Times, Pride and Luxury are the great Promoters of Trade, but they refuſe to own the Neceſſity there is, that in a more virtuous Age, (ſuch a one as ſhould be free from Pride) Trade would in a great Meaſure decay.

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The Almighty, they ſay, has endow'd us with the Dominion over all Things which the Earth and Sea produce or contain; there is nothing to be found in either, but what was made for the Uſe of Man; and his Skill and Induſtry above other Animals were given him, that he might render both them and every Thing elſe within the Reach of his Senſes, more ſerviceable to him. Upon this Conſideration they think it impious to imagine, that Humility, Temperance, and other Virtues, ſhould debar People from the Enjoyment of thoſe Comforts of Life, which are not denied to the moſt wicked Nations; and ſo conclude, that without Pride or Luxury, the ſame Things might be eat, wore and conſumed; the ſame Number of Handicrafts and Artificers employ'd, and a Nation be every way as flouriſhing as where thoſe Vices are the moſt predominant.

As to wearing Apparel in particular, they'll tell you, that Pride, which ſticks much nearer to us than our Cloaths, is only lodg'd in the Heart, and that Rags often conceal a greater Portion of it than the moſt pompous Attire; and that as it cannot be denied but that there have always been virtuous Princes, who with humble Hearts have wore their ſplendid Diadems, and ſway'd their envied Scepters, void of Ambition, for the Good of others; ſo it is very probable, that Silver and Gold Brocades, and the richeſt Embroideries, may, without a Thought of Pride, be wore by many whoſe Quality and Fortune are ſuitable to them. May not (ſay they) a good Man of extraordinary Revenues, make every Year a greater Variety of Suits than it is poſſible he ſhou'd wear out, and yet have no other Ends than to ſet the Poor at Work, to encourage Trade, and by employing many, to promote the Welfare of his Country? And conſidering Food and Rayment to be Neceſſaries, and the two chief Articles to which all our worldly Cares are extend-

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ed, why may not all Mankind ſet aſide a conſiderable Part of their Income for the one as well as the other, without the leaſt Tincture of Pride? Nay, is not every Member of the Society in a manner obliged, according to his Ability, to contribute toward the Maintenance of that Branch of Trade on which the Whole has ſo great a Dependance? Beſides that, to appear decently is a Civility, and often a Duty, which, without any Regard to our ſelves, we owe to thoſe we converſe with.

Theſe are the Objections generally made uſe of by haughty Moraliſts, who cannot endure to hear the Dignity of their Species arraign'd; but if we look narrowly into them they may ſoon be anſwer'd.

If we had no Vices, I cannot ſee why any Man ſhould ever make more Suits than he has occaſion for, tho' he was never ſo deſirous of promoting the Good of the Nation: For tho' in the wearing of a well-wrought Silk, rather than a ſlight Stuff, and the preferring curious fine Cloth to courſe, he had no other View but the ſetting of more People to work, and conſequently the Publick Welfare, yet he could conſider Cloaths no otherwiſe than Lovers of their Country do Taxes now; they may pay 'em with Alacrity, but no Body gives more than his due; eſpecially where all are juſtly rated according to their Abilities, as it could no otherwiſe be expected in a very Virtuous Age. Beſides that in ſuch Golden Times no body would dreſs above his Condition, no body pinch his Family, cheat or over-reach his Neighbour to purchaſe Finery, and conſequently there would not be half the Conſumption, nor a third part of the People employ'd as now there are. But to make this more plain and demonſtrate, that for the Support of Trade there can be nothing equivalent to Pride, I ſhall examine the ſeveral views Men have in outward Apparel, and ſet forth what daily Experience may teach every body as to Dreſs.

Cloaths

Cloaths were originally made for two Ends, to hide our Nakedneſs, and to fence our Bodies againſt the Weather, and other outward Injuries: To theſe our boundleſs Pride has added a third, which is Ornament; for what elſe but an exceſs of ſtupid Vanity, could have prevail'd upon our Reaſon to fancy that Ornamental, which muſt continually put us in mind of our Wants and Miſery, beyond all other Animals that are ready cloathed by Nature herſelf? It is indeed to be admired how ſo ſenſible a Creature as Man, that pretends to ſo many fine Qualities of his own, ſhould condeſcend to value himſelf upon what is robb'd from ſo innocent and defenceleſs an Animal as a Sheep, or what he is beholden for to the moſt inſignificant thing upon Earth, a dying Worm; yet whilſt he is Proud of ſuch trifling Depredations, he has the folly to laugh at the *Hottentos* on the furtheſt Promontory of *Africk*, who adorn themſelves with the Guts of their dead Enemies, without conſidering that they are the Enſigns of their Valour thoſe Barbarians are fine with, the true *Spolia opima*, and that if their Pride be more Savage than ours, it is certainly leſs ridiculous, becauſe they wear the Spoils of the more noble Animal.

But whatever Reflections may be made on this head, the World has long ſince decided the Matter; handſome Apparel is a main Point, fine Feathers make fine Birds, and People where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Cloaths and other Accoutrements they have about them; from the Richneſs of them we judge of their Wealth, and by their ordering of them we gueſs at their Underſtanding. It is this which encourages every body, who is conſcious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able, to wear Cloaths above his Rank, eſpecially in large and populous Cities, where obſcure Men may hourly meet with fifty Strangers to one Acquaintance, and conſequently

quently have the Pleaſure of being eſteem'd by a vaſt Majority, not as what they are, but what they appear to be; which is a greater Temptation than moſt People want to be Vain.

Whoever takes delight in viewing the various Scenes of low Life, may on *Eaſter*, *Whitſun*, and other great Holidays, meet with Scores of People, eſpecially Women, of almoſt the loweſt Rank, that wear good and faſhionable Cloaths: If coming to talk with them, you treat them more courteouſly and with greater Reſpect than what they are conſcious they deſerve, they'll commonly be aſhamed of owning what they are; and often you may, if you are a little Inquiſitive, diſcover in them a moſt anxious Care to conceal the Buſineſs they follow, and the Places they live in. The Reaſon is plain; whilſt they receive thoſe Civilities that are not uſually paid them, and which they think only due to their Betters, they have the Satisfaction to imagine, that they appear what they would be, which to weak Minds is a Pleaſure almoſt as ſubſtantial as they could reap from the very Accompliſhments of their Wiſhes: This Golden Dream they are unwilling to be diſturbed in, and being ſure that the meanneſs of their Condition, if it is known, muſt ſink 'em very low in your Opinion, they hug themſelves in their diſguiſe, and take all imaginable Precaution not to forfeit by a uſeleſs diſcovery the Eſteem which they flatter themſelves that their good Cloaths have drawn from you.

Tho' every body allows, that as to Apparel and manner of living, we ought to behave our ſelves ſuitable to our Conditions, and follow the Examples of the moſt ſenſible and prudent among our Equals in Rank and Fortune: Yet how few, that are not either miſerably Covetous, or elſe Proud of Singularity, have this Diſcretion to boaſt of? We all look above our ſelves, and, as faſt as we can, ſtrive to imitate thoſe, that ſome way or other are ſuperior to us. The

The pooreſt Labourer's Wife in the Pariſh, who ſcorns to wear a ſtrong wholeſome Frize, as ſhe might, will half ſtarve her ſelf and her Husband to purchaſe a ſecond-hand Gown and Petticoat, that cannot do her half the Service; becauſe, forſooth, it is more genteel. The Weaver, the Shoemaker, the Taylor, the Barber, and every mean working Fellow, that can ſet up with little, has the Impudence with the firſt Money he gets, to dreſs himſelf like a Tradeſman of Subſtance: The ordinary Retailer in the cloathing of his Wife, takes Pattern from his Neighbour, that deals in the ſame Commodity by Wholeſale, and the Reaſon he gives for it is, that Twelve Years ago the other had not a bigger Shop than himſelf. The Druggiſt, Mercer, Draper, and other creditable Shopkeepers can find no difference between themſelves and Merchants, and therefore dreſs and live like them. The Merchant's Lady, who cannot bear the Aſſurance of thoſe Mechanicks, flies for refuge to the other End of the Town, and ſcorns to follow any Faſhion but what ſhe takes from thence. This Haughtineſs alarms the Court, the Women of Quality are frighten'd to ſee Merchants Wives and Daughters dreſs'd like themſelves; this Impudence of the City, they cry, is intolerable; Mantua-makers are ſent for, and the contrivance of Faſhions becomes all their Study, that they may have always new Modes ready to take up, as ſoon as thoſe ſawcy Cits ſhall begin to imitate thoſe in being. The ſame Emulation is continued through the ſeveral degrees of Quality to an incredible Expence, till at laſt the Prince's great Favourites and thoſe of the firſt Rank of all, having nothing elſe left to outſtrip ſome of their Inferiors, are forc'd to lay out vaſt Eſtates in pompous Equipages, magnificent Furniture, ſumptuous Gardens and princely Palaces.

To this Emulation and continual ſtriving to outdo one another it is owing, that after ſo many various

rious Shiftings and Changings of Modes, in trumping up new ones and renewing of old ones, there is ſtill a *plus ultra* left for the Ingenious; it is this, or at leaſt the conſequence of it, that ſets the Poor to Work, adds Spurs to Induſtry, and encourages the ſkilful Artificer to ſearch after further Improvements.

It may be objected, that many People of good Faſhion, who have been us'd to be well Dreſs'd, out of Cuſtom wear rich Cloaths with all the indifferency imaginable, and that the benefit to Trade accruing from them cannot be aſcribed to Emulation or Pride. To this I anſwer, that it is impoſſible, that thoſe who trouble their Heads ſo little with their Dreſs, could ever have wore thoſe rich Cloaths, if both the Stuffs and Faſhions had not been firſt invented to gratify the Vanity of others, who took greater delight in fine Apparel, than they; Beſides that every Body is not without Pride that appears to be ſo; all the ſymptoms of that Vice are not eaſily diſcover'd; they are manifold, and vary according to the Age, Humour, Circumſtances, and often Conſtitution, of the People.

The cholerick City Captain ſeems impatient to come to Action, and expreſſing his Warlike Genius by the firmneſs of his Steps, makes his Pike, for want of Enemies, tremble at the Valour of his Arm: His Martial Finery, as he Marches along, inſpires him with an unuſual Elevation of Mind, by which endeavouring to forget his Shop as well as himſelf, he looks up at the Balconies with the fierceneſs of a *Sarazen* Conqueror: Whilſt the phlegmatick Alderman, now become venerable both for his Age and his Authority, contents himſelf with being thought a conſiderable Man; and knowing no eaſier way to expreſs his Vanity, looks big in his Coach, where being known by his paultry Livery, he receives, in ſullen State, the Homage that is paid him by the meaner ſort of People.

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The beardleſs Enſign counterfeits a Gravity above his Years, and with ridiculous Aſſurance ſtrives to imitate the ſtern Countenance of his Colonel, flattering himſelf all the while that by his daring Mein you'll judge of his Proweſs. The youthful Fair, in a vaſt concern of being overlook'd, by the continual changing of her Poſture betrays a violent deſire of being obſerv'd, and catching, as it were, at every Body's Eyes courts with obliging Looks the admiration of her Beholders. The conceited Coxcomb, on the contrary, diſplaying an Air of Sufficiency, is wholly taken up with the Contemplation of his own Perfections, and in publick Places diſcovers ſuch a diſregard to others, that the Ignorant muſt imagine, he thinks himſelf to be alone.

Theſe and ſuch like are all manifeſt tho' different Tokens of Pride, that are obvious to all the World; but Man's Vanity is not always ſo ſoon found out. When we perceive an Air of Humanity, and Men ſeem not to be employed in admiring themſelves, nor altogether unmindful of others, we are apt to pronounce 'em void of Pride, when perhaps they are only fatigu'd with gratifying their Vanity, and become languid from a ſatiety of Enjoyments. That outward ſhow of Peace within, and drowſy compoſure of careleſs Negligence, with which a Great Man is often ſeen in his plain Chariot to loll at eaſe, are not always ſo free from Art, as they may ſeem to be. *Nothing is more raviſhing to the Proud than to be thought happy.*

The well-bred Gentleman places his greateſt Pride in the Skill he has of covering it with Dexterity, and ſome are ſo expert in concealing this Frailty, that when they are the moſt guilty of it, the Vulgar think them the moſt exempt from it. Thus the diſſembling Courtier, when he appears in State, aſſumes an Air of Modeſty and good Humour; and whilſt he is ready to burſt with Vanity, ſeems

ſeems to be wholly ignorant of his Greatneſs; well knowing, that thoſe lovely Qualities muſt heighten him in the Eſteem of others, and be an addition to that Grandeur, which the Coronets about his Coach and Harneſſes, with the reſt of his Equipage, cannot fail to proclaim without his Aſſiſtance.

And as in theſe, Pride is overlook'd, becauſe induſtriouſly conceal'd, ſo in others again it is denied that they have any, when they ſhew (or at leaſt ſeem to ſhew) it in the moſt publick manner. The wealthy Parſon being, as well as the reſt of his Profeſſion, debarr'd from the Gaiety of Laymen, makes it his Buſineſs to look out for an admirable Black and the fineſt Cloth that Money can purchaſe, and diſtinguiſhes himſelf by the fulneſs of his noble and ſpotleſs Garment; his Wigs are as faſhionable as that Form he is forced to comply with will admit of; but as he is only ſtinted in their ſhape, ſo he takes care that for goodneſs of Hair, and Colour, few Noblemen ſhall be able to match 'em; his Body is ever clean, as well as his Cloaths, his ſleek Face is kept conſtantly ſhav'd, and his handſome Nails are diligently pared; his ſmooth white Hand and a Brilliant of the firſt Water, mutually becoming, honour each other with double graces; what Linnen he diſcovers is tranſparently curious, and he ſcorns ever to be ſeen abroad with a worſe Beaver than what a rich Banker would be proud of on his Wedding-Day; to all theſe Niceties in Dreſs he adds a Majeſtick Gate, and expreſſes a commanding loftineſs in his Carriage; yet common Civility, notwithſtanding the evidence of ſo many concurring Symptoms, won't allow us to ſuſpect any of his Actions to be the reſult of Pride; conſidering the Dignity of his Office, it is only Decency in him what would be Vanity in others; and in good Manners to his Calling we ought to believe, that the worthy Gentleman, without any regard to

his

his reverend Perſon, puts himſelf to all this trouble and expence merely out of a reſpect which is due to the Divine Order he belongs to, and a Religious Zeal to preſerve his Holy Function from the Contempt of Scoffers. With all my Heart; nothing of all this ſhall be call'd Pride, let me only be allow'd to ſay, that to our Human Capacities it looks very like it.

But if at laſt I ſhould grant, that there are Men who enjoy all the Fineries of Equipage and Furniture as well as Cloaths, and yet have no Pride in them; it is certain, that if all ſhould be ſuch, that Emulation I ſpoke of before muſt ceaſe, and conſequently Trade, which has ſo great a dependance upon it, ſuffer in every branch. For to ſay, that if all Men were truly Virtuous, they might, without any regard to themſelves, conſume as much out of Zeal to ſerve their Neighbours and promote the Publick Good, as they do now out of Self-Love and Emulation, is a miſerable ſhift and an unreaſonable ſuppoſition. As there have been good People in all Ages, ſo, without doubt, we are not deſtitute of them in this; but let us enquire of the Perriwig-makers and Taylors, in what Gentlemen, even of the greateſt Wealth and higheſt Quality, they ever could diſcover ſuch publick-ſpirited Views. Aſk the Lacemen, the Mercers, and the Linnen-Drapers, whether the richeſt, and if you will, the moſt virtuous Ladies, if they buy with ready Money, or intend to pay in any reaſonable Time, will not drive from Shop to Shop, to try the Market, make as many Words, and ſtand as hard with them to ſave a Groat or Six-pence in a Yard, as the moſt neceſſitous Jilts in Town. If it be urg'd, that if there are not, it is poſſible there might be ſuch People; I anſwer that it is as poſſible that Cats, inſtead of killing Rats and Mice, ſhould feed them, and go about the Houſe to ſuckle and nurſe their young ones; or that a Kite

ſhould

ſhould call the Hens to their Meat, as the Cock does, and ſit brooding over their Chickens inſtead of devouring 'em; but if they ſhould all do ſo, they would ceaſe to be Cats and Kites; it is inconſiſtent with their Natures, and the Species of Creatures which now we mean, when we name Cats and Kites, would be extinct as ſoon as that could come to paſs.

(N.) *Envy it ſelf, and Vanity,*
Were Miniſters of Induſtry.

Page 6. Line 11.

ENVY is that Baſeneſs in our Nature, which makes us grieve and pine at what we conceive to be a Happineſs in others. I don't believe there is a Human Creature in his Senſes arrived to Maturity, that at one time or other has not been carried away by this Paſſion in good Earneſt; and yet I never met with any one that dar'd own he was guilty of it, but in Jeſt. That we are ſo generally aſhamed of this Vice, is owing to that ſtrong Habit of Hypocriſy, by the help of which, we have learned from our Cradle to hide even from our ſelves the vaſt Extent of Self-Love, and all its different Branches. It is impoſſible Man ſhould wiſh better for another than he does for himſelf, unleſs where he ſuppoſes an Impoſſibility that himſelf ſhould attain to thoſe Wiſhes; and from hence we may eaſily learn after what manner this Paſſion is raiſed in us. In order to it, we are to conſider First, That as well as we think of our ſelves, ſo ill we often think of our Neighbour with equal Injuſtice; and when we apprehend, that others do or will enjoy what we think they don't deſerve, it afflicts and makes us angry with the Cauſe of that Diſturbance.

bance. Secondly, That we are ever employ'd in wiſhing well for our ſelves, every one according to his Judgment and Inclinations, and when we obſerve ſomething we like, and yet are deſtitute of, in the Poſſeſſion of others; it occaſions firſt Sorrow in us for not having the Thing we like. This Sorrow is incurable, whilſt we continue our Eſteem for the Thing we want: But as Self-Defence is reſtleſs, and never ſuffers us to leave any Means untried how to remove Evil from us, as far and as well as we are able; Experience teaches us, that nothing in Nature more alleviates this Sorrow than our Anger againſt thoſe who are poſſeſs'd of what we eſteem and want. This latter Paſſion therefore, we cheriſh and cultivate to ſave or relieve our ſelves, at leaſt in part, from the Uneaſineſs we felt from the firſt.

Envy then is a Compound of Grief and Anger; the Degrees of this Paſſion depend chiefly on the Nearneſs or Remoteneſs of the Objects as to Circumſtances. If one, who is forc'd to walk on Foot envies a great Man for keeping a Coach and Six, it will never be with that Violence, or give him that Diſturbance which it may to a Man, who keeps a Coach himſelf; but can only afford to drive with four Horſes. The Symptoms of Envy are as various, and as hard to deſcribe, as thoſe of the Plague; at ſome time it appears in one Shape, at others in another quite different. Among the Fair the Diſeaſe is very common, and the Signs of it very conſpicuous in their Opinions and Cenſures of one another. In beautiful young Women you may often diſcover this Faculty to a high Degree; they frequently will hate one another mortally at firſt Sight, from no other Principle than Envy; and you may read this Scorn, and unreaſonable Averſion in their very Countenances, if they have not a great deal of Art, and well learn'd to diſſemble.

In

In the rude and unpoliſh'd Multitude this Paſſion is very barefac'd; eſpecially when they envy others for the Goods of Fortune: They rail at their Betters, rip up their Faults, and take Pains to miſconſtrue their moſt commendable Actions: They murmur at Providence, and loudly complain, that the good Things of this World are chiefly enjoy'd by thoſe who do not deſerve them. The groſſer Sort of them it often affects ſo violently, that if they were not with-held by the Fear of the Laws, they would go directly and beat thoſe their Envy is levell'd at, from no other Provocation than what that Paſſion ſuggeſts to them.

The Men of Letters labouring under this Diſtemper diſcover quite different Symproms. When they envy a Perſon for his Parts and Erudition, their chief Care is induſtriouſly to conceal their Frailty, which generally is attempted by denying and depreciating the good Qualities they envy: They carefully peruſe his Works, and are diſpleas'd at every fine Paſſage they meet with; they look for nothing but his Errors, and wiſh for no greater Feaſt than a groſs Miſtake: In their Cenſures they are captious as well as ſevere, make Mountains of Mole-hills, and will not pardon the leaſt Shadow of a Fault, but exaggerate the moſt trifling Omiſſion into a Capital Blunder.

Envy is viſible in Brute Beaſts; Horſes ſhew it in their Endeavours of out-ſtripping one another; and the beſt ſpirited will run themſelves to Death before they'll ſuffer another before them. In Dogs this Paſſion is likewiſe plainly to be ſeen, thoſe who are uſed to be careſs'd will never tamely bear that Felicity in others. I have ſeen a Lap-Dog that would choak himſelf with Victuals rather than leave any thing for a Competitor of his own Kind; and we may often obſerve the ſame Behaviour in thoſe Creatures which we daily ſee in Infants that are froward, and by being over-fondled made humourſome.

mourſome. If out of Caprice they at any time refuſe to eat what they have aſk'd for, and we can but make them believe that ſome Body elſe, nay, even the Cat or the Dog is going to take it from them, they will make an end of their Oughts with Pleaſure, and feed even againſt their Appetite.

If Envy was not rivetted in Human Nature, it would not be ſo common in Children, and Youth would not be ſo generally ſpurr'd on by Emulation. Thoſe who would derive every Thing that is beneficial to the Society from a good Principle, aſcribe the Effects of Emulation in School-boys to a Virtue of the Mind; as it requires Labour and Pains, ſo it is evident, that they commit a Self-Denial, who act from that Diſpoſition; but if we look narrowly into it, we ſhall find that this Sacrifice of Eaſe and Pleaſure is only made to Envy, and the Love of Glory. If there was not ſomething very like this Paſſion mix'd with that pretended Virtue, it would be impoſſible to raiſe and increaſe it by the ſame Means that create Envy. The Boy, who receives a Reward for the Superiority of his Performance, is conſcious of the Vexation it would have been to him, if he ſhould have fall'n ſhort of it: This Reflection makes him exert himſelf, not to be outdone by thoſe whom now he looks upon as his Inferiors, and the greater his Pride is, the more Self-denial he'll practiſe to maintain his Conqueſt. The other, who, in ſpight of the Pains he took to do well, has miſs'd of the Prize, is ſorry, and conſequently angry with him whom he muſt look upon as the Cauſe of his Grief: But to ſhew this Anger, would be ridiculous, and of no Service to him; ſo that he muſt either be contented to be leſs eſteem'd than the other Boy; or by renewing his Endeavours become a greater Proficient; and it is ten to one, but the diſintereſted, good humour'd, and peaceable Lad will chuſe the firſt, and ſo become indolent and unactive, whilſt the covetous, peeviſh,

and quarrelſome Raſcal ſhall take incredible Pains, and make himſelf a Conqueror in his Turn.

Envy, as it is very common among Painters, ſo it is of great Uſe for their Improvement: I don't mean, that little Dawbers envy great Maſters, but moſt of them are tainted with this Vice againſt thoſe immediately above them. If the Pupil of a famous Artiſt is of a bright Genius, and uncommon Application, he firſt adores his Maſter; but as his own Skill increaſes, he begins inſenſibly to envy what he admired before. To learn the Nature of this Paſſion, and that it conſiſts in what I have named, we are but to obſerve that, if a Painter by exerting himſelf comes not only to equal, but to exceed the Man he envied, his Sorrow is gone and all his Anger diſarm'd; and if he hated him before, he is now glad to be Friends with him, if the other will condeſcend to it.

Married Women, who are Guilty of this Vice, which few are not, are always endeavouring to raiſe the ſame Paſſion in their Spouſes; and where they have prevail'd, Envy and Emulation have kept more Men in Bounds, and reform'd more Ill Husbands from ſloth, from drinking and other evil Courſes, than all the Sermons that have been preach'd ſince the time of the Apoſtles.

As every Body would be happy, enjoy Pleaſure and avoid Pain if he could, ſo Self-love bids us look on every Creature that ſeems ſatisfied, as a Rival in Happineſs; and the Satisfaction we have in ſeeing that Felicity diſturb'd, without any Advantage to our ſelves but what ſprings from the Pleaſure we have in beholding it, is call'd loving miſchief for miſchiefsſake; and the Motive of which that frailty is the reſult, Malice, another Offspring derived from the ſame Original; for if there was no Envy there could be no Malice. When the Paſſions lie dormant we have no apprehenſion of them, and often People think they have not ſuch a Frailty in

their

their Nature, becauſe that Moment they are not affected with it.

A Gentleman well dreſs'd, who happens to be dirty'd all over by a Coach or a Cart, is laugh'd at, and by his Inferiors much more than his Equals, becauſe they envy him more; they know he is vex'd at it, and imagining him to be happier than themſelves, they are glad to ſee him meet with diſpleaſures in his turn: But a Young Lady, if ſhe be in a ſerious Mood, inſtead of laughing at, pities him, becauſe a clean Man is a ſight ſhe takes delight in, and there is no room for Envy. At Diſaſters, we either laugh, or pity thoſe that befall them, according to the Stock we are poſſeſs'd of either of Malice or Compaſſion. If a Man falls or hurts himſelf ſo ſlightly that it moves not the latter, we laugh, and here our Pity and Malice ſhake us alternately: Indeed, Sir, I am very ſorry for it, I beg your Pardon for laughing, I am the ſillieſt Creature in the World, then laugh again; and again, I am indeed very ſorry, and ſo on. Some are ſo Malicious they would laugh if a Man broke his Leg, and others are ſo Compaſſionate that they can heartily pity a Man for the leaſt Spot in his Cloaths; but no Body is ſo Savage that no Compaſſion can touch him, nor any Man ſo good-natur'd as never to be affected with any Malicious Pleaſure. How ſtrangely our Paſſions govern us! we envy a Man for being Rich, and then perfectly hate him: but if we come to be his Equals, we are calm, and the leaſt Condeſcention in him makes us Friends; but if we become viſibly Superior to him we can pity his Misfortunes. The Reaſon why Men of true good Senſe envy leſs than others, is becauſe they admire themſelves with leſs heſitation than Fools and ſilly People; for tho' they do not ſhew this to others, yet the Solidity of their thinking gives them an Aſſurance of their real Worth, which Men of weak underſtanding can never feel within, tho' they often counterfeit it.

The Oſtraciſm of the *Greeks* was a Sacrifice of valuable Men made to Epidemick Envy, and often applied as an infallible Remedy to cure and prevent the Miſchiefs of Popular Spleen and Rancour. A Victim of State often appeaſes the Murmurs of a whole Nation, and After-Ages frequently wonder at Barbarities of this Nature, which under the ſame Circumſtances they would have committed themſelves. They are Compliments to the Peoples Malice, which is never better gratify'd, than when they can ſee a Great Man humbled. We believe that we love Juſtice, and to ſee Merit rewarded; but if Men continue long in the firſt Poſts of Honour, half of us grow weary of them, look for their Faults, and if we can find none, we ſuppoſe they hide them, and 'tis much if the greateſt part of us don't wiſh them diſcarded. This foul play the beſt of Men ought ever to apprehend from all who are not their immediate Friends or Acquaintance, becauſe nothing is more tireſome to us than the repetition of Praiſes we have no manner of ſhare in.

The more a Paſſion is a Compound of many others, the more difficult it is to define it; and the more it is tormenting to thoſe that labour under it, the greater Cruelty it is capable of inſpiring them with againſt others: Therefore nothing is more whimſical or miſchievous than Jealouſy, which is made up of Love, Hope, Fear, and a great deal of Envy: The laſt has been ſufficiently treated of already, and what I have to ſay of Fear, the Reader will find under *Remark (R.)* So that the better to explain and illuſtrate this odd Mixture, the Ingredients I ſhall further ſpeak of in this Place are Hope and Love.

Hoping is wiſhing with ſome degree of Confidence, that the Thing wiſh'd for will come to paſs. The Firmneſs and Imbecility of our Hope depend entirely on the greater or leſſer Degree of our Confidence, and all Hope includes Doubt; for when

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our Confidence is arriv'd to that Height, as to exclude all Doubts, it becomes a Certainty, and we take for granted what we only hoped for before. A ſilver Inkhorn may paſs in Speech, becauſe every body knows what we mean by it, but a certain Hope cannot: For a Man who makes uſe of an Epithet that deſtroys the Eſſence of the Subſtantive he joins it to, can have no Meaning at all; and the more clearly we underſtand the Force of the Epithet, and the Nature of the Subſtantive, the more palpable is the Nonſenſe of the heterogeneous Compound. The Reaſon therefore why it is not ſo ſhocking to ſome to hear a Man ſpeak of certain Hope, as if he ſhould talk of hot Ice, or liquid Oak, is not becauſe there is leſs Nonſenſe contain'd in the firſt than there is in either of the latter; but becauſe the Word Hope, I mean the Eſſence of it, is not ſo clearly underſtood by the Generality of the People, as the Words and Eſſences of Ice and Oak are.

Love in the firſt place ſignifies Affection, ſuch as Parents and Nurſes bear to Children, and Friends to one another; it conſiſts in a Liking and Well-wiſhing to the Perſon beloved. We give an eaſy Conſtruction to his Words and Actions, and feel a Proneneſs to excuſe and forgive his Faults, if we ſee any; his Intereſt we make on all Accounts our own, even to our Prejudice, and receive an inward Satisfaction for ſympathizing with him in his Sorrows, as well as Joys. What I ſaid laſt is not impoſſible, whatever it may ſeem to be; for when we are ſincere in ſharing with another in his Misfortunes, Self-Love makes us believe, that the Sufferings we feel muſt alleviate and leſſen thoſe of our Friend, and whilſt this fond Reflection is ſoothing our Pain, a ſecret Pleaſure ariſes from our grieving for the Perſon we love.

Secondly, By Love we underſtand a ſtrong Inclination, in its Nature diſtinct from all other Af-

fections of Friendſhip, Gratitude, and Conſanguinity, that Perſons of different Sexes, after liking, bear to one another: It is in this Signification that Love enters into the Compound of *Jealouſy*, and is the Effect as well as happy Diſguiſe of that Paſſion that prompts us to labour for the Preſervation of our Species. This latter Appetite is innate both in Men and Women, who are not defective in their Formation, as much as Hunger or Thirſt, tho' they are ſeldom affected with it before the Years of Puberty. Could we undreſs Nature, and pry into her deepeſt Receſſes, we ſhould diſcover the Seeds of this Paſſion before it exerts it ſelf, as plainly as we ſee the Teeth in an Embrio, before the Gums are form'd. There are few healthy People of either Sex, whom it has made no Impreſſion upon before Twenty: Yet, as the Peace and Happineſs of the Civil Society require that this ſhould be kept a Secret, never to be talk'd of in Publick; ſo among well-bred People it is counted highly Criminal to mention before Company any thing in plain Words, that is relating to this Myſtery of Succeſſion: By which Means the very Name of the Appetite, tho' the moſt neceſſary for the Continuance of Mankind, is become odious, and the proper Epithets commonly join'd to Luſt are *Filthy* and *Abominable*.

This Impulſe of Nature in People of ſtrict Morals, and rigid Modeſty, often diſturbs the Body for a conſiderable Time before it is underſtood or known to be what it is, and it is remarkable that the moſt poliſh'd and beſt inſtructed are generally the moſt ignorant as to this Affair; and here I can but obſerve the Difference between Man in the wild State of Nature, and the ſame Creature in the Civil Society. In the firſt, Men and Women, if left rude and untaught in the Sciences of Modes and Manners, would quickly find out the Cauſe of that Diſturbance, and be at a loſs no more than other Animals for a preſent Remedy: Beſides, that

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it is not probable they would want either Precept or Example from the more experienc'd. But in the ſecond, where the Rules of Religion, Law and Decency are to be follow'd, and obey'd before any Dictates of Nature, the Youth of both Sexes are to be arm'd and fortify'd againſt this Impulſe, and from their Infancy artfully frighten'd from the moſt remote Approaches of it. The Appetite it ſelf, and all the Symptoms of it, tho' they are plainly felt and underſtood, are to be ſtifled with Care and Severity, and in Women flatly diſown'd, and if there be Occaſion, with Obſtinacy deny'd, even when themſelves are viſibly affected by them. If it throws them into Diſtempers, they muſt be cured by Phyſick, or elſe patiently bear them in Silence; and it is the Intereſt of the Society to preſerve Decency and Politeneſs; that Women ſhould linger, waſte, and die, rather than relieve themſelves in an unlawful manner; and among the faſhionable Part of Mankind, the People of Birth and Fortune, it is expected that Matrimony ſhould never be enter'd upon without a curious Regard to Family, Eſtate, and Reputation, and in the making of Matches the Call of Nature be the very laſt Conſideration.

Thoſe then who would make Love and Luſt Synonimous confound the Effect with the Cauſe of it; yet ſuch is the force of Education, and a Habit of thinking as we are taught, that ſometimes Perſons of either Sex are actually in Love without feeling any Carnal Deſires, or penetrating into the Intentions of Nature, the end propoſed by her without which they could never have been affected with that ſort of Paſſion. That there are ſuch is certain, but many more whoſe Pretences to thoſe refin'd Notions are only upheld by Art and Diſſimulation. Thoſe, who are really ſuch Platonick Lovers are commonly the pale-faced weakly People of cold and phlegmatick Conſtitutions in either Sex; the

hail and robuſt of bilious Temperament and a ſanguine Complexion never entertain any Love ſo Spiritual as to exclude all thoughts and wiſhes that relate to the Body. But if the moſt Seraphick Lovers would know the Original of their Inclination, let them but ſuppoſe that another ſhould have the Corporal Enjoyment of the Perſon beloved, and by the Tortures they'll ſuffer from that Reflection they will ſoon diſcover the Nature of their Paſſions: Whereas on the contrary, Parents and Friends receive a Satisfaction in reflecting on the Joys and Comforts of a Happy Marriage, to be taſted by thoſe they wiſh well to.

The curious, that are ſkill'd in anatomizing the inviſible part of Man, will obſerve that the more ſublime and exempt this Love is from all thoughts of Senſuality, the more ſpurious it is, and the more it degenerates from its honeſt Original and primitive Simplicity. The Power and Sagacity as well as Labour and Care of the Politician in civilizing the Society, has been no where more conſpicuous, than in the Happy Contrivance of playing our Paſſions againſt one another. By flattering our Pride and ſtill encreaſing the good Opinion we have of our ſelves on the one hand; and inſpiring us on the other with a ſuperlative Dread and mortal Averſion againſt Shame, the Artful Moraliſts have taught us chearfully to encounter our ſelves, and if not ſubdue, at leaſt ſo to conceal and diſguiſe our darling Paſſion, Luſt, that we ſcarce know it when we meet with it in our own Breaſts; Oh! the mighty Prize we have in view for all our Self-denial! Can any Man be ſo ſerious as to abſtain from Laughter, when he conſiders that for ſo much deceit and inſincerity practis'd upon our ſelves as well as others, we have no other recompence than the vain Satisfaction of making our Species appear more exalted and remote from that of other Animals, than it really is; and we in our Conſciences know it to be?

Yet

Yet this is Fact, and in it we plainly perceive the reaſon why it was neceſſary to render odious every Word or Action by which we might diſcover the innate Deſire we feel to perpetuate our Kind; and why tamely to ſubmit to the violence of a Furious Appetite (which is painful to reſiſt) and innocently to obey the moſt preſſing demand of Nature without Guile or Hypocriſy, like other Creatures, ſhould be branded with the Ignominious Name of Brutality.

What we call Love then is not a Genuine, but an Adulterated Appetite, or rather a Compound, a heap of ſeveral contradictory Paſſions blended in one. As it is a product of Nature warp'd by Cuſtom and Education, ſo the true Origin and firſt Motive of it, as I have hinted already, is ſtifled in well-bred People, and almoſt concealed from themſelves; all which is the reaſon that as thoſe affected with it vary in Age, Strength, Reſolution, Temper, Circumſtances, and Manners, the effects of it are ſo different, whimſical, ſurprizing and unaccountable.

It is this Paſſion that makes Jealouſy ſo troubleſome, and the Envy of it often ſo fatal; thoſe who imagine that there may be Jealouſy without Love, do not underſtand that Paſſion. Men may not have the leaſt Affection for their Wives, and yet be angry with them for their Conduct, and ſuſpicious of them either with or without a Cauſe: But what in ſuch Caſes affects them is their Pride, the Concern for their Reputation. They feel a Hatred againſt them without Remorſe; when they are Outrageous, they can beat them and go to ſleep contentedly: Such Husbands may watch their Dames themſelves, and have them obſerved by others; but their Vigilance is not ſo intenſe; they are not ſo inquiſitive or induſtrious in their Searches, neither do they feel that Anxiety of Heart at the Fear of a Diſcovery, as when Love is mix'd with the Paſſions. What

What confirms me in this Opinion is, that we never obſerve this Behaviour between a Man and his Miſtreſs; for when his Love is gone and he ſuſpects her to be falſe, he leaves her, and troubles his Head no more about her: Whereas it is the greateſt Difficulty imaginable, even to a Man of Senſe, to part with a Miſtreſs as long as he loves her, whatever Faults ſhe may be guilty of. If in his Anger he ſtrikes her he is uneaſy after it; his Love makes him reflect on the Hurt he has done her, and he wants to be reconcil'd to her again. He may talk of hating her, and many times from his Heart wiſh her hang'd, but if he cannot get entirely rid of his Frailty, he can never diſintangle himſelf from her; tho' ſhe is repreſented in the moſt monſtrous Guilt to his Imagination, and he has reſolved and ſwore a thouſand Times never to come near her again, there is no truſting him; even when he is fully convinced of her Infidelity, if his Love continues, his Deſpair is never ſo laſting, but between the blackeſt Fits of it he relents, and finds lucid Intervals of Hope; he forms Excuſes for her, thinks of pardoning, and in order to it racks his Invention for Poſſibilities that may make her appear leſs criminal.

(O.) *Real Pleaſures, Comforts, Eaſe.*

Page 6. Line 28.

THAT the higheſt Good conſiſted in Pleaſure, was the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, who yet led a Life exemplary for Continence, Sobriety, and other Virtues, which made People of the ſucceeding Ages quarrel about the Signification of Pleaſure. Thoſe who argued from the Temperance of the Philoſopher, ſaid, That the Delight *Epicurus* meant,

meant, was being virtuous; ſo *Eraſmus* in his *Colloquies* tells us, That there are no greater *Epicures* than pious Chriſtians. Others that reflected on the diſſolute Manners of the greateſt Part of his Followers, would have it, that by Pleaſures he could have underſtood nothing but ſenſual Ones, and the Gratification of our Paſſions. I ſhall not decide their Quarrel, but am of Opinion, that whether Men be good or bad, what they take delight in is their Pleaſure, and not to look out for any further Etymology from the learned Languages, I believe an *Engliſhman* may juſtly call every Thing a Pleaſure that pleaſes him, and according to this Definition, we ought to diſpute no more about Mens Pleaſures than their Taſtes: *Trahit ſua quemque Voluptas.*

The worldly-minded, voluptuous and ambitious Man, notwithſtanding he is void of Merit, covets Precedence every where, and deſires to be dignify'd above his Betters: He aims at ſpacious Palaces, and delicious Gardens; his chief Delight is in excelling others in ſtately Horſes, magnificent Coaches, a numerous Attendance, and dear-bought Furniture. To gratify his Luſt, he wiſhes for genteel, young, beautiful Women of different Charms and Complexions that ſhall adore his Greatneſs, and be really in love with his Perſon: His Cellars he would have ſtored with the Flower of every Country that produces excellent Wines: His Table he deſires may be ſerv'd with many Courſes, and each of them contain a choice Variety of Dainties not eaſily purchas'd, and ample Evidences of elaborate and judicious Cookery; whilſt harmonious Muſick and well-couch'd Flattery entertain his Hearing by Turns. He employs, even in the meaneſt Trifles, none but the ableſt and moſt ingenious Workmen, that his Judgment and Fancy may as evidently appear in the leaſt Things that belong to him, as his Wealth and Quality are manifeſted in thoſe of greater

greater Value. He deſires to have ſeveral Sets of witty, facetious, and polite People to converſe with, and among them he would have ſome famous for Learning and univerſal Knowledge: For his ſerious Affairs, he wiſhes to find Men of Parts and Experience, that ſhould be diligent and faithful. Thoſe that are to wait on him he would have handy, mannerly and diſcreet, of comely Aſpect, and a graceful Mein: What he requires in them beſides, is a reſpectful Care of every Thing that is *His*, Nimbleneſs without Hurry, Diſpatch without Noiſe, and an unlimited Obedience to his Orders: Nothing he thinks more troubleſome than ſpeaking to Servants; wherefore he will only be attended by ſuch, as by obſerving his Looks have learn'd to interpret his Will from his ſlighteſt Motions. He loves to ſee an elegant Nicety in every thing that approaches him, and in what is to be employ'd about his Perſon he deſires a ſuperlative Cleanlineſs to be religiouſly obſerv'd. The chief Officers of his Houſhold he would have to be Men of Birth, Honour and Diſtinction, as well as Order, Contrivance and Oeconomy; for tho' he loves to be honour'd by every Body, and receives the Reſpects of the common People with Joy, yet the Homage that is paid him by Perſons of Quality is raviſhing to him in a more tranſcendent manner.

Whilſt thus wallowing in a Sea of Luſt and Vanity, he is wholly employ'd in provoking and indulging his Appetites, he deſires the World ſhould think him altogether free from Pride and Senſuality, and put a favourable Conſtruction upon his moſt glaring Vices: Nay, if his Authority can purchaſe it, he covets to be thought Wiſe, Brave, Generous, Good-natur'd, and endu'd with all the Virtues he thinks worth having. He would have us believe that the Pomp and Luxury he is ſerv'd with are as many tireſome Plagues to him; and all the Grandeur he appears in is an ungrateful

Burden,

Burden, which, to his Sorrow, is inſeparable from the high Sphere he moves in; that his noble Mind, ſo much exalted above vulgar Capacities, aims at higher ends, and cannot reliſh ſuch worthleſs Enjoyments; that the higheſt of his Ambition is to promote the publick Welfare, and his greateſt Pleaſure to ſee his Country flouriſh, and every Body in it made happy. Theſe are call'd real Pleaſures by the Vicious and Earthly-minded, and whoever is able, either by his Skill or Fortune, after this refin'd manner at once to enjoy the World, and the good Opinion of it, is counted extremely happy by all the moſt faſhionable part of the People.

But on the other ſide, moſt of the ancient Philoſophers and grave Moraliſts, eſpecially the *Stoicks*, would not allow any Thing to be a real Good that was liable to be taken from them by others. They wiſely conſider'd the Inſtability of Fortune, and the Favour of Princes; the Vanity of Honour, and popular Applauſe; the Precariouſneſs of Riches, and all earthly Poſſeſſions; and therefore placed true Happineſs in the calm Serenity of a contented Mind free from Guilt and Ambition; a Mind, that, having ſubdued every ſenſual Appetite, deſpiſes the Smiles as well as Frowns of Fortune, and taking no delight but in Contemplation, deſires nothing but what every Body is able to give to himſelf: A Mind, that is arm'd with Fortitude and Reſolution has learn'd to ſuſtain the greateſt Loſſes without Concern, to endure Pain without Affliction, and to bear Injuries without Reſentment. Many have own'd themſelves arriv'd to this height of Self-denial, and then, if we may believe them, they were rais'd above common Mortals, and their Strength extended vaſtly beyond the pitch of their firſt Nature: They could behold the Anger of Threatning Tyrants and the moſt imminent Dangers without Terror, and preſerv'd their Tranquility

quility in the midſt of Torments: Death it ſelf they could meet with Intrepidity, and left the World with no greater Reluctance than they had ſhew'd Fondneſs at their Entrance into it.

Theſe among the Ancients have always bore the greateſt Sway; yet others that were no Fools neither, have exploded thoſe Precepts as impracticable, call'd their Notions Romantick, and endeavour'd to prove that what theſe Stoicks aſſerted of themſelves exceeded all human Force and Poſſibility, and that therefore the Virtues they boaſted of could be nothing but haughty Pretence, full of Arrogance and Hypocriſy; yet notwithſtanding theſe Cenſures, the ſerious part of the World, and the generality of Wiſe Men that have liv'd ever ſince to this Day, agree with the Stoicks in the moſt material Points; as that there can be no true Felicity in what depends on Things periſhable; that Peace within is the greateſt Bleſſing, and no Conqueſt like that of our Paſſions; that Knowledge, Temperance, Fortitude, Humility, and other Embelliſhments of the Mind are the moſt valuable Acquiſitions; that no Man can be happy but he that is good; and that the Virtuous are only capable of enjoying *real Pleaſures*.

I expect to be aſk'd why in the Fable I have call'd thoſe Pleaſures real that are directly oppoſite to thoſe which I own the wiſe Men of all Ages have extoll'd as the moſt valuable. My Anſwer is, becauſe I don't call things Pleaſures which Men ſay are beſt, but ſuch as they ſeem to be moſt pleaſed with; how can I believe that a Man's chief Delight is in the Embelliſhments of the Mind, when I ſee him ever employ'd about and daily purſue the Pleaſures that are contrary to them? *John* never cuts any Pudding, but juſt enough, that you can't ſay he took none; this little bit, after much chomping and chewing you ſee goes down with him like chop'd Hay; after that he falls upon the

Beef

Beef with a voracious Appetite, and crams himſelf up to his Throat. Is it not provoking to hear *John* cry every Day that Pudding is all his Delight, and that he don't value the Beef of a Farthing?

I could ſwagger about Fortitude and the Contempt of Riches as much as *Seneca* himſelf, and would undertake to write twice as much in behalf of Poverty as ever he did, for the tenth part of his Eſtate: I could teach the way to his *Summum bonum* as exactly as I know my way home: I could tell People that to extricate themſelves from all worldly Engagements, and to purify the Mind, they muſt diveſt themſelves of their Paſſions, as Men take out the Furniture when they would clean a Room thoroughly; and I am clearly of the Opinion, that the Malice and moſt ſevere Strokes of Fortune can do no more Injury to a Mind thus ſtript of all Fears, Wiſhes and Inclinations, than a blind Horſe can do in an empty Barn. In the Theory of all this I am very perfect, but the Practice is very difficult; and if you went about picking my Pocket, offer'd to take the Victuals from before me when I am hungry, or made but the leaſt motion of ſpitting in my Face, I dare not promiſe how Philoſophically I ſhould behave my ſelf. But that I am forced to ſubmit to every Caprice of my unruly Nature, you'll ſay, is no Argument that others are as little Maſters of theirs, and therefore I am willing to pay Adoration to Virtue wherever I can meet with it, with a Proviſo that I ſhall not be obliged to admit any as ſuch, where I can ſee no Self-denial, or to judge of Mens Sentiments from their Words, where I have their Lives before me.

I have ſearch'd through every Degree and Station of Men, and confeſs, that I have found no where more Auſterity of Manners, or greater Contempt of Earthly Pleaſures, than in ſome Religious Houſes, whore People freely reſigning and retiring from the World to combat themſelves, have no other

other Buſineſs but to ſubdue their Appetites. What can be a greater Evidence of perfect Chaſtity, and a ſuperlative Love to immaculate Purity in Men and Women, than that in the Prime of their Age, when Luſt is moſt raging, they ſhould actually ſeclude themſelves from each others Company, and by a voluntary Renunciation debar themſelves for Life, not only from Uncleanneſs, but even the moſt lawful Embraces? Thoſe that abſtain from Fleſh, and often all manner of Food, one wou'd think in the right way to conquer all Carnal Deſires; and I could almoſt ſwear, that he don't conſult his Eaſe, who daily mawls his bare Back and Shoulders with unconſcionable Stripes, and conſtantly rouzed at Midnight from his Sleep, leaves his Bed for his Devotion. Who can deſpiſe Riches more, or ſhew himſelf leſs Avaricious than he, who won't ſo much as touch Gold or Silver, no not with his Feet? Or can any Mortal ſhew himſelf leſs Luxurious or more humble than the Man, that making Poverty his Choice, contents himſelf with Scraps and Fragments, and refuſes to eat any Bread but what is beſtow'd upon him by the Charity of others?

Such fair Inſtances of Self-denial would make me bow down to Virtue, if I was not deter'd and warn'd from it by ſo many Perſons of Eminence and Learning, who unanimouſly tell me that I am miſtaken, and all I have ſeen is Farce and Hypocriſy; that what Seraphick Love they may pretend to, there is nothing but Diſcord among them, and that how Penitential the Nuns and Fryars may appear in their ſeveral Convents, they none of them ſacrifice their darling Luſts: That among the Women they are not all Virgins that paſs for ſuch, and that if I was to be let into their Secrets, and examine ſome of their Subterraneous Privacies, I ſhould ſoon be convinced by Scenes of Horror, that ſome of them muſt have been Mothers. That among the Men I ſhould find Calumny, Envy and

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Ill-nature in the higheſt degree, or elſe Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, and Impurities of a more execrable kind than Adultery itſelf: And as for the Mendicant Orders, that they differ in nothing but their Habits from other ſturdy Beggars, who deceive People with a pitiful Tone and an outward ſhew of Miſery, and as ſoon as they are out of ſight, lay by their Cant, indulge their Appetites, and enjoy one another.

If the ſtrict Rules, and ſo many outward ſigns of Devotion obſerv'd among thoſe religious Orders, deſerve ſuch harſh Cenſures, we may well deſpair of meeting with Virtue any where elſe; for if we look into the Actions of the Antagoniſts and greateſt Accuſers of thoſe Votaries, we ſhall not find ſo much as the appearance of Self-denial. The Reverend Divines of all Sects, even of the moſt Reformed Churches in all Countries, take care with the *Cyclops Evangeliphorus* firſt; *ut ventri bene ſit*, and afterwards, *ne quid deſit iis quæ ſub ventre ſunt.* To theſe they'll deſire you to add, convenient Houſes, handſome Furniture, good Fires in Winter, pleaſant Gardens in Summer, neat Cloaths, and Money enough to bring up their Children; Precedency in all Companies, Reſpect from every body, and then as much Religion as you pleaſe. The Things I have named are the neceſſary Comforts of Life, which the moſt Modeſt are not aſham'd to claim, and which they are very uneaſy without. They are, 'tis true, made of the ſame Mould, and have the ſame corrupt Nature with other Men, born with the ſame Infirmities, ſubject to the ſame Paſſions, and liable to the ſame Temptations, and therefore if they are diligent in their Calling, and can but abſtain from Murder, Adultery, Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and other heinous Vices, their Lives are called unblemiſh'd, and their Reputations unſpotted; their Function renders them Holy, and the Gratification of ſo many Carnal Appetites and

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the Enjoyment of ſo much luxurious Eaſe notwithſtanding, they may ſet upon themſelves what Value their Pride and Parts will allow them.

All this I have nothing againſt, but I ſee no Self-denial, without which there can be no Virtue. Is it ſuch a Mortification not to deſire a greater Share of Worldly Bleſſings, than what every reaſonable Man ought to be ſatisfy'd with? Or is there any mighty Merit in not being flagitious, and forbearing Indecencies that are repugnant to good Manners, and which no prudent Man would be guilty of, tho' he had no Religion at all?

I know I ſhall be told, that the Reaſon why the Clergy are ſo violent in their Reſentments, when at any time they are but in the leaſt affronted, and ſhew themſelves ſo void of all Patience when their Rights are invaded, is their great care to preſerve their Calling, their Profeſſion from Contempt, not for their own ſakes, but to be more ſerviceable to others. 'Tis the ſame reaſon that makes 'em ſollicitous about the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life; for ſhould they ſuffer themſelves to be inſulted over, be content with a coarſer Diet, and wear more ordinary Cloaths than other People, the Multitude, who judge from outward Appearances, would be apt to think that the Clergy was no more the immediate Care of Providence than other Folks, and ſo not only undervalue their Perſons, but deſpiſe likewiſe all the Reproofs and Inſtructions that came from 'em. This is an admirable Plea, and as it is much made uſe of, I'll try the worth of it.

I am not of the Learned Dr. *Eachard*'s Opinion, that Poverty is one of thoſe things that bring the Clergy into Contempt, any further than as it may be an occaſion of diſcovering their blind ſide: For when Men are always ſtruggling with their low Condition, and are unable to bear the Burthen of it without Reluctancy, it is then they ſhew how uneaſy

uneaſy their Poverty ſits upon them, how glad they would be to have their Circumſtances meliorated, and what a real value they have for the good things of this World. He that harangues on the Contempt of Riches, and the Vanity of Earthly Enjoyments, in a ruſty threadbare Gown, becauſe he has no other, and would wear his old greaſy Hat no longer if any body would give him a better; that drinks Small-beer at Home with a heavy Countenance, but leaps at a Glaſs of Wine if he can catch it Abroad; that with little Appetite feeds upon his own courſe Meſs, but falls to greedily where he can pleaſe his Palate, and expreſſes an uncommon Joy at an Invitation to a ſplendid Dinner: 'Tis he that is deſpiſed, not becauſe he is Poor, but becauſe he knows not how to be ſo with that Content and Reſignation which he preaches to others, and ſo diſcovers his Inclinations to be contrary to his Doctrine. But when a Man from the greatneſs of his Soul (or an obſtinate Vanity, which will do as well) reſolving to ſubdue his Appetites in good earneſt, refuſes all the offers of Eaſe and Luxury that can be made to him, and embracing a voluntary Poverty with chearfulneſs, rejects whatever may gratify the Senſes, and actually ſacrifices all his Paſſions to his Pride in acting this Part, the Vulgar, far from contemning, will be ready to deify and adore him. How famous have the *Cynick* Philoſophers made themſelves, only by refuſing to diſſimulate and make uſe of Superfluities? Did not the moſt Ambitious Monarch the World ever bore, condeſcend to viſit *Diogenes* in his Tub, and return to a ſtudy'd Incivility, the higheſt Compliment a Man of his Pride was able to make?

Mankind are very willing to take one anothers Word, when they ſee ſome Circumſtances that corroborate what is told them; but when our Actions directly contradict what we ſay, it is counted

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Impudence to deſire Belief. If a jolly hail Fellow with glowing Cheeks and warm Hands, newly return'd from ſome ſmart Exerciſe, or elſe the Cold Bath, tells us in froſty Weather, that he cares not for the Fire, we are eaſily induced to believe him, eſpecially if he actually turns from it, and we know by his Circumſtances that he wants neither Fuel nor Cloaths; but if we ſhould hear the ſame from the Mouth of a poor ſtarv'd Wretch, with ſwell'd Hands, and a livid Countenance, in a thin ragged Garment, we ſhould not believe a Word of what he ſaid, eſpecially if we ſaw him ſhaking and ſhivering, creep toward the Sunny Bank; and we would conclude, let him ſay what he could, that warm Cloaths and a good Fire would be very acceptable to him. The Application is eaſy, and therefore if there be any Clergy upon Earth that would be thought not to care for the World, and to value the Soul above the Body, let them only forbear ſhewing a greater concern for their Senſual Pleaſures than they generally do for their Spiritual Ones, and they may reſt ſatisfy'd, that no Poverty, whilſt they bear it with Fortitude, will ever bring them into Contempt, how mean ſoever their Circumſtances may be.

Let us ſuppoſe a Paſtor that has a little Flock entruſted to him, of which he is very careful: He preaches, viſits, exhorts, reproves among his People with Zeal and Prudence, and does them all the kind Offices that lie in his Power to make them happy. There is no doubt but thoſe under his Care muſt be very much oblig'd to him. Now we'll ſuppoſe once more, that this good Man by the help of a little Self denial, is contented to live upon half his Income, accepting only of Twenty Pounds a Year inſtead of Forty, which he could claim; and moreover that he loves his Pariſhioners ſo well, that he will never leave them for any Preferment whatever, no not a Biſhoprick, tho' it be offer'd.

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I can't ſee but all this might be an eaſy Taſk to a Man who profeſſes Mortification, and has no Value for worldly Pleaſures; yet ſuch a diſintereſted Divine I dare promiſe, notwithſtanding the great degeneracy of Mankind, will be lov'd, eſteem'd, and have every Body's good Word; nay I would ſwear, that tho' he ſhould yet further exert himſelf, give above half of his ſmall Revenue to the Poor, live upon nothing but Oatmeal and Water, lie upon Straw, and wear the coarſeſt Cloth that could be made, his mean way of Living would never be reflected on, or be a Diſparagement either to himſelf or the Order he belong'd to; but that on the contrary his Poverty would never be mentioned but to his Glory, as long as his Memory ſhould laſt.

But (ſays a charitable young Gentlewoman) tho' you have the Heart to ſtarve your Parſon, have you no Bowels of Compaſſion for his Wife and Children? Pray what muſt remain of Forty Pounds a Year after it has been twice ſo unmercifully ſplit? Or would you have the poor Woman and the innocent Babes likewiſe live upon Oatmeal and Water, and lie upon Straw, you unconſcionable Wretch, with all your Suppoſitions and Self-denials? Nay, is it poſſible, tho' they ſhould all live at your own murd'ring rate, that leſs that Ten Pounds a Year could maintain a Family? —— Don't be in a Paſſion, good Mrs. *Abigail*, I have a greater regard for your Sex than to preſcribe ſuch a lean Diet to married Men; but I confeſs I forgot the Wives and Children: The main Reaſon was, becauſe I thought poor Prieſts could have no occaſion for them. Who could imagine that the Parſon who is to teach others by Example as well as Precept, was not able to withſtand thoſe Deſires which the wicked World it ſelf calls unreaſonable? What is the reaſon when a 'Prentice marries before he is out of his Time, that unleſs he meets with a good Fortune, all his

Relations

Relations are angry with him, and every Body blames him? Nothing elſe but becauſe at that time he has no Money at his diſpoſal, and being bound to his Maſter's Service, has no leiſure, and perhaps little Capacity to provide for a Family. What muſt we ſay to a Parſon that has Twenty, or if you will Forty Pounds a Year, that being bound more ſtrictly to all the Services a Pariſh and his Duty require, has little time and generally much leſs Ability to get any more? Is it not very reaſonable he ſhould Marry? But why ſhould a ſober young Man, who is guilty of no Vice, be debarr'd from lawful Enjoyments? Right; Marriage is lawful, and ſo is a Coach; but what is that to People that have not Money enough to keep one? If he muſt have a Wife, let him look out for one with Money, or wait for a greater Benefice or ſomething elſe to maintain her handſomely, and bear all incident Charges. But no body that has any thing her ſelf will have him, and he can't ſtay: He has a very good Stomach, and all the Symptoms of Health; 'tis not every body that can live without a Woman; 'tis better to marry than burn. —— What a World of Self-denial is here? The ſober young Man is very willing to be Virtuous, but you muſt not croſs his Inclinations; he promiſes never to be a Deer-ſtealer, upon Condition that he ſhall have Veniſon of his own, and no body muſt doubt but that if it came to the Puſh, he is qualify'd to ſuffer Martyrdom, tho' he owns that he has not Strength enough, patiently to bear a ſcratch'd Finger.

When we ſee ſo many of the Clergy, to indulge their Luſt, a brutiſh Appetite, run themſelves after this manner upon an inevitable Poverty, which unleſs they could bear it with greater Fortitude than they diſcover in all their Actions, muſt of neceſſity make them contemptible to all the World, what Credit muſt we give them, when they pre-

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tend that they conform themſelves to the World, not becauſe they take delight in the ſeveral Decencies, Conveniencies, and Ornaments of it, but only to preſerve their Function from Contempt, in order to be more uſeful to others? Have we not reaſon to believe, that what they ſay is full of Hypocriſy and Falſhood, and that Concupiſcence is not the only Appetite they want to gratify; that the haughty Airs and quick Senſe of Injuries, the curious Elegance in Dreſs, and Niceneſs of Palate, to be obſerv'd in moſt of them that are able to ſhew them, are the Reſults of Pride and Luxury in them as they are in other People, and that the Clergy are not poſſeſs'd of more intrinſick Virtue than any other Profeſſion?

I am afraid that by this time I have given many of my Readers a real Diſpleaſure, by dwelling ſo long upon the Reality of Pleaſure; but I can't help it, there is one thing comes into my Head to corroborate what I have urg'd already, which I can't forbear mentioning: It is this: Thoſe who govern others throughout the World, are at leaſt as Wiſe as the People that are govern'd by them, generally ſpeaking: If for this reaſon we would take Pattern from our Superiors, we have but to caſt our Eyes on all the Courts and Governments in the Univerſe, and we ſhall ſoon perceive from the Actions of the Great Ones, which Opinion they ſide with, and what Pleaſures thoſe in the higheſt Stations of all ſeem to be moſt fond of: For if it be allowable at all to judge of People's Inclinations from their Manner of Living, none can be leſs injur'd by it than thoſe who are the moſt at Liberty to do as they pleaſe.

If the Great Ones of the Clergy as well as the Laity of any Country whatever, had no value for earthly Pleaſures, and did not endeavour to gratify their Appetites, why are Envy and Revenge ſo raging among them, and all the other Paſſions im-

prov'd and refin'd upon in Courts of Princes more than any where elſe, and why are their Repaſts, their Recreations, and whole manner of Living always ſuch as are approv'd of, coveted, and imitated by the moſt ſenſual People of that ſame Country? If deſpiſing all viſible Decorations they were only in Love with the Embelliſhments of the Mind, why ſhould they borrow ſo many of the Implements, and make uſe of the moſt darling Toys of the Luxurious? Why ſhould a Lord-Treaſurer, or a Biſhop, or even the Grand Signior, or the Pope of *Rome*, to be good and virtuous, and endeavour the Conqueſt of his Paſſions, have occaſion for greater Revenues, richer Furniture, or a more numerous Attendance, as to Perſonal Service, than a private Man? What Virtue is it the Exerciſe of which requires ſo much Pomp and Superfluity, as are to be ſeen by all Men in Power? A Man has as much opportunity to practiſe Temperance, that has but one Diſh at a Meal, as he that is conſtantly ſerv'd with three Courſes and a dozen Diſhes in each: One may exerciſe as much Patience, and be as full of Self-denial on a few Flocks, without Curtains or Teſter, as in a Velvet Bed that is Sixteen Foot high. The Virtuous Poſſeſſions of the Mind are neither Charge nor Burden: A Man may bear Misfortunes with Fortitude in a Garret, forgive Injuries a-foot, and be Chaſte, tho' he has not a Shirt to his Back; and therefore I ſhall never believe, but that an indifferent Skuller, if he was entruſted with it, might carry all the Learning and Religion that one Man can contain, as well as a Barge with Six Oars, eſpecially if it was but to croſs from *Lambeth* to *Weſtminſter*; or that Humility is ſo ponderous a Virtue, that it requires ſix Horſes to draw it.

To ſay, that Men not being ſo eaſily govern'd by their Equals as by their Superiors, it is neceſſary that to keep the multitude in awe, thoſe who rule over us ſhould excel others in outward Appearance,

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and conſequently that all in high Stations ſhould have Badges of Honour, and Enſigns of Power to be diſtinguiſh'd from the Vulgar, is a frivolous Objection. This in the firſt Place can only be of uſe to poor Princes, and weak and precarious Governments, that being actually unable to maintain the publick Peace, are obliged with a Pageant Shew to make up what they want in real Power: So the Governor of *Batavia* in the *Eaſt-Indies* is forced to keep up a Grandeur, and live in a Magnificence above his Quality, to ſtrike a Terror in the Natives of *Java*, who, if they had Skill and Conduct, are ſtrong enough to deſtroy ten times the number of their Maſters; but great Princes and States that keep large Fleets at Sea and numerous Armies in the Field, have no occaſion for ſuch Stratagems; for what makes 'em formidable Abroad, will never fail to be their Security at Home. Secondly, what muſt protect the Lives and Wealth of People from the Attempts of wicked Men in all Societies, is the Severity of the Laws, and diligent Adminiſtration of impartial Juſtice. Theft, Houſebreaking and Murther are not to be prevented by the Scarlet Gowns of the Aldermen, the Gold Chains of the Sheriffs, the fine Trappings of their Horſes, or any gawdy Shew whatever: Thoſe pageant Ornaments are beneficial another way; they are eloquent Lectures to Prentices, and the uſe of them is to animate, not to deter; but Men of abandon'd Principles muſt be aw'd by rugged Officers, ſtrong Priſons, watchful Jaylors, the Hang-man and the Gallows. If *London* was to be one Week deſtitute of Conſtables and Watchmen to guard the Houſes a-nights, half the Bankers would be ruin'd in that time, and if my Lord Mayor had nothing to defend himſelf but his great two-handed Sword, the huge Cap of Maintenance, and his gilded Mace, he would ſoon be ſtrip'd in the very Streets of the City of all his Finery in his ſtately Coach.

But let us grant that the Eyes of the Mobility are to be dazled with a gawdy outſide; if Virtue was the chief delight of Great Men, why ſhould their Extravagance be extended to Things not underſtood by the Mob, and wholly removed from publick View, I mean their private Diverſions, the Pomp and Luxury of the Dining-Room and the Bed-Chamber, and the Curioſities of the Cloſet? Few of the Vulgar know that there is Wine of a Guinea the Bottle, that Birds no bigger than Larks are often ſold for half a Guinea a-piece, or that a ſingle Picture may be worth ſeveral thouſand Pounds: Beſides, is it to be imagin'd, that unleſs it was to pleaſe their own Appetites Men ſhould put themſelves to ſuch vaſt Expences for a Political Shew, and be ſo ſollicitous to gain the Eſteem of thoſe whom they ſo much deſpiſe in every thing elſe? If we allow that the Splendor and all the Elegancy of a Court are inſipid, and only tireſome to the Prince himſelf, and are altogether made uſe of to preſerve Royal Majeſty from Contempt, can we ſay the ſame of half a dozen illegitimate Children, moſt of them the Offspring of Adultery by the ſame Majeſty, got, educated, and made Princes at the Expence of the Nation? Therefore it is evident, that this awing of the Multitude by a diſtinguiſh'd manner of living, is only a Cloak and Pretence, under which Great Men would ſhelter their Vanity, and indulge every Appetite about them without Reproach.

A Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam* in his plain, black Suit, follow'd perhaps by one Footman, is fully as much reſpected and better obey'd than a Lord Mayor of *London* with all his ſplendid Equipage and great Train of Attendance. Where there is a real Power it is ridiculous to think that any Temperance or Auſterity of Life ſhould ever render the Perſon in whom that Power is lodg'd contemptible in his Office, from an Emperor to the Beadle

of

of a Pariſh. *Cato* in his Government of *Spain*, in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much Glory, had only three Servants to attend him; do we hear that any of his Orders were ever ſlighted for this, notwithſtanding that he lov'd his Bottle? And when that Great Man march'd on Foot thro' the ſcorching Sands of *Libya*, and parch'd up with Thirſt, refus'd to touch the Water that was brought him, before all his Soldiers had drank, do we ever read that this Heroick Forbearance weakned his Authority, or leſſen'd him in the Eſteem of his Army? But what need we go ſo far off? There has not theſe many Ages been a Prince leſs inclin'd to Pomp and Luxury than the ‡ preſent King of *Sweden*, who enamour'd with the Title of *Hero*, has not only ſacrific'd the Lives of his Subjects, and Welfare of his Dominions, but (what is more uncommon in Sovereigns) his own Eaſe, and all the Comforts of Life, to an implacable Spirit of Revenge; yet he is obey'd to the Ruin of his People, in obſtinately maintaining a War that has almoſt utterly deſtroy'd his Kingdom.

‡ *This was wrote in* 1714.

Thus I have prov'd, that the real Pleaſures of all Men in Nature are worldly and ſenſual, if we judge from their Practice; I ſay all Men *in Nature*, becauſe Devout Chriſtians, who alone are to be excepted here, being regenerated, and preternaturally aſſiſted by the Divine Grace, cannot be ſaid to be in Nature. How ſtrange it is, that they ſhould all ſo unanimouſly deny it! Aſk not only the Divines and Moraliſts of every Nation, but likewiſe all that are rich and powerful, about real Pleaſure, and they'll tell you, with the *Stoicks*, that there can be no true Felicity in Things Mundane and Corruptible: but then look upon their Lives, and you will find they take delight in no other.

What muſt we do in this Dilemma? Shall we be ſo uncharitable, as judging from Mens Actions to

ſay, That all the World prevaricates, and that this is not their Opinion, let them talk what they will? Or ſhall we be ſo ſilly, as relying on what they ſay, to think them ſincere in their Sentiments, and ſo not believe our own Eyes? or ſhall we rather endeavour to believe our ſelves and them too, and ſay with *Montagne*, that they imagine, and are fully perſwaded, that they believe what yet they do not believe? Theſe are his Words; *Some impoſe on the World, and would be thought to believe what they really don't; but much the greater number impoſe upon themſelves, not conſidering nor thoroughly apprehending what it is to believe.* But this is making all Mankind either Fools or Impoſtors, which to avoid, there is nothing left us, but to ſay what Mr. *Bayle* has endeavour'd to prove at large in his Reflections on Comets; That Man is ſo unaccountable a Creature as to act moſt commonly againſt his Principle; and this is ſo far from being injurious, that it is a Compliment to Human Nature, for we muſt ſay either this or worſe.

This Contradiction in the Frame of Man is the Reaſon that the Theory of Virtue is ſo well underſtood, and the Practice of it ſo rarely to be met with. If you aſk me where to look for thoſe beautiful ſhining Qualities of Prime Miniſters, and the great Favourites of Princes that are ſo finely painted in Dedications, Addreſſes, Epitaphs, Funeral Sermons and Inſcriptions, I anſwer *There*, and no where elſe. Where would you look for the Excellency of a Statue, but in that part which you ſee of it? 'Tis the poliſh'd Outſide only that has the Skill and Labour of the Sculptor to boaſt of; what's out of ſight is untouch'd. Would you break the Head or cut open the Breaſt to look for the Brains or the Heart, you'd only ſhew your Ignorance, and deſtroy the Workmanſhip. This has often made me compare the Virtues of Great Men to your large *China* Jars; they make a fine Shew, and are Ornamental to a Chimney; one would by the Bulk they

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appear in, and the Value that is ſet upon 'em, think they might be very uſeful, but look into a thouſand of them, and you'll find nothing in them but Duſt and Cobwebs.

(P.) —— —— *The very Poor*
Liv'd better than the Rich before.

Page 6. Line 29.

IF we trace the moſt flouriſhing Nations in their Origin, we ſhall find that in the remote Beginnings of every Society, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Men among them were a great while deſtitute of a great many Comforts of Life that are now enjoy'd by the meaneſt and moſt humble Wretches: So that many things which were once look'd upon as the Invention of Luxury, are now allow'd even to thoſe that are ſo miſerably poor as to become the Objects of publick Charity, nay counted ſo neceſſary, that we think no Human Creature ought to want them.

In the firſt Ages, Man, without doubt, fed on the Fruits of the Earth, without any previous Preparation, and repoſed himſelf naked like other Animals on the Lap of their common Parent: Whatever has contributed ſince to make Life more comfortable, as it muſt have been the Reſult of Thought, Experience, and ſome Labour, ſo it more or leſs deſerves the Name of Luxury, the more or leſs trouble it required, and deviated from the primitive Simplicity. Our Admiration is extended no farther than to what is new to us, and we all overlook the Excellency of Things we are uſed to, be they never ſo curious. A Man would be laugh'd at, that ſhould diſcover Luxury in the plain Dreſs of a poor Creature that walks along in a thick

Pariſh Gown and a courſe Shirt underneath it; and yet what a number of People, how many different Trades, and what a variety of Skill and Tools muſt be employed to have the moſt ordinary *Yorkſhire* Cloth? What depth of Thought and Ingenuity, what Toil and Labour, and what length of Time muſt it have coſt, before Man could learn from a Seed to raiſe and prepare ſo uſeful a Product as Linnen?

Muſt that Society not be vainly curious, among whom this admirable Commodity, after it is made, ſhall not be thought fit to be uſed even by the pooreſt of all, before it is brought to a perfect whiteneſs, which is not to be procur'd but by the Aſſiſtance of all the Elements joyn'd to a world of Induſtry and Patience? I have not done yet: Can we reflect not only on the Coſt laid out upon this Luxurious Invention, but likewiſe on the little time the Whiteneſs of it continues, in which part of its Beauty conſiſts, that every ſix or ſeven Days at fartheſt it wants cleaning, and whilſt it laſts is a continual Charge to the Wearer; can we, I ſay, reflect on all this, and not think it an extravagant Piece of Nicety, that even thoſe who receive Alms of the Pariſh, ſhould not only have whole Garments made of this operoſe Manufacture, but likewiſe that as ſoon as they are ſoil'd, to reſtore them to their priſtine Purity, they ſhould make uſe of one of the moſt Judicious as well as difficult Compoſitions that Chymiſtry can boaſt of; with which, diſſolv'd in Water by the help of Fire, the moſt deterſive, and yet innocent *Lixivium* is prepar'd that Human Induſtry has hitherto been able to invent?

It is certain, Time was that the Things I ſpeak of would have bore thoſe lofty Expreſſions, and in which every Body would have reaſon'd after the ſame manner; but the Age we live in would call a Man Fool who ſhould talk of Extravagance and Nicety, if he ſaw a poor Woman, after having

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wore her Crown Cloth Smock a whole Week, waſh it with a bit of ſtinking Soap of a Groat a Pound.

The Arts of Brewing, and making Bread, have by ſlow degrees been brought to the Perfection they now are in; but to have invented them at once, and *a priori*, would have required more Knowledge and a deeper Inſight into the Nature of Fermentation, than the greateſt Philoſopher has hitherto been endowed with; yet the Fruits of both are now enjoy'd by the meaneſt of our Species, and a ſtarving Wretch knows not how to make a more humble, or a more modeſt Petition, than by aſking for a Bit of Bread, or a Draught of Small Beer.

Man has learn'd by Experience, that nothing was ſofter than the ſmall Plumes and Down of Birds, and found that heap'd together they would by their Elaſticity gently reſiſt any incumbent weight, and heave up again of themſelves as ſoon as the Preſſure is over. To make uſe of them to ſleep upon was, no doubt, firſt invented to compliment the Vanity as well as Eaſe of the Wealthy and Potent; but they are long ſince become ſo common, that almoſt every Body lies upon Featherbeds, and to ſubſtitute Flocks in the room of them is counted a miſerable ſhift of the moſt Neceſſitous. What a vaſt height muſt Luxury have been arriv'd to before it cou'd be reckon'd a Hardſhip to repoſe upon the ſoft Wool of Animals!

From Caves, Huts, Hovels, Tents and Barracks, with which Mankind took up at firſt, we are come to warm and well-wrought Houſes, and the meaneſt Habitations to be ſeen in Cities, are regular Buildings contriv'd by Perſons ſkill'd in Proportions and Architecture. If the Ancient *Britons* and *Gauls* ſhould come out of their Graves, with what Amazement wou'd they gaze on the mighty Structures every where rais'd for the Poor! Should they behold the Magnificence of a *Chelſea-College*, a *Greenwich Hoſpital*, or what ſurpaſſes all them, a *Des In-*

valides at *Paris*, and ſee the Care, the Plenty, the Superfluities and Pomp which People that have no Poſſeſſions at all are treated with in thoſe ſtately Palaces, thoſe who were once the greateſt and richeſt of the Land would have Reaſon to envy the moſt reduced of our Species now.

Another piece of Luxury the Poor enjoy, that is not look'd upon as ſuch, and which there is no doubt but the Wealthieſt in a Golden Age would abſtain from, is their making uſe of the Fleſh of Animals to eat. In what concerns the Faſhions and Manners of the Ages Men live in they never examine into the real Worth or Merit of the Cauſe, and generally judge of Things not as their Reaſon, but Cuſtom direct them. Time was when the Funeral Rites in the diſpoſing of the Dead were perform'd by Fire, and the Cadavers of the greateſt Emperors were burnt to Aſhes. Then burying the Corpſe in the Ground was a Funeral for Slaves, or made a Puniſhment for the worſt of Malefactors. Now nothing is decent or honourable but interring, and burning the Body is reſerv'd for Crimes of the blackeſt dye. At ſome times we look upon Trifles with Horror, at other times we can behold Enormities without Concern. If we ſee a Man walk with his Hat on in a Church, though out of Service time, it ſhocks us, but if on a *Sunday* Night we meet half a dozen Fellows Drunk in the Street, the Sight makes little or no Impreſſion upon us. If a Woman at a Merry-making dreſſes in Man's Cloaths, it is reckon'd a Frolick amongſt Friends, and he that finds too much Fault with it is counted Cenſorious: Upon the Stage it is done without Reproach, and the moſt Virtuous Ladies will diſpenſe with it in an Actreſs, tho' every Body has a full view of her Legs and Thighs; but if the ſame Woman, as ſoon as ſhe has Petticoats on again, ſhould ſhow her Leg to a Man as high as her Knee, it would be a very immodeſt Action, and every Body will call her impudent for it.

I have often thought, if it was not for this Tyranny which Cuſtom uſurps over us, that Men of any tolerable Good-nature could never be reconcil'd to the killing of ſo many Animals for their daily Food, as long as the bountiful Earth ſo plentifully provides them with varieties of vegetable Dainties. I know that Reaſon excites our Compaſſion but faintly, and therefore I would not wonder how Men ſhould ſo little commiſerate ſuch imperfect Creatures as Cray-fiſh, Oyſters, Cockles, and indeed all Fiſh in general: As they are mute, and their inward Formation, as well as outward Figure, vaſtly different from ours, they expreſs themſelves unintelligibly to us, and therefore 'tis not ſtrange that their Grief ſhould not affect our Underſtanding, which it cannot reach; for nothing ſtirs us to Pity ſo effectually, as when the Symptoms of Miſery ſtrike immediately upon our Senſes, and I have ſeen People mov'd at the Noiſe a live Lobſter makes upon the Spit, that could have kill'd half a dozen Fowls with Pleaſure. But in ſuch perfect Animals as Sheep and Oxen, in whom the Heart, the Brain and Nerves differ ſo little from ours, and in whom the Separation of the Spirits from the Blood, the Organs of Senſe, and conſequently Feeling it ſelf, are the ſame as they are in Human Creatures; I can't imagine how a Man not hardned in Blood and Maſſacre, is able to ſee a violent Death, and the Pangs of it, without Concern.

In anſwer to this, moſt People will think it ſufficient to ſay, that all Things being allow'd to be made for the Service of Man, there can be no Cruelty in putting Creatures to the uſe they were deſign'd for; but I have heard Men make this Reply, whilſt their Nature within them has reproach'd them with the Falſhood of the Aſſertion. There is of all the Multitude not one Man in ten but what will own, (if he was not brought up in a Slaughter-

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houſe) that of all Trades he could never have been a *Butcher*; and I queſtion whether ever any body ſo much as killed a Chicken without Reluctancy the firſt time. Some People are not to be perſuaded to taſte of any Creatures they have daily ſeen and been acquainted with, whilſt they were alive; others extend their Scruple no further than to their own Poultry, and refuſe to eat what they fed and took care of themſelves; yet all of them will feed heartily and without Remorſe on Beef, Mutton and Fowls when they are bought in the Market. In this Behaviour, methinks, there appears ſomething like a conſciouſneſs of Guilt, it looks as if they endeavour'd to ſave themſelves from the Imputation of a Crime (which they know ſticks ſomewhere) by removing the cauſe of it as far as they can from themſelves; and I can diſcover in it ſome ſtrong remains of Primitive Pity and Innocence, which all the Arbitrary Power of Cuſtom, and the violence of Luxury, have not yet been able to conquer.

What I build upon I ſhall be told is a Folly that Wiſe Men are not guilty of: I own it; but whilſt it proceeds from a real Paſſion inherent in our Nature, it is ſufficient to demonſtrate that we are born with a Repugnancy to the killing, and conſequently the eating of Animals; for it is impoſſible that a natural Appetite ſhould ever prompt us to act, or deſire others to do, what we have an averſion to, be it as fooliſh as it will.

Every body knows, that Surgeons in the Cure of dangerous Wounds and Fractures, the extirpations of Limbs, and other dreadful Operations, are often compell'd to put their Patients to extraordinary Torments, and that the more deſperate and calamitous Caſes occur to them, the more the Outcries and bodily Sufferings of others muſt become familiar to them; for this Reaſon our *Engliſh* Law, out of a moſt affectionate Regard to the Lives of

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the Subject, allows them not to be of any Jury upon Life and Death, as ſuppoſing that their Practice it ſelf is ſufficient to harden and extinguiſh in them that Tenderneſs, without which no Man is capable of ſetting a true value upon the Lives of his Fellow-creatures. Now if we ought to have no Concern for what we do to Brute Beaſts, and there was not imagin'd to be any cruelty in killing them, why ſhould of all Callings *Butchers*, and only they jointly with *Surgeons*, be excluded from being Jury-men by the ſame Law?

I ſhall urge nothing of what *Pythagoras* and many other Wiſe Men have ſaid concerning this Barbarity of eating Fleſh; I have gone too much out of my way already, and ſhall therefore beg the Reader, if he would have any more of this, to run over the following Fable, or elſe, if he be tired, to let it alone, with an aſſurance that in doing of either he ſhall equally oblige me.

A *Roman* Merchant in one of the *Carthaginian* Wars was caſt away upon the Coaſt of *Africk:* Himſelf and his Slave with great difficulty got ſafe aſhore; but going in queſt of Relief, were met by a Lyon of a mighty ſize. It happened to be one of the Breed that rang'd in *Æſop*'s Days, and one that could not only ſpeak ſever Languages, but ſeem'd moreover very well acquainted with Human Affairs. The Slave got upon a Tree, but his Maſter not thinking himſelf ſafe there, and having heard much of the generoſity of Lyons, fell down proſtrate before him, with all the ſigns of Fear and Submiſſion. The Lyon, who had lately fill'd his Belly, bids him riſe, and for a while lay by his Fears, aſſuring him withal, that he ſhould not be touch'd, if he could give him any tolerable Reaſons why he ſhould not be devoured. The Merchant obeyed; and having now received ſome glimmering hopes of ſafety, gave a diſmal Account of the Shipwrack he had ſuffer'd, and endeavouring

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from thence to raiſe the Lyon's Pity, pleaded his Cauſe with abundance of good Rhetorick; but obſerving by the Countenance of the Beaſt that Flattery and fine Words made very little Impreſſion, he betook himſelf to Arguments of greater Solidity, and reaſoning from the Excellency of Man's Nature and Abilities, remonſtrated how improbable it was that the Gods ſhould not have deſigned him for a better uſe than to be eat by Savage Beaſts. Upon this the Lyon became more attentive, and vouchſafed now and then a Reply, till at laſt the following Dialogue enſued between them.

Oh Vain and Covetous Animal, (*ſaid the Lyon*) whoſe Pride and Avarice can make him leave his Native Soil, where his Natural Wants might be plentifully ſupply'd, and try rough Seas and dangerous Mountains to find out Superfluities, why ſhould you eſteem your Species above ours? And if the Gods have given you a Superiority over all Creatures, then why beg you of an Inferior? *Our Superiority* (anſwer'd the Merchant) *conſiſts not in bodily force but ſtrength of Underſtanding; the Gods have endued us with a Rational Soul, which, tho' inviſible, is much the better part of us.* I deſire to touch nothing of you but what is good to eat; but why do you value your ſelf ſo much upon that part which is inviſible? *Becauſe it is Immortal, and ſhall meet with Rewards after Death for the Actions of this Life, and the Juſt ſhall enjoy eternal Bliſs and Tranquility with the Heroes and Demi-Gods in the Elyſian Fields.* What Life have you led? *I have honour'd the Gods, and ſtudy'd to be beneficial to Man.* Then why do you fear Death, if you think the Gods as juſt as you have been? *I have a Wife and five ſmall Children that muſt come to want if they loſe me.* I have two Whelps that are not big enough to ſhift for themſelves, that are in want now, and muſt actually be ſtarv'd if I can provide nothing for them: Your Children will be provided for one way or other; at leaſt as well when I have eat you, as if you had been drown'd. As

As to the Excellency of either Species, the value of things among you has ever encreas'd with the ſcarcity of them, and to a Million of Men there is hardly one Lyon; beſides that, in the great Veneration Man pretends to have for his Kind, there is little Sincerity farther than it concerns the ſhare which every ones Pride has in it for himſelf; 'tis a folly to boaſt of the Tenderneſs ſhewn and Attendance given to your young ones, or the exceſſive and laſting trouble beſtow'd in the Education of 'em: Man being born the moſt neceſſitous and moſt helpleſs Animal, this is only an Inſtinct of Nature, which in all Creatures has ever proportion'd the care of the Parents to the Wants and Imbecilities of the Off-ſpring. But if a Man had a real value for his Kind, how is it poſſible that often Ten Thouſand of them, and ſometimes Ten Times as many, ſhould be deſtroy'd in few Hours for the Caprice of Two? All degrees of Men deſpiſe thoſe that are inferior to them, and if you could enter into the Hearts of Kings and Princes, you would hardly find any but what have leſs Value for the greateſt part of the Multitudes they rule over, than thoſe have for the Cattle that belong to them. Why ſhould ſo many pretend to derive their Race, tho' but ſpuriouſly, from the immortal Gods; why ſhould all of them ſuffer others to kneel down before them, and more or leſs take delight in having Divine Honours pay'd them, but to inſinuate that themſelves are of a more exalted Nature, and a Species ſuperior to that of their Subjects?

Savage I am, but no Creature can be call'd cruel but what either by Malice or Inſenſibility extinguiſhes his natural Pity: The Lyon was born without Compaſſion; we follow the Inſtinct of our Nature; the Gods have appointed us to live upon the waſte and ſpoil of other Animals, and as long as we can meet with dead ones, we never hunt after

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the Living. 'Tis only Man, miſchievous Man, that can make Death a ſport. Nature taught your Stomach to crave nothing but Vegetables; but your violent fondneſs to change, and greater eagerneſs after Novelties, have prompted you to the Deſtruction of Animals without Juſtice or Neceſſity, perverted your Nature and warp'd your Appetites which way ſoever your Pride or Luxury have call'd them. The Lyon has a ferment within him that conſumes the tougheſt Skin and hardeſt Bones as well as the Fleſh of all Animals without exception: Your ſqueamiſh Stomach, in which the Digeſtive Heat is weak and inconſiderable, won't ſo much as admit of the moſt tender Parts of them, unleſs above half the Concoction has been perform'd by artificial Fire before-hand; and yet what Animal have you ſpared to ſatisfy the Caprices of a languid Appetite? Languid I ſay; for what is Man's Hunger if compar'd to the Lyons? Yours, when it is at the worſt, makes you Faint, mine makes me Mad: Oft have I tried with Roots and Herbs to allay the violence of it, but in vain; nothing but large quantities of Fleſh can any ways appeaſe it.

Yet the fierceneſs of our Hunger notwithſtanding, Lyons have often requited Benefits received; but ungrateful and perfidious Man feeds on the Sheep that cloaths him, and ſpares not her innocent young ones, whom he has taken into his care and cuſtody. If you tell me the Gods made Man Maſter over all other Creatures, what Tyranny was it then to deſtroy them out of wantonneſs? No, fickle timorous Animal, the Gods have made you for Society, and deſign'd that Millions of you, when well joyn'd together, ſhould compoſe the ſtrong *Leviathan*. A ſingle Lyon bears ſome ſway in the Creation, but what is ſingle Man? A ſmall and inconſiderable part, a trifling Atom of one great Breaſt. What Nature deſigns ſhe executes, and 'tis not ſafe to judge of what ſhe purpos'd, but

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from the effects ſhe ſhews: If ſhe had intended that Man, as Man from a ſuperiority of Species, ſhould lord it over all other Animals, the Tiger, nay, the Whale and Eagle, would have obey'd his Voice.

But if your Wit and Underſtanding exceeds ours, ought not the Lyon in deference to that Superiority to follow the Maxims of Men, with whom nothing is more ſacred than that the Reaſon of the ſtrongeſt is ever the moſt prevalent? Whole Multitudes of you have conſpir'd and compaſs'd the Deſtruction of one, after they had own'd the Gods had made him their Superior; and one has often ruin'd and cut off whole Multitudes, whom by the ſame Gods he had ſworn to defend and maintain. Man never acknowledg'd Superiority without Power, and why ſhould I? The Excellence I boaſt of is viſible, all Animals tremble at the ſight of the Lyon, not out of Panick Fear. The Gods have given me Swiftneſs to overtake, and Strength to conquer whatever comes near me. Where is there a Creature that has his Teeth and Claws like mine; behold the thickneſs of theſe maſſy Jaw-bones; conſider the width of them, and feel the firmneſs of this brawny Neck. The nimbleſt Deer, the wildeſt Boar, the ſtouteſt Horſe, and ſtrongeſt Bull are my Prey where-ever I meet them. Thus ſpoke the Lyon, and the Merchant fainted away.

The Lyon, in my Opinion, has ſtretch'd the Point too far; yet when to ſoften the Fleſh of Male Animals, we have by Caſtration prevented the firmneſs their Tendons and every Fibre would have come to without it, I confeſs I think it ought to move a Human Creature when he reflects upon the cruel Care with which they are fatned for Deſtruction. When a large and gentle Bullock, after having reſiſted a ten times greater force of Blows, than would have kill'd his Murderer, falls ſtun'd at laſt, and his arm'd Head is faſten'd to the Ground

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with Cords; as ſoon as the wide Wound is made, and the Jugulars are cut aſunder, what Mortal can without Compaſſion hear the painful Bellowings intercepted by his Blood, the bitter Sighs that ſpeak the ſharpneſs of his Anguiſh, and the deep ſounding Groans with loud anxiety fetch'd from the bottom of his ſtrong and palpitating Heart; Look on the trembling and violent Convulſions of his Limbs; ſee, whilſt his reeking Gore ſtreams from him, his Eyes become dim and languid, and behold his Struglings, Gaſps and laſt Efforts for Life, the certain Signs of his approaching Fate? When a Creature has given ſuch convincing and undeniable Proofs of the Terrors upon him, and the Pains and Agonies he feels, is there a follower of *Deſcartes* ſo inur'd to Blood, as not to refute, by his Commiſeration, the Philoſophy of that vain Reaſoner?

(Q.) —— —— *For frugally*
They now liv'd on their Salary.

Page 9. Line 20.

WHEN People have ſmall comings in, and are honeſt withal, it is then that the generality of them begin to be frugal, and not before. Frugality in *Ethicks* is call'd that Virtue from the Principle of which Men abſtain from Superfluities, and deſpiſing the operoſe Contrivances of Art to procure either Eaſe or Pleaſure, content themſelves with the natural Simplicity of things, and are carefully temperate in the Enjoyment of them without any Tincture of Covetouſneſs. Frugality thus limited, is perhaps ſcarcer than many may imagine; but what is generally underſtood by it is a Quality more often to be met with, and conſiſts in

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a *Medium* between Profuſeneſs and Avarice, rather leaning to the latter. As this prudent Oeconomy, which ſome People call *Saving*, is in private Families the moſt certain Method to encreaſe an Eſtate. So ſome imagine that whether a Country be barren or fruitful, the ſame Method, if generally purſued (which they think practicable) will have the ſame effect upon a whole Nation, and that, for Example, the *Engliſh* might be much richer than they are, if they would be as frugal as ſome of their Neighbours. This, I think, is an Error, which to prove I ſhall firſt refer the Reader to what has been ſaid upon this head in Remark (*L.*) and then go on thus.

Experience teaches us firſt, that as People differ in their Views and Perceptions of Things, ſo they vary in their Inclinations; one Man is given to Covetouſneſs, another to Prodigality, and a third is only *Saving*. Secondly, that Men are never, or at leaſt very ſeldom, reclaimed from their darling Paſſions, either by Reaſon or Precept, and that if any thing ever draws 'em from what they are naturally propenſe to, it muſt be a change in their Circumſtances or their Fortunes. If we reflect upon theſe Obſervations, we ſhall find that to render the generality of a Nation laviſh, the Product of the Country muſt be conſiderable in proportion to the Inhabitants, and what they are profuſe of cheap; that on the contrary, to make a Nation generally frugal, the Neceſſaries of Life muſt be ſcarce, and conſequently dear; and that therefore let the beſt Politician do what he can, the Profuſeneſs or Frugality of a People in general, muſt always depend upon, and will in ſpight of his Teeth, be ever proportion'd to the Fruitfulneſs and Product of the Country, the number of Inhabitants, and the Taxes they are to bear. If any body would refute what I have ſaid, let them only prove from Hiſtory, that there ever was in any Country a National Frugality without a National Neceſſity. Let

Let us examine then what things are requiſite to aggrandize and enrich a Nation. The firſt deſirable Bleſſings for any Society of Men are a fertile Soil and a happy Climate, a mild Government, and more Land than People. Theſe Things will render Man eaſy, loving, honeſt and ſincere. In this Condition they may be as Virtuous as they can, without the leaſt Injury to the Publick, and conſequently as happy as they pleaſe themſelves. But they ſhall have no Arts or Sciences, or be quiet longer than their Neighbours will let them; they muſt be poor, ignorant, and almoſt wholly deſtitute of what we call the Comforts of Life, and all the Cardinal Virtues together won't ſo much as procure a tolerable Coat or a Porridge-Pot among 'em: For in this State of ſlothful Eaſe and ſtupid Innocence, as you need not fear great Vices, ſo you muſt not expect any conſiderable Virtues. Man never exerts himſelf but when he is rouz'd by his Deſires: Whilſt they lie dormant, and there is nothing to raiſe them, his Excellence and Abilities will be for ever undiſcover'd, and the lumpiſh Machine, without the Influence of his Paſſions, may be juſtly compar'd to a huge Wind-mill without a breath of Air.

Would you render a Society of Men ſtrong and powerful. you muſt touch their Paſſions. Divide the Land, tho' there be never ſo much to ſpare, and their Poſſeſſions will make them Covetous: Rouze them, tho' but in Jeſt, from their Idleneſs with Praiſes, and Pride will ſet them to work in earneſt: Teach them Trades and Handicrafts, and you'll bring Envy and Emulation among them: To encreaſe their Numbers, ſet up a variety of Manufactures, and leave no Ground uncultivated; Let Property be inviolably ſecured, and Privileges equal to all Men; ſuffer no body to act but what is lawful, and every body to think what he pleaſes; for a Country where every body may be maintained

tained that will be employ'd, and the other Maxims are obſerv'd, muſt always be throng'd and can never want People, as long as there is any in the World. Would you have them Bold and Warlike, turn to Military Diſcipline, make good uſe of their Fear, and flatter their Vanity with Art and Aſſiduity: But would you moreover render them an opulent, knowing and polite Nation, teach 'em Commerce with Foreign Countries, and if poſſible get into the Sea, which to compaſs ſpare no Labour nor Induſtry, and let no difficulty deter you from it: Then promote Navigation, cheriſh the Merchant, and encourage Trade in every Branch of it; this will bring Riches, and where they are, Arts and Sciences will ſoon follow, and by the help of what I have named and good Management, it is that Politicians can make a People potent, renown'd and flouriſhing.

But would you have a frugal and honeſt Society, the beſt Policy is to preſerve Men in their Native Simplicity, ſtrive not to encreaſe their Numbers; let them never be acquainted with Strangers or Superfluities, but remove and keep from them every thing that might raiſe their Deſires, or improve their Underſtanding.

Great Wealth and Foreign Treaſure will ever ſcorn to come among Men, unleſs you'll admit their inſeparable Companions, Avarice and Luxury: Where Trade is conſiderable Fraud will intrude. To be at once well-bred and ſincere, is no leſs than a Contradiction; and therefore whilſt Man advances in Knowledge, and his Manners are poliſh'd, we muſt expect to ſee at the ſame time his Deſires enlarg'd, his Appetites refin'd, and his Vices encreas'd.

The *Dutch* may aſcribe their preſent Grandeur to the Virtue and Frugality of their Anceſtors as they pleaſe; but what made that contemptible ſpot of Ground ſo conſiderable among the princi-

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pal Powers of *Europe*, has been their Political Wiſdom in poſtponing every thing to Merchandize and Navigation, the unlimited Liberty of Conſcience that is enjoy'd among them, and the unwearied Application with which they have always made uſe of the moſt effectual means to encourage and increaſe Trade in general.

They never were noted for Frugality before *Philip* II. of *Spain* began to rage over them with that un-heard of Tyranny. Their Laws were trampled upon, their Rights and large Immunities taken from them, and their Conſtitution torn to pieces. Several of their Chief Nobles were condemn'd and executed without legal Form of Proceſs. Complaints and Remonſtrances were puniſh'd as ſeverely as Reſiſtance, and thoſe that eſcaped being maſſacred, were plundered by ravenous Soldiers. As this was intolerable to a People that had always been uſed to the mildeſt of Governments, and enjoy'd greater Privileges than any of the Neighbouring Nations, ſo they choſe rather to dye in Arms than periſh by cruel Executioners. If we conſider the Strength *Spain* had then, and the low Circumſtances thoſe Diſtreſs'd States were in, there never was heard of a more unequal Strife; yet ſuch was their Fortitude and Reſolution, that only ſeven of thoſe Provinces uniting themſelves together, maintain'd againſt the greateſt and beſt-diſciplin'd Nation in *Europe*, the moſt tedious and bloody War, that is to be met with in ancient or modern Hiſtory.

Rather than to become a Victim to the *Spaniſh* Fury, they were contented to live upon a third part of their Revenues, and lay out far the greateſt part of their Income in defending themſelves againſt their mercileſs Enemies. Theſe Hardſhips and Calamities of a War within their Bowels, firſt put them upon that extraordinary Frugality, and the Continuance under the ſame Difficulties for

above

above Fourſcore Years, could not but render it Cuſtomary and Habitual to them. But all their Arts of Saving, and Penurious way of Living, could never have enabled them to make Head againſt ſo Potent an Enemy, if their Induſtry in promoting their Fiſhery and Navigation in general, had not help'd to ſupply the Natural Wants and Diſadvantages they labour'd under.

The Country is ſo ſmall and ſo populous, that there is not Land enough, (though hardly an Inch of it is unimprov'd) to feed the Tenth Part of the Inhabitants. *Holland* itſelf is full of large Rivers, and lies lower than the Sea, which would run over it every Tide, and waſh it away in one Winter, if it was not kept out by vaſt Banks and huge Walls: The Repairs of thoſe, as well as their Sluices, Keys, Mills, and other Neceſſaries they are forc'd to make uſe of to keep themſelves from being drown'd, are a greater Expence to them one Year with another, than could be rais'd by a general Land Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound, if to be deducted from the neat Produce of the Landlord's Revenue.

Is it a wonder that People under ſuch Circumſtances, and loaden with greater Taxes beſides than any other Nation, ſhould be oblig'd to be ſaving? But why muſt they be a Pattern to others, who beſides that they are more happily ſituated, are much richer within themſelves, and have, to the ſame number of People, above ten times the Extent of Ground? The *Dutch* and we often buy and ſell at the ſame Markets, and ſo far our Views may be ſaid to be the ſame: Otherwiſe the Intereſts and Political Reaſons of the two Nations as to the private Oeconomy of either, are very different. It is their Intereſt to be frugal and ſpend little; becauſe they muſt have every thing from abroad, except Butter, Cheeſe and Fiſh, and therefore of them, eſpecially the latter, they conſume

three

three times the Quantity, which the ſame number of People do here. It is our Intereſt to eat plenty of Beef and Mutton to maintain the Farmer, and further improve our Land, of which we have enough to feed our ſelves, and as many more, if it was better cultivated. The *Dutch* perhaps have more Shipping, and more ready Money than we, but then thoſe are only to be conſidered as the Tools they work with. So a Carrier may have more Horſes than a Man of ten times his worth, and a Banker that has not above fifteen or ſixteen Hundred Pounds in the World, may have generally more ready Caſh by him than a Gentleman of two Thouſand a Year. He that keeps three or four Stage-Coaches to get his Bread, is to a Gentleman that keeps a Coach for his Pleaſure, what the *Dutch* are in compariſon to us; having nothing of their own but Fiſh, they are Carriers and Freighters to the reſt of the World, whilſt the Baſis of our Trade chiefly depends upon our own Product.

Another Inſtance, that what makes the Bulk of the People ſaving, are heavy Taxes, ſcarcity of Land, and ſuch Things that occaſion a Dearth of Proviſions, may be given from what is obſervable among the *Dutch* themſelves. In the Province of *Holland* there is a vaſt Trade, and an unconceivable Treaſure of Money. The Land is almoſt as rich as Dung itſelf, and (as I have ſaid once already) not an Inch of it unimprov'd. In *Gelderland* and *Overyſſell* there's hardly any Trade, and very little Money: The Soil is very indifferent, and abundance of Ground lies waſte. Then what is the Reaſon that the ſame *Dutch* in the two latter Provinces, tho' Poorer than the firſt, are yet leſs ſtingy and more hoſpitable? Nothing but that their Taxes in moſt Things are leſs Extravagant, and in proportion to the Number of People, that they have a great deal more Ground. What they ſave in *Holland*, they ſave out of their Bellies; 'tis Eatables, Drink-

Drinkables and Fewel that their heavieſt Taxes are upon, but they wear better Cloaths, and have richer Furniture, than you'll find in the other Provinces.

Thoſe that are frugal by Principle, are ſo in every Thing, but in *Holland* the People are only ſparing in ſuch Things as are daily wanted, and ſoon conſumed; in what is laſting they are quite otherwiſe: In Pictures and Marble they are profuſe; in their Buildings and Gardens they are extravagant to Folly. In other Countries you may meet with ſtately Courts and Palaces of great Extent that belong to Princes, which no body can expect in a Commonwealth, where ſo much Equality is obſerv'd as there is in this; but in all *Europe* you ſhall find no private Buildings ſo ſumptuouſly Magnificent, as a great many of the Merchants and other Gentlemen's Houſes are in *Amſterdam*, and ſome other great Cities of that ſmall Province; and the generality of thoſe that build there, lay out a greater Proportion of their Eſtates on the Houſes they dwell in than any People upon the Earth.

The Nation I ſpeak of was never in greater ſtreights, nor their Affairs in a more diſmal Poſture ſince they were a Republick, than in the Year 1671, and the beginning of 1672. What we know of their Oeconomy and Conſtitution with any certainty has been chiefly owing to Sir *William Temple*, whoſe Obſervations upon their Manners and Government, it is evident from ſeveral Paſſages in his Memoirs, were made about that time. The *Dutch* indeed were then very frugal; but ſince thoſe Days and that their Calamities have not been ſo preſſing, (tho' the common People, on whom the principal Burthen of all Exciſes and Impoſitions lies, are perhaps much as they were) a great Alteration has been made among the better ſort of People in their Equipages, Entertainments, and whole manner of living.

Thoſe who would have it that the Frugality of that Nation flows not ſo much from Neceſſity, as a general Averſion to Vice and Luxury, will put us in mind of their publick Adminiſtration and Smalneſs of Sallaries, their Prudence in bargaining for and buying Stores and other Neceſſaries, the great Care they take not to be impoſed upon by thoſe that ſerve them, and their Severity againſt them that break their Contracts. But what they would aſcribe to the Virtue and Honeſty of Miniſters, is wholly due to their ſtrict Regulations, concerning the management of the publick Treaſure, from which their admirable Form of Government will not ſuffer them to depart; and indeed one good Man may take another's Word, if they ſo agree, but a whole Nation ought never to truſt to any Honeſty, but what is built upon Neceſſity; for unhappy is the People, and their Conſtitution will be ever precarious, whoſe Welfare muſt depend upon the Virtues and Conſciences of Miniſters and Politicians.

The *Dutch* generally endeavour to promote as much Frugality among their Subjects as 'tis poſſible, not becauſe it is a Virtue, but becauſe it is, generally ſpeaking, their Intereſt, as I have ſhew'd before; for as this latter changes, ſo they alter their Maxims, as will be plain in the following Inſtance.

As ſoon as their *Eaſt India* Ships come home, the Company pays off the Men, and many of them receive the greateſt part of what they have been earning in ſeven or eight, and ſome fifteen or ſixteen Years time. Theſe poor Fellows are encourag'd to ſpend their Money with all Profuſeneſs imaginable; and conſidering that moſt of them, when they ſet out at firſt, were Reprobates, that under the Tuition of a ſtrict Diſcipline, and a miſerable Dyet, have been ſo long kept at hard Labour, without Money, in the midſt of Danger, it cannot be diffi-

cult

cult to make them laviſh as ſoon as they have Plenty.

They ſquander away in Wine, Women and Muſick, as much as People of their Taſte and Education are well capable of, and are ſuffer'd (ſo they but abſtain from doing of Miſchief) to revel and riot with greater Licentiouſneſs than is cuſtomary to be allow'd to others. You may in ſome Cities ſee them accompanied with three or four lewd Women, few of them ſober, run roaring through the Streets by broad Day-light with a Fidler before them: And if the Money, to their thinking, goes not faſt enough theſe ways, they'll find out others, and ſometimes fling it among the Mob by handfuls. This Madneſs continues in moſt of them whilſt they have any thing left, which never laſts long, and for this Reaſon, by a Nick-name, they are called, *Lords of ſix Weeks*, that being generally the time by which the Company has other Ships ready to depart; where theſe infatuated Wretches (their Money being gone) are forc'd to enter themſelves again, and may have leiſure to repent their Folly.

In this Stratagem there is a double Policy: Firſt, if theſe Saylors that have been inured to the hot Climates and unwholeſome Air and Dyet, ſhould be frugal, and ſtay in their own Country, the Company would be continually oblig'd to employ freſh Men, of which (beſides that they are not ſo fit for their Buſineſs) hardly one in two ever lives in ſome Places of the *Eaſt Indies*, which would often prove a great Charge as well as Diſappointment to them. The ſecond is, that the large Sums ſo often diſtributed among thoſe Saylors, are by this means made immediately to circulate throughout the Country, from whence, by heavy Exciſes and other Impoſitions, the greateſt part of it is ſoon drawn back into the publick Treaſure.

To convince the Champions for National Frugality by another Argument, that what they urge

is impracticable, we'll ſuppoſe that I am miſtaken in every thing which in *Remark* (*L*) I have ſaid in behalf of Luxury, and the Neceſſity of it to maintain Trade; after that let us examine what a general Frugality, if it was by Art and Management to be forc'd upon People whether they have occaſion for it or not, would produce in ſuch a Nation as ours. We'll grant then that all the People in *Great Britain* ſhall conſume but four Fifths of what they do now, and ſo lay by one Fifth Part of their Income: I ſhall not ſpeak of what Influence this would have upon almoſt every Trade, as well as the Farmer, the Grazier and the Landlord, but favourably ſuppoſe (what is yet impoſſible) that the ſame Work ſhall be done, and conſequently the ſame Handicrafts be employ'd as there are now. The Conſequence would be, that unleſs Money ſhould all at once fall prodigiouſly in Value, and every thing elſe, contrary to Reaſon, grow very dear, at the five Years end all the working People, and the pooreſt of Labourers, (for I won't meddle with any of the reſt) would be worth in ready Caſh as much as they now ſpend in a whole Year; which, by the by, would be more Money than ever the Nation had at once.

Let us now, overjoy'd with this Encreaſe of Wealth, take a View of the Condition the working People would be in, and reaſoning from Experience, and what we daily obſerve of them, judge what their Behaviour would be in ſuch a Caſe. Every body knows that there is a vaſt number of Journey-men Weavers, Taylors, Clothworkers, and twenty other Handicrafts; who, if by four Days Labour in a Week they can maintain themſelves, will hardly be perſwaded to work the fifth; and that there are Thouſands of labouring Men of all ſorts, who will, tho' they can hardly ſubſiſt, put themſelves to fifty Inconveniencies, diſoblige their Maſters, pinch their Bellies, and run in Debt, to make Holidays. When

Men

Men ſhew ſuch an extraordinary proclivity to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, what reaſon have we to think that they would ever work, unleſs they were oblig'd to it by immediate Neceſſity? When we ſee an Artificer that cannot be drove to his Work before *Tueſday*, becauſe the *Monday* Morning he has Two Shillings left of his laſt Week's Pay; why ſhould we imagine he would go to it at all, if he had fifteen or twenty Pounds in his Pocket?

What would, at this rate, become of our Manufactures? If the Merchant would ſend Cloth Abroad, he muſt make it himſelf, for the Clothier cannot get one Man out of twelve that uſed to work for him. If what I ſpeak of was only to befal the Journeymen Shoemakers, and no body elſe, in leſs than a Twelvemonth half of us would go barefoot. The chief and moſt preſſing uſe there is for Money in a Nation, is to pay the Labour of the Poor, and when there is a real Scarcity of it, thoſe who have a great many Workmen to pay, will always feel it firſt; yet notwithſtanding this great Neceſſity of Coin, it would be eaſier, where Property was well ſecured, to live without Money than without Poor; for who would do the Work? For this reaſon the quantity of circulating Coin in a Country ought always to be proportion'd to the number of Hands that are employ'd; and the Wages of Labourers to the Price of Proviſions. From whence it is demonſtrable, that whatever procures Plenty makes Labourers cheap, where the Poor are well managed; who as they ought to be kept from ſtarving, ſo they ſhould receive nothing worth ſaving. If here and there one of the loweſt Claſs by uncommon Induſtry, and pinching his Belly, lifts himſelf above the Condition he was brought up in, no body ought to hinder him; Nay it is undeniably the wiſeſt Courſe for every Perſon in the Society, and for every private Family to be frugal; but it is the Intereſt of all Rich Nations, that the greateſt part of the Poor

ſhould almoſt never be idle, and yet continually ſpend what they get.

All Men, as Sir *William Temple* obſerves very well, are more prone to Eaſe and Pleaſure than they are to Labour, when they are not prompted to it by Pride or Avarice, and thoſe that get their Living by their daily Labour, are ſeldom powerfully influenc'd by either: So that they have nothing to ſtir them up to be ſerviceable but their Wants, which it is Prudence to relieve, but Folly to cure. The only thing then that can render the labouring Man induſtrious, is a moderate quantity of Money; for as too little will, according as his Temper is, either diſpirit or make him Deſperate, ſo too much will make him Inſolent and Lazy.

A Man would be laugh'd at by moſt People, who ſhould maintain that too much Money could undo a Nation: Yet this has been the Fate of *Spain*; to this the learned Don *Diego Savedra* aſcribes the Ruin of his Country. The Fruits of the Earth in former Ages had made *Spain* ſo rich, that King *Lewis* XI. of *France* being come to the Court of *Toledo*, was aſtoniſh'd at its Splendour, and ſaid, that he had never ſeen any thing to be compar'd to it, either in *Europe* or *Aſia*; he that in his Travels to the *Holy-Land* had run through every Province of them. In the Kingdom of *Caſtille* alone, (if we may believe ſome Writers) there were for the *Holy War* from all Parts of the World got together one hundred thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, and ſixty thouſand Carriages for Baggage, which *Alonſo* III. maintain'd at his own Charge, and paid every Day as well Soldiers as Officers and Princes, every one according to his Rank and Dignity: Nay, down to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, (who equipp'd *Columbus*) and ſome time after, *Spain* was a fertile Country, where Trade and Manufactures flouriſhed, and had a knowing induſtrious People to boaſt of. But as ſoon as that mighty Treaſure, that was obtain'd with

with more Hazard and Cruelty than the World till then had known, and which to come at, by the *Spaniard*'s own Confeſſion, had coſt the Lives of twenty Millions of *Indians*; as ſoon, I ſay, as that Ocean of Treaſure came rowling in upon them, it took away their Senſes, and their Induſtry forſook them. The Farmer left his Plough, the Mechanick his Tools, the Merchant his Compting-houſe, and every body ſcorning to work, took his Pleaſure and turn'd Gentleman. They thought they had reaſon to value themſelves above all their Neighbours, and now nothing but the Conqueſt of the World would ſerve them.

The Conſequence of this has been, that other Nations have ſupply'd what their own Sloth and Pride deny'd them; and when every body ſaw, that notwithſtanding all the Prohibitions the Government could make againſt the Exportation of Bullion, the *Spaniard* would part with his Money, and bring it you aboard himſelf at the hazard of his Neck, all the World endeavoured to work for *Spain*. Gold and Silver being by this means yearly divided and ſhared among all the Trading Countries, have made all Things dear, and moſt Nations of *Europe* induſtrious, except their Owners, who ever ſince their mighty Acquiſitions, ſit with their Arms acroſs, and wait every Year with Impatience and Anxiety, the Arrival of their Revenues from Abroad, to pay others for what they have ſpent already: And thus by *too much Money*, the making of Colonies and other Miſmanagements, of which it was the occaſion, *Spain* is from a fruitful and well-peopled Country, with all its mighty Titles and Poſſeſſions, made a barren and empty Thorough-fair, thro' which Gold and Silver paſs from *America* to the reſt of the World; and the Nation, from a rich, acute, diligent and laborious, become a ſlow, idle, proud and beggarly People; ſo much for *Spain*. The next Country where Money may be called the

Product is *Portugal*, and the Figure which that Kingdom with all its Gold makes in *Europe*, I think is not much to be envyed.

The great Art then to make a Nation happy, and what we call flouriſhing, conſiſts in giving every body an opportunity of being employ'd; which to compaſs, let a Government's firſt care be to promote as great a variety of Manufactures, Arts and Handicrafts, as Human Wit can invent; and the ſecond to encourage Agriculture and Fiſhery in all their Branches, that the whole Earth may be forc'd to exert it ſelf as well as Man; for as the one is an infallible Maxim to draw vaſt multitudes of People into a Nation, ſo the other is the only Method to maintain them.

It is from this Policy, and not the trifling Regulations of Laviſhneſs and Frugality, (which will ever take their own Courſe, according to the Circumſtances of the People) that the Greatneſs and Felicity of Nations muſt be expected; for let the Value of Gold and Silver either riſe or fall, the Enjoyment of all Societies will ever depend upon the Fruits of the Earth, and the Labour of the People; both which joyned together, are a more certain, a more inexhauſtible, and a more real Treaſure, than the Gold of *Braſil*, or the Silver of *Potoſi*.

(R.) *No Honour now*, &c.

Page 9. Line 34.

HOnour in its Figurative Senſe is a Chimera without Truth or Being, an Invention of Moraliſts and Politicians, and ſignifies a certain Principle of Virtue not related to Religion, found in ſome Men that keeps 'em cloſe to their Duty and Engagements whatever they be; as for Example, a Man

a Man of Honour enters into a Conſpiracy with others to murder a King; he is obliged to go thorough Stich with it; and if overcome by Remorſe or Good-nature he ſtartles at the Enormity of his Purpoſe, diſcovers the Plot, and turns a Witneſs againſt his Accomplices, he then forfeits his Honour, at leaſt among the Party he belonged to. The Excellency of this Principle is, that the Vulgar are deſtitute of it, and it is only to be met with in People of the better ſort, as ſome Oranges have Kernels, and others not, tho' the out-ſide be the ſame. In great Families it is like the Gout, generally counted Hereditary, and all Lords Children are born with it. In ſome that never felt any thing of it, it is acquired by Converſation and Reading, (eſpecially of Romances) in others by Preferment; but there is nothing that encourages the Growth of it more than a Sword, and upon the firſt wearing of one, ſome People have felt conſiderable Shoots of it in four and twenty Hours.

The chief and moſt important Care a Man of Honour ought to have, is the Preſervation of this Principle, and rather than forfeit it, he muſt loſe his Employments and Eſtate, nay, Life it ſelf; for which reaſon, whatever Humility he may ſhew by way of Good-breeding, he is allow'd to put an ineſtimable Value upon himſelf, as a Poſſeſſor of this inviſible Ornament. The only Method to preſerve this Principle, is to live up to the Rules of Honour, which are Laws he is to walk by: Himſelf is oblig'd always to be faithful to his Truſt, to prefer the publick Intereſt to his own, not to tell lies, nor defraud or wrong any Body, and from others to ſuffer no Affront, which is a Term of Art for every Action deſignedly done to undervalue him.

The Men of ancient Honour, of which I reckon *Don Quixote* to have been the laſt upon Record, were very nice Obſervers of all theſe Laws, and a great many more than I have named; but the Mo-

derns ſeem to be more remiſs; they have a profound Veneration for the laſt of 'em, but they pay not an equal Obedience to any of the other, and whoever will but ſtrictly comply with that I hint at, ſhall have abundance of Treſpaſſes againſt all the reſt conniv'd at.

A Man of Honour is always counted impartial, and a Man of Senſe of courſe; for no body ever heard of a Man of Honour that was a Fool: For this Reaſon, he has nothing to do with the Law, and is always allow'd to be a Judge in his own Caſe; and if the leaſt Injury be done either to himſelf or his Friend, his Relation, his Servant, his Dog, or any thing which he is pleaſed to take under his Honourable Protection, Satisfaction muſt be forthwith demanded; and if it proves an Affront, and he that gave it likewiſe a Man of Honour, a Battle muſt enſue. From all this it is evident, that a Man of Honour muſt be poſſeſſed of Courage, and that without it his other Principle would be no more than a Sword without a Point. Let us therefore examine what Courage conſiſts in, and whether it be, as moſt People will have it, a real Something that valiant Men have in their Nature diſtinct from all their other Qualities or not.

There is nothing ſo univerſally ſincere upon Earth, as the Love which all Creatures, that are capable of any, bear to themſelves; and as there is no Love but what implies a Care to preſerve the thing beloved, ſo there is nothing more ſincere in any Creature than his Will, Wiſhes, and Endeavours to preſerve himſelf. This is the Law of Nature, by which no Creature is endued with any Appetite or Paſſion but what either directly or indirectly tends to the Preſervation either of himſelf or his Species.

The Means by which Nature obliges every Creature continually to ſtir in this Buſineſs of Self-Preſervation, are grafted in him, and (in Man) call'd Deſires,

Deſires, which either compel him to crave what he thinks will ſuſtain or pleaſe him, or command him to avoid what he imagines might diſpleaſe, hurt or deſtroy him. Theſe Deſires or Paſſions have all their different Symptoms by which they manifeſt themſelves to thoſe they diſturb, and from that variety of Diſturbances they make within us, their various Denominations have been given them, as has been ſhewn already in Pride and Shame.

The Paſſion that is rais'd in us when we apprehend that Miſchief is approaching us, is call'd Fear: The Diſturbance it makes within us is always more or leſs violent in proportion, not of the Danger, but our Apprehenſion of the Miſchief dreaded, whether real or imaginary. Our Fear then being always proportion'd to the Apprehenſion we have of the Danger, it follows, that whilſt that Apprehenſion laſts, a Man can no more ſhake off his Fear than he can a Leg or an Arm. In a Fright it is true, the Apprehenſion of Danger is ſo ſudden, and attacks us ſo lively, (as ſometimes to take away Reaſon and Senſes) that when 'tis over we often don't remember that we had any Apprehenſion at all; but from the Event, 'tis plain we had it, for how could we have been frighten'd if we had not apprehended that ſome Evil or other was coming upon us?

Moſt People are of Opinion, that this Apprehenſion is to be conquer'd by Reaſon, but I confeſs I am not: Thoſe that have been frighten'd will tell you, that as ſoon as they could recollect themſelves, that is, make uſe of their Reaſon, their Apprehenſion was conquer'd. But this is no Conqueſt at all, for in a Fright the Danger was either altogether imaginary, or elſe it is paſt by that time they can make uſe of their Reaſon; and therefore if they find there is no Danger, it is no wonder that they ſhould not apprehend any: But when the Danger is permanent, let them then make uſe of their Reaſon,

ſon, and they'll find that it may ſerve them to examine the Greatneſs and Reality of the Danger, and that if they find it leſs than they imagin'd, the Apprehenſion will be leſſen'd accordingly; but if the Danger proves real, and the ſame in every Circumſtance as they took it to be at firſt, then their Reaſon inſtead of diminiſhing will rather encreaſe their Apprehenſion. Whilſt this Fear laſts, no Creature can fight offenſively; and yet we ſee Brutes daily fight obſtinately, and worry one another to Death; ſo that ſome other Paſſion muſt be able to overcome this Fear, and the moſt contrary to it is Anger; which to trace to the bottom I muſt beg leave to make another Digreſſion.

No Creature can ſubſiſt without Food, nor any Species of them (I ſpeak of the more perfect Animals) continue long unleſs young ones are continually born as faſt as the old ones die. Therefore the firſt and fierceſt Appetite that Nature has given them is Hunger, the next is Luſt; the one prompting them to procreate, as the other bids them eat. Now, if we obſerve that Anger is that Paſſion which is rais'd in us when we are croſs'd or diſturb'd in our Deſires, and that as it ſums up all the Strength in Creatures, ſo it was given them that by it they might exert themſelves more vigorouſly in endeavouring to remove, overcome, or deſtroy whatever obſtructs them in the Purſuit of Self-Preſervation; we ſhall find that Brutes, unleſs themſelves or what they love, or the Liberty of either are threaten'd or attack'd, have nothing worth Notice that can move them to Anger but *Hunger* or *Luſt*. 'Tis they that make them more fierce, for we muſt obſerve, that the Appetites of Creatures are as actually croſs'd, whilſt they want and cannot meet with what they deſire (tho' perhaps with leſs Violence) as when hinder'd from enjoying what they have in view. What I have ſaid will appear more plainly, if we but mind what no body

can

can be ignorant of, which is this: All Creatures upon Earth live either upon the Fruits and Product of it, or elſe the Fleſh of other Animals, their Fellow Creatures. The latter, which we call Beaſts of Prey, Nature has arm'd accordingly, and given them Weapons and Strength to overcome and tear aſunder thoſe whom ſhe has deſign'd for their Food, and likewiſe a much keener Appetite than to other Animals that live upon Herbs, &c. For as to the firſt, if a Cow lov'd Mutton as well as ſhe does Graſs, being made as ſhe is, and having no Claws or Talons, and but one Row of Teeth before, that are all of an equal Length, ſhe would be ſtarv'd even among a Flock of Sheep. Secondly, As to their Voraciouſneſs, if Experience did not teach it us, our Reaſon might: In the firſt place, it is highly probable that the Hunger which can make a Creature fatigue, harraſs and expoſe himſelf to Danger for every Bit he eats, is more piercing than that which only bids him eat what ſtands before him, and which he may have for ſtooping down. In the ſecond, It is to be conſidered, that as Beaſts of Prey have an Inſtinct by which they learn to crave, trace, and diſcover thoſe Creatures that are good Food for them; ſo the others have likewiſe an Inſtinct that teaches them to ſhun, conceal themſelves, and run away from thoſe that hunt after them: From hence it muſt follow, that Beaſts of Prey, tho' they could almoſt eat for ever, go yet more often with empty Bellies than other Creatures, whoſe Victuals neither fly from nor oppoſe them. This muſt perpetuate as well as encreaſe their Hunger, which hereby becomes a conſtant Fuel to their Anger.

If you aſk me what ſtirs up this Anger in Bulls and Cocks that will fight to Death, and yet are neither Animals of Prey nor very voracious, I anſwer, *Luſt*. Thoſe Creatures, whoſe Rage proceeds from Hunger, both Male and Female, attack every

thing they can maſter, and fight obſtinately againſt all: But the Animals, whoſe Fury is provok'd by a Venereal Ferment, being generally Males, exert themſelves chiefly againſt other Males of the ſame Species. They may do miſchief by chance to other Creatures; but the main Objects of their Hatred are their Rivals, and it is againſt them only that their Proweſs and Fortitude are ſhewn. We ſee likewiſe in all thoſe Creatures of which the Male is able to ſatisfy a great Number of Females, a more conſiderable Superiority in the Male expreſs'd by Nature in his Make and Features as well as Fierceneſs, than is obſerv'd in other Creatures, where the Male is contented with one or two Females. Dogs, tho' become Domeſtick Animals, are ravenous to a Proverb, and thoſe of them that will fight being Carnivorous, would ſoon become Beaſts of Prey, if not fed by us; what we may obſerve in them is an ample Proof of what I have hitherto advanc'd. Thoſe of a true fighting Breed, being voracious Creatures, both Male and Female, will faſten upon any thing, and ſuffer themſelves to be kill'd before they give over. As the Female is rather more ſalacious than the Male; ſo there is no Difference in their Make at all, what diſtinguiſhes the Sexes excepted, and the Female is rather the fierceſt of the two. A Bull is a terrible Creature when he is kept up, but where he has twenty or more Cows to range among, in a little time he'll become as tame as any of them, and a dozen Hens will ſpoil the beſt Game Cock in *England*. Harts and Deer are counted chaſte and timorous Creatures, and ſo indeed they are almoſt all the Year long, except in Rutting Time, and then on a ſudden they become bold to Admiration, and often make at the Keepers themſelves.

That the Influence of thoſe two principal Appetites, Hunger and Luſt, upon the Temper of Animals, is not ſo whimſical as ſome may imagine,

may

may be partly demonſtrated from what is obſervable in our ſelves; for though our Hunger is infinitely leſs violent than that of Wolves and other ravenous Creatures, yet we ſee that People who are in Health and have a tolerable Stomach, are more fretful, and ſooner put out of Humour for Trifles when they ſtay for their Victuals beyond their uſual Hours, than at any other time. And again, tho' Luſt in Man is not ſo raging as it is in Bulls and other ſalacious Creatures, yet nothing provokes Men and Women both ſooner and more violently to Anger, than what croſſes their Amours, when they are heartily in Love; and the moſt fearful and tenderly educated of either Sex, have ſlighted the greateſt Dangers, and ſet aſide all other Conſiderations to compaſs the Deſtruction of a Rival.

Hitherto I have endeavour'd to demonſtrate, that no Creature can fight offenſively as long as his Fear laſts; that Fear cannot be conquer'd but by another Paſſion; that the moſt contrary to it, and moſt effectual to overcome it is Anger; that the two principal Appetites which diſappointed can ſtir up this laſt-named Paſſion are *Hunger* and *Luſt*, and that in all Brute Beaſts the proneneſs to Anger and Obſtinacy in fighting generally depend upon the Violence of either or both thoſe Appetites together: From whence it muſt follow, that what we call Proweſs or natural Courage in Creatures, is nothing but the effect of Anger, and that all fierce Animals muſt be either very Ravenous or very Luſtful, if not both.

Let us now examine what by this Rule we ought to judge of our own Species. From the tenderneſs of Man's Skin, and the great care that is required for Years together to rear him; from the Make of his Jaws, the evenneſs of his Teeth, the breadth of his Nails, and the ſlightneſs of both, it is not probable that Nature ſhould have deſign'd him for

Rapine;

Rapine; for this Reaſon his Hunger is not voracious as it is in Beaſts of Prey; neither is he ſo ſalacious as other Animals that are call'd ſo, and being beſides very induſtrious to ſupply his wants, he can have no reigning Appetite to perpetuate his Anger, and muſt conſequently be a timorous Animal.

What I have ſaid laſt muſt only be underſtood of Man in his Savage State; for if we examine him as a Member of a Society and a taught Animal, we ſhall find him quite another Creature: As ſoon as his Pride has room to play, and Envy, Avarice and Ambition begin to catch hold of him, he is rouz'd from his natural Innocence and Stupidity. As his Knowledge encreaſes, his Deſires are enlarg'd, and conſequently his Wants and Appetites are multiply'd: Hence it muſt follow, that he will be often croſs'd in the Purſuit of them, and meet with abundance more diſappointment to ſtir up his Anger in this than his former Condition, and Man would in a little time become the moſt hurtful and noxious Creature in the World, if let alone, whenever he could over-power his Adverſary, if he had no Miſchief to fear but from the Perſon that anger'd him.

The firſt care therefore of all Governments is by ſevere Puniſhments to curb his Anger when it does hurt, and ſo by encreaſing his Fears prevent the Miſchief it might produce. When various Laws to reſtrain him from uſing Force are ſtrictly executed, Self-Preſervation muſt teach him to be peaceable; and as it is every body's Buſineſs to be as little diſturb'd as is poſſible, his Fears will be continually augmented and enlarg'd as he advances in Experience, Underſtanding and Foreſight. The Conſequence of this muſt be, that as the Provocations he will receive to Anger will be infinite in the civiliz'd State, ſo his Fears to damp it will be the ſame, and thus in a little time he'll be taught by his Fears to deſtroy his Anger, and by Art to

conſult

conſult in an oppoſite Method the ſame Self-Preſervation for which Nature before had furniſhed him with Anger, as well as the reſt of his Paſſions.

The only uſeful Paſſion then that Man is poſſeſs'd of toward the Peace and Quiet of a Society, is his Fear, and the more you work upon it the more orderly and governable he'll be; for how uſeful ſoever Anger may be to Man, as he is a ſingle Creature by himſelf, yet the Society has no manner of occaſion for it: But Nature being always the ſame, in the Formation of Animals, produces all Creatures as like to thoſe that beget and bear them as the Place ſhe forms them in, and the various Influences from without, will give her leave, and conſequently all Men, whether they are born in Courts or Foreſts, are ſuſceptible of Anger. When this Paſſion overcomes (as among all degrees of People it ſometimes does) the whole Set of Fears Man has, he has true Courage, and will fight as boldly as a Lyon or a Tyger, and at no other time; and I ſhall endeavour to prove, that whatever is call'd Courage in Man, when he is not Angry, is ſpurious and artificial.

It is poſſible by good Government to keep a Society always quiet in itſelf, but no body can enſure Peace from without for ever. The Society may have occaſion to extend their Limits further, and enlarge their Territories, or others may invade theirs, or ſomething elſe will happen that Man muſt be brought to fight; for how civliz'd ſoever Men may be, they never forget that Force goes beyond Reaſon: The Politician now muſt alter his Meaſures, and take off ſome of Man's Fears; he muſt ſtrive to perſwade him, that all what was told him before of the Barbarity of killing Men ceaſes as ſoon as theſe Men are Enemies to the Publick, and that their Adverſaries are neither ſo good nor ſo ſtrong as themſelves. Theſe things well manag'd will ſeldom fail of drawing the hardieſt,

dieſt, the moſt quarrelſome, and the moſt miſchievous in to Combat; but unleſs they are better qualify'd, I won't anſwer for their Behaviour there: If once you can make them undervalue their Enemies, you may ſoon ſtir them up to Anger, and while that laſts they'll fight with greater Obſtinacy than any diſciplin'd Troops: But if any thing happens that was unforeſeen, and a ſudden great Noiſe, a Tempeſt, or any ſtrange or uncommon Accident that ſeems to threaten 'em, intervenes, Fear ſeizes 'em, diſarms their Anger, and makes 'em run away to a Man.

This natural Courage therefore, as ſoon as People begin to have more Wit, muſt be ſoon exploded. In the firſt place thoſe that have felt the Smart of the Enemy's Blows, won't always believe what is ſaid to undervalue him, and are often not eaſily provok'd to Anger. Secondly, Anger conſiſting in Ebullition of the Spirits is a Paſſion of no long continuance (*ira furor brevis eſt*) and the Enemies, if they withſtand the firſt Shock of theſe Angry People, have commonly the better of it. Thirdly, as long as People are Angry, all Counſel and Diſcipline are loſt upon them, and they can never be brought to uſe Art or Conduct in their Battles. Anger then, without which no Creature has natural Courage, being altogether uſeleſs in a War to be manag'd by Stratagem, and brought into a regular Art, the Government muſt find out an Equivalent for Courage that will make Men fight.

Whoever would civilize Men, and eſtabliſh them into a Body Politick, muſt be thoroughly acquainted with all the Paſſions and Appetites, Strength and Weakneſſes of their Frame, and underſtand how to turn their greateſt Frailties to the Advantage of the Publick. In the Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue, I have ſhewn how eaſily Men were induc'd to believe any thing that is ſaid in their Praiſe. If therefore a Law-giver or Politician,

whom

whom they have a great Veneration for, ſhould tell them, that the generality of Men had within them a Principle of Valour diſtinct from Anger, or any other Paſſion, that made them to deſpiſe Danger and face Death itſelf with Intrepidity, and that they who had the moſt of it were the moſt valuable of their kind, it is very likely, conſidering what has been ſaid, that moſt of them, tho' they felt nothing of this Principle, would ſwallow it for Truth, and that the proudeſt feeling themſelves mov'd at this piece of Flattery, and not well vers'd in diſtinguiſhing the Paſſions, might imagine that they felt it heaving in their Breaſts, by miſtaking Pride for Courage. If but One in Ten can be perſuaded openly to declare, that he is poſſeſs'd of this Principle, and maintain it againſt all Gainſayers, there will ſoon be half a dozen that ſhall aſſert the ſame. Whoever has once own'd it is engaged, the Politician has nothing to do but to take all imaginable Care to flatter the Pride of thoſe that brag of, and are willing to ſtand by it, a thouſand different ways: The ſame Pride that drew him in firſt will ever after oblige him to defend the Aſſertion, till at laſt the fear of diſcovering the reality of his Heart, comes to be ſo great that it out-does the fear of Death itſelf. Do but encreaſe Man's Pride, and his fear of Shame will ever be proportion'd to it; for the greater value a Man ſets upon himſelf, the more Pains he'll take and the greater Hardſhips he'll undergo to avoid Shame.

The great Art then to make Man Couragious, is firſt to make him own this Principle of Valour within, and afterwards to inſpire him with as much Horror againſt Shame, as Nature has given him againſt Death; and that there are things to which Man has, or may have, a ſtronger Averſion than he has to Death, is evident from *Suicide*. He that makes Death his choice, muſt look upon it as leſs terrible than what he ſhuns by it; for whether the

Evil

Evil dreaded be preſent or to come, real or imaginary, no body would kill himſelf wilfully but to avoid ſomething. *Lucretia* held out bravely againſt all the attacks of the Raviſher, even when he threaten'd her Life; which ſhews that ſhe valu'd her Virtue beyond it: But when he threaten'd her Reputation with eternal Infamy, ſhe fairly ſurrender'd, and then ſlew herſelf; a certain ſign that ſhe valued her Virtue leſs than her Glory, and her Life leſs than either. The fear of Death did not make her yield, for ſhe reſolv'd to die before ſhe did it, and her compliance muſt only be conſider'd as a Bribe to make *Tarquin* forbear ſullying her Reputation; ſo that Life had neither the firſt nor ſecond place in the eſteem of *Lucretia*. The Courage then which is only uſeful to the Body Politick, and what is generally call'd true Valour, is artificial, and conſiſts *in a Superlative Horror againſt Shame, by* Flattery *infuſed into Men of exalted* Pride.

As ſoon as the Notions of Honour and Shame are received among a Society, it is not difficult to make Men fight. Firſt, take care they are perſuaded of the Juſtice of their Cauſe: for no Man fights heartily that thinks himſelf in the wrong; then ſhew them that their Altars, their Poſſeſſions, Wives, Children, and every thing that is near and dear to them, is concerned in the preſent Quarrel, or at leaſt may be influenced by it hereafter; then put Feathers in their Caps, and diſtinguiſh them from others, talk of Publick-Spiritedneſs, the Love of their Country, facing an Enemy with Intrepidity, deſpiſing Death, the Bed of Honour, and ſuch like high-ſounding Words, and every proud Man will take up Arms and fight himſelf to Death before he'll turn tail, if it be by Day-light. One Man in an Army is a check upon another, and a hundred of them that ſingle and without witneſs would be all Cowards, are for fear of incurring one another's Contempt made Valiant by being together. To

continue and heighten this artificial Courage, all that run away ought to be puniſh'd with Ignominy; thoſe that fought well, whether they did beat or were beaten, muſt be flatter'd and ſolemnly commended; thoſe that loſt their Limbs rewarded, and thoſe that were kill'd ought, above all, to be taken notice of, artfully lamented, and to have extraordinary Encomiums beſtow'd upon them; for to pay Honours to the Dead, will ever be a ſure Method to make Bubbles of the Living.

When I ſay that the Courage made uſe of in the Wars is artificial, I don't imagine that by the ſame Art all Men may be made equally Valiant: As Men have not an equal ſhare of Pride, and differ from one another in Shape and inward Structure, it is impoſſible they ſhould be all equally fit for the ſame uſes. Some Men will never be able to learn Muſick, and yet make good Mathematicians; others will play excellently well upon the Violin, and yet be Coxcombs as long as they live, let them converſe with whom they pleaſe. But to ſhew that there is no evaſion, I ſhall prove, that, ſetting aſide what I ſaid of artificial Courage already, what the greateſt Heroe differs in from the rankeſt Coward, is altogether Corporeal, and depends upon the inward make of Man. What I mean is call'd Conſtitution; by which is underſtood the orderly or diſorderly mixture of the *Fluids* in our Body: That Conſtitution which favours Courage, conſiſts in the natural Strength, Elaſticity, and due Contexture of the finer Spirits, and upon them wholly depends what we call Stedfaſtneſs, Reſolution and Obſtinacy. It is the only Ingredient that is common to natural and artificial Bravery, and is to either what Size is to white Walls, which hinders them from coming off, and makes them laſting. That ſome People are very much, others very little frighten'd at things that are ſtrange and ſudden to them, is likewiſe altogether owing to the firmneſs or imbecility

becility in the Tone of the Spirits. Pride is of no uſe in a Fright, becauſe whilſt it laſts we can't think, which, being counted a diſgrace, is the reaſon People are always angry with any thing that frightens them, as ſoon as the ſurprize is over; and when at the turn of a Battle the Conquerors give no Quarter, and are very cruel, it is a ſign their Enemies fought well, and had put them firſt into great Fears.

That Reſolution depends upon this Tone of the Spirits, appears likewiſe from the effects of ſtrong Liquors, the fiery Particles whereof crowding into the Brain, ſtrengthen the Spirits; their Operation imitates that of Anger, which I ſaid before was an Ebullition of the Spirits. It is for this reaſon that moſt People when they are in Drink, are ſooner touch'd and more prone to Anger than at other times, and ſome raving Mad without any Provocation at all. It is likewiſe obſerv'd, that Brandy makes Men more Quarrelſome at the ſame pitch of Drunkenneſs than Wine; becauſe the Spirits of diſtill'd Waters have abundance of fiery Particles mixt with them, which the other has not. The Contexture of Spirits is ſo weak in ſome, that tho' they have Pride enough, no Art can ever make them fight, or overcome their Fears; but this is a Defect in the Principle of the *Fluids*, as other Deformities are faults of the *Solids*. Theſe puſilanimous People are never thoroughly provok'd to Anger, where there is any Danger, and drinking ever makes 'em bolder, but ſeldom ſo reſolute as to attack any, unleſs they be Women or Children, or ſuch who they know dare not reſiſt. This Conſtitution is often influenced by Health and Sickneſs, and impair'd by great loſſes of Blood; ſometimes it is corrected by Diet; and it is this which the Duke *de la Rochefocault* means when he ſays; *Vanity, Shame, and above all* Conſtitution, *make up very often the Courage of Men and Virtue of Women.*

There

There is nothing that more improves the uſeful Martial Courage I treat of, and at the ſame time ſhews it to be artificial, than Practice; for when Men are diſciplin'd, come to be acquainted with all the Tools of Death and Engines of Deſtruction, when the Shouts, the Outcries, the Fire and Smoak, the Groans of Wounded, and ghaſtly Looks of dying Men, with all the various Scenes of mangled Carcaſſes and bloody Limbs tore off, begin to be familiar to them, their Fears abate apace; not that they are now leſs afraid to die than before, but being uſed ſo often to ſee the ſame Dangers, they apprehend the reality of them leſs than they did: As they are deſervedly valued for ever Siege they are at, and every Battle they are in, it is impoſſible but the ſeveral Actions they ſhare in muſt continually become as many ſolid Steps by which their Pride mounts up, and thus their Fear of Shame, which, as I ſaid before, will always be proportion'd to their Pride, encreaſing as the apprehenſion of the Danger decreaſes, it is no wonder that moſt of them learn to diſcover little or no Fear; and ſome great Generals are able to preſerve a Preſence of Mind, and counterfeit a Calm Serenity within the midſt of all the Noiſe, Horror and Confuſion that attend a Battle.

So filly a Creature is Man, as that, intoxicated with the Fumes of Vanity, he can feaſt on the Thoughts of the Praiſes that ſhall be paid his Memory in future Ages with ſo much ecſtaſy, as to neglect his preſent Life, nay, court and covet Death, if he but imagines that it will add to the Glory he had acquired before. There is no pitch of Self-denial that a Man of Pride and Conſtitution cannot reach, nor any Paſſion ſo violent but he'll ſacrifice it to another which is ſuperior to it; and here I cannot but admire at the Simplicity of ſome good Men, who when they hear of the Joy and Alacrity with which holy Men in Perſecutions have

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ſuffer'd for their Faith, imagine that ſuch Conſtancy muſt exceed all human Force, unleſs it was ſupported by ſome miraculous Aſſiſtance from Heaven. As moſt People are unwilling to acknowledge all the Frailties of their Species, ſo they are unacquainted with the Strength of our Nature, and know not that ſome Men of firm Conſtitution may work themſelves up into Enthuſiaſm by no other help than the Violence of their Paſſions; yet it is certain, that there have been Men who only aſſiſted with Pride and Conſtitution to maintain the worſt of Cauſes, have undergone Death and Torments with as much Chearfulneſs as the beſt of Men, animated with Piety and Devotion, ever did for the true Religion.

To prove this Aſſertion, I could produce many Inſtances; but one or two will be ſufficient. *Jordanus Bruno* of *Nola*, who wrote that ſilly piece of Blaſphemy call'd *Spaccio della Beſtia triumphante*, and the infamous *Vanini*, were both executed for openly profeſſing and teaching of *Atheiſm*: The latter might have been pardon'd the Moment before the Execution, if he would have retracted his Doctrine; but rather than recant, he choſe to be burnt to Aſhes. As he went to the Stake, he was ſo far from ſhewing any Concern, that he held his hand out to a Phyſician whom he happen'd to know, deſiring him to judge of the Calmneſs of his Mind by the Regularity of his Pulſe, and from thence taking an opportunity of making an impious Compariſon, uttered a Sentence too execrable to be mention'd. To theſe we may join one *Mahomet Effendi*, who, as Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, was put to Death at *Conſtantinople*, for having advanc'd ſome Notions againſt the Exiſtence of a God. He likewiſe might have ſav'd his Life by confeſſing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but choſe rather to perſiſt in his Blaſphemies, ſaying, *Tho' he had no Reward to expect, the Love of Truth conſtrain'd him to ſuffer Martyrdom in its defence.*

I have

I have made this Digreſſion chiefly to ſhew the Strength of human Nature, and what meer Man may perform by Pride and Conſtitution alone. Man may certainly be as violently rouz'd by his Vanity, as a Lion is by his Anger; and not only this, Avarice, Revenge, Ambition, and almoſt every Paſſion, Pity not excepted, when they are extraordinary, may by overcoming Fear, ſerve him inſtead of Valour, and be miſtaken for it even by himſelf; as daily Experience muſt teach every body that will examine and look into the Motives from which ſome Men act. But that we may more clearly perceive what this pretended Principle is really built upon, let us look into the Management of Military Affairs, and we ſhall find that Pride is no where ſo openly encouraged as there. As for Cloaths, the very loweſt of the Commiſſion Officers have them richer, or at leaſt more gay and ſplendid, than are generally wore by other People of four or five times their Income. Moſt of them, and eſpecially thoſe that have Families, and can hardly ſubſiſt, would be very glad, all *Europe* over, to be leſs Expenſive that way; but it is a Force put upon them to uphold their Pride, which they don't think on.

But the ways and means to rouze Man's Pride, and catch him by it, are no where more groſly conſpicuous than in the Treatment which the Common Soldiers receive, whoſe Vanity is to be work'd upon (becauſe there muſt be ſo many) at the cheapeſt rate imaginable. Things we are accuſtom'd to we don't mind, or elſe what Mortal that never had ſeen a Soldier could look without laughing upon a Man accoutred with ſo much paltry Gaudineſs and affected Finery? The courſeſt Manufacture that can be made of Wooll, dy'd of a Brick-duſt Colour, goes down with him, becauſe it is in Imitation of Scarlet or Crimſon Cloth; and to make him think himſelf as like his Officer as 'tis poſſible with little or no Coſt, inſtead of Silver or Gold Lace, his

Hat is trim'd with white or yellow Worſted, which in others would deſerve *Bedlam*; yet theſe fine Allurements, and the Noiſe made upon a Calf's Skin, have drawn in and been the Deſtruction of more Men in reality, than all the killing Eyes and bewitching Voices of Women ever ſlew in Jeſt. To Day the Swineherd puts on his Red Coat, and believes every body in earneſt that calls him Gentleman, and two Days after Serjeant *Kite* gives him a ſwinging wrap with his Cane, for holding his Musket an Inch higher than he ſhould do. As to the real Dignity of the Employment, in the two laſt Wars, Officers, when Recruits were wanted, were allow'd to liſt Fellows convicted of Burglary and other Capital Crimes, which ſhews that to be made a Soldier is deem'd to be a Preferment next to hanging. A Trooper is yet worſe than a Foot Soldier; for when he is moſt at Eaſe, he has the Mortification of being Groom to a Horſe that ſpends more Money than himſelf. When a Man reflects on all this, the Uſage they generally receive from their Officers, their Pay, and the Care that is taken of them, when they are not wanted, muſt he not wonder how Wretches can be ſo ſilly as to be proud of being call'd *Gentlemen Soldiers?* Yet if there were not, no Art, Diſcipline or Money would be capable of making them ſo Brave as Thouſands of them are.

If we will mind what Effects Man's Bravery, without any other Qualifications to ſweeten him, would have out of an Army, we ſhall find that it would be very pernicious to the Civil Society; for if Man could conquer all his Fears, you would hear of nothing but Rapes, Murthers and Violences of all ſorts, and Valiant Men would be like Gyants in Romances: Politicks therefore diſcovered in Men a mixt-mettle Principle, which was a Compound of Juſtice, Honeſty and all the Moral Virtues joyn'd to Courage, and all that were poſſeſs'd of it turned

Knights-

Knights-Errant of courſe. They did abundance of Good throughout the World, by taming Monſters, delivering the Diſtreſs'd, and killing the Oppreſſors: But the Wings of all the Dragons being clipt, the Gyants deſtroyed, and the Damſels every where ſet at liberty, except ſome few in *Spain* and *Italy*, who remain'd ſtill captivated by their Monſters, the Order of Chivalry, to whom the Standard of Ancient Honour belonged, has been laid aſide ſome time. It was like their Armours, very maſſy and heavy; the many Virtues about it made it very troubleſome, and as Ages grew wiſer and wiſer, the Principle of Honour in the beginning of the laſt Century was melted over again, and brought to a new Standard; they put in the ſame weight of Courage, half the quantity of Honeſty, and a very little Juſtice, but not a Scrap of any other Virtue, which has made it very eaſie and portable to what it was. However, ſuch as it is, there would be no living without it in a large Nation; it is the tye of Society, and though we are beholden to our frailties for the chief Ingredient of it, there is no Virtue, at leaſt that I am acquainted with, that has been half ſo inſtrumental to the civilizing of Mankind, who in great Societies would ſoon degenerate into cruel Villains and treacherous Slaves, were Honour to be removed from among them.

As to the Duelling Part which belongs to it, I pity the Unfortunate whoſe Lot it is; but to ſay, that thoſe who are guilty of it go by falſe Rules, or miſtake the Notions of Honour, is ridiculous; for either there is no Honour at all, or it teaches Men to reſent Injuries, and accept of Challenges. You may as well deny that it is the faſhion what you ſee every body wear, as to ſay that demanding and giving Satisfaction is againſt the Laws of true Honour. Thoſe that rail at Duelling, don't conſider the Benefit the Society receives from that Faſhion: If every ill-bred Fellow might uſe what

Language he pleas'd, without being called to an Account for it, all Converſation would be ſpoil'd. Some grave People tell us, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* were ſuch valiant Men, and yet knew nothing of Duelling but in their Country's Quarrel: This is very true, but for that reaſon the Kings and Princes in *Homer* gave one another worſe Language than our Porters and Hackney Coach-men would be able to bear without Reſentment.

Would you hinder Duelling, pardon no body that offends that way, and make the Laws againſt it as ſevere as you can, but don't take away the thing itſelf, the Cuſtom of it. This will not only prevent the Frequency of it, but likewiſe by rendring the moſt reſolute and moſt powerful cautious and circumſpect in their Behaviour, poliſh and brighten Society in general. Nothing civilizes a Man equally as his Fear, and if not all, (as my Lord *Rocheſter* ſaid) at leaſt moſt Men would be Cowards if they durſt: The dread of being called to an Account keeps abundance in awe, and there are thouſands of mannerly and well-accompliſh'd Gentlemen in *Europe*, who would have been inſolent and inſupportable Coxcombs without it; beſides if it was out of Faſhion to aſk Satisfaction for Injuries which the Law cannot take hold of, there would be twenty times the Miſchief done there is now, or elſe you muſt have twenty times the Conſtables and other Officers to keep the Peace. I confeſs that though it happens but ſeldom, it is a Calamity to the People, and generally the Families it falls upon; but there can be no perfect Happineſs in this World, and all Felicity has an Allay. The Act itſelf is uncharitable, but when above thirty in a Nation deſtroy themſelves in one Year, and not half that number are killed by others, I don't think the People can be ſaid to love their Neighbours worſe than themſelves. It is ſtrange that a Nation ſhould grudge to ſee perhaps half a dozen Men ſacrific'd

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in a Twelvemonth to obtain ſo valuable a Bleſſing, as the Politeneſs of Manners, the Pleaſure of Converſation, and the Happineſs of Company in general, that is often ſo willing to expoſe, and ſometimes loſes as many thouſands in a few Hours, without knowing whether it will do any good or not.

I would have no body that reflects on the mean Original of Honour complain of being gull'd and made a Property by cunning Politicians, but deſire every body to be ſatisfied, that the Governors of Societies and thoſe in high Stations are greater Bubbles to Pride than any of the reſt. If ſome great Men had not a ſuperlative Pride, and every body underſtood the Enjoyment of Life, who would be a Lord Chancellor of *England*, a Prime Miniſter of State in *France*, or what gives more Fatigue, and not a ſixth part of the Profit of either, a Grand Penſionary of *Holland*? The reciprocal Services which all Men pay to one another, are the Foundation of the Society. The great ones are not flatter'd with their high Birth for nothing; 'tis to rouze their Pride, and excite them to glorious Actions, that we extol their Race, whether it deſerves it or not; and ſome Men have been complimented with the Greatneſs of their Family, and the Merit of their Anceſtors, when in the whole Generation you could not find two but what were uxorious Fools, ſilly Bigots, noted Poltroons, or debauched Whoremaſters. The eſtabliſhed Pride that is inſeparable from thoſe that are poſſeſſed of Titles already, makes them often ſtrive as much not to ſeem unworthy of them, as the working Ambition of others that are yet without, renders them induſtrious and indefatigable to deſerve them. When a Gentleman is made a Baron or an Earl, it is as great a Check upon him in many reſpects, as a Gown and Caſſock are to a young Student that has been newly taken into Orders.

The only thing of weight that can be ſaid againſt modern Honour is, that it is directly oppoſite to Religion. The one bids you bear Injuries with Patience, the other tells you if you don't reſent them, you are not fit to live. Religion commands you to leave all Revenge to God, Honour bids you truſt your Revenge to no body but your ſelf, even where the Law wou'd do it for you: Religion plainly forbids Murther, Honour openly juſtifies it: Religion bids you not ſhed Blood upon any account whatever: Honour bids you fight for the leaſt Trifle: Religion is built on Humility, and Honour upon Pride: How to reconcile them muſt be left to wiſer Heads than mine.

The Reaſon why there are ſo few Men of real Virtue, and ſo many of real Honour, is, becauſe all the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleaſure of doing it, which moſt People reckon but poor Pay; but the Self-denial a Man of Honour ſubmits to in one Appetite, is immediately rewarded by the Satisfaction he receives from another, and what he abates of his Avarice, or any other Paſſion, is doubly repaid to his Pride: Beſides, Honour gives large Grains of Allowance, and Virtue none. A Man of Honour muſt not cheat or tell a Lye; he muſt punctually repay what he borrows at Play, though the Creditor has nothing to ſhew for it; but he may drink, and ſwear, and owe Money to all the Tradeſmen in Town, without taking Notice of their dunning. A Man of Honour muſt be true to his Prince and Country, whilſt he is in their Service; but if he thinks himſelf not well uſed, he may quit it, and do them all the Miſchief he can. A Man of Honour muſt never change his Religion for Intereſt, but he may be as debauch'd as he pleaſes, and never practiſe any. He muſt make no Attempts upon his Friend's Wife, Daughter, Siſter, or any body that is truſted to his Care, but he may lye with all the World beſides.

(S) *No Limner for his Art is fam'd,*
Stone-cutters, Carvers are not nam'd:

Page 10. Line 27.

IT is, without doubt, that among the Conſequences of a National Honeſty and Frugality, it would be one not to build any new Houſes, or uſe new Materials as long as there were old ones enough to ſerve: By this three parts in four of *Maſons, Carpenters, Bricklayers, &c.* would want Employment; and the building Trade being once deſtroyed, what would become of *Limning, Carving*, and other Arts that are miniſtring to Luxury, and have been carefully forbid by thoſe Lawgivers that preferred a good and honeſt, to a great and wealthy Society, and endeavoured to render their Subjects rather Virtuous than Rich. By a Law of *Lycurgus*, it was enacted, That the Ceilings of the *Spartan Houſes* ſhould only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors only ſmoothed by the Saw; and this, ſays *Plutarch*, was not without Myſtery; for if *Epaminondas* could ſay with ſo good a Grace, inviting ſome of his Friends to his Table; *Come, Gentlemen, be ſecure, Treaſon would never come to ſuch a poor Dinner as this*: Why might not this great Lawgiver, in all probability, have thought, that ſuch ill-favour'd Houſes would never be capable of receiving Luxury and Superfluity?

It is reported, as the ſame Author tells us, that King *Leotichidas*, the firſt of that Name, was ſo little us'd to the ſight of carv'd Work, that being entertained at *Corinth* in a ſtately Room, he was much ſurprized to ſee the Timber and Ceiling ſo finely wrought, and aſked his Hoſt whether the Trees grew ſo in his Country.

The ſame want of Employment would reach innumerable Callings; and among the reſt, that of the

Weavers that join'd rich Silk with Plate,
And all the Trades ſubordinate,

(as the Fable has it) would be one of the firſt that ſhould have reaſon to complain; for the Price of Land and Houſes being, by the removal of the vaſt numbers that had left the Hive, ſunk very low on the one ſide, and every body abhorring all other ways of Gain, but ſuch as were ſtrictly honeſt on the other, it is not probable that many without Pride or Prodigality ſhould be able to wear Cloth of Gold and Silver, or rich Brocades. The Conſequence of which would be, that not only the *Weaver*, but likewiſe the *Silver-ſpinner*, the *Flatter*, the *Wire-drawer*, the *Bar-man*, and the *Refiner*, would in a little time be affected with this Frugality.

(T.) ——— ——— *To live great,*
Had made her Husband rob the State.

Page 11. Line 4.

WHat our common Rogues when they are going to be hanged chiefly complain of, as the Cauſe of their untimely End, is next to the Neglect of the Sabbath, their having kept Company with ill Women, meaning Whores; and I don't queſtion, but that among the leſſer Villains many venture their Necks to indulge and ſatisfy their low Amours. But the Words that have given Occaſion to this Remark, may ſerve to hint to us, that among the great ones Men are often put upon ſuch dangerous Projects, and forced into ſuch pernicious Meaſures by their Wives, as the moſt ſubtle Miſtreſs

Miſtreſs never could have perſuaded them to. I have ſhewn already that the worſt of Women and moſt profligate of the Sex did contribute to the Conſumption of Superfluities, as well as the Neceſſaries of Life, and conſequently were Beneficial to many peaceable Drudges, that work hard to maintain their Families, and have no worſe deſign than an honeſt Livelihood. —Let them be baniſhed notwithſtanding, ſays a good Man: When every Strumpet is gone, and the Land wholly freed from Lewdneſs, God Almighty will pour ſuch Bleſſings upon it as will vaſtly exceed the Profits that are now got by Harlots. —— This perhaps would be true; but I can make it evident, that with or without Proſtitutes, nothing could make amends for the Detriment Trade would ſuſtain, if all thoſe of that Sex, who enjoy the happy State of Matrimony, ſhould act and behave themſelves as a ſober wiſe Man could wiſh them.

The variety of Work that is perform'd, and the number of Hands employ'd to gratify the Ficklenes and Luxury of Women is prodigious, and if only the married ones ſhould hearken to Reaſon and juſt Remonſtrances, think themſelves ſufficiently anſwer'd with the firſt refuſal, and never aſk a ſecond time what had been once denied them: If, I ſay, married Women would do this, and then lay out no Money but what their Husbands knew and freely allowed of, the Conſumption of a thouſand things, they now make uſe of, would be leſſened by at leaſt a fourth Part. Let us go from Houſe to Houſe and obſerve the way of the World only among the middling People, creditable Shopkeepers, that ſpend Two or Three Hundred a Year, and we ſhall find the Women when they have half a Score Suits of Cloaths, Two or Three of them not the worſe for wearing, will think it a ſufficient Plea for new Ones, if they can ſay, that they have never a Gown or Petticoat, but what

they have been often ſeen in, and are known by, eſpecially at Church; I don't ſpeak now of profuſe extravagant Women, but ſuch as are counted prudent and moderate in their Deſires.

If by this Pattern we ſhould in proportion judge of the higheſt Ranks, where the richeſt Cloaths are but a trifle to their other Expences, and not forget the Furniture of all ſorts, Equipages, Jewels, and Buildings of Perſons of Quality, we ſhould find the fourth Part I ſpeak of a vaſt Article in Trade, and that the Loſs of it would be a greater Calamity to ſuch a Nation as ours, than it is poſſible to conceive any other, a raging Peſtilence not excepted; for the Death of half a Million of People could not cauſe a tenth Part of the Diſturbance to the Kingdom, that the ſame Number of Poor unemploy'd would certainly create, if at once they were to be added to thoſe, that already one way or other are a Burthen to the Society.

Some few Men have a real Paſſion for their Wives, and are fond of them without reſerve; others that don't care, and have little Occaſion for Women, are yet ſeemingly uxorious, and love out of Vanity; they take delight in a handſome Wife, as a Coxcomb does in a fine Horſe, nor for the uſe he makes of it, but becauſe it is His: The Pleaſure lies in the conſciouſneſs of an uncontroulable Poſſeſſion, and what follows from it, the Reflection on the mighty Thoughts he imagines others to have of his Happineſs. The Men of either ſort may be very laviſh to their Wives, and often preventing their Wiſhes croud New Cloaths and other Finery upon them faſter than they can aſk it, but the greateſt part are wiſer than to indulge the Extravagancies of their Wives ſo far, as to give them immediately every thing they are pleas'd to fancy.

It is incredible what vaſt quantity of Trinkets as well as Apparel are purchas'd and uſed by Women, which they could never have come at by any other

other means, than pinching their Families, Marketting, and other ways of cheating and pilfering from their Husbands: Others by ever teazing their Spouſes, tire them into Compliance, and conquer even obſtinate Churls by perſeverance and their aſſiduity of aſking; A Third Sort are outragious at a denial, and by downright Noiſe and Scolding bully their tame Fools out of any thing they have a mind to; whilſt thouſands by the force of Wheedling know how to overcome the beſt weigh'd Reaſons and the moſt poſitive reiterated Refuſals; the Young and Beautiful eſpecially laugh at all Remonſtrances and Denials, and few of them ſcruple to employ the moſt tender Minutes of Wedlock to promote a ſordid Intereſt. Here had I time I could inveigh with warmth againſt thoſe Baſe, thoſe wicked Women, who calmly play their Arts and falſe deluding Charms againſt our Strength and Prudence, and act the Harlots with their Husbands! Nay, ſhe is worſe than Whore, who impiouſly prophanes and proſtitutes the Sacred Rites of Love to Vile Ignoble Ends; that firſt excites to Paſſion and invites to Joys with ſeeming Ardour, then racks our Fondneſs for no other purpoſe than to extort a Gift, whilſt full of Guile in Counterfeited Tranſports ſhe watches for the Moment when Men can leaſt deny.

I beg pardon for this ſtart out of my way, and deſire the experienced Reader duly to weigh what has been ſaid as to the main Purpoſe, and after that call to mind the temporal Bleſſings, which Men daily hear not only toaſted and wiſh'd for, when People are merry and doing of nothing; but likewiſe gravely and ſolemnly pray'd for in Churches, and other religious Aſſemblies, by Clergymen of all Sorts and Sizes: And as ſoon as he ſhall have laid theſe Things together, and, from what he has obſerv'd in the common Affairs of Life, reaſon'd upon them conſequentially without Prejudice, I

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dare flatter my ſelf, that he will be oblig'd to own, that a conſiderable Portion of what the Proſperity of *London* and Trade in general, and conſequently the Honour, Strength, Safety, and all the worldly Intereſt of the Nation conſiſt in, depends entirely on the Deceit and vile Stratagems of Women; and that Humility, Content, Meekneſs, Obedience to reaſonable Husbands, Frugality, and all the Virtues together, if they were poſſeſs'd of them in the moſt eminent Degree, could not poſſibly be a thouſandth Part ſo ſerviceable, to make an opulent, powerful, and what we call a flouriſhing Kingdom, than their moſt hateful Qualities.

I don't queſtion, but many of my Readers will be ſtartled at this Aſſertion, when they look on the Conſequences that may be drawn from it; and I ſhall be aſk'd, whether People may not as well be virtuous in a populous, rich, wide, extended Kingdom, as in a ſmall, indigent State or Principality, that is poorly inhabited? And if that be impoſſible, Whether it is not the Duty of all Soveraigns to reduce their Subjects, as to Wealth and Numbers, as much as they can? If I allow they may, I own my ſelf in the wrong; and if I affirm the other, my Tenets will juſtly be call'd impious, or at leaſt dangerous to all large Societies. As it is not in this Place of the Book only, but a great many others, that ſuch Queries might be made even by a well-meaning Reader, I ſhall here explain my ſelf, and endeavour to ſolve thoſe Difficulties, which ſeveral Paſſages might have rais'd in him, in order to demonſtrate the Conſiſtency of my Opinion to Reaſon, and the ſtricteſt Morality.

I lay down as a firſt Principle, that in all Societies, great or ſmall, it is the Duty of every Member of it to be Good, that Virtue ought to be encourag'd, Vice diſcountenanc'd, the Laws obey'd, and the Tranſgreſſors puniſh'd. After this I affirm, that if we conſult Hiſtory both Antient and Modern,

dern, and take a view of what has paſt in the World, we ſhall find that Human Nature ſince the Fall of *Adam* has always been the ſame, and that the Strength and Frailties of it have ever been conſpicuous in one Part of the Globe or other, without any Regard to Ages, Climates, or Religion. I never ſaid, nor imagin'd, that Man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty Kingdom, as in the moſt pitiful Commonwealth; but I own it is my Senſe that no Society can be rais'd into ſuch a rich and mighty Kingdom, or ſo rais'd, ſubſiſt in their Wealth and Power for any conſiderable Time, without the Vices of Man.

This I imagine is ſufficiently prov'd throughout the Book; and as Human Nature ſtill continues the ſame, as it has always been for ſo many thouſand Years, we have no great Reaſon to ſuſpect a future Change in it, whilſt the World endures. Now I cannot ſee what Immorality there is in ſhewing a Man the Origin and Power of thoſe Paſſions, which ſo often, even unknowingly to himſelf, hurry him away from his Reaſon; or that there is any Impiety in putting him upon his Guard againſt himſelf, and the ſecret Stratagems of Self-Love, and teaching him the difference between ſuch Actions as proceed from a Victory over the Paſſions, and thoſe that are only the reſult of a Conqueſt which one Paſſion obtains over another; that is, between Real, and Counterfeited Virtue. It is an admirable Saying of a worthy Divine, *That though many Diſcoveries have been made in the World of Self-Love, there is yet abundance of* Terra Incognita *left behind.* What hurt, do I do to Man if I make him more known to himſelf than he was before? But we are all ſo deſperately in Love with Flattery, that we can never reliſh a Truth that is mortifying, and I don't believe that the Immortality of the Soul, a Truth broach'd long before Chriſtianity, would have ever found ſuch a general reception in Hu-

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man Capacities as it has, had it not been a pleaſing one, that extoll'd and was a Compliment to the whole Species, the Meaneſt and moſt Miſerable not excepted.

Every one loves to hear the Thing well ſpoke of, that he has a ſhare in, even Bayliffs, Gaol-keepers, and the Hangman himſelf would have you think well of their Functions; nay Thieves and Houſe-breakers have a greater Regard to thoſe of their Fraternity than they have for Honeſt People; and I ſincerely believe, that it is chiefly Self-Love that has gained this little Treatiſe (as it was before the laſt Impreſſion) ſo many Enemies; every one looks upon it as an Affront done to himſelf, becauſe it detracts from the Dignity, and leſſens the fine Notions he had conceiv'd of Mankind, the moſt Worſhipful Company he belongs to. When I ſay that Societies cannot be rais'd to Wealth and Power, and the Top of Earthly Glory without Vices, I don't think that by ſo ſaying I bid Men be Vicious, any more than I bid 'em be Quarrelſome or Covetous, when I affirm that the Profeſſion of the Law could not be maintain'd in ſuch Numbers and Splendour, if there was not abundance of too Selfiſh and Litigious People.

But as nothing would more clearly demonſtrate the Falſity of my Notions, than that the generality of the People ſhould fall in with them, ſo I don't expect the Approbation of the Multitude. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any Well-wiſhers, but among the few that can think abſtractly, and have their Minds elevated above the Vulgar. If I have ſhewn the way to worldly Greatneſs, I have always without heſitation preferr'd the Road that leads to Virtue.

Would you baniſh Fraud and Luxury, prevent Profaneſs and Irreligion, and make the generality of the People Charitable, Good and Virtuous, break down the Printing-Preſſes, melt the Founds, and

burn

burn all the Books in the Iſland, except thoſe at the Univerſities, where they remain unmoleſted, and ſuffer no Volume in private Hands but a Bible: Knock down Foreign Trade, prohibit all Commerce with Strangers, and permit no Ships to go to Sea, that ever will return, beyond Fiſher-Boats. Reſtore to the Clergy, the King and the Barons their Ancient Privileges, Prerogatives and Poſſeſſions: Build New Churches, and convert all the Coin you can come at into Sacred Utenſils: Erect Monaſteries and Alms-houſes in abundance, and let no Pariſh be without a Charity-School. Enact Sumptuary Laws, and let your Youth be inured to Hardſhip: Inſpire them with all the nice and moſt refined Notions of Honour and Shame, of Friendſhip and of Heroiſm, and introduce among them a great variety of imaginary Rewards: Then let the Clergy preach Abſtinence and Self-denial to others, and take what Liberty they pleaſe for themſelves; let them bear the greateſt Sway in the Management of State-Affairs, and no Man be made Lord-Treaſurer but a Biſhop.

By ſuch pious Endeavours, and wholeſome Regulations, the Scene would ſoon be alter'd; the greateſt part of the Covetous, the Diſcontented, the Reſtleſs and Ambitious Villains would leave the Land, vaſt Swarms of Cheating Knaves would abandon the City, and be diſpers'd throughout the Country: Artificers would learn to hold the Plough, Merchants turn Farmers, and the ſinful over-grown *Jeruſalem*, without Famine, War, Peſtilence, or Compulſion, be emptied in the moſt eaſy manner, and ever after ceaſe to be dreadful to her Sovereigns. The happy reform'd Kingdom would by this means be crowded in no part of it, and every thing Neceſſary for the Suſtenance of Man be cheap and abound: On the contrary, the Root of ſo many Thouſand Evils, Money, would be very ſcarce, and as little wanted, where every Man ſhould enjoy

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the Fruits of his own Labour, and our own dear Manufacture unmix'd be promiſcuouſly wore by the Lord and the Peaſant. It is impoſſible, that ſuch a Change of Circumſtances ſhould not influence the Manners of a Nation, and render them Temperate, Honeſt, and Sincere, and from the next Generation we might reaſonably expect a more healthy and robuſt Off-ſpring than the preſent; an harmleſs, innocent and well-meaning People, that would never diſpute the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, nor any other Orthodox Principles, but be ſubmiſſive to Superiors, and unanimous in Religious Worſhip.

Here I fancy myſelf interrupted by an *Epicure*, who not to want a reſtorative Diet in caſe of Neceſſity, is never without live Ortelans, and I am told that Goodneſs and Probity are to be had at a cheaper Rate than the Ruin of a Nation, and the Deſtruction of all the Comforts of Life; that Liberty and Property may be maintain'd without Wickedneſs or Fraud, and Men be good Subjects without being Slaves, and religious tho' they refus'd to be Prieſt-rid: that to be frugal and ſaving is a Duty incumbent only on thoſe, whoſe Circumſtances require it, but that a Man of a good Eſtate does his Country a Service by living up to the Income of it: that as to himſelf, he is ſo much Maſter of his Appetites that he can abſtain from any thing upon occaſion; that where true *Hermitage* was not to be had he could content himſelf with plain *Bourdeaux*, if it had a good Body; that many a Morning inſtead of St. *Lawrence* he has made a Shift with *Frontiniac*, and after Dinner given *Cyprus* Wine, and even *Madera*, when he has had a large Company, and thought it extravagant to treat with *Tockay*; but that all voluntary Mortifications are Superſtitious, only belonging to blind Zealots and Enthuſiaſts. He'll quote my Lord *Shaftsbury* againſt me, and tell me that People may be Virtuous and Sociable

ciable without Self-denial, that it is an Affront to Virtue to make it inacceſſible, that I make a Bugbear of it to frighten Men from it as a thing impracticable; but that for his part he can praiſe God, and at the ſame time enjoy his Creatures with a good Conſcience; neither will he forget any thing to his Purpoſe of what I have ſaid Page 87. He'll aſk me at laſt, whether the Legiſlature, the Wiſdom of the Nation itſelf, whilſt they endeavour as much as is poſſible to diſcourage Prophaneſs and Immorality, and promote the Glory of God, do not openly profeſs at the ſame time to have nothing more at Heart than the Eaſe and Welfare of the Subject, the Wealth, Strength, Honour and what elſe is call'd the true Intereſt of the Country; and moreover, whether the moſt Devout and moſt Learned of our Prelates in their greateſt Concern for our Converſion, when they beſeech the Deity to turn their own as well as our Hearts from the World and all Carnal Deſires, do not in the ſame Prayer as loudly ſollicit him to pour all Earthly Bleſſings and temporal Felicity on the Kingdom they belong to.

Theſe are the Apologies, the Excuſes and common Pleas, not only of thoſe who are notoriouſly vicious, but the generality of Mankind, when you touch the Copy-hold of their Inclinations; and trying the real Value they have for Spirituals, would actually ſtrip them of what their Minds are wholly bent upon. Aſhamed of the many Frailties they feel within, all Men endeavour to hide themſelves, their ugly Nakedneſs, from each other, and wrapping up the true Motives of their Hearts in the Specious Cloak of Sociableneſs, and their Concern for the publick Good, they are in hopes of concealing their filthy Appetites and the Deformity of their Deſires; whilſt they are conſcious within of the Fondneſs for their darling Luſts, and their Incapacity, barefac'd, to tread the arduous, rugged Path of Virtue.

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As to the two laſt Queſtions, I own they are very puzling: To what the *Epicure* aſks I am oblig'd to anſwer in the Affirmative; and unleſs I would (which God forbid!) arraign the Sincerity of Kings, Biſhops and the whole Legiſlative Power, the Objection ſtands good againſt me: All I can ſay for my ſelf is, that in the Connexion of the Facts there is a Myſtery paſt Human Underſtanding; and to convince the Reader, that this is no Evaſion, I ſhall illuſtrate the Incomprehenſibility of it in the following Parable.

In old Heathen Times there was, they ſay, a whimſical Country, where the People talk'd much of Religion, and the greateſt part as to outward Appearance ſeem'd really Devout: The chief moral Evil among them was Thirſt, and to quench it a damnable Sin; yet they unanimouſly agreed that every one was born Thirſty more or leſs: Small Beer in moderation was allow'd to all, and he was counted an Hypocrite, a Cynick, or a Madman, who pretended that one could live altogether without it; yet thoſe, who owned they loved it, and drank it to exceſs, were counted wicked. All this while the Beer it ſelf was reckon'd a Bleſſing from Heaven, and there was no harm in the uſe of it: all the Enormity lay in the Abuſe, the Motive of the Heart, that made them drink it. He that took the leaſt Drop of it to quench his Thirſt, committed a heinous Crime, whilſt others drank large Quantities without any Guilt, ſo they did it indifferently, and for no other Reaſon than to mend their Complexion.

They Brew'd for other Countries as well as their own, and for the Small Beer they ſent abroad, they receiv'd large Returns of Weſtphaly-Hams, Neats-Tongues, Hung-Beef, and Bolonia Sauſages, Red-Herrings, Pickled-Sturgeon, Cavear, Anchovis, and every thing that was proper to make their Liquor go down with Pleaſure. Thoſe who kept great

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ſtores of Small Beer by them without making uſe of it, were generally envied, and at the ſame time very odious to the Publick, and no body was eaſy that had not enough of it come to his own Share. The greateſt Calamity they thought could befal them, was to keep their Hops and Barley upon their Hands, and the more they yearly conſumed of them, the more they reckon'd the Country to flouriſh.

The Government had made very wiſe Regulations concerning the Returns that were made for their Exports, encouraged very much the Importation of Salt and Pepper, and laid heavy Duties on every thing that was not well ſeaſon'd, and might any ways obſtruct the Sale of their own Hops and Barley. Thoſe at *Helm*, when they acted in publick, ſhew'd themſelves on all Accounts exempt and wholly diveſted from Thirſt, made ſeveral Laws to prevent the Growth of it, and puniſh the Wicked who openly dared to quench it. If you examin'd them in their private Perſons, and pry'd narrowly into their Lives and Converſations, they ſeem'd to be more fond, or at leaſt drank larger Draughts of Small Beer than others, but always under pretence that the mending of Complexions required greater Quantities of Liquor in them, than it did in thoſe they Ruled over; and that, what they had chiefly at Heart, without any regard to themſelves, was to procure great Plenty of Small Beer among the Subjects in general, and a great Demand for their Hops and Barley.

As no body was debarr'd from Small Beer, the Clergy made uſe of it as well as the Laity, and ſome of them very plentifully; yet all of them deſired to be thought leſs Thirſty by their Function than others, and never would own that they drank any but to mend their Complexions. In their Religious Aſſemblies they were more ſincere; for as ſoon as they came there, they all openly confeſs'd,

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the Clergy as well as the Laity, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that they were Thirſty, that mending their Complexions was what they minded the leaſt, and that all their Hearts were ſet upon Small Beer and quenching their Thirſt, whatever they might pretend to the contrary. What was remarkable is, that to have laid hold of thoſe Truths to any one's Prejudice, and made uſe of thoſe Confeſſions afterwards out of their Temples would have been counted very impertinent, and every body thought it an heinous Affront to be call'd *Thirſty*, tho' you had ſeen him drink Small Beer by whole Gallons. The chief Topicks of their Preachers was the great Evil of Thirſt, and the Folly there was in quenching it. They exhorted their Hearers to reſiſt the Temptations of it, inveigh'd againſt Small Beer, and often told them it was Poyſon, if they drank it with Pleaſure, or any other Deſign than to mend their Complexions.

In their Acknowledgments to the Gods, they thank'd them for the Plenty of comfortable Small Beer they had receiv'd from them, notwithſtanding they had ſo little deſerv'd it, and continually quench'd their Thirſt with it; whereas they were ſo thorowly ſatisfy'd, that it was given them for a better Uſe. Having begg'd Pardon for thoſe Offences, they deſired the Gods to leſſen their Thirſt, and give them Strength to reſiſt the Importunities of it; yet, in the midſt of their ſoreſt Repentance, and moſt humble Supplications, they never forgot Small Beer, and pray'd that they might continue to have it in great Plenty, with a ſolemn Promiſe, that how neglectful ſoever they might hitherto have been in this Point, they would for the future not drink a Drop of it with any other Deſign than to mend their Complexions.

Theſe were ſtanding Petitions put together to laſt; and having continued to be made uſe of without any Alterations for ſeveral hundred Years together;

gether; it was thought by ſome, that the Gods, who underſtood Futurity, and knew that the ſame Promiſe they heard in *June* would be made to them the *January* following, did not rely much more on thoſe Vows, than we do on thoſe waggiſh Inſcriptions by which Men offer us their Goods, *To-day for Money, and To-morrow for Nothing.* They often began their Prayers very myſtically, and ſpoke many things in a ſpiritual Senſe; yet, they never were ſo abſtract from the World in them, as to end one without beſeeching the Gods to bleſs and proſper the Brewing Trade in all its Branches, and, for the Good of the Whole, more and more to encreaſe the Conſumption of Hops and Barley.

(V.) *Content, the Bane of Induſtry.*

Page 11. Line 24.

I Have been told by many, that the Bane of Induſtry is Lazineſs, and not Content; therefore to prove my Aſſertion, which ſeems a Paradox to ſome, I ſhall treat of Lazineſs and Content ſeparately, and afterwards ſpeak of Induſtry, that the Reader may judge which it is of the two former that is moſt oppoſite to the latter.

Lazineſs is an Averſion to Buſineſs, generally attended with an unreaſonable Deſire of remaining unactive; and every body is lazy, who without being hinder'd by any other warrantable Employment, refuſes or puts off any Buſineſs which he ought to do for himſelf or others. We ſeldom call any body lazy, but ſuch as we reckon inferior to us, and of whom we expect ſome Service. Children don't think their Parents lazy, nor Servants their Maſters; and if a Gentleman indulges his Eaſe and Sloth ſo abominably, that he won't put on his own Shoes,

Shoes, though he is young and ſlender, no body ſhall call him lazy for it, if he can keep but a Footman, or ſome body elſe to do it for him.

Mr. *Dryden* has given us a very good Idea of ſuperlative Slothfulneſs in the Perſon of a Luxurious King of *Egypt*. His Majeſty having beſtow'd ſome conſiderable Gifts on ſeveral of his Favourites, is attended by ſome of his chief Miniſters with a Parchment which he was to ſign to confirm thoſe Grants. Firſt, he walks a few Turns to and fro with a heavy Uneaſineſs in his Looks, then ſets himſelf down like a Man that's tired, and at laſt with abundance of Reluctancy to what he was going about, he takes up the Pen, and falls a complaining very ſeriouſly of the Length of the Word *Ptolemy*, and expreſſes a great deal of Concern, that he had not ſome ſhort Monoſyllable for his Name, which he thought would ſave him a World of Trouble.

We often reproach others with Lazineſs, becauſe we are guilty of it our ſelves. Some days ago as two young Women ſate knotting together, ſays one to the other, there comes a wicked Cold through that Door, you are the neareſt to it, Siſter, pray ſhut it. The other, who was the youngeſt, vouchſafed indeed to caſt an Eye towards the Door, but ſate ſtill and ſaid nothing; the eldeſt ſpoke again two or three times, and at laſt the other making her no Anſwer, nor offering to ſtir, ſhe got up in a Pet and ſhut the Door herſelf; coming back to ſit down again, ſhe gave the younger a very hard Look, and ſaid; *Lord, Siſter* Betty, *I would not be ſo lazy as you are for all the World*; which ſhe ſpoke ſo earneſtly, that it brought a Colour in her Face. The youngeſt ſhould have riſen, I own; but if the eldeſt had not over-valued her Labour, ſhe would have ſhut the Door herſelf, as ſoon as the Cold was offenſive to her, without making any words of it. She was not above a Step farther from the Door

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than her Siſter, and as to Age, there was not Eleven Months difference between them, and they were both under Twenty. I thought it a hard Matter to determine which was the lazieſt of the two.

There are a thouſand Wretches that are always working the Marrow out of their Bones for next to nothing, becauſe they are unthinking and ignorant of what the Pains they take are worth; whilſt others who are cunning and underſtand the true value of their Work, refuſe to be employ'd at under Rates, not becauſe they are of an unactive Temper, but becauſe they won't beat down the Price of their Labour. A Country Gentleman ſees at the back ſide of the *Exchange* a Porter walking to and fro with his Hands in his Pockets. Pray, ſays he, Friend, will you ſtep for me with this Letter as far as *Bow-Church*, and I'll give you a Penny. *I'll go with all my Heart*, ſays t'other, *but I muſt have Two pence, Maſter*; which the Gentleman refuſing to give, the Fellow turn'd his Back, and told him, he'd rather play for nothing than work for nothing. The Gentleman thought it an unaccountable piece of Lazineſs in a Porter, rather to ſaunter up and down for nothing, than to be earning a Penny with as little trouble. Some Hours after he happen'd to be with ſome Friends at a Tavern in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, where one of them calling to mind that he had forgot to ſend for a Bill of Exchange that was to go away with the Poſt that Night, was in great Perplexity, and immediately wanted ſome body to go for him to *Hackney* with all the Speed imaginable. It was after Ten, in the middle of Winter, a very rainy Night, and all the Porters thereabouts were gone to Bed. The Gentleman grew very uneaſy, and ſaid, whatever it coſt him that ſomebody he muſt ſend; at laſt one of the Drawers ſeeing him ſo very preſſing, told him that he knew a Porter, who would riſe, if it was a Job worth his while. *Worth his while*, ſaid the Gentleman very eagerly,

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don't doubt of that, good Lad, if you know of any body let him make what haſte he can, and I'll give him a Crown if he be back by Twelve o' Clock. Upon this the Drawer took the Errand, left the Room, and in leſs than a Quarter of an Hour came back with the welcome News that the Meſſage would be diſpatch'd with all Expedition. The Company in the mean time diverted themſelves as they had done before; but when it began to be towards Twelve, the Watches were pull'd out, and the Porter's Return was all the Diſcourſe. Some were of Opinion he might yet come before the Clock had ſtruck; others thought it impoſſible, and now it wanted but three Minutes of Twelve when in comes the nimble Meſſenger ſmoaking hot, with his Cloaths as wet as Dung with the Rain, and his Head all over in a Bath of Sweat. He had nothing dry about him but the inſide of his Pocket-Book, out of which he took the Bill he had been for, and by the Drawer's Direction preſented it to the Gentleman it belonged to; who being very well pleas'd with the Diſpatch he had made, gave him the Crown he had promis'd, whilſt another fill'd him a Bumper, and the whole Company commended his Diligence. As the Fellow came nearer the Light, to take up the Wine, the Country Gentleman I mention'd at firſt, to his great Admiration, knew him to be the ſame Porter that had refus'd to earn his Penny, and whom he thought the lazieſt Mortal Alive.

This Story teaches us, that we ought not to confound thoſe who remain unemploy'd for want of an Opportunity of exerting themſelves to the beſt Advantage, with ſuch as for want of Spirit, hug themſelves in their Sloth, and will rather ſtarve than ſtir. Without this Caution, we muſt pronounce all the World more or leſs lazy, according to their Eſtimation of the Reward they are to purchaſe with their Labour, and then the moſt Induſtrious may be call'd Lazy.

Content I call that calm Serenity of the Mind, which Men enjoy whilſt they think themſelves happy, and reſt ſatisfy'd with the Station they are in: It implies a favourable Conſtruction of our preſent Circumſtances, and a peaceful Tranquility, which Men are Strangers to as long as they are ſollicitous about mending their Condition. This is a Virtue of which the Applauſe is very precarious and uncertain: for according as Men's Circumſtances vary, they'll either be blam'd or commended for being poſſeſs'd of it.

A ſingle Man that works hard at a laborious Trade, has a Hundred a Year left him by a Relation: This Change of Fortune makes him ſoon weary of working, and not having Induſtry enough to put himſelf forward in the World, he reſolves to do nothing at all, and live upon his Income. As long as he lives within Compaſs, pays for what he has, and offends no body, he ſhall be call'd an honeſt quiet Man. The Victualler, his Landlady, the Taylor, and others divide what he has between them, and the Society is every Year the better for his Revenue; whereas, if he ſhould follow his own or any other Trade, he muſt hinder others, and ſome body would have the leſs for what he ſhould get; and therefore, tho' he ſhould be the idleſt Fellow in the World, lie a-bed fifteen Hours in four and twenty, and do nothing but ſauntring up and down all the reſt of the time, no body would diſcommend him, and his unactive Spirit is honoured with the Name of Content.

But if the ſame Man marries, gets three or four Children, and ſtill continues of the ſame eaſy Temper, reſts ſatisfied with what he has, and without endeavouring to get a Penny, indulges his former Sloth: Firſt, his Relations, afterwards all his Acquaintance will be alarm'd at his Negligence; They foreſee that his Income will not be ſufficient to bring up ſo many Children handſomely, and are

afraid, ſome of them may, if not a Burden, become a Diſgrace to them. When theſe Fears have been for ſome time whiſpered about from one to another, his Uncle *Gripe* takes him to Taſk, and accoſts him in the following Cant; *What Nephew, no Buſineſs yet! Fie upon't! I can't imagine how you do to ſpend your Time; if you won't work at your own Trade, there are fifty ways that a Man may pick up a Penny by: You have a Hundred a Year, 'tis true, but your Charges encreaſe every Year, and what muſt you do when your Children are grown up? I have a better Eſtate than you myſelf, and yet you don't ſee me leave off my Buſineſs; nay, I declare it, might I have the World I could not lead the Life you do. 'Tis no Buſineſs of mine, I own, but every body cries, 'tis a ſhame for a young Man as you are, that has his Limbs and his Health, ſhould not turn his Hands to ſomething or other.* If theſe Admonitions do not reform him in a little time, and he continues half a Year longer without Employment, he'll become a Diſcourſe to the whole Neighbourhood, and for the ſame Qualifications that once got him the Name of a quiet contented Man, he ſhall be call'd the worſt of Husbands and the lazieſt Fellow upon Earth: From whence it is manifeſt, that when we pronounce Actions good or evil, we only regard the Hurt or Benefit the Society receives from them, and not the Perſon who commits them. (*See Page* 20.)

Diligence and Induſtry are often uſed promiſcuouſly, to ſignify the ſame thing, but there is a great difference between them. A poor Wretch may want neither Diligence nor Ingenuity, be a ſaving Pains-taking Man, and yet without ſtriving to mend his Circumſtances remain contented with the Station he lives in; but Induſtry implies, beſides the other Qualities, a Thirſt after Gain, and an Indefatigable Deſire of meliorating our Condition. When Men think either the Cuſtomary Profits of their Calling, or elſe the Share of Buſineſs they have too ſmall, they have two ways to deſerve the Name

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of Induſtrious; and they muſt be either Ingenious enough to find out uncommon, and yet warrantable Methods to encreaſe their Buſineſs or their Profit, or elſe ſupply that Defect by a multiplicity of Occupations. If a Tradeſman takes care to provide his Shop, and gives due Attendance to thoſe that come to it, he is a diligent Man in his Buſineſs; but if, beſides that, he takes particular Pains to ſell to the ſame Advantage a better Commodity than the reſt of his Neighbours, or if by his Obſequiouſneſs, or ſome other good quality, getting into a large Acquaintance, he uſes all poſſible Endeavours of drawing Cuſtomers to his Houſe, he then may be called Induſtrious. A Cobler, though he is not employed half of his Time, if he neglects no Buſineſs, and makes diſpatch when he has any, is a diligent Man; but if he runs of Errands when he has no work, or makes but Shoe pins, and ſerves as a Watchman a-nights, he deſerves the Name of Induſtrious.

If what has been ſaid in this Remark be duely weigh'd, we ſhall find, either that Lazineſs and Content are very near a-kin, or if there be a great difference between them, that the latter is more contrary to Induſtry than the former.

(*X.*) *To make a Great an Honeſt Hive.*

Page 12. Line 2.

THIS perhaps might be done where People are contented to be poor and hardy; but if they would likewiſe enjoy their Eaſe and the Comforts of the World, and be at once an opulent, potent, and flouriſhing, as well as a Warlike Nation, it is utterly impoſſible. I have heard People ſpeak of the mighty Figure the *Spartans* made above all

the Common-wealths of *Greece*, notwithſtanding their uncommon Frugality and other exemplary Virtues. But certainly there never was a Nation whoſe Greatneſs was more empty than theirs: The Splendor they lived in was inferior to that of a Theatre, and the only thing they could be proud of, was, that they enjoy'd nothing. They were indeed both feared and eſteemed Abroad: They were ſo famed for Valour and Skill in Martial Affairs, that their Neighbours did not only court their Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance in their Wars, but were ſatisfy'd and thought themſelves ſure of the Victory, if they could but get a *Spartan* General to command their Armies. But then their Diſcipline was ſo rigid, and their manner of living ſo Auſtere and void of all Comfort, that the moſt temperate Man among us would refuſe to ſubmit to the Harſhneſs of ſuch uncouth Laws. There was a perfect Equality among them: Gold and Silver Coin were cried down; their current Money was made of Iron, to render it of a great Bulk and little Worth: To lay up twenty or thirty Pounds, required a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it nothing leſs than a Yoke of Oxen. Another Remedy, they had againſt Luxury, was, that they were obliged to eat in common of the ſame Meat, and they ſo little allowed any body to Dine or Sup by himſelf at home, that *Agis* one of their Kings, having vanquiſhed the *Athenians*, and ſending for his Commons at his return Home (becauſe he deſired privately to eat with his Queen) was refuſed by the *Polemarchi*.

In training up their Youth, their chief Care, ſays *Plutarch*, was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the fatigues of long and tedious Marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field. When they were twelve Years old, they lodg'd in little Bands, upon Beds made of the Ruſhes which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*; and becauſe their Points were ſharp, they were

were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife: If it were a hard Winter, they mingled ſome Thiſtle-down with their Ruſhes to keep them warm (ſee *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lycurgus*.) From all theſe Circumſtances it is plain, that no Nation on Earth was leſs effeminate; but being debarred from all the Comforts of Life, they could have nothing for their Pains but the Glory of being a Warlike People inured to Toils and Hardſhips, which was a Happineſs that few People would have cared for upon the ſame Terms: And though they had been Maſters of the World, as long as they enjoyed no more of it, *Engliſhmen* would hardly have envy'd them their Greatneſs. What Men want now-a-days has ſufficiently been ſhewn in Remark (*O*) where I have treated of real Pleaſures.

(*Y.*) *To enjoy the World's Conveniencies.*

Page 12. Line 3.

THAT the Words Decency and Conveniency were very ambiguous, and not to be underſtood, unleſs we were acquainted with the Quality and Circumſtances of the Perſons that made uſe of them, has been hinted already in Remark (*L.*) The Goldſmith, Mercer, or any other of the moſt creditable Shopkeepers, that has three or four thouſand Pounds to ſet up with, muſt have Two Diſhes of Meat every Day, and ſomething extraordinary for *Sundays*. His Wife muſt have a Damask Bed againſt her lying-in, and two or three Rooms very well furniſhed: The following Summer ſhe muſt have a Houſe, or at leaſt very good Lodgings in the Country. A Man that has a Being out of Town, muſt have a Horſe; his Footman muſt have another. If he has a tolerable Trade, he ex-

pects in eight or ten Years time to keep his Coach, which notwithſtanding he hopes that after he has ſlaved (as he calls it) for two or three and twenty Years, he ſhall be worth at leaſt a thouſand a Year for his eldeſt Son to inherit, and two or three thouſand Pounds for each of his other Children to begin the World with; and when Men of ſuch Circumſtances pray for their daily Bread, and mean nothing more extravagant by it, they are counted pretty modeſt People. Call this Pride, Luxury, Superfluity, or what you pleaſe, it is nothing but what ought to be in the Capital of a flouriſhing Nation: Thoſe of inferior Condition muſt content themſelves with leſs coſtly Conveniencies, as others of higher Rank will be ſure to make theirs more expenſive. Some People call it but Decency to be ſerved in Plate, and reckon a Coach and Six among the neceſſary Comforts of Life; and if a Peer has not above three or four thouſand a Year, his Lordſhip is counted Poor.

SINCE the firſt Edition of this Book, ſeveral have attack'd me with Demonſtrations of the certain Ruin, which exceſſive Luxury muſt bring upon all Nations, who yet were ſoon anſwered, when I ſhewed them the Limits within which I had confined it; and therefore that no Reader for the future may miſconſtrue me on this Head, I ſhall point at the Cautions I have given, and the Proviſo's I have made in the former as well as this preſent Impreſſion, and which if not overlooked, muſt prevent all rational Cenſure, and obviate ſeveral Objections that otherwiſe might be made againſt me. I have laid down as Maxims never to be departed from, that the † Poor ſhould be kept ſtrictly to Work, and that it was Prudence to relieve their Wants, but Folly to cure them; that Agri-

† P. 150, 151. Firſt Edit. 175, 176.

Agriculture * and Fiſhery ſhould be promoted in all their Branches in order to render Proviſions, and conſequently Labour cheap. I have named ‡ Ignorance as a neceſſary Ingredient in the Mixture of Society: From all which it is manifeſt that I could never have imagined, that Luxury was to be made general through every part of a Kingdom. I have likewiſe required † that Property ſhould be well ſecured, Juſtice impartially adminiſtred, and in every thing the Intereſt of the Nation taken care of: But what I have inſiſted on the moſt, and repeated more than once, is the great Regard that is to be had to the Ballance of Trade, and the care the Legiſlature ought to take that the yearly ‖ Imports never exceed the Exports; and where this is obſerved, and the other things I ſpoke of are not neglected, I ſtill continue to aſſert that no Foreign Luxury can undo a Country: The height of it is never ſeen but in Nations that are vaſtly populous, and there only in the upper part of it, and the greater that is the larger ſtill in proportion muſt be the loweſt, the Baſis that ſupports all, the multitude of Working Poor.

Thoſe who would too nearly imitate others of Superior Fortune muſt thank themſelves if they are ruin'd. This is nothing againſt Luxury; for whoever can ſubſiſt and lives above his Income is a Fool. Some Perſons of Quality may keep three or four Coaches and Six, and at the ſame time lay up Money for their Children; whilſt a young Shopkeeper is undone for keeping one ſorry Horſe. It is impoſſible there ſhould be a rich Nation without Prodigals, yet I never knew a City ſo full of Spendthrifts, but there were Covetous People enough to

* P. 152. Firſt Edit. 178.
‡ P. 72. Firſt Edit. 77.
† P. 79. Firſt Edit. 87.
‖ P. 78, 79. Firſt Edit. 86, 87.

anſwer their Number. As an Old Merchant breaks for having been extravagant or careleſs a great while, ſo a young Beginner falling into the ſame Buſineſs gets an Eſtate by being ſaving or more induſtrious before he is Forty Years Old: Beſides that the Frailties of Men often work by contraries: Some Narrow Souls can never thrive becauſe they are too ſtingy, whilſt longer Heads amaſs great Wealth by ſpending their Money freely, and ſeeming to deſpiſe it. But the Viciſſitudes of Fortune are neceſſary, and the moſt lamentable are no more detrimental to Society than the Death of the Individual Members of it. Chriſtnings are a proper Ballance to Burials. Thoſe who immediately loſe by the Misfortunes of others are very ſorry, complain and make a noiſe; but the others who get by them, as there always are ſuch, hold their Tongues, becauſe it is odious to be thought the better for the Loſſes and Calamities of our Neighbour. The various Ups and Downs compoſe a Wheel that always turning round gives motion to the whole Machine. Philoſophers, that dare extend their Thoughts beyond the narrow Compaſs of what is immediately before them, look on the alternate Changes in the Civil Society no otherwiſe than they do on the riſings and fallings of the Lungs; the latter of which are as much a Part of Reſpiration in the more perfect Animals as the firſt; ſo that the fickle Breath of never-ſtable Fortune is to the Body Politick, the ſame as floating Air is to a living Creature.

Avarice then and Prodigality are equally neceſſary to the Society. That in ſome Countries, Men are more generally laviſh than in others, proceeds from the difference in Circumſtances that diſpoſe to either Vice, and ariſe from the Condition of the Social Body as well as the Temperament of the Natural. I beg pardon of the attentive Reader, if here in behalf of ſhort Memories I repeat ſome

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things, the ſubſtance of which they have already ſeen in Remark (*Q.*) More Money than Land, heavy Taxes and ſcarcity of Proviſions, Induſtry, Laborioufneſs, and active and ſtirring Spirit, Ill Nature and Saturnine Temper; Old Age, Wiſdom, Trade, Riches acquired by our own Labour, and Liberty and Property well ſecured, are all things that diſpoſe to Avarice. On the contrary, Indolence, Content, Good Nature, a Jovial Temper, Youth, Folly, Arbitrary Power, Money eaſily got, plenty of Proviſions and the uncertainty of Poſſeſſions, are Circumſtances that render Men prone to Prodigality: Where there is the moſt of the firſt the prevailing Vice will be Avarice, and Prodigality where the other turn the Scale; but a National Frugality there never was nor never will be without a National Neceſſity.

Sumptuary Laws may be of uſe to an indigent Country, after great Calamities of War, Peſtilence, or Famine, when Work has ſtood ſtill, and the Labour of the Poor been interrupted; but to introduce them into an opulent Kingdom is the wrong way to conſult the Intereſt of it. I ſhall end my Remarks on the *Grumbling Hive* with aſſuring the Champions of National Frugality, that it would be impoſſible for the *Perſians* and other *Eaſtern* People to purchaſe the vaſt Quantities of fine *Engliſh* Cloth they conſume, ſhould we load our Women with leſs Cargo's of *Aſiatick* Silks.

AN ESSAY ON CHARITY, AND CHARITY-SCHOOLS.

CHARITY is that Virtue by which part of that ſincere Love we have for our ſelves is transferr'd pure and unmix'd to others, not tyed to us by the Bonds of Friendſhip or Conſanguinity, and even meer Strangers, whom we have no obligation to, nor hope or expect any thing from. If we leſſen any ways the Rigour of this Definition, part of the Virtue muſt be loſt. What we do for our Friends and Kindred, we do partly for our ſelves: When a Man acts in behalf of Nephews or Nieces, and ſays they are my Brother's Children, I do it out of Charity; he deceives you: for if he is capable, it is expected from him, and he does it partly for his own Sake: If he values the Eſteem of the World, and is nice as to Honour and Reputation, he is obliged to have a greater

Regard

Regard to them than for Strangers, or elſe he muſt ſuffer in his Character.

The Exerciſe of this Virtue relates either to Opinion, or to Action, and is manifeſted in what we think of others, or what we do for them. To be charitable then in the firſt Place, we ought to put the beſt Conſtruction on all that others do or ſay, that the Things are capable of. If a Man builds a fine Houſe, tho' he has not one Symptom of Humility, furniſhes it richly, and lays out a good Eſtate in Plate and Pictures, we ought not to think that he does it out of Vanity, but to encourage Artiſts, employ Hands, and ſet the Poor to work for the Good of his Country: And if a Man ſleeps at Church, ſo he does not ſnore, we ought to think he ſhuts his Eyes to increaſe his Attention. The Reaſon is, becauſe in our Turn we deſire that our utmoſt Avarice ſhould paſs for Frugality; and that for Religion, which we know to be Hypocriſy. Secondly, That Virtue is conſpicuous in us, when we beſtow our Time and Labour for nothing, or employ our Credit with others in behalf of thoſe who ſtand in need of it, and yet could not expect ſuch an Aſſiſtance from our Friendſhip or Nearneſs of Blood. The laſt Branch of Charity conſiſts in giving away (whilſt we are alive) what we value our ſelves, to ſuch as I have already named; being contented rather to have and enjoy leſs, than not relieve thoſe who want, and ſhall be the Objects of our Choice.

This Virtue is often counterfeited by a Paſſion of ours, call'd *Pity* or *Compaſſion*, which conſiſts in a Fellow-feeling and Condolance for the Misfortunes and Calamities of others: all Mankind are more or leſs affected with it; but the weakeſt Minds generally the moſt. It is raiſed in us, when the Sufferings and Miſery of other Creatures make ſo forcible an Impreſſion upon us, as to make us uneaſy. It comes in either at the Eye or Ear, or both; and

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the nearer and more violently the Object of Compaſſion ſtrikes thoſe Senſes, the greater Diſturbance it cauſes in us, often to ſuch a Degree as to occaſion great Pain and Anxiety.

Should any one of us be lock'd up in a Ground-Room, where in a Yard joining to it there was a thriving good-humour'd Child at play, of two or three Years old, ſo near us that through the Grates of the Window we could almoſt touch it with our Hand; and if whilſt we took delight in the harmleſs Diverſion, and imperfect Prittle-Prattle of the innocent Babe, a naſty over-grown Sow ſhould come in upon the Child, ſet it a ſcreaming, and frighten it out of its Wits; it is natural to think, that this would make us uneaſy, and that with crying out, and making all the menacing Noiſe we could, we ſhould endeavour to drive the Sow away. But if this ſhould happen to be an half-ſtarv'd Creature, that mad with Hunger went roaming about in queſt of Food, and we ſhould behold the ravenous Brute, in ſpite of our Cries and all the threatning Geſtures we could think of, actually lay hold of the helpleſs Infant, deſtroy and devour it; To ſee her widely open her deſtructive Jaws, and the poor Lamb beat down with greedy haſte; to look on the defenceleſs Poſture of tender Limbs firſt trampled on, then tore aſunder; to ſee the filthy Snout digging in the yet living Entrails ſuck up the ſmoaking Blood, and now and then to hear the Crackling of the Bones, and the cruel Animal with ſavage Pleaſure grunt over the horrid Banquet; to hear and ſee all this, what Tortures would it give the Soul beyond Expreſſion! Let me ſee the moſt ſhining Virtue the Moraliſts have to boaſt of ſo manifeſt either to the Perſon poſſeſs'd of it, or thoſe who behold his Actions: Let me ſee Courage, or the Love of one's Country ſo apparent without any Mixture, clear'd and diſtinct, the firſt from Pride and Anger, the other from the Love of Glory, and every

Shadow

Shadow of Self-Intereſt, as this Pity would be clear'd and diſtinct from all other Paſſions. There would be no need of Virtue or Self-Denial to be moved at ſuch a Scene; and not only a Man of Humanity, of good Morals and Commiſeration, but likewiſe an Highwayman, an Houſe-Breaker, or a Murderer could feel Anxieties on ſuch an Occaſion; how calamitous ſoever a Man's Circumſtances might be, he would forget his Misfortunes for the time, and the moſt troubleſome Paſſion would give way to Pity, and not one of the Species has a Heart ſo obdurate or engaged that it would not ake at ſuch a Sight, as no Language has an Epithet to fit it.

Many will wonder at what I have ſaid of Pity, that it comes in at the Eye or Ear, but the Truth of this will be known when we conſider that the nearer the Object is the more we ſuffer, and the more remote it is the leſs we are troubled with it. To ſee People Executed for Crimes, if it is a great way off, moves us but little, in compariſon to what it does when we are near enough to ſee the Motion of the Soul in their Eyes, obſerve their Fears and Agonies, and are able to read the Pangs in every Feature of the Face. When the Object is quite remov'd from our Senſes, the Relation of the Calamities or the reading of them can never raiſe in us the Paſſion call'd Pity. We may be concern'd at bad News, the Loſs and Misfortunes of Friends and thoſe whoſe Cauſe we eſpouſe; but this is not Pity, but Grief or Sorrow; the ſame as we feel for the Death of thoſe we love, or the Deſtruction of what we valuc.

When we hear that three or four thouſand Men, all Strangers to us, are kill'd with the Sword, or forc'd into ſome River where they are drown'd, we ſay and perhaps believe that we pity them. It is Humanity bids us have Compaſſion with the Sufferings of others, and Reaſon tells us, that whether a thing be far off or done in our Sight, our Senti-

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ments concerning it ought to to be the ſame, and we ſhould be aſham'd to own that we felt no Commiſeration in us when any thing requires it. He is a cruel Man, he has no Bowels of Compaſſion: All theſe things are the Effects of Reaſon and Humanity, but Nature makes no Compliments; when the Object does not ſtrike, the Body does not feel it; and when Men talk of pitying People out of ſight, they are to be believed in the ſame manner as when they ſay, that they are our humble Servants. In paying the uſual Civilities at firſt meeting, thoſe who do not ſee one another every Day, are often very glad and very ſorry alternately for five or ſix times together in leſs than two Minutes, and yet at parting carry away not a jot more of Grief or Joy than they met with. The ſame it is with Pity, and it is a thing of Choice no more than Fear or Anger. Thoſe who have a ſtrong and lively Imagination, and can make Repreſentations of things in their Minds, as they would be if they were actually before them, may work themſelves up into ſomething that reſembles Compaſſion; but this is done by Art, and often the help of a little Enthuſiaſm, and is only an Imitation of Pity; the Heart feels little of it, and it is as faint as what we ſuffer at the acting of a Tragedy; where our Judgment leaves part of the Mind uninform'd, and to indulge a lazy Wantonneſs ſuffers it to be led into an Error, which is neceſſary to have a Paſſion rais'd, the ſlight ſtrokes of which are not unpleaſant to us when the Soul is in an idle unactive Humour.

As Pity is often by our ſelves and in our own Caſes miſtaken for Charity, ſo it aſſumes the Shape, and borrows the very Name of it; a Beggar aſks you to exert that Virtue for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, but all the while his great Deſign is to raiſe your Pity. He repreſents to your View the worſt ſide of his Ailments and bodily Infirmities; in choſen Words he gives you an Epitome of his Calamities

real

real or fictitious; and whilſt he ſeems to pray God that he will open your Heart, he is actually at work upon your Ears; the greateſt Profligate of them flies to Religion for Aid, and aſſiſts his Cant with a doleful Tone and a ſtudy'd diſmality of Geſtures: But he truſts not to one Paſſion only, he flatters your Pride with Titles and Names of Honour and Diſtinction; your Avarice he ſooths with often repeating to you the ſmallneſs of the Gift he ſues for, and conditional Promiſes of future Returns with an Intereſt extravagant beyond the Statute of Uſury tho' out of the reach of it. People not uſed to great Cities, being thus attack'd on all ſides, are commonly forc'd to yield, and can't help giving ſomething tho' they can hardly ſpare it themſelves. How oddly are we manag'd by Self-love! It is ever watching in our Defence, and yet, to ſooth a predominant Paſſion, obliges us to act againſt our Intereſt: For when Pity ſeizes us, if we can but imagine that we contribute to the Relief of him we have Compaſſion with, and are Inſtrumental to the leſſening of his Sorrows, it eaſes us, and therefore pitiful People often give an Alms when they really feel that they would rather not.

When Sores are very bare or ſeem otherwiſe afflicting in an extraordinary manner, and the Beggar can bear to have them expos'd to the cold Air, it is very ſhocking to ſome People; 'tis a Shame, they cry, ſuch Sights ſhould be ſuffer'd; the main Reaſon is, it touches their Pity feelingly, and at the ſame time they are reſolv'd, either becauſe they are Covetous, or count it an idle Expence, to give nothing, which makes them more uneaſie. They turn their Eyes, and where the Cries are diſmal, ſome would willingly ſtop their Ears if they were not aſhamed. What they can do is to mend their Pace, and be very angry in their Hearts that Beggars ſhould be about the Streets. But it is with Pity as it is with Fear, the more we are converſant

with Objects that excite either Paſſion, the leſs we are diſturb'd by them, and thoſe to whom all theſe Scenes and Tones are by Cuſtom made familiar, they make little Impreſſion upon. The only thing the induſtrious Beggar has left to conquer thoſe fortified Hearts, if he can walk either with or without Crutches, is to follow cloſe, and with uninterrupted Noiſe teaze and importune them, or try if he can make them buy their Peace. Thus thouſands give Money to Beggars from the ſame Motive as they pay their Corn-cutter, to walk eaſy. And many a Half-penny is given to impudent and deſignedly perſecuting Raſcals, whom, if it could be done handſomely, a Man would cane with much greater Satisfaction. Yet all this by the Courteſy of the Country is call'd Charity.

The Reverſe of Pity is Malice: I have ſpoke of it where I treat of Envy. Thoſe who know what it is to examine themſelves, will ſoon own that it is very difficult to trace the Root and Origin of this Paſſion. It is one of thoſe we are moſt aſhamed of, and therefore the hurtful part of it is eaſily ſubdued and corrected by a Judicious Education. When any body near us ſtumbles, it is natural even before Reflection to ſtretch out our Hands to hinder or at leaſt break the Fall, which ſhews that whilſt we are Calm we are rather bent to Pity. But though Malice by itſelf is little to be fear'd, yet aſſiſted with Pride, it is often miſchievous, and becomes moſt terrible when egg'd on and heighten'd by Anger. There is nothing that more readily or more effectually extinguiſhes Pity than this Mixture, which is call'd Cruelty: From whence we may learn that to perform a meritorious Action, it is not ſufficient barely to conquer a Paſſion, unleſs it likewiſe be done from a laudable Principle, and conſequently how neceſſary that Clauſe was in the Definition of Virtue, that our Endeavours were to proceed from *a rational Ambition of being Good.*

Pity, as I have ſaid ſomewhere elſe, is the moſt amiable of all our Paſſions, and there are not many Occaſions on which we ought to conquer or curb it. A Surgeon may be as compaſſionate as he pleaſes, ſo it does not make him omit or forbear to perform what he ought to do. Judges likewiſe and Juries may be influenc'd with Pity, if they take care that plain Laws and Juſtice itſelf are not infringed and do not ſuffer by it. No Pity does more Miſchief in the World than what is excited by the Tenderneſs of Parents, and hinders them from managing their Children as their rational Love to them would require, and themſelves could wiſh it. The Sway likewiſe which this Paſſion bears in the Affections of Women is more conſiderable than is commonly imagined, and they daily commit Faults that are altogether aſcribed to Luſt, and yet are in a great meaſure owing to Pity.

What I named laſt is not the only Paſſion that mocks and reſembles Charity; Pride and Vanity have built more Hoſpitals than all the Virtues together. Men are ſo tenacious of their Poſſeſſions, and Selfiſhneſs is ſo riveted in our Nature, that whoever can but any ways conquer it ſhall have the Applauſe of the Publick, and all the Encouragement imaginable to conceal his Frailty and ſooth any other Appetite he ſhall have a mind to indulge. The Man that ſupplies with his private Fortune, what the whole muſt otherwiſe have provided for, obliges every Member of the Society, and therefore all the World are ready to pay him their Acknowledgment, and think themſelves in Duty bound to pronounce all ſuch Actions virtuous, without examining or ſo much as looking into the Motives from which they were perform'd. Nothing is more deſtructive to Virtue or Religion it ſelf, than to make Men believe that giving Money to the Poor, tho' they ſhould not part with it till after Death, will make a full Atonement in the

next World, for the Sins they have committed in this. A Villain who has been guilty of a barbarous Murder may by the help of falſe Witneſſes eſcape the Puniſhment he deſerv'd: He proſpers, we'll ſay, heaps up great Wealth, and by the Advice of his Father Confeſſor leaves all his Eſtate to a Monaſtery, and his Children Beggars. What fine Amends has this good Chriſtian made for his Crime, and what an honeſt Man was the Prieſt who directed his Conſcience? He who parts with all he has in his Life-time, whatever Principle he acts from, only gives away what was his own; but the rich Miſer who refuſes to aſſiſt his neareſt Relations whilſt he is alive, tho' they never deſignedly diſobliged him, and diſpoſes of his Money for what we call Charitable Uſes after his Death, may imagine of his Goodneſs what he pleaſes, but he robbs his Poſterity. I am now thinking of a late Inſtance of Charity, a prodigious Gift that has made a great Noiſe in the World: I have a mind to ſet it in the Light I think it deſerves, and beg leave, for once to pleaſe Pedants, to treat it ſomewhat Rhetorically.

That a Man with ſmall Skill in Phyſick and hardly any Learning, ſhould by vile Arts get into Practice, and lay up great Wealth, is no mighty wonder; but that he ſhould ſo deeply work himſelf into the good Opinion of the World as to gain the general Eſteem of a Nation, and eſtabliſh a Reputation beyond all his Contemporaries, with no other qualities but a perfect Knowledge of Mankind, and a Capacity of making the moſt of it, is ſomething extraordinary. If a Man arrived to ſuch a height of Glory ſhould be almoſt diſtracted with Pride, ſometime give his Attendance on a Servant or any mean Perſon for nothing, and at the ſame time neglect a Nobleman that gives exorbitant Fees, at other times refuſe to leave his Bottle for his Buſineſs without any regard to the Quality of

the

the Perſons that ſent for him, or the Danger they are in: If he ſhould be ſurly and morose, affect to be an Humoriſt, treat his Patients like Dogs, tho' People of Diſtinction, and value no Man but what would deify him, and never call in queſtion the certainty of his Oracles: If he ſhould inſult all the World, affront the firſt Nobility, and extend his Inſolence even to the Royal Family: If to maintain as well as to increaſe the Fame of his Sufficiency, he ſhould ſcorn to conſult with his Betters on what Emergency ſoever, look down with contempt on the moſt deſerving of his Profeſſion, and never confer with any other Phyſician but what will pay Homage to his Superior Genius, creep to his Humour, and never approach him but with all the ſlaviſh Obſequiouſneſs a Court Flatterer can treat a Prince with: If a Man in his Life-time ſhould diſcover on the one hand ſuch manifeſt Symptoms of Superlative Pride, and an inſatiable Greedineſs after Wealth at the ſame time, and on the other no regard to Religion or Affection to his Kindred, no Compaſſion to the Poor, and hardly any Humanity to his Fellow Creatures; if he gave no Proofs that he lov'd his Country, had a Publick Spirit, or was a Lover of Arts, of Books or of Literature, what muſt we judge of his Motive, the Principle he acted from, when after his Death we find that he has left a Trifle among his Relations who ſtood in need of it, and an immenſe Treaſure to an Univerſity that did not want it.

Let a Man be as charitable as it is poſſible for him to be without forfeiting his Reaſon or good Senſe; can he think otherwiſe, but that this famous Phyſician did in the making of his Will, as in every thing elſe, indulge his darling Paſſion, entertaining his Vanity with the Happineſs of the Contrivance? When he thought on the Monuments and Inſcriptions, with all the Sacrifices of Praiſe that would be made to him, and above all the yearly Tribute

of

of Thanks, of Reverence and Veneration that would be paid to his Memory with ſo much Pomp and Solemnity; when he conſider'd, how in all theſe Performances Wit and Invention would be rack'd, Art and Eloquence ranſack'd to find out Encomiums ſuitable to the Publick Spirit, the Munificence and the Dignity of the Benefactor, and the Artful Gratitude of the Receivers; when he thought on, I ſay, and conſider'd theſe Things, it muſt have thrown his ambitious Soul into vaſt Ecſtaſies of Pleaſure, eſpecially when he ruminated on the Duration of his Glory, and the Perpetuity he would by this Means procure to his Name. Charitable Opinions are often ſtupidly falſe; when Men are dead and gone, we ought to judge of their Actions, as we do of Books, and neither wrong their Underſtanding nor our own. The *Britiſh Eſculapius* was undeniably a Man of Senſe, and if he had been influenc'd by Charity, a publick Spirit, or the Love of Learning, and had aim'd at the Good of Mankind in general, or that of his own Profeſſion in particular, and acted from any of theſe Principles, he could never have made ſuch a Will; becauſe ſo much Wealth might have been better managed, and a Man of much leſs Capacity would have found out ſeveral better Ways of laying out the Money. But if we conſider, that he was as undeniably a Man of vaſt Pride, as he was a Man of Senſe, and give ourſelves leave only to ſurmiſe, that this extraordinary Gift might have proceeded from ſuch a Motive, we ſhall preſently diſcover the Excellency of his Parts, and his conſummate Knowledge of the World: for, if a Man would render himſelf immortal, be ever prais'd and deify'd after his Death, and have all the Acknowledgment, the Honours, and Compliments paid to his Memory, that Vain-Glory herſelf could wiſh for, I don't think it in human Skill to invent a more effectual Method. Had he follow'd Arms, behaved himſelf in five and

twenty

twenty Sieges, and as many Battles, with the Bravery of an *Alexander*, and expoſed his Life and Limbs to all the Fatigues and Dangers of War for fifty Campaigns together; or devoting himſelf to the *Muſes*, ſacrific'd his Pleaſure, his Reſt and his Health to Literature, and ſpent all his Days in a laborious Study, and the Toils of Learning; or elſe abandoning all worldly Intereſt, excell'd in Probity, Temperance, and Auſterity of Life, and ever trod in the ſtricteſt Path of Virtue, he would not ſo effectually have provided for the Eternity of his Name, as after a voluptuous Life, and the luxurious Gratification of his Paſſions, he has now done without any Trouble or Self-Denial, only by the Choice in the Diſpoſal of his Money, when he was forc'd to leave it.

A rich Miſer, who is thoroughly ſelfiſh, and would receive the Intereſt of his Money even after his Death, has nothing elſe to do than to defraud his Relations, and leave his Eſtate to ſome famous Univerſity: they are the beſt Markets to buy Immortality at with little Merit; in them Knowledge, Wit, and Penetration are the Growth, I had almoſt ſaid, the Manufacture of the Place: There Men are profoundly ſkill'd in Human Nature, and know what it is their Benefactors want; and there extraordinary Bounties ſhall always meet with an extraordinary Recompence, and the Meaſure of the Gift is ever the Standard of their Praiſes, whether the Donor be a Phyſician or a Tinker, when once the living Witneſſes that might laugh at them are extinct. I can never think on the Anniverſary of the Thankſgiving-Day decreed to a Great Man, but it puts me in mind of the miraculous Cures, and other ſurprizing Things that will be ſaid of him a hundred Years hence, and I dare prognoſticate, that before the End of the preſent Century, he will have Stories forg'd in his Favour, (for Rhetoricians are never upon Oath) that ſhall be as fabulous at leaſt as any Legends of the Saints.

Of

Of all this our ſubtle Benefactor was not ignorant, he underſtood Univerſities, their Genius, and their Politicks, and from thence foreſaw and knew that the Incenſe to be offer'd to him would not ceaſe with the preſent or few ſucceeding Generations, and that it would not only for the trifling Space of three or four hundred Years, but that it would continue to be paid to him thro' all Changes and Revolutions of Government and Religion, as long as the Nation ſubſiſts, and the Iſland it ſelf remains.

It is deplorable that the Proud ſhould have ſuch Temptations to wrong their Lawful Heirs: For when a Man in eaſe and affluence, brim-full of Vain-glory, and humour'd in his Pride by the greateſt of a polite Nation, has ſuch an infallible Security in Petto for an Everlaſting Homage and Adoration to his *Manes* to be paid in ſuch an extraordinary manner, he is like a Hero in Battle, who in feaſting on his own Imagination taſtes all the Felicity of Enthuſiaſm. It boys him up in Sickneſs, relieves him in Pain, and either guards him againſt or keeps from his View all the Terrors of Death, and the moſt diſmal Apprehenſions of Futurity.

Should it be ſaid that to be thus Cenſorious, and look into Matters, and Mens Conſciences with that Nicety, will diſcourage People from laying out their Money this way; and that let the Money and and the Motive of the Donor be what they will, he that receives the Benefit is the Gainer, I would not diſown the Charge, but am of Opinion, that this is no Injury to the Publick, ſhould one prevent Men from crowding too much Treaſure into the Dead Stock of the Kingdom. There ought to be a vaſt diſproportion between the Active and Unactive part of the Society to make it Happy, and where this is not regarded the multitude of Gifts and Endowments may ſoon be exceſſive and detrimental to a Nation. Charity, where it is too extenſive,

tenſive, ſeldom fails of promoting Sloth and Idleneſs, and is good for little in the Commonwealth but to breed Drones and deſtroy Induſtry. The more Colleges and Alms-houſes you build the more you may. The firſt Founders and Benefactors may have juſt and good Intentions, and would perhaps for their own Reputations ſeem to labour for the moſt laudable Purpoſes, but the Executors of thoſe Wills, the Governours that come after them, have quite other Views, and we ſeldom ſee Charities long applied as it was firſt intended they ſhould be. I have no deſign that is Cruel, nor the leaſt aim that ſavours of Inhumanity. To have ſufficient Hoſpitals for Sick and Wounded I look upon as an indiſpenſible Duty both in Peace and War: Young Children without Parents, Old Age without Support, and all that are diſabled from Working, ought to be taken Care of with Tenderneſs and Alacrity. But as on the one hand I would have none neglected that are helpleſs, and really neceſſitous without being wanting to themſelves, ſo on the other I would not encourage Beggary or Lazineſs in the Poor: All ſhould be ſet to work that are any ways able, and Scrutinies ſhould be made even among the Infirm: Employments might be found out for moſt of our Lame, and many that are unfit for hard Labour, as well as the Blind, as long as their Health and Strength would allow of it. What I have now under Conſideration leads me naturally to that kind of Diſtraction the Nation has labour'd under for ſome time, the Enthuſiaſtick Paſſion for Charity-Schools.

The generality are ſo bewitched with the Uſefulneſs and Excellency of them, that whoever dares openly oppoſe them is in danger of being ſtoned by the Rabble. Children that are taught the Principles of Religion and can read the Word of God, have a greater opportunity to improve in Virtue and good Morality, and muſt certainly be more civiliz'd than

others,

others, that are ſuffer'd to run at random and have no body to look after them. How perverſe muſt be the Judgment of thoſe, who would not rather ſee Children decently dreſs'd, with clean Linnen at leaſt once a Week, that in an orderly manner follow their Maſter to Church, than in every open place meet with a Company of Black-guards without Shirts or any thing whole about them, that inſenſible of their Miſery are continually increaſing it with Oaths and Imprecations! Can any one doubt but theſe are the great Nurſery of Thieves and Pick-pockets? What Numbers of Felons and other Criminals have we Tried and Convicted every Seſſions! This will be prevented by Charity-Schools, and when the Children of the Poor receive a better Education, the Society will in a few Years reap the Benefit of it, and the Nation be clear'd of ſo many Miſcreants as now this great City and all the Country about it are fill'd with.

This is the general Cry, and he that ſpeaks the leaſt Word againſt it, an Uncharitable, Hard-hearted and Inhuman, if not a Wicked, Prophane and Atheiſtical Wretch. As to the Comlineſs of the Sight, no body diſputes it, but I would not have a Nation pay too dear for ſo tranſient a Pleaſure, and if we might ſet aſide the finery of the Shew, every thing that is material in this popular Oration might ſoon be anſwer'd.

As to Religion, the moſt knowing and polite Part of a Nation have every where the leaſt of it; Craft has a greater Hand in making Rogues than Stupidity, and Vice in general is no where more predominant than where Arts and Sciences flouriſh. Ignorance is, to a Proverb, counted to be the Mother of Devotion, and it is certain that we ſhall find Innocence and Honeſty no where more general than among the moſt illiterate, the poor ſilly Country People. The next to be conſider'd, are the Manners and Civility that by Charity-Schools are to be

grafted

grafted into the Poor of the Nation. I confeſs that in my Opinion to be in any degree poſſeſs'd of what I named is a frivolous if not a hurtful Quality, at leaſt nothing is leſs requiſite in the Laborious Poor. It is not Compliments we want of them, but their Work and Aſſiduity. But I give up this Article with all my Heart, good Manners we'll ſay are neceſſary to all People, but which way will they be furniſhed with them in a Charity-School? Boys there may be taught to pull of their Caps promiſcuouſly to all they meet, unleſs it be a Beggar: But that they ſhould acquire in it any Civility beyond that I can't conceive.

The Maſter is not greatly qualify'd, as may be gueſſed by his Salary, and if he could teach them Manners, he has not time for it: Whilſt they are at School they are either learning or ſaying their Leſſon to him, or employed in Writing or Arithmetick, and as ſoon as School is done, they are as much at Liberty as other poor Peoples Children. It is Precept and the Example of Parents, and thoſe they Eat, Drink and Converſe with, that have an Influence upon the Minds of Children: Reprobate Parents that take ill Courſes and are regardleſs to their Children, won't have a mannerly civiliz'd Offſpring tho' they went to a Charity-School till they were Married. The honeſt pains-taking People, be they never ſo poor, if they have any notion of Goodneſs and Decency themſelves, will keep their Children in awe, and never ſuffer them to rake about the Streets, and lie out a-nights. Thoſe who will work themſelves, and have any command over their Children, will make them do ſomething or other that turns to Profit as ſoon as they are able, be it never ſo little; and ſuch as are ſo Ungovernable, that neither Words or Blows can work upon them, no Charity-School will mend: Nay, Experience teaches us, that among the Charity-Boys there are abundance of bad ones that Swear and

Curſe about, and, bar the Cloaths, are as much Black-guard as ever *Tower-hill* or St. *James*'s produc'd.

I am now come to the enormous Crimes, and vaſt Multitude of Malefactors, that are all laid upon the want of this notable Education. That abundance of Thefts and Robberies are daily committed in and about the City, and great numbers yearly ſuffer Death for thoſe Crimes, is undeniable: But becauſe this is ever hooked in when the Uſefulneſs of Charity-Schools is called in Queſtion, as if there was no diſpute, but they would in a great meaſure remedy, and in time prevent thoſe Diſorders, I intend to examine into the real Cauſes of thoſe Miſchiefs ſo juſtly complained of, and doubt not but to make it appear that Charity-Schools, and every thing elſe that promotes Idleneſs, and keeps the Poor from Working, are more Acceſſary to the growth of Villany, than the want of Reading and Writing, or even the groſſeſt Ignorance and Stupidity.

Here I muſt interrupt my ſelf to obviate the Clamours of ſome impatient People, who upon Reading of what I ſaid laſt will cry out that far from encouraging Idleneſs, they bring up their Charity-Children to Handicrafts, as well as Trades, and all manner of Honeſt Labour. I promiſe them that I ſhall take notice of that hereafter, and anſwer it without ſtifling the leaſt thing that can be ſaid in their Behalf.

In a populous City it is not difficult for a young Raſcal, that has puſhed himſelf into a Crowd, with a ſmall Hand and nimble Fingers to whip away a Handkerchief or Snuff-Box from a Man who is thinking on Buſineſs, and regardleſs of his Pocket. Succeſs in ſmall Crimes ſeldom fails of uſhering in greater, and he that picks Pockets with impunity at twelve, is likely to be a Houſe-breaker at ſixteen, and a thorough-paced Villain long before he is twenty.

twenty. Thoſe who are Cautious as well as Bold, and no Drunkards, may do a world of Miſchief before they are diſcovered; and this is one of the greateſt Inconveniencies of ſuch vaſt over-grown Cities as *London* or *Paris*, that they harbour Rogues and Villains as Granaries do Vermin; they afford a perpetual ſhelter to the worſt of People, and are places of Safety to Thouſands of Criminals, who daily commit Thefts and Burglaries, and yet by often changing their places of Abode, may conceal themſelves for many Years, and will perhaps for ever eſcape the Hands of Juſtice, unleſs by chance they are apprehended in a Fact. And when they are taken, the Evidences perhaps want clearneſs or are otherwiſe inſufficient, the Depoſitions are not ſtrong enough, Juries and often Judges are touched with Compaſſion; Proſecutors tho' vigorous at firſt often relent before the time of Tryal comes on: Few Men prefer the publick Safety to their own Eaſe; a Man of Good-nature is not eaſily reconcil'd with taking away of another Man's Life, tho' he has deſerved the Gallows. To be the cauſe of any one's Death, tho' Juſtice requires it, is what moſt People are ſtartled at, eſpecially Men of Conſcience and Probity, when they want Judgment or Reſolution; as this is the reaſon that Thouſands eſcape that deſerve to be capitally puniſhed, ſo it is likewiſe the cauſe that there are ſo many Offenders, who boldly venture in hopes, that if they are taken they ſhall have the ſame good Fortune of getting off.

But if Men did imagine and were fully perſuaded, that as ſurely as they committed a Fact that deſerved Hanging, ſo ſurely they would be Hanged, Executions would be very rare, and the moſt deſperate Felon would almoſt as ſoon hang himſelf as he would break open a Houſe. To be Stupid and Ignorant is ſeldom the Character of a Thief. Robberies on the High-way and other bold Crimes are

generally perpetrated by Rogues of Spirit and a Genius, and Villains of any Fame are commonly ſubtle cunning Fellows, that are well vers'd in the Method of Tryals, and acquainted with every Quirk in the Law that can be of Uſe to them, that overlook not the ſmalleſt Flaw in an Indictment, and know how to make an Advantage of the leaſt ſlip of an Evidence and every thing elſe, that can ſerve their turn to bring them off.

It is a mighty Saying, that it is better that five hundred Guilty People ſhould eſcape, than that one Innocent Perſon ſhould ſuffer: This Maxim is only true as to Futurity, and in relation to another World; but it is very falſe in regard to the Temporal Welfare of the Society. It is a terrible thing a Man ſhould be put to Death for a Crime he is not Guilty of; yet ſo oddly Circumſtances may meet in the infinite variety of Accidents, that it is poſſible it ſhould come to paſs, all the Wiſdom that Judges, and Conſcienciouſneſs that Juries may be poſſeſs'd of, notwithſtanding. But where Men endeavour to avoid this with all the Care and Precaution human Prudence is able to take, ſhould ſuch a Misfortune happen perhaps once or twice in half a ſcore Years, on Condition that all that time Juſtice ſhould be Adminiſtred with all the Strictneſs and Severity, and not one Guilty Perſon ſuffered to eſcape with Impunity; it would be a vaſt Advantage to a Nation, not only as to the ſecuring of every one's Property and the Peace of the Society in general, but it would likewiſe ſave the Lives of Hundreds, if not Thouſands, of Neceſſitous Wretches, that are daily hanged for Trifles, and who would never have attempted any thing againſt the Law, or at leaſt have ventured on Capital Crimes, if the hopes of getting off, ſhould they be taken, had not been one of the Motives that animated their Reſolution. Therefore where the Laws are plain and ſevere, all the remiſsneſs in the Execution of them,

Lenity

Lenity of Juries and frequency of Pardons are in the main a much greater Cruelty to a populous State or Kingdom, than the uſe of Racks and the moſt exquiſite Torments.

Another great Cauſe of thoſe Evils is to be looked for in the want of Precaution in thoſe that are robbed, and the many Temptations that are given. Abundance of Families are very remiſs in looking after the Safety of their Houſes, ſome are robbed by the careleſneſs of Servants, others for having grudg'd the price of Bars and Shutters. Braſs and Pewter are ready Money, they are every where about the Houſe; Plate perhaps and Money are better ſecured, but an ordinary Lock is ſoon opened, when once a Rogue is got in.

It is manifeſt then that many different Cauſes concur, and ſeveral ſcarce avoidable Evils contribute to the misfortune of being peſter'd with Pilferers, Thieves, and Robbers, which all Countries ever were and ever will be, more or leſs, in and near conſiderable Towns, more eſpecially vaſt and overgrown Cities. 'Tis Opportunity makes the Thief; Careleſneſs and neglect in faſtning Doors and Windows, the exceſſive Tenderneſs of Juries and Proſecutors, the ſmall difficulty of getting a Reprieve and frequency of Pardons, but above all the many Examples of thoſe who are known to be Guilty, are deſtitute both of Friends and Money, and yet by impoſing on the Jury, Baffling the Witneſſes, or other Tricks and Stratagems, find out means to eſcape the Gallows. Theſe are all ſtrong Temptations that conſpire to draw in the Neceſſitous, who want Principle and Education.

To theſe you may add as Auxiliaries to Miſchief, an habit of Sloth and Idleneſs and ſtrong Averſion to Labour and Aſſiduity, which all Young People will contract that are not brought up to downright Working, or at leaſt kept employ'd moſt Days in the Week, and the greateſt part of the Day. All

Children that are Idle, even the beſt of either Sex, are bad Company to one another whenever they meet.

It is not then the want of Reading and Writing, but the concurrence and a complication of more ſubſtantial Evils that are the perpetual Nurſery of abandoned Profligates in great and opulent Nations; and whoever would accuſe Ignorance, Stupidity and Daſtardneſs, as the firſt, and what Phyſicians call the Procatartic Cauſe, let him examine into the Lives, and narrowly inſpect the Converſations and Actions of ordinary Rogues and our common Felons, and he will find the reverſe to be true, and that the blame ought rather to be laid on the exceſſive Cunning and Subtlety, and too much Knowledge in general, which the worſt of Miſcreants and the Scum of the Nation are poſſeſſed of.

Human Nature is every where the ſame: Genius, Wit and Natural Parts are always ſharpened by Application, and may be as much improv'd in the practice of the meaneſt Villany, as they can in the exerciſe of Induſtry or the moſt Heroic Virtue. There is no Station of Life, where Pride, Emulation and the love of Glory may not be diſplayed. A young Pick-pocket that makes a Jeſt of his Angry Proſecutor, and dextrouſly wheedles the old Juſtice into an Opinion of his Innocence, is envied by his Equals and admired by all the Fraternity. Rogues have the ſame Paſſions to gratify as other Men, and value themſelves on their Honour and Faithfulneſs to one another, their Courage, Intrepidity and other manly Virtues, as well as People of better Profeſſions; and in daring Enterprizes, the Reſolution of a Robber may be as much ſupported by his Pride, as that of an Honeſt Soldier, who fights for his Country.

The Evils then we complain of are owing to quite other Cauſes than what we aſſign for them. Men muſt be very wavering in their Sentiments, if

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not inconſiſtent with themſelves, that at one time will uphold Knowledge and Learning to be the moſt proper means to promote Religion, and defend at another that Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion.

But if the Reaſons alledged for this general Education are not the true ones, whence comes it that the whole Kingdom both great and ſmall are ſo unanimouſly fond of it? There is no miraculous Converſion to be perceiv'd among us, no univerſal Bent to Goodneſs and Morality that has on a ſudden overſpread the Iſland: there is as much Wickedneſs as ever, Charity is as cold, and real Virtue as ſcarce: The Year ſeventeen hundred and twenty has been as prolifick in deep Villany, and remarkable for ſelfiſh Crimes and premeditated Miſchief, as can be pick'd out of any Century whatever; not committed by poor ignorant Rogues that could neither Read nor Write, but the better ſort of People as to Wealth and Education, that moſt of them were great Maſters in Arithmetick, and liv'd in Reputation and Splendour. To ſay that when a thing is once in Vogue, the Multitude follows the common Cry, that Charity-Schools are in Faſhion in the ſame manner as Hoop'd Petticoats, by Caprice, and that no more Reaſon can be given for the one than the other, I am afraid will not be Satisfactory to the Curious, and at the ſame Time I doubt much, whether it will be thought of great Weight by many of my Readers, what I can advance beſides.

The real Source of this preſent Folly is certainly very abſtruſe and remote from ſight, but he that affords the leaſt Light in Matters of great Obſcurity does a kind Office to the Enquirers. I am willing to allow, that in the Beginning the firſt Deſign of thoſe Schools was Good and Charitable, but to know what encreaſes them ſo extravagantly, and who are the chief Promoters of them now, we muſt

make our Search another way, and addreſs ourſelves to the rigid Party-men that are zealous for their Cauſe, either Epiſcopacy or Presbytery; but as the latter are but the poor Mimicks of the firſt, tho' equally pernicious, we ſhall confine our ſelves to the National Church, and take a turn thro' a Pariſh that is not bleſs'd yet with a Charity-School. ——But here I think my ſelf obliged in Conſcience to ask pardon of my Reader for the tireſome Dance I am going to lead him if he intends to follow me, and therefore I deſire that he would either throw away the Book and leave me, or elſe arm himſelf with the Patience of *Job* to endure all the Impertinencies of low Life, the Cant and Tittle-tattle he is like to meet with before he can go half a Street's length.

Firſt we muſt look out among the young Shopkeepers, that have not half the Buſineſs they could wiſh for, and conſequently Time to ſpare. If ſuch a New-beginner has but a little Pride more than ordinary, and loves to be meddling, he is ſoon mortify'd in the Veſtry, where Men of Subſtance and long ſtanding, or elſe your pert litigious or opinionated Bawlers, that have obtained the Title of Notable Men, commonly bear the Sway. His Stock and perhaps Credit are but inconſiderable, and yet he finds within himſelf a ſtrong Inclination to Govern. A Man thus qualified thinks it a thouſand Pities there is no Charity-School in the Pariſh: he communicates his Thoughts to two or three of his Acquaintance firſt; they do the ſame to others, and in a Month's time there is nothing elſe talk'd of in the Pariſh. Every body invents Diſcourſes and Arguments to the Purpoſe according to his Abilities. —— It is an errant Shame, ſays one, to ſee ſo many Poor that are not able to educate their Children, and no Proviſion made for them where we have ſo many rich People. What d'ye talk of Rich, anſwers another, they are the worſt: they muſt have

have ſo many Servants, Coaches and Horſes: They can lay out hundreds, and ſome of them thouſands of Pounds for Jewels and Furniture, but not ſpare a Shilling to a poor Creature that wants it: When Modes and Faſhions are diſcours'd of they can hearken with great Attention, but are wilfully deaf to the Criēs of the Poor. Indeed Neighbour, replies the firſt, you are very right, I don't believe there is a worſe Pariſh in *England* for Charity than ours: 'Tis ſuch as you and I that would do good if it was in our power, but of thoſe that are able there's very few that are willing.

Others more violent fall upon particular Perſons, and faſten Slander on every Man of Subſtance they diſlike, and a thouſand idle Stories in behalf of Charity are rais'd and handed about to defame their Betters. Whilſt this is doing throughout the Neighbourhood, he that firſt broach'd the pious Thought rejoices to hear ſo many come in to it, and places no ſmall Merit in being the firſt Cauſe of ſo much Talk and Buſtle: But neither himſelf nor his Intimates being conſiderable enough to ſet ſuch a thing on foot, ſome body muſt be found out who has greater Intereſt: he is to be addreſs'd to, and ſhew'd the Neceſſity, the Goodneſs, the Uſefulneſs and Chriſtianity of ſuch a Deſign: next he is to be flatter'd. — Indeed Sir, if you would eſpouſe it, nobody has a greater Influence over the beſt of the Pariſh than yourſelf: one Word of you I am ſure would engage ſuch a one: if you once take it to heart, Sir, I would look upon the thing as done, Sir. — If by this kind of Rhetorick they can draw in ſome old Fool or conceited Buſy-body that is rich, or at leaſt reputed to be ſuch, the thing begins to be feaſible, and is diſcours'd of among the better ſort. The Parſon, or his Curate, and the Lecturer are every where extolling the pious Project. The firſt Promoters mean while are indefatigable: If they were guilty of any open Vice they

either Sacrifice it to the love of Reputation, or at leaſt grow more cautious and learn to play the Hypocrite, well knowing that to be flagitious or noted for Enormities is inconſiſtent with the Zeal which they pretend to for Works of Supererrogation and exceſſive Piety.

The Number of theſe diminutive Patriots encreaſing, they form themſelves into a Society, and appoint ſtated Meetings, where every one concealing his Vices has liberty to diſplay his Talents. Religion is the Theme, or elſe the Miſery of the Times occaſion'd by Atheiſm and Prophaneneſs. Men of Worth, who live in Splendor, and thriving People that have a great deal of Buſineſs of their own, are ſeldom ſeen among them. Men of Senſe and Education likewiſe, if they have nothing to do, generally look out for better Diverſion. All thoſe who have a higher Aim, ſhall have their Attendance eaſily excus'd, but contribute they muſt or elſe lead a weary Life in the Pariſh. Two ſorts of People come in voluntarily, ſtanch Churchmen, who have good Reaſons for it in Petto, and your ſly Sinners that look upon it as meritorious, and hope that it will expiate their Guilt, and Satan be Nonſuited by it at a ſmall Expence. Some come into it to ſave their Credit, others to retrieve it, according as they have either loſt or are afraid of loſing it; others again do it Prudentially to encreaſe their Trade and get Acquaintance, and many would own to you, if they dared to be ſincere and ſpeak the Truth, that they would never have been concern'd in it, but to be better known in the Pariſh. Men of Senſe that ſee the Folly of it and have no body to fear, are perſuaded into it not to be thought ſingular or to run Counter to all the World; even thoſe who are reſolute at firſt in denying it, it is ten to one but at laſt they are teaz'd and importun'd into a Compliance. The Charge being calculated for moſt of the Inhabitants, the

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inſignificancy of it is another Argument that prevails much, and many are drawn in to be Contributors, who without that would have ſtood out and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the whole Scheme.

The Governours are made of the middling People, and many inferiour to that Claſs are made uſe of, if the forwardneſs of their Zeal can but overballance the meanneſs of their Condition. If you ſhould aſk theſe Worthy Rulers, why they take upon them ſo much Trouble to the detriment of their own Affairs and loſs of Time, either ſingly or the whole body of them, they would all unanimouſly anſwer, that it is the Regard they have for Religion and the Church, and the Pleaſure they take in Contributing to the Good, and Eternal Welfare of ſo many poor Innocents that in all Probability would run into Perdition in theſe Wicked Times of Scoffers and Free-thinkers. They have no Thought of Intereſt, even thoſe, who deal in and provide theſe Children with what they want, have not the leaſt deſign of getting by what they ſell for their Uſe, and tho' in every thing elſe their Avarice and Greedineſs after Lucre be glaringly conſpicuous, in this Affair they are wholly diveſted from Selfiſhneſs, and have no Worldly Ends. One Motive above all, which is none of the leaſt with the moſt of them, is to be carefully conceal'd, I mean the Satisfaction there is in Ordering and Directing: There is a melodious Sound in the word Governor that is charming to mean People: Every Body admires Sway and Superiority, even *Imperium in Belluas* has its delights, there is a Pleaſure in Ruling over any thing, and it is this chiefly that ſupports Human Nature in the tedious Slavery of School-maſters. But if there be the leaſt Satisfaction in governing the Children, it muſt be raviſhing to govern the School-maſter himſelf. What fine things are ſaid and perhaps wrote to a Governor, when a School-maſter is to be Choſen! How

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the Praiſes tickle, and how pleaſant it is not to find out the Fulſomneſs of the Flattery, the Stiffneſs of the Expreſſions, or the Pedantry of the Style!

Thoſe who can examine Nature will always find, that what theſe People moſt pretend to is the leaſt, and what they utterly deny their greateſt Motive. No Habit or Quality is more eaſily acquir'd than Hypocriſy, nor any thing ſooner learn'd than to deny the Sentiments of our Hearts and the Principle we act from: But the Seeds of every Paſſion are innate to us, and no body comes into the World without them. If we will mind the Paſtimes and Recreations of young Children, we ſhall obſerve nothing more general in them, than that all who are ſuffer'd to do it, take Delight in playing with Kittens and little Puppy Dogs. What makes them always lugging and pulling the poor Creatures about the Houſe proceeds from nothing elſe but that they can do with them what they pleaſe, and put them into what poſture and ſhape they liſt, and the Pleaſure they receive from this is originally owing to the love of Dominion and that uſurping Temper all Mankind are born with.

When this great Work is brought to bear, and actually accompliſh'd, Joy and Serenity ſeems to overſpread the Face of every Inhabitant, which likewiſe to account for I muſt make a ſhort Digreſſion. There are every where ſlovenly ſorry Fellows that are uſed to be ſeen always Ragged and Dirty: Theſe People we look upon as miſerable Creatures in general, and unleſs they are very remarkable we take little Notice of them, and yet among theſe there are handſome and well-ſhaped Men as well as among their Betters. But if one of theſe turns Soldier, what a vaſt Alteration is there obſerv'd in him for the better, as ſoon as he is put in his Red Coat, and we ſee him look ſmart with his Grenadier's Cap and a great Ammunition Sword! All who knew him before are ſtruck with other Ideas

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of his Qualities, and the Judgment which both Men and Women form of him in their Minds is very different from what it was. There is ſomething Analogous to this in the Sight of Charity Children; there is a natural Beauty in Uniformity which moſt People delight in. It is diverting to the Eye to ſee Children well match'd, either Boys or Girls, march two and two in good order; and to have them all whole and tight in the ſame Cloaths and Trimming muſt add to the comlineſs of the ſight; and what makes it ſtill more generally entertaining is the imaginary ſhare which even Servants and the meaneſt in the Pariſh have in it, to whom it coſts nothing: Our Pariſh Church, Our Charity Children. In all this there is a Shadow of Property that tickles every Body that has a Right to make Uſe of the Words, but more eſpecially thoſe who actually contribute and had a great Hand in advancing the pious Work.

It is hardly conceivable that Men ſhould ſo little know their own Hearts, and be ſo ignorant of their inward Condition, as to miſtake Frailty, Paſſion and Enthuſiaſm for Goodneſs, Virtue and Charity; yet nothing is more true than that the Satisfaction, the Joy and Tranſports they feel on the accounts I named paſs with theſe miſerable Judges for principles of Piety and Religion. Whoever will conſider what I have ſaid for two or three Pages, and ſuffer his Imagination to rove a little further on what he has heard and ſeen concerning this Subject, will be furniſhed with ſufficient Reaſons abſtract from the love of God and true Chriſtianity, why Charity-Schools are in ſuch uncommon Vogue, and ſo unanimouſly approv'd of and admired among all ſorts and conditions of People. It is a Theme which every Body can talk of and underſtands thoroughly, there is not a more inexhauſtible Fund for Tittle Tattle, and a variety of low converſation in Hoyboats and Stage-Coaches. If a Governour that in

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Behalf of the School or the Sermon exerted himſelf more than ordinary, happens to be in Company, how he is commended by the Women, and his Zeal and Charitable Diſpoſition extoll'd to the Skies! Upon my word, Sir, ſays an Old Lady, we are all very much obliged to you, I don't think any of the other Governours could have made Intereſt enough to procure us a Biſhop; 'twas on your Account I am told that his Lordſhip came, tho' he was not very well: To which the other replies very gravely, that it is his Duty, but that he values no Trouble nor Fatigue ſo he can be but ſerviceable to the Children, poor Lambs: Indeed, ſays he, I was reſolv'd to get a pair of Lawn Sleeves, tho' I rid all Night for it, and I am very glad I was not diſappointed.

Sometimes the School itſelf is diſcours'd of, and of whom in all the Pariſh it is moſt expected he ſhould build one: The old Room where it is now kept is ready to drop drown; ſuch a one had a vaſt Eſtate left him by his Uncle, and a great deal of Money beſides; a Thouſand Pounds would be nothing in his Pocket.

At others the great Crouds are talk'd of that are ſeen at ſome Churches, and the conſiderable Sums that are gather'd; from whence by an eaſy tranſition they go over to the Abilities, the different Talents and Orthodoxy of Clergymen. Dr. —— is a Man of great Parts and Learning, and I believe he is very hearty for the Church, but I don't like him for a Charity-Sermon. There is no better Man in the World than ——; he forces the Money out of their Pockets. When he preach'd laſt for our Children I am ſure there was abundance of People that gave more than they intended when they came to Church. I could ſee it in their Faces, and rejoyc'd at it Heartily.

Another Charm that renders Charity-Schools ſo bewitching to the Multitude is the general Opinion

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Eſtabliſh'd among them, that they are not only actually Beneficial to Society as to Temporal Happineſs, but likewiſe that Chriſtianity enjoys and requires of us, we ſhould erect them for our Future Welfare. They are earneſtly and fervently recommended by the whole body of the Clergy, and have more Labour and Eloquence laid out upon them than any other Chriſtian Duty; not by young Parſons or poor Scholars of little Credit, but the moſt Learned of our Prelates and the moſt Eminent for Orthodoxy, even thoſe who do not often fatigue themſelves on any other Occaſion. As to Religion, there is no doubt but they know what is chiefly required of us, and conſequently the moſt neceſſary to Salvation: and as to the World, who ſhould underſtand the Intereſt of the Kingdom better than the Wiſdom of the Nation, of which the Lords Spiritual are ſo conſiderable a Branch? The conſequence of this Sanction is, firſt, that thoſe, who with their Purſes or Power are inſtrumental to the encreaſe or maintenance of theſe Schools, are tempted to place a greater Merit in what they do than otherwiſe they could ſuppoſe it deſerv'd. Secondly, that all the reſt, who either cannot or will not any ways contribute towards them, have ſtill a very good reaſon why they ſhould ſpeak well of them; for tho' it be difficult, in things that interfere with our Paſſions, to act well, it is always in our power to wiſh well, becauſe it is perform'd with little Coſt. There is hardly a Perſon ſo Wicked among the Superſtitious Vulgar, but in the liking he has for Charity-Schools, he imagines to ſee a Glimmering Hope that it will make an Attonement for his Sins, from the ſame Principle as the moſt Vicious comfort themſelves with the Love and Veneration they bear to the Church, and the greateſt Profligates find an Opportunity in it to ſhew the Rectitude of their Inclinations at no Expence.

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But if all theſe were not Inducements ſufficient to make Men ſtand up in Defence of the Idol I ſpeak of, there is another that will infallibly Bribe moſt People to be Advocates for it. We all naturally love Triumph, and whoever engages in this Cauſe is ſure of Conqueſt, at leaſt in Nine Companies out of Ten. Let him diſpute with whom he will, conſidering the Speciouſneſs of the Pretence, and the Majority he has on his ſide, it is a Caſtle, an impregnable Fortreſs he can never be beat out of; and was the moſt Sober, Virtuous Man alive to produce all the Arguments to prove the detriment Charity-Schools, at leaſt the Multiplicity of them, do to Society, which I ſhall give hereafter, and ſuch as are yet ſtronger, againſt the greateſt Scoundrel in the World, who ſhould only make uſe of the common Cant of Chariry and Religion, the Vogue would be againſt the firſt, and himſelf loſe his Cauſe in the Opinion of the Vulgar.

The Riſe then and Original of all the Buſtle and Clamour that is made throughout the Kingdom in Behalf of Charity-Schools, is chiefly built on Frailty and Human Paſſion, at leaſt it is more than poſſible that a Nation ſhould have the ſame Fondneſs and feel the ſame Zeal for them as are ſhewn in ours, and yet not to be prompted to it by any principle of Virtue or Religion. Encouraged by this Conſideration, I ſhall with the greater Liberty attack this vulgar Error, and endeavour to make it evident, that far from being Beneficial, this forc'd Education is pernicious to the Publick, the Welfare whereof as it demands of us a regard Superiour to all other Laws and Conſiderations, ſo it ſhall be the only Apology I intend to make for differing from the preſent Sentiments of the Learned and Reverend Body of our Divines, and venturing plainly to deny, what I have juſt now own'd to be openly aſſerted by moſt of our Biſhops as well as Inferior Clergy. As our Church pretends to no Infallibility

fallibility even in Spirituals, her proper Province, ſo it cannot be an Affront to her to imagine that ſhe may err in Temporals which are not ſo much under her immediate care.— But to my Taſk.

The whole Earth being Curs'd, and no Bread to be had but what we eat in the ſweat of our Brows, vaſt Toil muſt be undergone before Man can provide himſelf with Neceſſaries for his Suſtenance and the bare ſupport of his corrupt and defective Nature as he is a ſingle Creature; but infinitely more to make Life comfortable in a Civil Society, where Men are become taught Animals, and great Numbers of them have by mutual compact framed themſelves into a Body Politick; and the more Man's Knowledge encreaſes in this State, the greater will be the variety of Labour required to make him eaſy. It is impoſſible that a Society can long ſubſiſt, and ſuffer many of its Members to live in Idleneſs, and enjoy all the Eaſe and Pleaſure they can invent, without having at the ſame time great Multitudes of People that to make good this Defect will condeſcend to be quite the reverſe, and by uſe and patience inure their Bodies to work for others and themſelves beſides.

The Plenty and Cheapneſs of Proviſions depends in a great meaſure on the Price and Value that is ſet upon this Labour, and conſequently the Welfare of all Societies, even before they are tainted with Foreign Luxury, requires that it ſhould be perform'd by ſuch of their Members as in the firſt place are ſturdy and robuſt and never uſed to Eaſe or Idleneſs, and in the ſecond, ſoon contented as to the Neceſſaries of Life; ſuch as are glad to take up with the courſeſt Manufacture in every thing they wear, and in their Diet have no other aim than to feed their Bodies when their Stomachs prompt them to eat, and, with little regard to Taſte or Reliſh, refuſe no wholſome Nouriſhment that can be ſwallow'd when Men are Hungry, or aſk any thing for their Thirſt but to quench it. As

As the greateſt part of the Drudgery is to be done by Day-light, ſo it is by this only that they actually meaſure the time of their Labour, without any thought of the Hours they are employ'd, or the Wearineſs they feel; and the Hireling in the Country muſt get up in the Morning, not becauſe he has reſted enough, but becauſe the Sun is going to riſe. This laſt Article alone would be an intolerable Hardſhip to Grown People under Thirty, who during Nonage had been uſed to lie a-bed as long as they could ſleep; but all three together make up ſuch a Condition of Life as a Man more mildly Educated would hardly chuſe; tho' it ſhould deliver him from a Goal or a Shrew.

If ſuch People there muſt be, as no great Nation can be happy without vaſt Numbers of them, would not a Wiſe Legiſlature cultivate the Breed of them with all imaginable Care, and provide againſt their Scarcity as he would prevent the Scarcity of Proviſion it ſelf? No Man would be Poor and fatigue himſelf for a Livelihood if he could help it: The abſolute neceſſity all ſtand in for Victuals and Drink, and in cold Climates for Cloaths and Lodging, makes them ſubmit to any thing that can be bore with. If no body did Want, no body would Work; but the greateſt Hardſhips are look'd upon as Solid Pleaſures when they keep a Man from Starving.

From what has been ſaid it is manifeſt, that in a Free Nation where Slaves are not allow'd of, the ſureſt Wealth conſiſts in a Multitude of laborious Poor; for beſides that they are the never-failing Nurſery of Fleets and Armies, without them there could be no Enjoyment, and no Product of any Country could be valuable. To make the Society happy and People eaſie under the meaneſt Circumſtances, it is requiſite that great Numbers of them ſhould be Ignorant as well as Poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our Deſires, and the fewer things a Man wiſhes for, the more eaſily his Neceſſities may be ſupply'd. The

The Welfare and Felicity therefore of every State and Kingdom, require that the Knowledge of the Working Poor ſhould be confin'd within the Verge of their Occupations, and never extended (as to things viſible) beyond what relates to their Calling. The more a Shepherd, a Plowman or any other Peaſant knows of the World, and the things that are Foreign to his Labour or Employment, the leſs fit he'll be to go through the Fatigues and Hardſhips of it with Chearfulneſs and Content.

Reading, Writing and Arithmetick are very neceſſary to thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs require ſuch Qualifications, but where Peoples livelihood has no dependance on theſe Arts, they are very pernicious to the Poor, who are forc'd to get their Daily Bread by their Daily Labour. Few Children make any Progreſs at School, but at the ſame time they are capable of being employ'd in ſome Buſineſs or other, ſo that every Hour thoſe ſort of poor People ſpend at their Book is ſo much time loſt to the Society. Going to School in compariſon to Working is Idleneſs, and the longer Boys continue in this eaſy ſort of Life, the more unfit they'll be when grown up for downright Labour, both as to Strength and Inclination. Men, who are to remain and end their Days in a Laborious, Tireſome and Painful Station of Life, the ſooner they are put upon it at firſt, the more patiently they'll ſubmit to it for ever after. Hard Labour and the courſeſt Diet are a proper Puniſhment to ſeveral kinds of Malefactors, but to impoſe either on thoſe that have not been uſed and brought up to both is the greateſt Cruelty, when there is no Crime you can charge them with.

Reading and Writing are not attain'd to without ſome labour of the Brain and Aſſiduity, and before People are tolerably vers'd in either, they eſteem themſelves infinitely above thoſe who are wholly Ignorant of them, often with ſo little Juſtice and Moderation as if they were of another Species. As

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all Mortals have naturally an Averſion to trouble and Pains-taking, ſo we are all fond of, and apt to over-value thoſe Qualifications we have purchas'd at the Expence of our Eaſe and Quiet for Years together. Thoſe who ſpent a great part of their Youth in learning to Read, Write and Cypher, expect and not unjuſtly to be employ'd where thoſe Qualifications may be of uſe to them; the generality of them will look upon downright Labour with the utmoſt Contempt, I mean Labour perform'd in the Service of others in the loweſt Station of Life, and for the meaneſt Conſideration. A Man, who has had ſome Education, may follow Husbandry by Choice, and be diligent at the dirtieſt and moſt labourious Work; but then the Concern muſt be his own, and Avarice, the Care of a Family, or ſome other preſſing Motive muſt put him upon it; but he won't make a good Hireling and ſerve a Farmer for a pitiful Reward; at leaſt he is not ſo fit for it as a Day-Labourer that has always been employ'd about the Plow and Dung-Cart, and remembers not that ever he has lived otherwiſe.

When Obſequiouſneſs and mean Services are required, we ſhall always obſerve that they are never ſo chearfully nor ſo heartily perform'd as from Inferiours to Superiours; I mean Inferiours not only in Riches and Quality, but likewiſe in Knowledge and Underſtanding. A Servant can have no unfeign'd Reſpect for his Maſter, as ſoon as he has Senſe enough to find out that he ſerves a Fool. When we are to learn or to obey, we ſhall experience in our ſelves, that the greater Opinion we have of the Wiſdom and Capacity of thoſe that are either to Teach or Command us, the greater Deference we pay to their Laws and Inſtructions. No Creatures ſubmit contentedly to their Equals, and ſhould a Horſe know as much as a Man, I ſhould not deſire to be his Rider.

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Here I am obliged again to make a Digreſſion, tho' I declare I never had a leſs Mind to it than I have at this Minute; but I ſee a thouſand Rods in Piſs, and the whole Poſſe of diminutive Pedants againſt me for aſſaulting the Chriſt-croſs-row, and oppoſing the very Elements of Literature.

This is no Panick Fear, and the Reader will not imagine my Apprehenſions ill grounded, if he conſiders what an Army of petty Tyrants I have to cope with, that all either actually perſecute with Birch or elſe are ſolliciting for ſuch a Preferment. For if I had no other Adverſaries than the ſtarving Wretches of both Sexes, throughout the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, that from a natural Antipathy to Working, have a great Diſlike to their preſent Employment, and perceiving within a much ſtronger Inclination to Command than ever they felt to obey others, think themſelves qualify'd, and wiſh from their Hearts to be Maſters and Miſtreſſes of Charity-Schools, the Number of my Enemies would by the moſt modeſt Computation amount to one hundred thouſand at leaſt.

Methinks I hear them cry out that a more dangerous Doctrine never was broach'd, and Popery's a Fool to it, and ask what Brute of a *Saracen* it is that draws his ugly Weapon for the Deſtruction of Learning. It is ten to one but they'll indict me for endeavouring by Inſtigation of the Prince of Darkneſs, to introduce into theſe Realms greater Ignorance and Barbarity than ever Nation was plunged into by *Goths* and *Vandals* ſince the Light of the Goſpel firſt appeared in the World. Whoever labours under the publick Odium has always Crimes laid to his Charge he never was guilty of, and it will be ſuſpected that I have had a hand in obliterating the Holy Scriptures, and perhaps affirm'd that it was at my Requeſt that the ſmall Bibles publiſh'd by Patent in the Year 1721, and chiefly made uſe of in Charity-Schools, were through badneſs of Print

Print and Paper render'd illegible: which yet I proteſt I am as innocent of as the Child unborn. But I am in a thouſand Fears; the more I conſider my Caſe the worſe I like it, and the greateſt Comfort I have is in my ſincere Belief, that hardly any body will mind a Word of what I ſay; or elſe if ever the People ſuſpected that what I write would be of any weight to any conſiderable part of the Society, I ſhould not have the Courage barely to think on all the Trades I ſhould diſoblige; and I cannot but ſmile when I reflect on the Variety of uncooth Sufferings that would be prepar'd for me, if the Puniſhment they would differently inflict upon me was emblematically to point at my Crime. For if I was not ſuddenly ſtuck full of uſeleſs Penknifes up to the Hilts, the Company of Stationers would certainly take me in hand, and either have me buried alive in their Hall under a great Heap of Primers and Spelling-Books, they would not be able to ſell; or elſe ſend me up againſt Tide to be bruiſed to Death in a Paper-Mill that would be obliged to ſtand ſtill a Week upon my account. The Ink-makers at the ſame time would for the Publick Good offer to choak me with Aſtringents, or drown me in the black Liquor that would be left upon their Hands: which, if they joyn'd ſtock, might eaſily be perform'd in leſs than a Month: and if I ſhould eſcape the Cruelty of theſe united Bodies, the Reſentment of a private Monopoliſt would be as fatal to me, and I ſhould ſoon find myſelf pelted and knock'd o'th' Head with little ſquat Bibles claſp'd in Braſs and ready arm'd for Miſchief, that, Charitable Learning ceaſing, would be fit for nothing but unopen'd to fight with, and Exerciſes truly Polemick.

The Digreſſion I ſpoke of juſt now is not the fooliſh Trifle that ended with the laſt Paragraph, and which the grave Critick, to whom all Mirth is unſeaſonable, will think very impertinent; but a ſerious

ſerious Apologetical one I am going to make out of hand, to clear myſelf from having any Deſign againſt Arts and Sciences, as ſome Heads of Colleges and other careful Preſervers of human Learning might have apprehended upon ſeeing Ignorance recommended as a neceſſary Ingredient in the mixture of Civil Society.

In the firſt place I would have near double the number of Profeſſors in every Univerſity of what there is now. Theology with us is generally well provided, but the two other Faculties have very little to boaſt of, eſpecially Phyſick. Every Branch of that Art ought to have two or three Profeſſors, that would take Pains to communicate their Skill and Knowledge to others. In Publick Lectures a vain Man has great Opportunities to ſet off his Parts, but private Inſtructions are more uſeful to Students. Pharmacy and the Knowledge of the Simples are as neceſſary as Anatomy or the Hiſtory of Diſeaſes: It is a ſhame that when Men have taken their Degree, and are by Authority entruſted with the Lives of the Subject, they ſhould be forc'd to come to *London* to be acquainted with the *Materia Medica* and the Compoſition of Medicines, and receive Inſtructions from others that never had Univerſity Education themſelves; it is certain that in the City I named there is ten times more Opportunity for a Man to improve himſelf in Anatomy, Botany, Pharmacy and the Practice of Phyſick, than at both Univerſities together. What has an Oylſhop to do with Silks; or who would look for Hams and Pickles at a Mercers? Where things are well managed, Hoſpitals are made as ſubſervient to the Advancement of Students in the Art of Phyſick as they are to the Recovery of Health in the Poor.

Good Senſe ought to govern Men in Learning as well as in Trade: No Man ever bound his Son 'Prentice to a Goldſmith to make him a Linnen-draper;

draper; then why ſhould he have a Divine for his Tutor to become a Lawyer or a Phyſician? It is true, that the Languages, Logick and Philoſophy ſhould be the firſt Studies in all the Learned Profeſſions; but there is ſo little Help for Phyſick in our Univerſities that are ſo rich, and where ſo many idle People are well paid for eating and drinking, and being magnificently as well as commodiouſly lodg'd, that bar Books and what is common to all the Three Faculties, a Man may as well qualify himſelf at *Oxford* or *Cambridge* to be a Turky-Merchant as he can to be a Phyſician: Which is in my humble Opinion a great ſign that ſome part of the great Wealth they are poſſeſſed of is not ſo well applied as it might be.

Profeſſors ſhould, beſides their Stipends allow'd them by the Publick, have Gratifications from every Student they teach, that Self-Intereſt as well as Emulation and the Love of Glory might ſpur them on to Labour and Aſſiduity. When a Man excels in any one Study or part of Learning, and is qualify'd to teach others, he ought to be procur'd if Money will purchaſe him, without regarding what Party, or indeed what Country or Nation he is of, whether Black or White. Univerſities ſhould be publick Marts for all manner of Literature, as your Annual Fairs, that are kept at *Leipſick*, *Francfort*, and other Places in *Germany*, are for different Wares and Merchandizes, where no difference is made between Natives and Foreigners, and which Men reſort to from all Parts of the World with equal Freedom and equal Privilege.

From paying the Gratifications I ſpoke of I would excuſe all Students deſign'd for the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. There is no Faculty ſo immediately neceſſary to the Government of a Nation as that of Theology, and as we ought to have great Numbers of Divines for the Service of this Iſland, I would not have the meaner People diſcouraged from bringing

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up their Children to that Function. For though wealthy Men, if they have many Sons, ſometimes make one of them a Clergyman, as we ſee even Perſons of Quality take up Holy Orders, and there are likewiſe People of good Senſe, eſpecially Divines, that from a Principle of Prudence bring up their Children to that Profeſſion, when they are morally aſſured that they have Friends or Intereſt enough, and ſhall be able either by a good Fellowſhip at the Univerſity, Advowſons or other Means to procure 'em a Livelihood: But theſe produce not the large Number of Divines that are yearly Ordain'd, and for the Bulk of the Clergy we are indebted to another Original.

Among the midling People of all Trades there are Bigots who have a ſuperſtitious Awe for a Gown and Caſſock: of theſe there are Multitudes that feel an ardent Deſire of having a Son promoted to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, without conſidering what is to become of them afterwards; and many a kind Mother in this Kingdom, without conſulting her own Circumſtances or her Child's Capacity, tranſported with this laudable Wiſh, is daily feaſting on this pleaſing Thought, and often before her Son is twelve Years old, mixing Maternal Love with Devotion, throws herſelf into Ecſtaſies and Tears of Satisfaction, by reflecting on the future Enjoyment ſhe is to receive from ſeeing him ſtand in a Pulpit, and with her own Ears hearing him preach the Word of God. It is to this Religious Zeal, or at leaſt the Human Frailties that paſs for and repreſent it, that we owe the great plenty of poor Scholars the Nation enjoys. For conſidering the inequality of Livings, and the ſmallneſs of Benefices up and down the Kingdom, without this happy Diſpoſition in Parents of ſmall Fortune, we could not poſſibly be furniſhed from any other Quarter with proper Perſons for the Miniſtry, to attend all the Cures of Souls, ſo pitifully provided

for, that no Mortal could Live upon them that had been Educated in any tolerable Plenty, unleſs he was poſſeſſed of real Virtue, which it is Fooliſh and indeed Injurious, we ſhould more expect from the Clergy than we generally find it in the Laity.

The great Care I would take to promote that part of Learning which is more immediately uſeful to Society, ſhould not make me neglect the more Curious and Polite, but all the Liberal Arts and every Branch of Literature ſhould be encouraged throughout the Kingdom, more than they are, if my wiſhing could do it. In every County there ſhould be one or more large Schools erected at the Publick Charge for *Latin* and *Greek*, that ſhould be divided into ſix or more Claſſes, with particular Maſters in each of them. The whole ſhould be under the Care and Inſpection of ſome Men of Letters in Authority, who would not only be Titular Governors, but actually take pains at leaſt twice a Year, in hearing every Claſs thoroughly examin'd by the Maſter of it, and not content themſelves with judging of the Progreſs the Scholars had made from Themes and other Exerciſes that had been made out of their Sight.

At the ſame time I would diſcharge and hinder the multiplicity of thoſe petty Schools, that never would have had any Exiſtence had the Maſters of them not been extremely indigent. It is a Vulgar Error that no body can ſpell or write *Engliſh* well without a little ſmatch of *Latin*. This is upheld by Pedants for their own Intereſt, and by none more ſtrenuouſly maintained than ſuch of 'em as are poor Scholars in more than one Senſe: in the mean time it is an abominable Falſhood. I have known, and am ſtill acquainted with ſeveral, and ſome of the Fair Sex, that never learn'd any *Latin*, and yet keep to ſtrict Orthography, and write admirable good Senſe; where on the other hand every body may meet with the Scriblings of pretended Scholars,

lars, at leaſt ſuch as went to a Grammar-School for ſeveral Years, that have Grammar Faults and are ill-ſpelt. The underſtanding of *Latin* thoroughly is highly neceſſary to all that are deſigned for any of the Learned Profeſſions, and I would have no Gentleman without Literature; even thoſe who are to be brought up Attorneys, Surgeons and Apothecaries, ſhould be much better vers'd in that Language than generally they are; but to Youth who afterwards are to get a Livelihood in Trades and Callings in which *Latin* is not daily wanted, it is of no Uſe, and the learning of it an evident Loſs of juſt ſo much Time and Money as are beſtowed upon it. When Men come into Buſineſs, what was taught them of it in thoſe petty Schools is either ſoon forgot, or only fit to make them impertinent, and often very troubleſome in Company. Few Men can forbear valuing themſelves on any Knowledge they had once acquired, even after they have loſt it; and unleſs they are very modeſt and diſcreet, the undigeſted ſcraps which ſuch People commonly remember of *Latin*, ſeldom fail of rendring them at one time or other ridiculous to thoſe who underſtand it.

Reading and Writing I would Treat as we do Muſick and Dancing, I would not hinder them nor force them upon the Society: As long as there was any thing to be got by them, there would be Maſters enough to Teach them; but nothing ſhould be taught for nothing but at Church: And here I would exclude even thoſe who might be deſigned for the Miniſtry of the Goſpel; for if Parents are ſo miſerably Poor that they can't afford their Children theſe firſt Elements of Learning, it is Impudence in them to aſpire any further.

It would Encourage likewiſe the lower ſort of People to give their Children this part of Education, if they could ſee them preferred to thoſe of idle Sots or ſorry Rake-hells, that never knew what

it was to provide a Rag for their Brats but by Begging. But now when a Boy or a Girl are wanted for any ſmall Service, we reckon it a Duty to employ our Charity Children before any other. The Education of them looks like a Reward for being Vicious and Unactive, a Benefit commonly beſtow'd on Parents, who deſerve to be puniſhed for ſhamefully neglecting their Families. In one Place you may hear a Raſcal Half-drunk, Damning himſelf, call for the other Pot, and as a good Reaſon for it add, that his Boy is provided for in Cloaths and has his Schooling for nothing: In another you ſhall ſee a poor Woman in great Neceſſity, whoſe Child is to be taken care of, becauſe herſelf is a Lazy Slut, and never did any thing to remedy her Wants in good earneſt, but bewailing them at a Jin-ſhop.

If every Body's Children are well taught, who by their own Induſtry can Educate them at our Univerſities, there will be Men of Learning enough to ſupply this Nation and ſuch another; and Reading, Writing or Arithmetick would never be wanting in the Buſineſs that requires them, tho' none were to learn them but ſuch whoſe Parents could be at the Charge of it. It is not with Letters as it is with the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, that they may not be purchaſed with Money; and bought Wit, if we believe the Proverb, is none of the Worſt.

I thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much of Learning, to obviate the Clamours of the Enemies to Truth and fair Dealing, who, had I not ſo amply explained my ſelf on this Head, would have repreſented me as a Mortal Foe to all Literature and uſeful Knowledge, and a wicked Advocate for univerſal Ignorance and Stupidity. I ſhall now make good my Promiſe of anſwering what I know the Well-wiſhers to Charity-Schools would object againſt me, by ſaying that they brought up the Children under their care to Warrantable and Laborious Trades, and not to Idleneſs as I did inſinuate.

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I have ſufficiently ſhew'd already, why going to School was Idleneſs if compar'd to Working, and exploded this ſort of Education in the Children of the Poor, becauſe it Incapacitates them ever after for downright Labour, which is their proper Province, and in every Civil Society a Portion they ought not to repine or grumble at, if exacted from them with Diſcretion and Humanity. What remains is that I ſhould ſpeak as to their putting them out to Trades, which I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate to be deſtructive to the Harmony of a Nation, and an impertinent intermedling with what few of theſe Governours know any thing of.

In order to this let us examine into the Nature of Societies, and what the Compound ought to conſiſt of, if we would raiſe it to as high a degree of Strength, Beauty and Perfection, as the Ground we are to do it upon will let us. The Variety of Services that are required to ſupply the Luxurious and Wanton Deſires as well as real Neceſſities of Man, with all their ſubordinate Callings, is in ſuch a Nation as ours prodigious; yet it is certain that, tho' the number of thoſe ſeveral Occupations be exceſſively great, it is far from being infinite: if you add one more than is required it muſt be ſuperfluous. If a Man had a good Stock and the beſt Shop in *Cheapſide* to ſell Turbands in, he would be ruin'd, and if *Demetrius* or any other Silver-ſmith made nothing but *Diana*'s Shrines, he would not get his Bread, now the Worſhip of that Goddeſs is out of Faſhion. As it is Folly to ſet up Trades that are not wanted, ſo what is next to it is to encreaſe in any one Trade the Numbers beyond what are required. As things are managed with us, it would be prepoſterous to have as many Brewers as there are Bakers, or as many Woollendrapers as there are Shoemakers. This Proportion as to Numbers in every Trade finds it ſelf, and is never better kept than when no Body meddles or interferes with it.

People that have Children to educate that muſt get their Livelihood, are always conſulting and deliberating what Trade or Calling they are to bring them up to, 'till they are fix'd; and thouſands think on this that hardly think at all on any thing elſe. Firſt they confine themſelves to their Circumſtances, and he that can give but ten Pounds with his Son muſt not look out for a Trade where they ask an hundred with an Apprentice: but the next they think on is always which will be the moſt advantageous; if there be a Calling where at that time People are more generally employ'd than they are in any other in the ſame Reach, there are preſently half a ſcore Fathers ready to ſupply it with their Sons. Therefore the greateſt Care moſt Companies have is about the Regulation of the Number of Prentices. Now when all Trades complain, and perhaps juſtly, that they are overſtocked, you manifeſtly injure that Trade, to which you add one Member more than would flow from the Nature of Society. Beſides that the Governors of Charity-Schools don't deliberate ſo much what Trade is the beſt, but what Tradeſmen they can get that will take the Boys, with ſuch a Sum; and few Men of Subſtance and Experience will have any thing to do with theſe Children; they are afraid of an hundred Inconveniencies from the neceſſitous Parents of them: So that they are bound, at leaſt moſt commonly, either to Sots and neglectful Maſters, or elſe ſuch as are very needy and don't care what becomes of their Prentices, after they have received the Money: by which it ſeems as if we ſtudy'd nothing more than to have a perpetual Nurſery for Charity-Schools.

When all Trades and Handicrafts are over-ſtock'd, it is a certain ſign there is a Fault in the Management of the Whole; for it is impoſſible there ſhould be too many People if the Country is able to feed them. Are Proviſions dear? Whoſe Fault is that,

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as long as you have Ground untill'd and Hands unemploy'd? But I ſhall be anſwer'd, that to increaſe Plenty, muſt at long run undo the Farmer or leſſen the Rents all over *England*. To which I reply, that what the Husbandman complains of moſt is what I would redreſs: The greateſt Grievance of Farmers, Gardiners and others, where hard Labour is required, and dirty Work to be done, is, that they can't get Servants for the ſame Wages they uſed to have them at. The Day-Labourer grumbles at ſixteen Pence to do no other Drudgery than what Thirty Years ago his Grandfather did chearfully for half the Money. As to the Rents, it is impoſſible they ſhould fall whilſt you encreaſe your Numbers, but the Price of Proviſions and all Labour in general muſt fall with them if not before; and a Man of a Hundred and Fifty Pounds a Year, has no Reaſon to complain that his Income is reduced to One Hundred, if he can buy as much for that One Hundred as before he could have done for Two.

There is no Intrinſick Worth in Money but what is alterable with the Times, and whether a Guinea goes for Twenty Pounds or for a Shilling, it is (as I have already hinted before) the Labour of the Poor, and not the high and low Value that is ſet on Gold or Silver, which all the Comforts of Life muſt ariſe from. It is in our Power to have a much greater Plenty than we enjoy, if Agriculture and Fiſhery were taken care of, as they might be; but we are ſo little capable of increaſing our Labour, that we have hardly Poor enough to do what is neceſſary to make us ſubſiſt. The Proportion of the Society is ſpoil'd, and the Bulk of the Nation, which ſhould every where conſiſt of Labouring Poor, that are unacquainted with every thing but their Work, is too little for the other Parts. In all Buſineſs where downright Labour is ſhun'd or over-paid, there is plenty of People. To one Merchant you

have ten Book-keepers, or at leaſt Pretenders; and everywhere in the Country the Farmer wants Hands. Ask for a Footman that for ſome Time has been in Gentlemen's Families, and you'll get a dozen that are all Butlers. You may have Chamber-maids by the Score, but you can't get a Cook under extravagant Wages.

No Body will do the dirty ſlaviſh Work, that can help it. I don't diſcommend them; but all theſe things ſhew that the People of the meaneſt Rank know too much to be ſerviceable to us. Servants require more than Maſters and Miſtreſſes can afford, and what madneſs is it to encourage them in this, by induſtriouſly encreaſing at our Coſt that Knowledge which they will be ſure to make us pay for over again! And it is not only that thoſe who are educated at our own Expence encroach upon us, but the raw ignorant Country Wenches and Boobily Fellows that can do, and are good for, nothing, impoſe upon us likewiſe. The ſcarcity of Servants occaſion'd by the Education of the firſt, gives a Handle to the latter of advancing their Price, and demanding what ought only to be given to Servants that underſtand their Buſineſs, and have moſt of the good Qualities that can be required in them.

There is no place in the World where there are more clever Fellows to look at or to do an Errand than ſome of our Footmen; but what are they good for in the main? The greateſt part of them are Rogues and not to be truſted; and if they are Honeſt half of them are Sots, and will get Drunk three or four times a Week. The ſurly ones are generally Quarrelſome, and valuing their Manhood beyond all other Conſiderations, care not what Cloaths they ſpoil, or what Diſappointments they may occaſion, when their Proweſs is in Queſtion. Thoſe who are good-natured, are generally ſad Whore-maſters that are ever running after the Wenches, and ſpoil all

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the Maid Servants they come near. Many of them are Guilty of all theſe Vices, Whoring, Drinking, Quarrelling, and yet ſhall have all their Faults overlook'd and bore with, becauſe they are Men of good Mien and humble Addreſs that know how to wait on Gentlemen; which is an unpardonable Folly in Maſters, and generally ends in the Ruin of Servants.

Some few there are that are not addicted to any of theſe Failings, and underſtand their Duty beſides; but as theſe are Rarities, ſo there is not one in Fifty but what over-rates himſelf; his Wages muſt be extravagant, and you can never have done giving him; every thing in the Houſe is his Perquiſite, and he won't ſtay with you unleſs his Vails are ſufficient to maintain a midling Family; and tho' you had taken him from the Dunghil, out of an Hoſpital, or a Priſon, you ſhall never keep him longer than he can make of his Place what in his high Eſtimation of himſelf he ſhall think he deſerves; nay, the beſt and moſt civiliz'd, that never were Saucy and Impertinent, will leave the moſt indulgent Maſter, and, to get handſomely away, frame fifty Excuſes, and tell downright Lies, as ſoon as they can mend themſelves. A Man, who keeps an Half-Crown or Twelve-penny Ordinary, looks not more for Money from his Cuſtomers than a Footman does from every Gueſt that Dines or Sups with his Maſter; and I queſtion whether the one does not often think a Shilling or half a Crown, according to the Quality of the Perſon, his Due as much as the other.

A Houſekeeper who cannot afford to make many Entertainments, and does not often invite People to his Table, can have no creditable Man-Servant, and is forc'd to take up with ſome Country Booby or other Aukward Fellow, who will likewiſe give him the Slip as ſoon as he imagines himſelf fit for any other Service, and is made wiſer by his

raſcally Companions. All noted Eating-Houſes and Places that many Gentlemen reſort to for Diverſion or Buſineſs, more eſpecially the Precincts of *Weſtminſter-hall*, are the great Schools for Servants, where the dulleſt Fellows may have their Underſtandings improved; and get rid at once of their Stupidity and their Innocence. They are the Academies for Footmen, where publick Lectures are daily read on all Sciences of low Debauchery by the experienc'd Profeſſors of them, and Students are inſtructed in above Seven Hundred illiberal Arts, how to Cheat, Impoſe upon, and find out the blind ſide of their Maſters, with ſo much Application, that in few Years they become Graduates in Iniquity. Young Gentlemen and others that are not thoroughly vers'd in the World, when they get ſuch knowing Sharpers in their Service, are commonly indulging above meaſure; and for fear of diſcovering their want of Experience hardly dare to contradict or deny them any thing, which is often the Reaſon that by allowing them unreaſonable Privileges they expoſe their Ignorance when they are moſt endeavouring to conceal it.

Some perhaps will lay the things I complain of to the charge of Luxury, of which I ſaid that It could do no hurt to a rich Nation, if the Imports never did exceed the Exports; but I don't think this Imputation Juſt, and nothing ought to be ſcored on the Account of Luxury, that is downright the Effect of Folly. A Man may be very extravagant in indulging his Eaſe and his Pleaſure, and render the Enjoyment of the World as Operoſe and Expenſive as they can be made, if he can afford it, and at the ſame time ſhew his good Senſe in every thing about him: This he cannot be ſaid to do if he induſtriouſly renders his People incapable of doing him that Service he expects from them. 'Tis too much Money, exceſſive Wages, and unreaſonable Vails that ſpoil Servants in *England*. A Man

may

may have Five and Twenty Horſes in his Stables without being guilty of Folly, if it ſuits with the reſt of his Circumſtances, but if he keeps but one, and overfeeds it to ſhew his Wealth, he is a Fool for his Pains. Is it not Madneſs to ſuffer that Servants ſhould take three and others five *per Cent.* of what they pay to Tradeſmen for their Maſters, as is ſo well known to Watchmakers and others that ſell Toys, ſuperfluous Nicknacks, and other Curioſities, if they deal with People of Quality and Faſhionable Gentlemen that are above telling their own Money? If they ſhould accept of a Preſent when offer'd, it might be conniv'd at, but it is an unpardonable Impudence that they ſhould claim it as their due, and contend for it if refuſed. Thoſe who have all the Neceſſaries of Life provided for, can have no occaſion for Money but what does them hurt as Servants, unleſs they were to hoard it up for Age or Sickneſs, which among our *Skip-kennels* is not very common, and even then it makes them Saucy and Inſupportable.

I am credibly inform'd that a parcel of Footmen are arriv'd to that height of Inſolence as to have enter'd into a Society together, and made Laws by which they oblige themſelves not to ſerve for leſs than ſuch a Sum, nor carry Burdens or any Bundle or Parcel above a certain Weight, not exceeding Two or Three Pounds, with other Regulations directly oppoſite to the Intereſt of thoſe they Serve, and altogether deſtructive to the Uſe they were deſign'd for. If any of them be turn'd away for ſtrictly adhering to the Orders of this Honourable Corporation, he is taken care of till another Service is provided for him, and there is no Money wanting at any time to commence and maintain a Law-ſuit againſt any Maſter that ſhall pretend to ſtrike or offer any other Injury to his Gentleman Footman, contrary to the Statutes of their Society. If this be true, as I have reaſon to believe it is, and

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they are ſuffer'd to go on in conſulting and providing for their own Eaſe and Conveniency any further, we may expect quickly to ſee the *French* Comedy *Le Maitre le Valet* acted in good earneſt in moſt Families, which if not redreſs'd in a little time, and thoſe Footmen encreaſe their Company to the Number it is poſſible they may, as well as aſſemble when they pleaſe with Impunity, it will be in their Power to make a Tragedy of it whenever they have a mind to't.

But ſuppoſe thoſe Apprehenſions frivolous and groundleſs, it is undeniable that Servants in general are daily encroaching upon Maſters and Miſtreſſes, and endeavouring to be more upon the Level with them. They not only ſeem ſollicitous to aboliſh the low dignity of their Condition, but have already conſiderably rais'd it in the common Eſtimation from the Original Meanneſs which the Publick Welfare requires it ſhould always remain in. I don't ſay that theſe things are altogether owing to Charity-Schools, there are other Evils they may be partly aſcrib'd to. *London* is too big for the Country, and in ſeveral reſpects we are wanting to our ſelves. But if a Thouſand Faults were to concur before the Inconveniencies could be produced we labour under, can any Man doubt who will conſider what I have ſaid, that Charity-Schools are Acceſſary, or at leaſt that they are more likely to Create and Encreaſe than to leſſen or redreſs thoſe Complaints.

The only thing of Weight then that can be ſaid in their behalf is, that ſo many Thouſand Children are Educated by them in the Chriſtian Faith and the Principles of the Church of *England*. To demonſtrate that this is not a ſufficient Plea for them, I muſt deſire the Reader, as I hate Repetitions, to look back on what I have ſaid before, to which I ſhall add, that whatever is neceſſary to Salvation and requiſite for Poor Labouring People to know

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concerning Religion, that Children learn at School, may fully as well either by Preaching or Catechizing be taught at Church, from which or ſome other Place of Worſhip I would not have the meaneſt of a Pariſh that is able to walk to it be abſent on *Sundays*. It is the Sabbath, the moſt uſeful Day in ſeven, that is ſet apart for Divine Service and Religious Exerciſe as well as reſting from Bodily Labour, and it is a Duty incumbent on all Magiſtrates to take particular Care of that Day. The Poor more eſpecially and their Children ſhould be made to go to Church on it both in the Fore and Afternoon, becauſe they have no Time on any other. By Precept and Example they ought to be encouraged and uſed to it from their very Infancy; the wilful Neglect of it ought to be counted Scandalous, and if downright Compulſion to what I urge might ſeem too Harſh and perhaps Impracticable, all Diverſions at leaſt ought ſtrictly to be prohibited, and the Poor hindred from every Amuſement Abroad that might allure or draw them from it.

Where this Care is taken by the Magiſtrates as far as it lies in their Power, Miniſters of the Goſpel may inſtill into the ſmalleſt Capacities, more Piety and Devotion, and better Principles of Virtue and Religion than Charity-Schools ever did or ever will produce, and thoſe who complain, when they have ſuch Opportunities, that they cannot imbue their Pariſhioners with ſufficient Knowledge of what they ſtand in need of as Chriſtians, without the aſſiſtance of Reading and Writing, are either very Lazy or very Ignorant and Undeſerving themſelves.

That the moſt Knowing are not the moſt Religious, will be evident if we make a Tryal between People of different Abilities even in this Juncture, where going to Church is not made ſuch an Obligation on the Poor and Illiterate, as it might be. Let us pitch upon a hundred Poor Men, the firſt

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we can light on, that are above forty, and were brought up to hard Labour from their Infancy, ſuch as never went to School at all, and always lived remote from Knowledge and great Towns: Let us compare to theſe an equal number of very good Scholars, that ſhall all have had Univerſity Education; and be, if you will, half of them Divines, well verſed in Philology and Polemick Learning; then let us impartially examine into the Lives and Converſations of both, and I dare engage that among the firſt who can neither Read nor Write, we ſhall meet with more Union and Neighbourly Love, leſs Wickedneſs and Attachment to the World, more Content of Mind, more Innocence, Sincerity, and other good Qualities that conduce to the Publick Peace and real Felicity, than we ſhall find among the latter, where on the contrary, we may be aſſured of the height of Pride and Inſolence, eternal Quarrels and Diſſentions, Irreconcilable Hatreds, Striſe, Envy, Calumny and other Vices deſtructive to mutual Concord, which the illiterate labouring Poor are hardly ever tainted with to any conſiderable Degree.

I am very well perſuaded, that what I have ſaid in the laſt Paragraph will be no News to moſt of my Readers; but if it be Truth, why ſhould it be ſtifled, and why muſt our concern for Religion be eternally made a Cloak to hide our real Drifts and worldly Intentions? Would both Parties agree to pull off the Maſque, we ſhould ſoon diſcover that whatever they pretend to, they aim at nothing ſo much in Charity-Schools as to ſtrengthen their Party, and that the great Sticklers for the Church, by Educating Children in the Principles of Religion, mean, inſpiring them with a Superlative Veneration for the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and a ſtrong Averſion and immortal Animoſity againſt all that diſſent from it. To be aſſured of this, we are but to mind on the one hand, what Divines are

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moſt admired for their Charity-Sermons and moſt fond to Preach them; and on the other, whether of late Years we have had any Riots or Party Scuffles among the Mob, in which the Youth of a famous Hoſpital in this City were not always the moſt forward Ring-leaders.

The Grand Aſſerters of Liberty, who are ever guarding themſelves and Skirmiſhing againſt Arbitrary Power, often when they are in no danger of it, are, generally ſpeaking, not very ſuperſtitious, nor ſeem to lay great ſtreſs on any Modern Apoſtleſhip: Yet ſome of theſe likewiſe ſpeak up loudly for Charity-Schools, but what they expect from 'em has no relation to Religion or Morality: They only look upon them as the proper means to deſtroy and diſappoint the power of the Prieſts over the Laity. Reading and Writing encreaſe Knowledge, and the more Men know, the better they can Judge for themſelves, and they imagine that, if Knowledge could be rendred Univerſal, People could not be Prieſt-rid, which is the thing they fear the moſt.

The Firſt, I confeſs, it is very probable will get their Aim. But ſure Wiſe Men that are not Red-hot for a Party, or Bigots to the Prieſts, will not think it worth while to ſuffer ſo many Inconveniencies, as Charity-Schools may be the Occaſion of, only to promote the Ambition and Power of the Clergy. To the other I would anſwer, that if all thoſe who are Educated at the Charge of their Parents or Relations, will but think for themſelves and refuſe to have their Reaſon impoſed upon by the Prieſts, we need not be concerned for what the Clergy will work upon the Ignorant that have no Education at all. Let them make the moſt of them: conſidering the Schools we have for thoſe who can and do pay for Learning, it is ridiculous to imagine that the aboliſhing of Charity-Schools would be a ſtep towards any Ignorance that could be prejudicial to the Nation. I would

I would not be thought Cruel, and am well aſſured if I know any thing of myſelf, that I abhor Inhumanity; but to be Compaſſionate to exceſs where Reaſon forbids it, and the general Intereſt of the Society requires ſteadineſs of Thought and Reſolution, is an unpardonable Weakneſs. I know it will be ever urged againſt me, that it is Barbarous the Children of the Poor ſhould have no Opportunity of exerting themſelves, as long as God has not debarr'd them from Natural Parts and Genius more than the Rich. But I cannot think this is harder, than it is that they ſhould not have Money as long as they have the ſame Inclinations to ſpend as others. That great and uſeful Men have ſprung from Hoſpitals, I don't deny; but it is likewiſe very probable, that when they were firſt employ'd, many as capable as themſelves not brought up in Hoſpitals were neglected, that with the ſame good Fortune would have done as well as they, if they had been made uſe of inſtead of them.

There are many Examples of Women that have excelled in Learning, and even in War, but this is no reaſon we ſhould bring 'em all up to *Latin* and *Greek* or elſe Military Diſcipline, inſtead of Needlework and Houſewifry. But there is no ſcarcity of Sprightlineſs or Natural Parts among us, and no Soil or Climate has Human Creatures to boaſt of better formed either inſide or outſide than this Iſland generally produces. But it is not Wit, Genius, or Docility we want, but Diligence, Application, and Aſſiduity.

Abundance of hard and dirty Labour is to be done, and coarſe Living is to be complied with: Where ſhall we find a better Nurſery for theſe Neceſſities than the Children of the Poor? none certainly are nearer to it or fitter for it. Beſides that the things I called Hardſhips, neither ſeem nor are ſuch to thoſe that have been brought up to 'em, and know no better. There is not a more contented People among

among us, than thoſe who work the hardeſt and are the leaſt acquainted with the Pomp and Delicacies of the World.

Theſe are Truths that are undeniable; yet I know few People will be pleaſed to have them divulged; what makes them odious is an unreaſonable Vein of Petty Reverence for the Poor, that runs through moſt Multitudes, and more particularly in this Nation, and ariſes from a mixture of Pity, Folly and Superſtition. It is from a lively Senſe of this Compound that Men cannot endure to hear or ſee any thing ſaid or acted againſt the Poor; without conſidering, how Juſt the one, or Inſolent the other. So a Beggar muſt not be beat tho' he ſtrikes you firſt. Journeymen Taylors go to Law with their Maſters and are obſtinate in a wrong Cauſe, yet they muſt be pitied; and Murmuring Weavers muſt be relieved, and have fifty ſilly things done to humour them, though in the midſt of their Poverty they inſult their Betters, and on all Occaſions appear to be more prone to make Holy-days and Riots than they are to Working or Sobriety.

This puts me in mind of our Wool, which conſidering the poſture of our Affairs, and the Behaviour of the Poor, I ſincerely believe ought not upon any Account to be carried Abroad: But if we look into the reaſon, why ſuffering it to be fetched away is ſo pernicious, our heavy Complaint and Lamentations that it is exported can be no great Credit to us. Conſidering the mighty and manifold Hazards that muſt be run before it can be got off the Coaſt, and ſafely landed beyond Sea; it is manifeſt that the Foreigners, before they can work our Wool, muſt pay more for it very conſiderably, than what we can have it for at Home. Yet notwithſtanding this great difference in the Prime Coſt, they can afford to ſell the Manufactures made of it cheaper at Foreign Markets than ourſelves. This is the Diſaſter we groan under, the intollerable

Miſchief,

Miſchief, without which the Exportation of that Commodity could be no greater prejudice to us than that of Tin or Lead, as long as our Hands were fully employed, and we had ſtill Wool to ſpare.

There is no People yet come to higher Perfection in the Woollen Manufacture, either as to diſpatch or goodneſs of Work, at leaſt in the moſt conſiderable Branches, than ourſelves, and therefore what we complain of can only depend on the difference in the Management of the Poor, between other Nations and ours. If the labouring People in one Country will work Twelve Hours in a Day, and ſix Days in a Week, and in another they are employ'd but Eight Hours in a Day, and not above Four Days in a Week, the one is obliged to have Nine Hands for what the other does with Four. But if moreover the Living, the Food and Raiment, and what is conſumed by the Workmen of the Induſtrious coſts but half the Money of what is expended among an equal Number of the other, the Conſequence muſt be that the firſt will have the Work of Eighteen Men for the ſame Price as the other gives for the Work of Four. I would not inſinuate, neither do I think, that the difference either in diligence or neceſſaries of Life between us and any Neighbouring Nation is near ſo great as what I ſpeak of, yet I would have it conſidered, that half of that difference and much leſs is ſufficient to over-ballance the Diſadvantage they labour under as to the Price of Wool.

Nothing to me is more evident than that no Nation in any Manufactory whatever can underſell their Neighbours with whom they are at beſt but Equals as to Skill and Diſpatch, and the convenience for Working, more eſpecially when the Prime Coſt of the thing to be Manufactured is not in their favour, unleſs they have Proviſions, and whatever is relating to their Suſtenance cheaper, or elſe Workmen

men that are either more Aſſiduous, and will remain longer at their Work, or be content with a meaner and courſer way of Living than thoſe of their Neighbours. This is certain, that where Numbers are equal, the more laborious People are, and the fewer Hands the ſame Quantity of Work is perform'd by, the greater Plenty there is in a Country of the Neceſſaries for Life, the more conſiderable and the cheaper that Country may render its Exports.

It being granted then, that abundance of Work is to be done, the next thing which I think to be likewiſe undeniable is, that the more chearfully it is done the better, as well for thoſe that perform it as for the reſt of the Society. To be happy is to be pleas'd, and the leſs Notion a Man has of a better way of Living, the more content he'll be with his own; and on the other hand, the greater a Man's Knowledge and Experience is in the World, the more exquiſite the Delicacy of his Taſte, and the more conſummate Judge he is of things in general, certainly the more difficult it will be to pleaſe him. I would not advance any thing that is Barbarous or Inhuman: But when a Man enjoys himſelf, Laughs and Sings, and in his Geſture and Behaviour ſhews me all the tokens of Content and Satisfaction, I pronounce him happy, and have nothing to do with his Wit or Capacity. I never enter into the Reaſonableneſs of his Mirth, at leaſt I ought not to judge of it by my own Standard, and argue from the Effect which the thing that makes him merry would have upon me. At that rate a Man that hates Cheeſe muſt call me Fool for loving blue Mold. *De guſtibus non eſt diſputandum* is as true in a Metaphorical as it is in the Literal Senſe, and the greater the diſtance is between People as to their Condition, their Circumſtances and manner of Living, the leſs capable they are of judging of one anothers Troubles or Pleaſures.

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Had the meaneſt and moſt unciviliz'd Peaſant leave *Incognito* to obſerve the greateſt King for a Fortnight; tho' he might pick out ſeveral Things he would like for himſelf, yet he would find a great many more, which, if the Monarch and he were to change Conditions, he would wiſh for his part to have immediately alter'd or redreſs'd, and which with Amazement he ſees the King ſubmit to. And again if the Sovereign was to examine the Peaſant in the ſame manner, his Labour would be inſufferable, the Dirt and Squallor, his Diet and Amours, his Paſtimes and Recreations would be all abominable; but then what Charms would he find in the other's Peace of Mind, the Calmneſs and Tranquility of his Soul? No Neceſſity for Diſſimulation with any of his Family, or feign'd Affection to his Mortal Enemies; no Wife in a Foreign Intereſt, no Danger to apprehend from his Children; no Plots to unravel, no Poyſon to fear; no popular Stateſman at Home or cunning Courts abroad to manage; no ſeeming Patriots to bribe; no unſatiable Favourite to gratify; no ſelfiſh Miniſtry to obey; no divided Nation to pleaſe, or fickle Mob to humour, that would direct and interfere with his Pleaſures.

Was impartial Reaſon to be Judge between real Good and real Evil, and a Catalogue made accordingly of the ſeveral Delights and Vexations differently to be met with in both Stations, I queſtion whether the Condition of Kings would be at all preferable to that of Peaſants, even as Ignorant and Laborious as I ſeem to require the latter to be. The Reaſon why the generality of People would rather be Kings than Peaſants is firſt owing to Pride and Ambition, that is deeply riveted in human Nature, and which to gratify we daily ſee Men undergo and deſpiſe the greateſt Hazards and Difficulties. Secondly, to the difference there is in the force with which our Affection is wrought upon as the

Objects

Objects are either Material or Spiritual. Things that immediately ſtrike our outward Senſes act more violently upon our Paſſions than what is the reſult of Thought and the dictates of the moſt demonſtrative Reaſon, and there is a much ſtronger Biaſs to gain our Liking or Averſion in the firſt than there is in the latter.

Having thus demonſtrated that what I urge could be no Injury or the leaſt diminution of Happineſs to the Poor, I leave it to the judicious Reader, whether it is not more probable we ſhould encreaſe our Exports by the Methods I hint at, than by ſitting ſtill and damning and ſinking our Neighbours for beating us at our own Weapons; ſome of them out-ſelling us in Manufactures made of our own Product which they dearly purchas'd, others growing Rich in ſpight of Diſtance and Trouble, by the ſame Fiſh which we neglect, tho' it is ready to jump into our Mouths.

As by diſcouraging Idleneſs with Art and Steadineſs you may compel the Poor to labour without Force, ſo by bringing them up in Ignorance you may inure them to real Hardſhips without being ever ſenſible themſelves that they are ſuch. By bringing them up in Ignorance, I mean no more, as I have hinted long ago, than that as to Worldly Affairs their Knowledge ſhould be confin'd within the Verge of their own Occupations, at leaſt that we ſhould not take Pains to extend it beyond thoſe Limits. When by theſe two Engines we ſhall have made Proviſions, and conſequently Labour cheap, we muſt infallibly out-ſell our Neighbours; and at the ſame time encreaſe our Numbers. This is the Noble and Manly way of encountring the Rivals of our Trade, and by dint of Merit out-doing them at Foreign Markets.

To allure the Poor we make uſe of Policy in ſome Caſes with Succeſs. Why ſhould we be neglectful of it in the moſt important Point, when they make

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their boaſt that they will not live as the Poor of other Nations? If we cannot alter their Reſolution, why ſhould we applaud the Juſtneſs of their Sentiments againſt the Common Intereſt? I have often wondred formerly how an *Engliſhman*, that pretended to have the Honour and Glory as well as the Welfare of his Country at Heart, could take delight in the Evening to hear an Idle Tenant that owed him above a Year's Rent ridicule the *French* for wearing Wooden Shoes, when in the Morning he had had the Mortification of hearing the great King *William*, that Ambitious Monarch as well as able Stateſman, openly own to the World and with Grief and Anger in his Looks complain of the Exorbitant Power of *France*. Yet I don't recommend Wooden Shoes, nor do the Maxims I would introduce require Arbitrary Power in one Perſon. Liberty and Property I hope may remain ſecured, and yet the Poor be better employ'd than they are, tho' their Children ſhould wear out their Cloaths by uſeful Labour, and blacken them with Country Dirt for ſomething, inſtead of tearing them off their Backs at play, and dawbing 'em with Ink for nothing.

There is above Three or Four Hundred Years Work, for a Hundred Thouſand Poor more than we have in this Iſland. To make every part of it Uſeful, and the whole thoroughly Inhabited, many Rivers are to be made Navigable, Canals to be cut in Hundreds of Places. Some Lands are to be drain'd and ſecured from Inundations for the future: Abundance of barren Soil is to be made fertile, and Thouſands of Acres rendred more beneficial by being made more acceſſible. *Dii Laboribus omnia vendunt.* There is no difficulty of this Nature, that Labour and Patience cannot ſurmount. The higheſt Mountains may be thrown into their Valleys that ſtand ready to receive them, and Bridges might be laid where now we would not dare to think of

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it. Let us look back on the Stupendious Works of the *Romans*, more eſpecially their Highways and Aqueducts. Let us conſider in one view the vaſt Extent of ſeveral of their Roads, how ſubſtantial they made them, and what Duration they have been of, and in another a poor Traveller that at every Ten Miles End is ſtop'd by a Turnpike, and dunn'd for a Penny for mending the Roads in the Summer, with what every Body knows will be Dirt before the Winter that ſucceeds it is expired.

The Conveniency of the Publick ought ever to be the publick Care, and no private Intereſt of a Town or a whole County ſhould ever hinder the Execution of a Project or Contrivance that would manifeſtly tend to the Improvement of the whole; and every Member of the Legiſlature, who knows his Duty, and would chuſe rather to act like a wiſe Man, than curry Favour with his Neighbours, will prefer the leaſt Benefit accruing to the whole Kingdom to the moſt viſible Advantage of the Place he ſerves for.

We have Materials of our own, and want neither Stone nor Timber to do any thing, and was the Money that People give uncompell'd to Beggars who don't deſerve it, and what every Houſekeeper is oblig'd to pay to the Poor of his Pariſh that is otherwiſe employ'd or ill-applied, to be put together every Year, it would make a ſufficient Fund to keep a great many Thouſands at work. I don't ſay this becauſe I think it practicable, but only to ſhew that we have Money enough to ſpare to employ vaſt multitudes of Labourers; neither ſhould we want ſo much for it as we perhaps might imagine. When it is taken for granted that a Soldier, whoſe Strength and Vigour is to be kept up at leaſt as much as any Body's, can live upon Six-Pence a Day, I can't conceive the Neceſſity of giving the greateſt part of the Year Sixteen and Eighteen Pence to a Day-Labourer.

The Fearful and Cautious People that are ever Jealous of their Liberty, I know will cry out, that where the Multitudes I ſpeak of ſhould be kept in conſtant Pay, Property and Privileges would be precarious. But they might be anſwer'd, that ſure Means might be found out, and ſuch Regulations made, as to the Hands in which to truſt the management and direction of theſe Labourers; that it would be impoſſible for the Prince or any Body elſe to make an ill Uſe of their Numbers.

What I have ſaid in the Four or Five laſt Paragraphs, I foreſee will with abundance of Scorn be Laugh'd at by many of my Readers, and at beſt be call'd Building Caſtles in the Air; but whether that is my Fault or theirs is a Queſtion. When the publick Spirit has left a Nation, they not only loſe their Patience with it and all thoughts of Perſeverance, but become likewiſe ſo narrow-ſoul'd, that it is a pain for them even to think of things that are of uncommon extent or require great length of Time; and whatever is Noble or Sublime in ſuch Conjunctures is counted Chimerical. Where deep Ignorance is entirely routed and expell'd, and low Learning promiſcuouſly ſcatter'd on all the People, Self-Love turns Knowledge into Cunning, and the more this laſt Qualification prevails in any Country the more the People will fix all their Cares, Concern and Application on the Time preſent, without regard of what is to come after them, or hardly ever thinking beyond the next Generation.

But as Cunning, according to my Lord *Verulam*, is but Lefthanded Wiſdom, ſo a prudent Legiſlature ought to provide againſt this Diſorder of the Society as ſoon as the Symptoms of it appear, among which the following are the moſt obvious. Imaginary Rewards are generally deſpiſed: every body is for turning the Penny and ſhort Bargains: he that is diffident of every thing and believes nothing but what he ſees with his own Eyes is count-

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ed the moſt prudent, and in all their Dealings Men ſeem to Act from no other Principle than that of *The Devil take the hindmoſt.* Inſtead of planting Oaks, that will require a Hundred and Fifty Years before they are fit to be cut down, they Build Houſes with a deſign that they ſhall not ſtand above Twelve or Fourteen Years. All Heads run upon the uncertainty of Things, and the viciſſitudes of human Affairs. The Mathematicks become the only valuable Study, and are made uſe of in every thing even where it is ridiculous, and Men ſeem to repoſe no greater Truſt in Providence than they would in a Broken Merchant.

It is the Buſineſs of the Publick to ſupply the Defects of the Society, and take that in hand firſt which is moſt neglected by private Perſons. Contraries are beſt cured by Contraries, and therefore as Example is of greater Efficacy than Precept in the Amendment of National Failings, the Legiſlature ought to reſolve upon ſome great Undertakings that muſt be the Work of Ages as well as vaſt Labour, and convince the World that they did nothing without an anxious regard to their lateſt Poſterity. This will fix or at leaſt help to ſettle the volatile Genius and fickle Spirit of the Kingdom, put us in mind that we are not born for our ſelves only, and be a means of rendring Men leſs diſtruſtful, and inſpiring them with a true Love for their Country, and a tender Affection for the Ground it ſelf, than which nothing is more neceſſary to aggrandize a Nation. Forms of Government may alter, Religions and even Languages may change, but *Great-Britain* or at leaſt (if that likewiſe might loſe its Name) the Iſland it ſelf will remain, and in all human probability laſt as long as any part of the Globe. All Ages have ever paid their kind Acknowledgments to their Anceſtors for the Benefits derived from them, and a Chriſtian who enjoys the Multitude of Fountains and vaſt Plenty

of Water to be met with in the City of St. *Peter*, is an ungrateful Wretch if he never caſts a thankful Remembrance on old *Pagan Rome*, that took ſuch prodigious Pains to procure it.

When this Iſland ſhall be cultivated and every Inch of it made Habitable and Uſeful, and the whole the moſt convenient and agreeable Spot upon Earth, all the Coſt and Labour laid out upon it will be glorioufly repaid by the Incenſe of them that ſhall come after us; and thoſe who burn with the noble Zeal and Deſire after Immortality, and took ſuch Care to improve their Country, may reſt ſatisfy'd, that a thouſand and two thouſand Years hence they ſhall live in the Memory and everlaſting Praiſes of the future Ages that ſhall then enjoy it.

Here I ſhould have concluded this Rhapſody of Thoughts, but ſomething comes in my Head concerning the main Scope and Deſign of this Eſſay, which is to prove the Neceſſity there is for a certain Portion of Ignorance in a well-order'd Society, that I muſt not omit, becauſe by mentioning it I ſhall make an Argument on my ſide of what, if I had not ſpoke of it, might eaſily have appear'd as a ſtrong Objection againſt me. It is the Opinion of moſt People, and mine among the reſt, that the moſt commendable Quality of the preſent Czar of *Muſcovy* is his unwearied Application in raiſing his Subjects from their native Stupidity, and civilizing his Nation: but then we muſt conſider it is what they ſtood in need of, and that not long ago the greateſt part of them were next to Brute-Beaſts. In proportion to the Extent of his Dominions and the Multitudes he commands, he had not that Number or Variety of Tradeſmen and Artificers which the true Improvement of the Country required, and therefore was in the right in leaving no Stone unturn'd to procure them. But what is that to us who labour under a contrary Diſeaſe? Sound Politicks are to the Social Body what the Art of Medicine

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is to the Natural, and no Phyſician would treat a Man in a Lethargy as if he was ſick for want of Reſt, or preſcribe in a Dropſy what ſhould be adminiſtred in a Diabetes. In ſhort, *Ruſſia* has too few Knowing Men, and *Great Britain* too many.

A SEARCH INTO THE *Nature of Society.*

THE Generality of Moraliſts and Philoſophers have hitherto agreed that there could be no Virtue without Self-denial; but a late Author, who is now much read by Men of Senſe, is of a contrary Opinion, and imagines that Men without any Trouble or Violence upon themſelves may be naturally Virtuous. He ſeems to require and expect Goodneſs in his Species, as we do a ſweet Taſte in Grapes and China Oranges, of which, if any of them are ſour, we boldly pronounce that they are not come to that Perfection their Nature is capable of. This Noble Writer (for it is the Lord *Shaftsbury* I mean in his Characteriſticks) fancies, that as Man is made for Society, ſo he ought to be born with a kind Affection to the whole, of which he is a part, and a Pro-

penſity to ſeek the Welfare of it. In purſuance of this Suppoſition, he calls every Action perform'd with regard to the Publick Good, Virtuous; and all Selfiſhneſs, wholly excluding ſuch a Regard, Vice. In reſpect to our Species he looks upon Virtue and Vice as permanent Realities that muſt ever be the ſame in all Countries and all Ages, and imagines that a Man of ſound Underſtanding, by following the Rules of good Senſe, may not only find out that *Pulchrum & Honeſtum* both in Morality and the Works of Art and Nature, but likewiſe govern himſelf by his Reaſon with as much Eaſe and Readineſs as a good Rider manages a well-taught Horſe by the Bridle.

The attentive Reader, who peruſed the foregoing part of this Book, will ſoon perceive that two Syſtems cannot be more oppoſite than his Lordſhip's and mine. His Notions I confeſs are generous and refined; They are a high Compliment to Human-kind, and capable by the help of a little Enthuſiaſm of Inſpiring us with the moſt Noble Sentiments concerning the Dignity of our exalted Nature: What Pity it is that they are not true: I would not advance thus much if I had not already demonſtrated in almoſt every Page of this Treatiſe, that the Solidity of them is inconſiſtent with our daily Experience. But to leave not the leaſt Shadow of an Objection that might be made unanſwer'd, I deſign to expatiate on ſome things which hitherto I have but ſlightly touch'd upon, in order to convince the Reader, not only that the good and amiable Qualities of Man are not thoſe that make him beyond other Animals a ſociable Creature; but moreover that it would be utterly impoſſible, either to raiſe any Multitudes into a Populous, Rich and Flouriſhing Nation, or when ſo rais'd, to keep and maintain them in that Condition, without the Aſſiſtance of what we call Evil both Natural and Moral.

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The better to perform what I have undertaken, I ſhall previouſly examine into the Reality of the *pulchrum & honeſtum*, the τὸ κάλον that the Ancients have talk'd of ſo much: The Meaning of this is to diſcuſs, whether there be a real Worth and Excellency in things, a pre-eminence of one above another; which every body will always agree to that well underſtands them; or that there are few things, if any, that have the ſame Eſteem paid them, and which the ſame Judgment is paſs'd upon in all Countries and all Ages. When we firſt ſet out in queſt of this intrinſick Worth, and find one thing better than another, and a third better than that, and ſo on, we begin to entertain great Hopes of Succeſs; but when we meet with ſeveral things that are all very good or all very bad, we are puzzled and agree not always with ourſelves, much leſs with others. There are different Faults aswell as Beauties, that as Modes and Faſhions alter and Men vary in their Taſtes and Humours, will be differently admired or diſapproved of.

Judges of Painting will never diſagree in Opinion, when a fine Picture is compared to the dawbing of a Novice; but how ſtrangely have they differ'd as to the Works of eminent Maſters! There are Parties among Connoiſſeurs, and few of them agree in their Eſteem as to Ages and Countries, and the beſt Pictures bear not always the beſt Prices: A noted Original will be ever worth more than any Copy that can be made of it by an unknown Hand, tho' it ſhould be better. The Value that is ſet on Paintings depends not only on the Name of the Maſter and the Time of his Age he drew them in, but likewiſe in a great meaſure on the Scarcity of his Works, but what is ſtill more unreaſonable, the Quality of the Perſons in whoſe Poſſeſſion they are, as well as the length of Time they have been in great Families; and if the *Cartons* now at *Hampton-Court* were done by a leſs famous

mous Hand than that of *Raphael*, and had a private Perſon for their Owner, who would be forc'd to ſell them, they would never yield the tenth part of the Money which with all their groſs Faults they are now eſteemed to be worth.

Notwithſtanding all this, I will readily own, that the Judgment to be made of Painting might become of univerſal Certainty, or at leaſt leſs alterable and precarious than almoſt any thing elſe: The Reaſon is plain; there is a Standard to go by that always remains the ſame. Painting is an Imitation of Nature, a Copying of things which Men have every where before them. My good-humour'd Reader I hope will forgive me, if thinking on this Glorious Invention I make a Reflection a little out of Seaſon, tho' very much conducive to my main Deſign; which is, that Valuable as the Art is I ſpeak of, we are beholden to an Imperfection in the chief of our Senſes for all the Pleaſures and raviſhing Delight we receive from this happy Deceit. I ſhall explain my ſelf. Air and Space are no Objects of Sight, but as ſoon as we can ſee with the leaſt Attention, we obſerve that the Bulk of the things we ſee is leſſen'd by degrees, as they are further remote from us, and nothing but Experience gain'd from theſe Obſervations can teach us to make any tolerable Gueſſes at the diſtance of Things. If one born Blind ſhould remain ſo till twenty, and then be ſuddenly bleſs'd with Sight, he would be ſtrangely puzled as to the difference of Diſtances, and hardly able immediately by his Eyes alone to determine which was neareſt to him, a Poſt almoſt within the reach of his Stick, or a Steeple that ſhould be half a Mile off. Let us look as narrowly as we can upon a Hole in a Wall, that has nothing but the open Air behind it, and we ſhall not be able to ſee otherwiſe, but that the Sky fills up the Vacuity, and is as near us as the back part of the Stones that circumſcribe the Space

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where they are wanting. This Circumſtance, not to call it a Defect, in our Senſe of Seeing, makes us liable to be impoſed upon, and every thing, but Motion, may by Art be repreſented to us on a Flat in the ſame manner as we ſee them in Life and Nature. If a Man had never ſeen this Art put into practice, a Looking-glaſs might ſoon convince him that ſuch a thing was poſſible, and I can't help thinking but that the Reflections from very ſmooth and well-poliſh'd Bodies made upon our Eyes, muſt have given the firſt handle to the Inventions of Drawings and Painting.

In the Works of Nature, Worth and Excellency are as uncertain: and even in Human Creatures what is beautiful in one Country is not ſo in another. How whimſical is the Floriſt in his Choice! Sometimes the Tulip, ſometimes the Auricula, and at other times the Carnation ſhall engroſs his Eſteem, and every Year a new Flower in his Judgment beats all the old ones, tho' it is much inferior to them both in Colour and Shape. Three hundred Years ago Men were ſhaved as cloſely as they are now: Since that they have wore Beards, and cut them in vaſt Variety of Forms, that were all as becoming when faſhionable as now they would be Ridiculous. How mean and comically a Man looks, that is otherwiſe well dreſs'd, in a narrow-brim'd Hat when every body wears broad ones; and again, how monſtrous is a very great Hat, when the other Extreme has been in faſhion for a conſiderable time? Experience has taught us, that theſe Modes ſeldom laſt above Ten or Twelve Years, and a Man of Threeſcore muſt have obſerved five or ſix Revolutions of 'em at leaſt; yet the beginnings of theſe Changes, tho' we have ſeen ſeveral, ſeem always uncouth and are offenſive afreſh whenever they return. What Mortal can decide which is the handſomeſt, abſtract from the Mode in being, to wear great Buttons or ſmall ones? The many ways of

laying out a Garden Judiciouſly are almoſt Innumerable, and what is called Beautiful in them varies according to the different Taſtes of Nations and Ages. In Graſs Plats, Knots and Parterr's a great diverſity of Forms is generally agreeable; but a Round may be as pleaſing to the Eye as a Square: An Oval cannot be more ſuitable to one place than it is poſſible for a Triangle to be to another; and the pre-eminence an Octogon has over an Hexagon is no greater in Figures, than at Hazard Eight has above Six among the Chances.

Churches, ever ſince Chriſtians have been able to Build them, reſemble the Form of a Croſs, with the upper end pointing toward the *Eaſt*; and an Architect, where there is room, and it can be conveniently done, who ſhould neglect it, would be thought to have committed an unpardonable Fault: but it would be fooliſh to expect this of a Turkiſh Moſque or a Pagan Temple. Among the many Beneficial Laws that have been made theſe Hundred Years, it is not eaſy to name one of greater Utility, and at the ſame time more exempt from all Inconveniencies, than that which has regulated the Dreſſes of the Dead. Thoſe who were old enough to take notice of things when that Act was made, and are yet alive, muſt remember the general Clamour that was made againſt it. At firſt nothing could be more ſhocking to Thouſands of People than that they were to be Buried in Woollen, and the only thing that made that Law ſupportable was, that there was room left for People of ſome Faſhion to indulge their Weakneſs without Extravagancy; conſidering the other Expences of Funerals where Mourning is given to ſeveral, and Rings to a great many. The Benefit that accrues to the Nation from it is ſo viſible that nothing ever could be ſaid in reaſon to condemn it, which in few Years made the Horrour conceived againſt it leſſen every Day. I obſerved then that Young Peo-

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ple who had ſeen but few in their Coffins did the ſooneſt ſtrike in with the Innovation; but that thoſe who, when the Act was made, had Buried many Friends and Relations remained averſe to it the longeſt, and I remember many that never could be reconciled to it to their dying Day. By this time Burying in Linnen being almoſt forgot, it is the general Opinion that nothing could be more decent than Woollen, and the preſent manner of Dreſſing a Corps: which ſhews that our Liking or Diſliking of things chiefly depends on Mode and Cuſtom, and the Precept and Example of our Betters and ſuch whom one way or other we think to be Superior to us.

In Morals there is no greater Certainty. Plurality of Wives is odious among Chriſtians, and all the Wit and Learning of a Great Genius in defence of it has been rejected with contempt: But Polygamy is not ſhocking to a Mahometan. What Men have learned from their Infancy enſlaves them, and the Force of Cuſtom warps Nature, and at the ſame time imitates her in ſuch a manner, that it is often difficult to know which of the two we are influenced by. In the *Eaſt* formerly Siſters married Brothers, and it was meritorious for a Man to marry his Mother. Such Alliances are abominable; but it is certain that, whatever Horrour we conceive at the Thoughts of them, there is nothing in Nature repugnant againſt them, but what is built upon Mode and Cuſtom. A Religious Mahometan that has never taſted any Spirituous Liquor, and has often ſeen People Drunk, may receive as great an Averſion againſt Wine, as another with us of the leaſt Morality and Education may have againſt lying with his Siſter, and both imagine that their Antipathy proceeds from Nature. Which is the beſt Religion? is a Queſtion that has cauſed more Miſchief than all other Queſtions together. Ask it at *Peking*, at *Conſtantinople*, and at *Rome*, and you'll re-

ceive three diſtinct Anſwers extremely different from one another, yet all of them equally poſitive and peremptory. Chriſtians are well aſſured of the falſity of the Pagan and Mahometan Superſtitions: as to this point there is a perfect Union and Concord among them; but enquire of the ſeveral Sects they are divided into, Which is the true Church of Chriſt? and all of them will tell you it is theirs, and to convince you, go together by the Ears.

It is manifeſt then that the hunting after this *Pulchrum & Honeſtum* is not much better than a Wild-Gooſe-Chace that is but little to be depended upon: But this is not the greateſt Fault I find with it. The imaginary Notions that Men may be Virtuous without Self-denial are a vaſt Inlet to Hypocriſy, which being once made habitual, we muſt not only deceive others, but likewiſe become altogether unknown to our ſelves, and in an inſtance I am going to give, it will appear, how for want of duely examing himſelf this might happen to a Perſon of Quality of Parts and Erudition, one every way reſembling the Author of the Characteriſticks himſelf.

A Man that has been brought up in Eaſe and Affluence, if he is of a quiet indolent Nature, learns to ſhun every thing that is troubleſome, and chuſes to curb his Paſſions, more becauſe of the Inconveniencies that ariſe from the eager Purſuit after Pleaſure, and the yielding to all the demands of our Inclinations, than any diſlike he has to ſenſual Enjoyments; and it is poſſible, that a Perſon Educated under a great Philoſopher, who was a Mild and Good-natured as well as able Tutor, may in ſuch happy Circumſtances have a better Opinion of his inward State than it really deſerves, and believe himſelf Virtuous, becauſe his Paſſions lye dormant. He may form fine Notions of the Social Virtues, and the Contempt of Death, write well of them in his Cloſet, and talk Eloquently of them

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in Company, but you ſhall never catch him fighting for his Country, or labouring to retrieve any National Loſſes. A Man that deals in Metaphyſicks may eaſily throw himſelf into an Enthuſiaſm, and really believe that he does not fear Death whilſt it remains out of Sight. But ſhould he be ask'd, why having this Intrepidity either from Nature or acquired by Philoſophy, he did not follow Arms when his Country was involv'd in War; or when he ſaw the Nation daily robb'd by thoſe at the Helm, and the Affairs of the *Exchequer* perplex'd, why he did not go to Court, and make uſe of all his Friends and Intereſt to be a Lord Treaſurer, that by his Integrity and Wiſe Management he might reſtore the publick Credit; it is probable he would anſwer that he lov'd Retirement, had no other Ambition than to be a Good Man, and never aſpired to have any ſhare in the Government, or that he hated all Flattery and ſlaviſh Attendance, the Inſincerity of Courts and Buſtle of the World. I am willing to believe him: but may not a Man of an indolent Temper and unactive Spirit ſay, and be ſincere in all this, and at the ſame time indulge his Appetites without being able to ſubdue them, tho' his Duty ſummons him to it. Virtue conſiſts in Action, and whoever is poſſeſt of this Social Love and kind Affection to his Species, and by his Birth or Quality can claim any Poſt in the Publick Management, ought not to ſit ſtill when he can be Serviceable, but exert himſelf to the utmoſt for the good of his Fellow Subjects. Had this noble Perſon been of a Warlike Genius or a Boyſterous Temper, he would have choſe another Part in the Drama of Life, and preach'd a quite contrary Doctrine: For we are ever puſhing our Reaſon which way ſoever we feel Paſſion to draw it, and Self-love pleads to all human Creatures for their different Views, ſtill furniſhing every Individual with Arguments to juſtify their Inclinations.

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That boaſted middle way, and the calm Virtues recommended in the Characteriſticks, are good for nothing but to breed Drones, and might qualify a Man for the ſtupid Enjoyments of a Monaſtick Life, or at beſt a Country Juſtice of Peace, but they would never fit him for Labour and Aſſiduity, or ſtir him up to great Atchievements and perilous Undertakings. Man's natural Love of Eaſe and Idleneſs, and Proneneſs to indulge his ſenſual Pleaſures, are not to be cured by Precept: His ſtrong Habits and Inclinations can only be ſubdued by Paſſions of greater Violence. Preach and Demonſtrate to a Coward the unreaſonableneſs of his Fears, and you'll not make him Valiant, more than you can make him Taller by bidding him to be Ten Foot high, whereas the Secret to raiſe Courage, as I have made it Publick in *Remark R*, is almoſt infallible.

The Fear of Death is the ſtrongeſt when we are in our greateſt Vigour, and our Appetite is keen; when we are Sharp-ſighted, Quick of Hearing, and every Part performs its Office. The Reaſon is plain, becauſe then Life is moſt delicious and our ſelves moſt capable of enjoying it. How comes it then that a Man of Honour ſhould ſo eaſily accept of a Challenge, tho' at Thirty and in perfect Health? It is his Pride that conquers his Fear: For when his Pride is not concern'd this Fear will appear moſt glaringly. If he is not uſed to the Sea let him but be in a Storm, or, if he never was Ill before, have but a ſore Throat or a ſlight Fever, and he'll ſhew a Thouſand Anxieties, and in them the ineſtimable Value he ſets on Life. Had Man been naturally humble and Proof againſt Flattery, the Politician could never have had his Ends, or known what to have made of him. Without Vices the Excellency of the Species would have ever remain'd undiſcover'd, and every Worthy that has made himſelf famous in the World is a ſtrong Evidence againſt this amiable Syſtem.

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If the Courage of the great *Macedonian* came up to Diſtraction when he fought alone againſt a whole Garriſon, his Madneſs was not leſs when he fancy'd himſelf to be a God, or at leaſt doubted whether he was or not; and as ſoon as we make this Reflection, we diſcover both the Paſſion, and the Extravagancy of it, that buoy'd up his Spirits in the moſt imminent Dangers, and carried him through all the Difficulties and Fatigues he underwent.

There never was in the World a brighter Example of an able and compleat Magiſtrate than *Cicero*: When I think on his Care and Vigilance, the real Hazards he ſlighted, and the Pains he took for the Safety of *Rome*; his Wiſdom and Sagacity in detecting and diſappointing the Stratagems of the boldeſt and moſt ſubtle Conſpirators, and at the ſame time on his Love to Literature, Arts and Sciences, his Capacity in Metaphyſicks, the Juſtneſs of his Reaſonings, the Force of his Eloquence, the Politeneſs of his Style, and the genteel Spirit that runs through his Writings; when I think, I ſay, on all theſe Things together, I am ſtruck with Amazement, and the leaſt I can ſay of him is that he was a Prodigious Man. But when I have ſet the many good Qualities he had in the beſt Light, it is as evident to me on the other ſide, that had his Vanity been inferior to his greateſt Excellency, the good Senſe and Knowledge of the World he was ſo eminently poſſeſs'd of could never have let him be ſuch a fulſome as well as noiſy Trumpeter as he was of his own Praiſes, or ſuffer'd him rather than not proclaim his own Merit, to make a Verſe that a School-Boy would have been laugh'd at for. *O! Fortunatam*, &c.

How ſtrict and ſevere was the Morality of rigid *Cato*, how ſteady and unaffected the Virtue of that grand Aſſerter of *Roman* Liberty! but tho' the Equivalent this Stoick enjoy'd, for all the Self-denial and Auſterity he practiſed, remained long conceal-

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ed, and his peculiar Modeſty hid from the World, and perhaps himſelf, a vaſt while the Frailty of his Heart that forced him into Heroiſm, yet it was brought to light in the laſt Scene of his Life, and by his Suicide it plainly appeared that he was governed by a Tyrannical Power ſuperior to the Love of his Country, and that the implacable Hatred and ſuperlative Envy he bore to the Glory, the real Greatneſs and Perſonal Merit of *Cæſar*, had for a long time ſway'd all his Actions under the moſt noble Pretences. Had not this violent Motive overrul'd his conſummate Prudence he might not only have ſaved himſelf, but likewiſe moſt of his Friends that were ruined by the Loſs of him, and would in all probability, if he could have ſtooped to it, been the Second Man in *Rome*. But he knew the boundleſs Mind and unlimited Generoſity of the Victor: it was his Clemency he feared, and therefore choſe Death becauſe it was leſs terrible to his Pride than the Thought of giving his mortal Foe ſo tempting an Opportunity of ſhewing the Magnanimity of his Soul, as *Cæſar* would have found in forgiving ſuch an inveterate Enemy as *Cato*, and offering him his Friendſhip; and which, it is thought by the Judicious, that Penetrating as well as Ambitious Conqueror would not have ſlipt, if the other had dared to live.

Another Argument to prove the kind Diſpoſition and real Affection we naturally have for our Species, is our Love of Company, and the Averſion Men that are in their Senſes generally have to Solitude, beyond other Creatures. This bears a fine gloſs in the *Characteriſticks*, and is ſet off in very good Language to the beſt Advantage: the next Day after I read it firſt, I heard abundance of People cry Freſh Herrings, which with the Reflection on the vaſt Shoals of that and other Fiſh that are caught together, made me very merry, tho' I was alone: but as I was entertaining myſelf with this

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Contemplation, came an impertinent idle Fellow, whom I had the Misfortune to be known by, and asked me how I did, tho' I was and dare ſay looked as healthy and as well as ever I was or did in my Life. What I anſwered him I forgot, but remember that I could not get rid of him in a good while, and felt all the Uneaſineſs my Friend *Horace* complains of from a Perſecution of the like nature.

I would have no ſagacious Critick pronounce me a Man-hater from this ſhort Story; whoever does is very much miſtaken. I am a great Lover of Company, and if the Reader is not quite tired with mine, before I ſhew the Weakneſs and Ridicule of that piece of Flattery made to our Species, and which I was juſt now ſpeaking of, I will give him a Deſcription of the Man I would chuſe for Converſation, with a Promiſe that before he has finiſhed what at firſt he might only take for a Digreſſion foreign to my purpoſe, he ſhall find the Uſe of it.

By Early and Artful Inſtruction he ſhould be thoroughly imbued with the notions of Honour and Shame, and have contracted an habitual averſion to every thing that has the leaſt tendency to Impudence, Rudeneſs or Inhumanity. He ſhould be well vers'd in the *Latin* Tongue and not ignorant of the *Greek*, and moreover underſtand one or two of the Modern Languages beſides his own. He ſhould be acquainted with the Faſhions and Cuſtoms of the Ancients, but thoroughly skilled in the Hiſtory of his own Country and the Manners of the Age he lives in. He ſhould beſides Literature have ſtudy'd ſome uſeful Science or other, ſeen ſome Foreign Courts and Univerſities, and made the true Uſe of Travelling. He ſhould at times take delight in Dancing, Fencing, Riding the Great Horſe, and knowing ſomething of Hunting and other Country Sports, without being attach'd to any, and he ſhould treat them all as either Exerciſes for Health, or Diverſions that ſhould never interfere

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with Buſineſs, or the attaining to more valuable Qualifications. He ſhould have a ſmatch of Geometry and Aſtronomy as well as Anatomy and the Oeconomy of Human Bodies. To underſtand Muſick ſo as to perform, is an Accompliſhment, but there is abundance to be ſaid againſt it, and inſtead of it I would have him know ſo much of Drawing as is required to take a Landskip, or explain ones meaning of any Form or Model we ſhould deſcribe, but never to touch a Pencil. He ſhould be very early uſed to the Company of modeſt Women, and never be a Fortnight without Converſing with the Ladies.

Groſs Vices, as Irreligion, Whoring, Gaming, Drinking and Quarrelling I won't mention; even the meaneſt Education guards us againſt them; I would always recommend to him the Practice of Virtue, but I am for no Voluntary Ignorance, in a Gentleman, of any thing that is done in Court or City. It is impoſſible a Man ſhould be perfect, and therefore there are Faults I would connive at, if I could not prevent them; and if between the Years of Nineteen and Three and Twenty, Youthful Heat ſhould ſometimes get the better of his Chaſtity, ſo it was done with caution; ſhould he on ſome Extraordinary Occaſion, overcome by the preſſing Solicitations of Jovial Friends, drink more than was conſiſtent with ſtrict Sobriety, ſo he did it very ſeldom and found it not to interfere with his Health or Temper; or if by the height of his Mettle and great Provocation in a Juſt Cauſe, he had been drawn into a Quarrel, which true Wiſdom and a leſs ſtrict adherence to the Rules of Honour might have declined or prevented, ſo it never befel him above once; If I ſay he ſhould have happened to be Guilty of theſe things, and he would never ſpeak, much leſs Brag of them himſelf, they might be pardoned or at leaſt over-looked at the Age I named, if he left off then and continued diſcreet for ever after.

after. The very Diſaſters of Youth have ſomtimes frighten'd Gentlemen into a more ſteady Prudence than in all probability they would ever have been Maſters of without them. To keep him from Turpitude and things that are openly Scandalous, there is nothing better than to procure him free acceſs in one or two noble Families where his frequent Attendance is counted a Duty: And whilſt by that means you preſerve his Pride, he is kept in a continual dread of Shame.

A Man of a tollerable Fortune, pretty near accompliſhed as I have required him to be, that ſtill improves himſelf and ſees the World till he is thirty, cannot be diſagreeable to converſe with, at leaſt whilſt he continues in Health and Proſperity, and has nothing to ſpoil his Temper. When ſuch a one either by chance or appointment meets with Three or Four of his Equals, and all agree to paſs away a few Hours together, the whole is what I call good Company. There is nothing ſaid in it that is not either inſtructive or diverting to a Man of Senſe. It is poſſible they may not always be of the ſame Opinion, but there can be no conteſt between any but who ſhall yield firſt to the other he differs from. One only ſpeaks at a time, and no louder than to be plainly underſtood by him who ſits the fartheſt off. The greateſt Pleaſure aimed at by every one of them is to have the Satisfaction of pleaſing others, which they all practically know may as effectually be done by hearkning with Attention and an approving Countenance, as if we ſaid very good things ourſelves.

Moſt People of any Taſte would like ſuch a Converſation, and juſtly prefer it to being alone, when they knew not how to ſpend their time; but if they could employ themſelves in ſomething from which they expected either a more ſolid or a more laſting Satisfaction, they would deny themſelves this Pleaſure, and follow what was of greater conſequence

quence to 'em. But would not a Man, though he had ſeen no mortal in a Fortnight, remain alone as much longer, rather than get into Company of Noiſy Fellows that take Delight in Contradiction, and place a Glory in picking a Quarrel? Would not one that has Books, Read for ever, or ſet himſelf to Write upon ſome Subject or other, rather than be every Night with Party-men who count the Iſland to be good for nothing whilſt their Adverſaries are ſuffered to live upon it? Would not a Man be by himſelf a Month, and go to Bed before ſeven a-Clock, rather than mix with Fox-hunters, who having all Day long tried in vain to break their Necks, join at Night in a ſecond Attempt upon their Lives by Drinking, and to expreſs their Mirth, are louder in ſenſeleſs Sounds within Doors, than their barking and leſs troubleſome Companions are only without? I have no great Value for a Man who would not rather tire himſelf with Walking; or if he was ſhut up, ſcatter Pins about the Room in order to pick them up again, than keep Company for ſix Hours with half a Score common Sailors the Day their Ship was paid off.

I will grant nevertheleſs that the greateſt part of Mankind, rather than be alone any conſiderable time, would ſubmit to the things I named: But I cannot ſee, why this Love of Company, this ſtrong Deſire after Society ſhould be conſtrued ſo much in our Favour, and alledged as a Mark of ſome Intrinſick Worth in Man not to be found in other Animals. For to prove from it the Goodneſs of our Nature and a generous Love in Man, extended beyond himſelf on the reſt of his Species, by vertue of which he was a Sociable Creature, this Eagerneſs after Company and Averſion of being alone ought to have been moſt conſpicuous and moſt violent in the beſt of their kind, the Men of the greateſt Genius, Parts and Accompliſhments, and thoſe who are the leaſt ſubject to Vice; the contrary of which

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is true. The weakeſt Minds, who can the leaſt govern their Paſſions, Guilty Conſciences that abhor Reflection, and the worthleſs, who are incapable of producing any thing of their own that's uſeful, are the greateſt Enemies to Solitude, and will take up with any Company rather than be without; whereas the Men of Senſe and of Knowledge, that can think and contemplate on things, and ſuch as are but little diſturb'd by their Paſſions, can bear to be by themſelves the longeſt without reluctancy; and, to avoid Noiſe, Folly, and Impertinence, will run away from twenty Companies; and, rather than meet with any thing diſagreeable to their good Taſte, will prefer their Cloſet or a Garden, nay a Common or a Deſart to the Society of ſome Men.

But let us ſuppoſe the Love of Company ſo inſeparable from our Species that no Man could endure to be alone one Moment, what Concluſions could be drawn from this? does not Man love Company, as he does every thing elſe, for his own ſake? No Friendſhips or Civilities are laſting that are not reciprocal. In all your weekly and daily Meetings for Diverſion, as well as Annual Feaſts, and the moſt ſolemn Carouzals, every Member that aſſiſts at them has his own Ends, and ſome frequent a Club which they would never go to unleſs they were the Top of it. I have known a Man who was the Oracle of the Company, be very conſtant, and as uneaſy at any thing that hindred him from coming at the Hour, leave his Society altogether, as ſoon as another was added that could match, and diſputed Superiority with him. There are People who are incapable of holding an Argument, and yet malicious enough to take delight in hearing others Wrangle, and tho' they never concern themſelves in the Controverſy, would think a Company inſipid where they could not have that Diverſion. A good Houſe, rich Furniture, a fine Garden, Horſes,

ſes, Dogs, Anceſtors, Relations, Beauty, Strength, Excellency in any thing whatever, Vices as well as Virtue, may all be Acceſſary to make Men long for Society, in hopes that what they value themſelves upon will at one time or other become the Theme of the Diſcourſe, and give an inward Satisfaction to them. Even the moſt polite People in the World, and ſuch as I ſpoke of at firſt, give no Pleaſure to others that is not repaid to their Self-Love, and does not at laſt center in themſelves, let them wind it and turn it as they will. But the plaineſt Demonſtration that in all Clubs and Societies of Converſable People every body has the greateſt Conſideration for himſelf is, that the Diſintereſted, who rather over-pays than wrangles; the Good-humour'd, that is never waſpiſh, nor ſoon offended; the Eaſy and Indolent, that hates Diſputes and never talks for Triumph, is every where the Darling of the Company: Whereas the Man of Senſe and Knowledge, that will not be impoſed upon or talk'd out of his Reaſon; the Man of Genius and Spirit, that can ſay ſharp and witty things, tho' he never laſhes but what deſerves it; the Man of Honour, who neither gives nor takes an Affront, may be eſteem'd, but is ſeldom ſo well beloved as a weaker Man leſs Accompliſh'd.

As in theſe Inſtances the Friendly Qualities ariſe from our contriving perpetually our own Satisfaction, ſo on other Occaſions they proceed from the natural Timidity of Man, and the ſollicitous Care he takes of himſelf. Two *Londoners*, whoſe Buſineſs oblige them not to have any Commerce together, may know, ſee, and paſs by one another every Day upon the *Exchange*, with not much greater Civility than Bulls would: Let them meet at *Briſtol* they'll pull off their Hats, and on the leaſt Opportunity enter into Converſation, and be glad of one another's Company. When *French*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* meet in *China* or any other Pagan Country, being

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all *Europeans*, they look upon one another as Countrymen, and if no Paſſion interferes, will feel a natural Propenſity to love one another. Nay Two Men that are at Enmity, if they are forc'd to Travel together, will often lay by their Animoſities, be affable and converſe in a friendly manner, eſpecially if the Road be unſafe, and they are both Strangers in the Place they are to go to. Theſe things by ſuperficial Judges are attributed to Man's Sociableneſs, his natural Propenſity to Friendſhip and love of Company; but whoever will duely examine things and look into Man more narrowly, will find that on all theſe Occaſions we only endeavour to ſtrengthen our Intereſt, and are moved by the Cauſes already alledg'd.

What I have endeavour'd hitherto, has been to prove, that the *pulchrum & honeſtum*, excellency and real worth of things are moſt commonly precarious and alterable as Modes and Cuſtoms vary; that conſequently the Inferences drawn from their Certainty are inſignificant, and that the generous Notions concerning the natural Goodneſs of Man are hurtful as they tend to miſ-lead, and are merely Chimerical: The truth of this latter I have illuſtrated by the moſt obvious Examples in Hiſtory. I have ſpoke of our Love of Company and Averſion to Solitude, examin'd thoroughly the various Motives of them, and made it appear that they all center in Self-Love. I intend now to inveſtigate into the nature of Society, and diving into the very riſe of it, make it evident, that not the Good and Amiable, but the Bad and Hateful Qualities of Man, his Imperfections and the want of Excellencies which other Creatures are endued with, are the firſt Cauſes that made Man ſociable beyond other Animals the Moment after he loſt Paradiſe; and that if he had remain'd in his primitive Innocence, and continued to enjoy the Bleſſings that attended it, there is no Shadow of Probability that

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he ever would have become that ſociable Creature he is now.

How neceſſary our Appetites and Paſſions are for the welfare of all Trades and Handicrafts has been ſufficiently prov'd throughout the Book, and that they are our bad Qualities, or at leaſt produce them, no Body denies. It remains then that I ſhould ſet forth the variety of Obſtacles that hinder and perplex Man in the Labour he is conſtantly employ'd in, the procuring of what he wants; and which in other Words is call'd the Buſineſs of Self-Preſervation: Whilſt at the ſame time I demonſtrate that the Sociableneſs of Man ariſes only from theſe Two things, *viz.* The multiplicity of his Deſires, and the continual Oppoſition he meets with in his Endeavours to gratify them.

The Obſtacles I ſpeak of relate either to our own Frame, or the Globe we inhabit, I mean the Condition of it, ſince it has been curs'd. I have often endeavour'd to contemplate ſeparately on the two Things I named laſt, but cou'd never keep them aſunder; they always interefere and mix with one another; and at laſt make up together a frightful Chaos of Evil. All the Elements are our Enemies, Water drowns and Fire conſumes thoſe who unſkilfully approach them. The Earth in a Thouſand Places produces Plants and other Vegetables that are hurtful to Man, whilſt ſhe feeds and cheriſhes a variety of Creatures that are noxious to him; and ſuffers a Legion of Poyſons to dwell within her: But the moſt unkind of all the Elements is that which we cannot Live one Moment without: It is impoſſible to repeat all the Injuries we receive from the Wind and Weather; and tho' the greateſt part of Mankind have ever been employed in defending their Species from the Inclemency of the Air, yet no Art or Labour have hitherto been able to find a Security againſt the Wild Rage of ſome Meteors.

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Hurricanes it is true happen but ſeldom, and few Men are ſwallow'd up by Earthquakes, or devour'd by Lions; but whilſt we eſcape thoſe Gigantick Miſchiefs we are perſecuted by Trifles. What a vaſt variety of Inſects are tormenting to us; what Multitudes of them inſult and make Game of us with Impunity! The moſt deſpicable ſcruple not to trample and graze upon us as Cattle do upon a Field; which yet is often bore with, if moderately they uſe their Fortune; but here again our Clemency becomes a Vice, and ſo encroaching are their Cruelty and Contempt of us on our Pity, that they make Layſtalls of our Heads, and devour our young ones if we are not daily Vigilant in purſuing and deſtroying them.

There is nothing Good in all the Univerſe to the beſt-deſigning Man, if either through Miſtake or Ignorance he commits the leaſt Failing in the Uſe of it; There is no Innocence or Integrity that can protect a Man from a Thouſand Miſchiefs that ſurround him: On the contrary every thing is Evil, which Art and Experience have not taught us to turn into a Bleſſing. Therefore how diligent in Harveſt Time is the Husband-man in getting in his Crop and ſheltering it from Rain, without which he could never have enjoy'd it! As Seaſons differ with the Climates, Experience has taught us differently to make uſe of them, and in one part of the Globe we may ſee the Farmer Sow whilſt he is Reaping in the other; from all which we may learn how vaſtly this Earth muſt have been alter'd ſince the Fall of our firſt Parents. For ſhould we trace Man from his Beautiful, his Divine Original, not proud of Wiſdom acquired by haughty Precept or tedious Experience, but endued with conſummate Knowledge the moment he was form'd; I mean the State of Innocence, in which no Animal or Vegetable upon Earth, nor Mineral under Ground was noxious to him, and himſelf ſecure from the

Injuries

Injuries of the Air as well as all other Harms, was contented with the Neceſſaries of Life, which the Globe he inhabited furniſh'd him with, without his aſſiſtance. When yet not conſcious of Guilt, he found himſelf in every Place to be the well obeyed Unrival'd Lord of all, and unaffected with his Greatneſs was wholly rapt up in ſublime Meditations on the Infinity of his Creator, who daily did vouchſafe intelligibly to ſpeak to him, and viſit without Miſchief.

In ſuch a Golden Age no Reaſon or Probability can be alledged why Mankind ever ſhould have rais'd themſelves into ſuch large Societies as there have been in the World, as long as we can give any tolerable Account of it. Where a Man has every thing he deſires, and nothing to vex or diſturb him, there is nothing can be added to his Happineſs; and it is impoſſible to name a Trade, Art, Science, Dignity or Employment that would not be ſuperfluous in ſuch a Bleſſed State. If we purſue this Thought we ſhall eaſily perceive that no Societies could have ſprung from the Amiable Virtues and Loving Qualities of Man, but on the contrary that all of them muſt have had their Origin from his Wants, his Imperfections, and the variety of his Appetites: We ſhall find likewiſe that the more their Pride and Vanity are diſplay'd and all their Deſires enlarg'd, the more capable they muſt be of being rais'd into large and vaſtly numerous Societies.

Was the Air always as inoffenſive to our naked Bodies, and as pleaſant as to our thinking it is to the generality of Birds in Fair Weather, and Man had not been affected with Pride, Luxury and Hypocriſy, as well as Luſt, I cannot ſee what could have put us upon the Invention of Cloaths and Houſes. I ſhall ſay nothing of Jewels, of Plate, Painting, Sculpture, Fine Furniture, and all that rigid Moraliſts have call'd unneceſſary and ſuperfluous:

But

But if we were not ſoon tired with walking a-foot, and were as nimble as ſome other Animals; if Men were naturally laborious, and none unreaſonable in ſeeking and indulging their Eaſe, and likewiſe free from other Vices, and the Ground was every where Even, Solid and Clean, who would have thought of Coaches or ventur'd on a Horſe's Back? What occaſion has the Dolphin for a Ship, or what Carriage would an Eage ask to Travel in?

I hope the Reader knows that by Society I underſtand a Body Politick, in which Man either ſubdued by Superiour Force, or by Perſuaſion drawn from his Savage State, is become a Diſciplin'd Creature, that can find his own Ends in Labouring for others, and where under one Head or other Form of Government each Member is render'd ſubſervient to the Whole, and all of them by cunning Management are made to Act as one. For if by Society we only mean a Number of People, that without Rule or Government ſhould keep together out of a natural Affection to their Species or Love of Company, as a Herd of Cows or a Flock of Sheep, then there is not in the World a more unfit Creature for Society than Man; an Hundred of them that ſhould be all Equals, under no Subjection, or Fear of any Superior upon Earth, could never live together awake Two Hours without Quarrelling, and the more Knowledge, Strength, Wit, Courage and Reſolution there was among them, the worſe it would be.

It is probable that in the Wild State of Nature Parents would keep a Superiority over their Children, at leaſt while they were in Strength, and that even afterwards the Remembrance of what the others had experienc'd might produce in them ſomething between Love and Fear, which we call Reverence: It is probable likewiſe that the ſecond Generation following the Example of the firſt, a Man with a little Cunning would always be able,

as long as he lived and had his Senſes, to maintain a Superiour Sway over all his own Offspring and Deſcendants, how numerous ſoever they might grow. But the old Stock once dead, the Sons would quarrel, and there could be no Peace long, before there had been War. Elderſhip in Brothers is of no great Force, and the Pre-eminence that is given to it only invented as a ſhift to live in Peace. Man, as he is a fearful Animal, naturally not Rapacious, loves Peace and Quiet, and he would never Fight, if no body offended him, and he could have what he fights for without it. To this fearful Diſpoſition and the Averſion he has to his being diſturb'd, are owing all the various Projects and Forms of Government. Monarchy without doubt was the firſt. Ariſtocracy and Democracy were two different Methods of mending the Inconveniencies of the firſt, and a mixture of theſe three an Improvement on all the reſt.

But be we Savages or Politicians, it is impoſſible that Man, mere fallen Man, ſhould act with any other View but to pleaſe himſelf whilſt he has the Uſe of his Organs, and the greateſt Extravagancy either of Love or Deſpair can have no other Center. There is no difference between Will and Pleaſure in one Senſe, and every Motion made in ſpight of them muſt be unnatural and convulſive. Since then Action is ſo confin'd, and we are always forc'd to do what we pleaſe, and at the ſame time our Thoughts are free and uncontroul'd, it is impoſſible we could be ſociable Creatures without Hypocriſy. The Proof of this is plain, ſince we cannot prevent the Ideas that are continually ariſing within us, all Civil Commerce would be loſt, if by Art and prudent Diſſimulation we had not learn'd to hide and ſtifle them; and if all we think was to be laid open to others in the ſame manner as it is to our ſelves, it is impoſſible that endued with Speech we could be ſufferable to one another. I am perſuaded

ſuaded that every Reader feels the Truth of what I ſay; and I tell my Antagoniſt that his Conſcience flies in his Face, whilſt his Tongue is preparing to refute me. In all Civil Societies Men are taught inſenſibly to be Hypocrites from their Cradle, no body dares to own that he gets by publick Calamities, or even by the Loſs of private Perſons. The Sexton would be ſtoned ſhould he wiſh openly for the Death of the Pariſhioners, though every body knew that he had nothing elſe to live upon.

To me it is a great Pleaſure, when I look on the Affairs of human Life, to behold into what various and often ſtrangely oppoſite Forms the hope of Gain and thoughts of Lucre ſhape Men, according to the different Employments they are of, and Stations they are in. How gay and merry does every Face appear at a well-ordered Ball, and what a ſolemn Sadneſs is obſerv'd at the Maſquerade of a Funeral! But the Undertaker is as much pleas'd with his Gains as the Dancing Maſter: Both are equally tired in their Occupations, and the Mirth of the one is as much forc'd as the Gravity of the other is affected. Thoſe who have never minded the Converſation of a ſpruce Mercer, and a young Lady his Cuſtomer that comes to his Shop, have neglected a Scene of Life that is very Entertaining. I beg of my ſerious Reader, that he would for a while abate a little of his Gravity, and ſuffer me to examine theſe People ſeparately, as to their Inſide and the different Motives they act from.

His Buſineſs is to ſell as much Silk as he can at a Price by which he ſhall get what he propoſes to be reaſonable, according to the Cuſtomary Profits of the Trade. As to the Lady, what ſhe would be at is to pleaſe her Fancy, and buy cheaper by a Groat or Sixpence *per* Yard than the Things ſhe wants are commonly ſold at. From the Impreſſion the Gallantry of our Sex has made upon her, ſhe imagines (if ſhe be not very deform'd) that ſhe has

a fine Mien and eaſie Behaviour, and a peculiar Sweetneſs of Voice; that ſhe is handſome, and if not beautiful at leaſt more agreeable than moſt young Women ſhe knows. As ſhe has no Pretenſions to purchaſe the ſame Things with leſs Money than other People, but what are built on her good Qualities, ſo ſhe ſets her ſelf off to the beſt Advantage her Wit and Diſcretion will let her. The thoughts of Love are here out of the Caſe; ſo on the one hand ſhe has no room for playing the Tyrant, and giving her ſelf Angry and Peeviſh Airs, and on the other more liberty of ſpeaking kindly, and being affable than ſhe can have almoſt on any other occaſion. She knows that abundance of well-bred People come to his Shop, and endeavours to render her ſelf as Amiable as Virtue and the Rules of Decency allow of. Coming with ſuch a Reſolution of Behaviour ſhe cannot meet with any thing to ruffle her Temper.

Before her Coach is yet quite ſtopp'd, ſhe is approach'd by a Gentleman-like Man, that has every thing Clean and Faſhionable about him, who in low obeiſance pays her Homage, and as ſoon as her Pleaſure is known that ſhe has a mind to come in, hands her into the Shop, where immediately he ſlips from her, and through a by-way that remains viſible only for half a Moment with great addreſs entrenches himſelf behind the Counter: Here facing her, with a profound Reverence and modiſh Phraſe he begs the favour of knowing her Commands. Let her ſay and diſlike what ſhe pleaſes, ſhe can never be directly contradicted: She deals with a Man in whom conſummate Patience is one of the Myſteries of his Trade, and whatever trouble ſhe creates, ſhe is ſure to hear nothing but the moſt obliging Language, and has always before her a chearful Countenance, where Joy and Reſpect ſeem to be blended with Good-humour, and altogether make up an Artificial Serenity more engaging

gaging than untaught Nature is able to produce.

When two Perſons are ſo well met, the Converſation muſt be very agreeable, as well as extremely mannerly, tho' they talk about Trifles. Whilſt ſhe remains irreſolute what to take, he ſeems to be the ſame in adviſing her; and is very cautious how to direct her Choice; but when once ſhe has made it and is fix'd, he immediately becomes poſitive, that it is the beſt of the ſort, extols her Fancy, and the more he looks upon it, the more he wonders he ſhould not before have diſcovered the pre-eminence of it over any thing he has in his Shop. By Precept, Example and great Application he has learn'd unobſerv'd to ſlide into the inmoſt Receſſes of the Soul, ſound the Capacity of his Cuſtomers, and find out their blind Side unknown to them: By all which he is inſtructed in fifty other Stratagems to make her over-value her own Judgment as well as the Commodity ſhe would purchaſe. The greateſt Advantage he has over her, lies in the moſt material part of the Commerce between them, the debate about the Price, which he knows to a Farthing, and ſhe is wholly ignorant of: Therefore he no where more egregiouſly impoſes on her Underſtanding; and tho' here he has the liberty of telling what Lies he pleaſes, as to the Prime Coſt and the Money he has refus'd, yet he truſts not to them only; but attacking her Vanity makes her believe the moſt incredible Things in the World, concerning his own Weakneſs and her ſuperiour Abilites; He had taken a Reſolution, he ſays, never to part with that Piece under ſuch a Price, but ſhe has the powor of talking him out of his Goods beyond any body he ever Sold to: He proteſts that he loſes by his Silk, but ſeeing that ſhe has a Fancy for it, and is reſolv'd to give no more, rather than diſoblige a Lady he has ſuch an uncommon value for, he'll let her have it, and only begs that another time ſhe will not ſtand ſo hard with him. In

the mean time the Buyer, who knows that ſhe is no Fool and has a voluble Tongue, is eaſily perſuaded that ſhe has a very winning way of Talking, and thinking it ſufficient for the ſake of good Breeding to diſown her Merit, and in ſome witty Repartee retort the Compliment, he makes her ſwallow very contentedly the Subſtance of every thing he tells her. The upſhot is, that with the ſatisfaction of having ſaved Ninepence *per* Yard, ſhe has bought her Silk exactly at the ſame Price as any body elſe might have done, and often gives Sixpence more, than, rather than not have ſold it, he would have taken.

It is poſſible that this Lady for want of being ſufficiently flatter'd, for a Fault ſhe is pleaſed to find in his Behaviour, or perhaps the tying of his Neckcloth, or ſome other diſlike as Subſtantial, may be loſt, and her Cuſtom beſtow'd on ſome other of the Fraternity. But where many of them live in a Cluſter, it is not always eaſily determin'd which Shop to go to, and the Reaſons ſome of the Fair Sex have for their choice are often very whimſical and kept as a great Secret. We never follow our Inclinations with more freedom, than where they cannot be traced, and it is unreaſonable for others to ſuſpect them. A Virtuous Woman has preferr'd one Houſe to all the reſt, becauſe ſhe had ſeen a handſome Fellow in it, and another of no bad Character for having receiv'd greater Civility before it, than had been paid her any where elſe, when ſhe had no thoughts of buying and was going to *Paul*'s Church: for among the faſhionable Mercers the fair Dealer muſt keep before his own Door, and to draw in random Cuſtomers make uſe of no other Freedom or Importunities than an obſequious Air, with a ſubmiſſive Poſture, and perhaps a Bow to every well-dreſs'd Female that offers to look towards his Shop.

What

What I have ſaid laſt makes me think on another way of inviting Cuſtomers, the moſt diſtant in the World from what I have been ſpeaking of, I mean that which is practis'd by the Watermen, eſpecially on thoſe whom by their Mien and Garb they know to be Peaſants. It is not unpleaſant to ſee half a dozen People ſurround a Man they never ſaw in their lives before, and two of them that can get the neareſt, clapping each an Arm over his Neck, hug him in as loving and familiar a manner as if he was their Brother newly come home from an *Eaſt-India* Voyage; a third lays hold of his Hand, another of his Sleeve, his Coat, the Buttons of it, or any thing he can come at, whilſt a fifth or a ſixth, who has ſcampered twice round him already without being able to get at him, plants himſelf directly before the Man in hold, and within three Inches of his Noſe, contradicting his Rivals with an open-mouthed cry, ſhews him a dreadful ſet of large Teeth and a ſmall remainder of chew'd Bread and Cheeſe, which the Countryman's Arrival had hindred from being ſwallow'd.

At all this no Offence is taken, and the Peaſant juſtly thinks they are making much of him; therefore far from oppoſing them he patiently ſuffers himſelf to be puſh'd or pull'd which way the Strength that ſurrounds him ſhall direct. He has not the delicacy to find Fault with a Man's Breath, who has juſt blown out his Pipe, or a greaſy Head of Hair that is rubbing againſt his Chops: Dirt and Sweat he has been uſed to from his Cradle, and it is no diſturbance to him to hear half a ſcore People, ſome of them at his Ear, and the furtheſt not five Foot from him, bawl out as if he was a hundred Yards off: He is conſcious that he makes no leſs noiſe when he is merry himſelf, and is ſecretly pleas'd with their boiſterous Uſages. The hawling and pulling him about he conſtrues the way it is intended; it is a Courtſhip he can feel and under-

ſtand: He can't help wiſhing them well for the Eſteem they ſeem to have for him: He loves to be taken notice of, and admires the *Londoners* for being ſo preſſing in the Offers of their Service to him, for the value of Three-pence or leſs; whereas in the Country at the Shop he uſes, he can have nothing but he muſt firſt tell them what he wants, and, tho' he lays out Three or Four Shillings at a time, has hardly a word ſpoke to him unleſs it be in anſwer to a Queſtion himſelf is forc'd to aſk firſt. This Alacrity in his Behalf moves his Gratitude, and unwilling to diſoblige any, from his Heart he knows not whom to chuſe. I have ſeen a Man think all this, or ſomething like it, as plainly as I could ſee the Noſe in his Face; and at the ſame time move along very contentedly under a Load of Watermen, and with a ſmiling Countenance carry ſeven or eight Stone more than his own Weight, to the Water-ſide.

If the little Mirth I have ſhewn, in the drawing of theſe two Images from low Life, miſ-becomes me, I am ſorry for it, but I promiſe not to be guilty of that Fault any more, and will now without loſs of time proceed with my Argument in artleſs dull Simplicity, and demonſtrate the groſs Error of thoſe, who imagine that the ſocial Virtues and the amiable Qualities that are praiſe-worthy in us, are equally beneficial to the Publick as they are to the Individual Perſons that are poſſeſs'd of them, and that the means of thriving and whatever conduces to the Welfare and real Happineſs of private Families muſt have the ſame Effect upon the whole Society. This I confeſs I have labour'd for all along, and I flatter myſelf not unſucceſsfully: But I hope no body will like a Problem the worſe for ſeeing the Truth of it prov'd more ways than one.

It is certain that the fewer Deſires a Man has and the leſs he covets, the more eaſy he is to himſelf; the more active he is to ſupply his own Wants,

and

and the leſs he requires to be waited upon, the more he will be beloved and the leſs trouble he is in a Family; the more he loves Peace and Concord, the more Charity he has for his Neighbour, and the more he ſhines in real Virtue, there is no doubt but that in proportion he is acceptable to God and Man. But let us be Juſt, what Benefit can theſe things be of, or what earthly Good can they do, to promote the Wealth, the Glory and worldly Greatneſs of Nations? It is the ſenſual Courtier that ſets no Limits to his Luxury; the fickle Strumpet that invents new Faſhions every Week; the haughty Dutcheſs that in Equipage, Entertainments, and all her Behaviour would imitate a Princeſs; the profuſe Rake and laviſh Heir, that ſcatter about their Money without Wit or Judgment, buy every thing they ſee, and either deſtroy or give it away the next Day: the covetous and perjur'd Villain that ſqueez'd an immenſe Treaſure from the Tears of Widows and Orphans, and left the Prodigals the Money to ſpend: It is theſe that are the Prey and proper Food of a full grown Leviathan; or in other words, ſuch is the calamitous Condition of Human Affairs that we ſtand in need of the Plagues and Monſters I named to have all the Variety of Labour perform'd, which the Skill of Men is capable of inventing in order to procure an honeſt Livelihood to the vaſt Multitudes of working Poor, that are required to make a large Society: And it is folly to imagine that Great and Wealthy Nations can ſubſiſt, and be at once Powerful and Polite without.

I proteſt againſt Popery as much as ever *Luther* or *Calvin* did, or Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf, but I believe from my Heart, that the Reformation has ſcarce been more Inſtrumental in rend'ring the Kingdoms and States that have embraced it, flouriſhing beyond other Nations, than the ſilly and capricious Invention of Hoop'd and Quilted Petti-

coats. But if this ſhould be denied me by the Enemies of Prieſtly Power, at leaſt I am ſure that, bar the great Men who have fought for and againſt that Lay-Man's Bleſſing, it has from its firſt beginning to this Day not employ'd ſo many Hands, honeſt induſtrious labouring Hands, as the abominable improvement on Female Luxury I named has done in few Years. Religion is one thing, and Trade is another. He that gives moſt Trouble to thouſands of his Neighbours, and invents the moſt operoſe Manufactures is, right or wrong, the greateſt Friend to the Society.

What a Buſtle is there to be made in ſeveral Parts of the World, before a fine Scarlet or crimſon Cloath can be produced, what Multiplicity of Trades and Artificers muſt be employ'd! Not only ſuch as are obvious, as Wool-combers, Spinners, the Weaver, the Cloath-worker, the Scowrer, the Dyer, the Setter, the Drawer and the Packer; but others that are more remote and might ſeem foreign to it; as the Millwright, the Pewterer and the Chymiſt, which yet are all neceſſary as well as a great Number of other Handicrafts to have the Tools, Utenſils and other Implements belonging to the Trades already named: But all theſe things are done at home, and may be perform'd without extraordinary Fatigue or Danger; the moſt frightful Proſpect is left behind, when we reflect on the Toil and Hazard that are to be undergone abroad, the vaſt Seas we are to go over, the different Climates we are to endure, and the ſeveral Nations we muſt be obliged to for their Aſſiſtance. *Spain* alone it is true might furniſh us with Wool to make the fineſt Cloath; but what Skill and Pains, what Experience and Ingenuity are required to Dye it of thoſe Beautiful Colours! How widely are the Drugs and other Ingredients diſpers'd thro' the Univerſe that are to meet in one Kettle. Allom indeed we have of our own; Argol we might have

from

People ſhould talk of their Ships and Navigation as a peculiar Bleſſing to them, and placing an uncommon Felicity in having an Infinity of Veſſels diſpers'd through the wide World, and always ſome going to and others coming from every part of the Univerſe?

But let us once in our Conſideration on theſe Things confine our ſelves to what the Ships ſuffer only, the Veſſels themſelves with their Rigging and Appurtenances, without thinking on the Freight they carry, or the Hands that work them, and we ſhall find that the Damage ſuſtain'd that way only is very conſiderable, and muſt one Year with another amount to vaſt Sums: The Ships that are founder'd at Sea, ſplit againſt Rocks and ſwallow'd up by Sands, ſome by the fierceneſs of Tempeſts altogether, others by that and the want of Pilots Experience and Knowledge of the Coaſts: The Maſts that are blown down or forc'd to be cut and thrown Over-board, the Yards, Sails and Cordage of different ſizes that are deſtroy'd by Storms, and the Anchors that are loſt: Add to theſe the neceſſary Repairs of Leaks ſprung and other Hurts receiv'd from the rage of Winds, and the violence of the Waves: Many Ships are ſet on Fire by Careleſneſs, and the Effects of ſtrong Liquors, which none are more addicted to than Sailors: Sometimes unhealthy Climates, at others the badneſs of Proviſion breed Fatal Diſtempers that ſweep away the greateſt part of the Crew, and not a few Ships are loſt for want of Hands.

Theſe are all Calamities inſeparable from Navigation, and ſeem to be great Impediments that clog the Wheels of Foreign Commerce. How happy would a Merchant think himſelf, if his Ships ſhould always have fine Weather, and the Wind he wiſh'd for, and every Mariner he employ'd, from the higheſt to the loweſt, be a knowing experienc'd Sailor, and a careful, ſober, good Man! Was ſuch

a Felicity

[a] Felicity to be had for Prayers, what Owner of Ships is there or Dealer in *Europe*, nay the whole World, who would not be all Day long teazing Heaven to obtain ſuch a Bleſſing for himſelf, without regard what Detriment it would do to others? Such a Petition would certainly be a very unconſcionable one, yet where is the Man who imagines not that he has a Right to make it? And therefore, as every one pretends to an equal claim to thoſe Favours, let us, without reflecting on the Impoſſibility of its being true, ſuppoſe all their Prayers effectual and their Wiſhes anſwer'd, and afterwards examine into the Reſult of ſuch a Happineſs.

Ships would laſt as long as Timber-Houſes to the full, becauſe they are as ſtrongly built, and the latter are liable to ſuffer by high Winds and other Storms, which the firſt by our Suppoſition are not to be: So that, before there would be any real occaſion for New Ships, the Maſter Builders now in being and every body under them, that is ſet to Work about them, would all die a Natural Death, if they were not ſtarv'd or come to ſome Untimely End: For in the firſt place, all Ships having proſperous Gales, and never waiting for the Wind, they would make very quick Voyages both out and home: Secondly, no Merchandizes would be damag'd by the Sea, or by ſtreſs of Weather thrown overboard, but the entire Lading would always come ſafe aſhore; and hence it would follow, that three Parts in four of the Merchant-men already made would be ſuperfluous for the preſent, and the ſtock of Ships that are now in the World ſerve a vaſt many Years. Maſts and Yards would laſt as long as the Veſſels themſelves, and we ſhould not need to trouble *Norway* on that ſcore a great while yet. The Sails and Rigging indeed of the few Ships made uſe of would wear out, but not a quarter part ſo faſt as now they do, for they often ſuffer more in one Hour's Storm, than in ten Days Fair Weather.

Anchors

Anchors and Cables there would be ſeldom any occaſion for, and one of each would laſt a Ship time out of mind: This Article alone would yield many a tedious Holiday to the Anchor-Smiths and the Rope-Yards. This general want of Conſumption would have ſuch an Influence on the Timber-Merchants, and all that import Iron, Sail-Cloath, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, &c. that four parts in five of what, in the beginning of this Reflection on Sea-Affairs, I ſaid, made a conſiderable Branch of the Traffick of *Europe*, would be entirely Loſt.

I have only touch'd hitherto on the Conſequences of this Bleſſing in relation to Shipping, but it would be detrimental to all other Branches of Trade beſides, and deſtructive to the Poor of every Country, that exports any thing of their own Growth or Manufacture. The Goods and Merchandizes that every Year go to the Deep, that are ſpoil'd at Sea by Salt Water, by Heat, by Vermin, deſtroy'd by Fire, or loſt to the Merchant by other Accidents, all owing to Storms or tedious Voyages, or elſe the Neglect or Rapacity of Sailors; ſuch Goods, I ſay, and Merchandizes are a conſiderable part of what every Year is ſent abroad throughout the World, and muſt have employ'd great Multitudes of Poor before they could come on board. A Hundred Bales of Cloath that are burnt or ſunk in the *Mediterranean*, are as Beneficial to the Poor in *England*, as if they had ſafely arriv'd at *Smyrna* or *Aleppo*, and every Yard of them had been Retail'd in the Grand Signior's Dominions.

The Merchant may break, and by him the Clothier, the Dyer, the Packer, and other Tradeſmen, the middling People may ſuffer; but the Poor that were ſet to work about them can never loſe. Day-Labourers commonly receive their Earnings once a Week, and all the Working People that were Employ'd either in any of the various Branches of the Manufacture it ſelf, or the ſeveral Land and Water-

Water-Carriages it requires to be brought to perfection, from the Sheep's Back, to the Veſſel it was enter'd in, were paid, at leaſt much the greateſt part of them, before the Parcel came on board. Should any of my Readers draw Concluſions *in infinitum* from my Aſſertions that Goods ſunk or burnt are as beneficial to the Poor as if they had been well ſold and put to their proper Uſes, I would count him a Caviller and not worth anſwering: Should it always Rain and the Sun never ſhine, the Fruits of the Earth would ſoon be rotten and deſtroy'd; and yet it is no Paradox to affirm, that, to have Graſs or Corn, Rain is as neceſſary as the Sunſhine.

In what manner this Bleſſing of Fair Winds and Fine Weather would affect the Mariners themſelves, and the breed of Sailors, may be eaſily conjectured from what has been ſaid already. As there would hardly one Ship in four be made uſe of, ſo the Veſſels themſelves being always exempt from Storms, fewer Hands would be required to Work them, and conſequently five in ſix of the Seamen we have might be ſpared, which in this Nation, moſt Employments of the Poor being overſtock'd, would be but an untoward Article. As ſoon as thoſe ſuperfluous Seamen ſhould be extinct, it would be impoſſible to Man ſuch large Fleets as we could at preſent: But I do not look upon this as a Detriment, or the leaſt Inconveniency: for the Reduction of Mariners as to Numbers being general throughout the World, all the Conſequence would be, that in caſe of War the Maritime Powers would be obliged to fight with fewer Ships, which would be an Happineſs inſtead of an Evil: and would you carry this Felicity to the higheſt pitch of Perfection, it is but to add one deſirable Bleſſing more, and no Nation ſhall ever Fight at all: The Bleſſing I hint at is, what all good Chriſtians are bound to pray for, *viz.* that all Princes and States would

be

true to their Oaths and Promiſes, and Juſt to one another, as well as their own Subjects; that they might have a greater regard for the Dictates of Conſcience and Religion, than thoſe of State Politicks and Worldly Wiſdom, and prefer the Spiritual Welfare of others to their own Carnal Deſires, and the Honeſty, the Safety, the Peace and Tranquility of the Nations they govern, to their own Love of Glory, Spirit of Revenge, Avarice and Ambition.

The laſt Paragraph will to many ſeem a Digreſſion, that makes little for my purpoſe; But what I mean by it is to demonſtrate that Goodneſs, Integrity, and a peaceful Diſpoſition in Rulers and Governors of Nations, are not the proper Qualifications to aggrandize them, and encreaſe their Numbers; any more than the uninterrupted Series of Succeſs that every private Perſon would be bleſt with, if he could, and which I have ſhewn would be Injurious and Deſtructive to a large Society, that ſhould place a Felicity in worldly Greatneſs, and being envied by their Neighbours, and value themſelves upon their Honour and their Strength.

No Man needs to guard himſelf againſt Bleſſings, but Calamities require Hands to avert them. The amiable Qualities of Man put none of the Species upon ſtirring: His Honeſty, his love of Company, his Goodneſs, Content and Frugality are ſo many Comforts to an Indolent Society, and the more real and unaffected they are, the more they keep every thing at Reſt and Peace, and the more they will every where prevent Trouble and Motion it ſelf. The ſame almoſt may be ſaid of the Gifts and Munificence of Heaven, and all the Bounties and Benefits of Nature: This is certain, that the more extenſive they are, and the greater Plenty we have of them, the more we ſave our Labour. But the Neceſſities, the Vices and Imperfections of Man, together with the various Inclemencies of the Air

and

and other Elements, contain in them the Seeds of all Arts, Induſtry and Labour: It is the Extremities of Heat and Cold, the Inconſtancy and Badneſs of Seaſons, the Violence and Uncertainty of Winds, the vaſt Power and Treachery of Water, the Rage and Untractableneſs of Fire, and the Stubborneſs and Sterility of the Earth, that rack our Invention, how we ſhall either avoid the Miſchiefs they may produce, or correct the Malignity of them and turn their ſeveral Forces to our Advantage a thouſand different ways; whilſt we are employ'd in ſupplying the infinite variety of our Wants, which will ever be multiply'd as our Knowledge is enlarged, and our Deſires encreaſe. Hunger, Thirſt and Nakedneſs are the firſt Tyrants that force us to ſtir: afterwards our Pride, Sloth, Senſuality and Fickleneſs are the great Patrons that promote all Arts and Sciences, Trades, Handicrafts and Callings; whilſt the great Task-maſters, Neceſſity, Avarice, Envy and Ambition, each in the Claſs that belongs to him, keep the Members of the Society to their Labour, and make them all ſubmit, moſt of them chearfully, to the Drudgery of their Station; Kings and Princes not excepted.

The greater the Variety of Trades and Manufactures, the more operoſe they are, and the more they are divided in many Branches, the greater Numbers may be contained in a Society without being in one another's way, and the more eaſily they may be render'd a Rich, Potent and Flouriſhing People. Few Virtues employ any Hands, and therefore they may render a ſmall Nation Good, but they can never make a Great One. To be ſtrong and laborious, patient in Difficulties, and aſſiduous in all Buſineſs, are commendable Qualities; but as they do their own Work, ſo they are their own Reward, and neither Art nor Induſtry have ever paid their Compliments to them; whereas the Excellency of Human Thought and Contrivance has been

been and is yet no where more conſpicuous than in Variety of Tools and Inſtruments of Workmen and Artificers, and the multiplicity of Engines, that were all invented either to aſſiſt the Weakneſs of Man, to correct his many Imperfections, to gratify his Lazineſs, or obviate his Impatience.

It is in Morality as it is in Nature, there is nothing ſo perfectly Good in Creatures that it cannot be hurtful to any one of the Society, nor any thing ſo entirely Evil, but it may prove beneficial to ſome part or other of the Creation: So that things are only Good and Evil in reference to ſomething elſe, and according to the Light and Poſition they are placed in. What pleaſes us is good in that Regard, and by this Rule every Man wiſhes well for himſelf to the beſt of his Capacity, with little Reſpect to his Neighbour. There never was any Rain yet, tho' in a very dry Seaſon when Publick Prayers had been made for it, but ſomebody or other who wanted to go abroad wiſhed it might be fair Weather only for that Day. When the Corn ſtands thick in the Spring, and the generality of the Country rejoyce at the pleaſing Object, the Rich Farmer who kept his laſt Year's Crop for a better Market, pines at the ſight, and inwardly grieves at the Proſpect of a plentiful Harveſt. Nay, we ſhall often hear your Idle People openly wiſh for the Poſſeſſions of others, and not to be injurious forſooth add this wiſe Proviſo, that it ſhould be without Detriment to the Owners: But I'm afraid they often do it without any ſuch Reſtriction in their Hearts.

It is a Happineſs that the Prayers as well as Wiſhes of moſt People are inſignificant and good for nothing; or elſe the only thing that could keep Mankind fit for Society, and the World from falling into Confuſion, would be the Impoſſibility that all the Petitions made to Heaven ſhould be granted. A dutiful pretty young Gentleman newly come from his Travels lies at the *Briel* waiting with Impatience

patience for an Eaſterly Wind to waft him over to *England*, where a dying Father, who wants to embrace and give him his Bleſſing before he yields his Breath, lies hoaning after him, melted with Grief and Tenderneſs: In the mean while a *Britiſh* Miniſter, who is to take care of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, is riding Poſt to *Harwich*, and in violent haſte to be at *Ratiſbon* before the Diet breaks up. At the ſame time a rich Fleet lies ready for the *Mediterranean*, and a fine Squadron is bound for the *Baltick*. All theſe things may probably happen at once, at leaſt there is no difficulty in ſuppoſing they ſhould. If theſe People are not Atheiſts, or very great Reprobates, they will all have ſome good Thoughts before they go to Sleep, and conſequently about Bed-time they muſt all differently pray for a fair Wind and a proſperous Voyage. I don't ſay but it is their Duty, and it is poſſible they may be all heard, but I am ſure they can't be all ſerved at the ſame time.

After this I flatter my ſelf to have demonſtrated that, neither the Friendly Qualities and kind Affections that are natural to Man, nor the real Virtues he is capable of acquiring by Reaſon and Self-Denial, are the Foundation of Society; but that what we call Evil in this World, Moral as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that make us ſociable Creatures, the ſolid Baſis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception: That there we muſt look for the true Origin of all Arts and Sciences, and that the Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved.

I could add a thouſand things to enforce and further illuſtrate this Truth with abundance of Pleaſure; but for fear of being troubleſome I ſhall make an End, tho' I confeſs that I have not been half ſo ſollicitous to gain the Approbation of others, as I have ſtudy'd to pleaſe my ſelf in this Amuſement; yet if ever I hear, that by following this Diverſion

I have

have given any to the intelligent Reader, it will always add to the Satisfaction I have received in the Performance. In the hope my Vanity forms of this, I leave him with regret, and concluding with repeating the ſeeming Paradox, the Subſtance of which is advanced in the Title Page; that PRIVATE VICES by the dextrous Management of a skilful Politician may be turned into PUBLICK BENEFITS.

THE END.

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A VINDICATION of the BOOK from the Aſperſions contain'd in a Preſentment of the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, and an abuſive Letter to Lord *C.*

THAT the Reader may be fully inſtructed in the Merits of the Cauſe between my Adverſaries and myſelf, it is requiſite that, before he ſees my Defence, he ſhould know the whole Charge, and have before him all the Accuſations againſt me at large.

The Preſentment of the Grand Jury *is worded thus:*

WE the Grand Jury for the County of *Middleſex* have with the greateſt Sorrow and Concern, obſerv'd the many Books and Pamphlets that are almoſt every Week Publiſhed againſt the Sacred Articles of our *Holy Religion*, and all Diſcipline and Order in the *Church*, and the Manner in which this is carry'd on, ſeems to us, to have a Direct Tendency to *propagate Infidelity*, and conſequently Corruption of all Morals.

We are juſtly ſenſible of the Goodneſs of the Almighty that has preſerved us from the *Plague*, which has viſited our Neighbouring Nation, and for which great Mercy, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to command by his Proclamation that Thanks ſhould be returned to Heaven; but how provoking muſt it be to the Almighty, that his Mercies and Deliverances extended to this Nation,

and

and our Thankſgiving that was publickly commanded for it, ſhould be attended with ſuch flagrant Impieties.

We know of nothing that can be of greater Service to his Majeſty and the Proteſtant Succeſſion (which is happily eſtabliſhed among us for the Defence of the *Chriſtian Religion*) than the Suppreſſion of Blaſphemy and Prophaneneſs, which has a direct Tendency to ſubvert the very Foundation on which his Majeſty's Government is fixed.

So Reſtleſs have theſe *Zealots for Infidelity* been in their Diabolical Attempts againſt Religion, that they have,

Firſt, Openly blaſphemed and denied the Doctrine of the Ever *Bleſſed Trinity*, endeavouring by ſpecious Pretences to revive the *Arian Hereſy*, which was never introduced into any Nation, but the Vengeance of Heaven purſued it.

Secondly, They affirm an Abſolute *Fate*, and deny the *Providence* and Government of the Almighty in the World.

Thirdly, They have endeavoured to ſubvert all Order and Diſcipline of the Church, and by vile and unjuſt Reflections on the *Clergy*, they ſtrive to bring Contempt on all Religion; That by the Libertiniſm of their Opinions they may encourage and draw others into the Immoralities of their Practice.

Fourthly, That a General Libertiniſm may the more effectually be eſtabliſhed, the *Univerſities* are decried, and all *Inſtructions of Youth* in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion are exploded with the greateſt Malice and Falſity.

Fifthly, The more effectually to carry on theſe Works of Darkneſs, ſtudied Artifices and invented Colours have been made uſe of to run down Religion and Virtue as *prejudicial* to Society, and detrimental to the State; and to recommend Luxury, Avarice, Pride, and all kind of Vices, as being neceſſary

ceſſary to *Publick Welfare*, and not tending to the *Deſtruction* of the Conſtitution: Nay, the very *Stews* themſelves have had ſtrained Apologies and forced Encomiums made in their Favour and produced in Print, with Deſign, we conceive, to debauch the Nation.

Theſe Principles having a direct Tendency to the Subverſion of all Religion and Civil Government, our Duty to the *Almighty*, our Love to our *Country*, and Regard to our *Oaths*, oblige us to Preſent,

as the Publiſher of a Book, entituled, The *Fable of the Bees*; or *Private Vices Publick Benefits*. 2d Edit. 1723.

And alſo

as the Publiſher of a Weekly Paper, call'd the *Britiſh Journal*, Numb. 26, 35, 36, and 39.

The Letter I complain of is this;

My Lord,

'TIS Welcome News to all the King's Loyal Subjects and true Friends to the Eſtabliſh'd Government and Succeſſion in the *Illuſtrious Houſe of* Hanover, that your Lordſhip is ſaid to be contriving ſome *Effectual* Means of ſecuring us from the Dangers, wherewith his Majeſty's happy Government ſeems to be threatned by *Catiline*, under the Name of *Cato*; by the Writer of a Book, intituled, *The Fable of the Bees*, &c. and by others of their *Fraternity*, who are undoubtedly uſeful Friends to the *Pretender*, and diligent for his ſake, in labouring to ſubvert and ruin our Conſtitution, under a ſpecious Pretence of defending it. Your Lordſhip's wiſe Reſolution, totally to ſuppreſs ſuch impious Writings, and the Direction already given for having them *Preſented*, immediately, by ſome of the *Grand Juries*, will effectually convince the Nation, that

that no Attempts againſt *Chriſtianity* will be ſuffer'd or endured here. And this Conviction will at once rid Men's Minds of the Uneaſineſs which this flagitious Race of Writers has endeavour'd to raiſe in them; will therefore be a firm Bulwark to the *Proteſtant Religion*; will effectually defeat the Projects and Hopes of the *Pretender*; and beſt ſecure us againſt any Change in the *Miniſtry*. And no *faithful Briton* could be unconcern'd, if the People ſhould imagine any the leaſt Neglect in any ſingle Perſon bearing a part in the Miniſtry, or begin to grow *Jealous*, that any thing could be done, which is not done in defending their Religion from every the leaſt Appearance of Danger approaching towards it. And, my Lord, this *Jealouſy* might have been apt to riſe, if no Meaſures had been taken to diſcourage and cruſh the open Advocates of *Irreligion*. 'Tis no eaſy Matter to get Jealouſy out of one's Brains, when 'tis once got into them. Jealouſy, my Lord! 'Tis as *furious* a Fiend as any of them all. I have ſeen a little thin weak Woman ſo invigorated by a Fit of *Jealouſy*, that five Grenadiers could not hold her. My Lord, go on with your juſt Methods of keeping the People clear of this curſed *Jealouſy*: For amongſt the various Kinds and Occaſions of it, that which concerns their *Religion*, is the moſt violent flagrant frantick Sort of all; and accordingly has, in former Reigns, produced thoſe various Miſchiefs, which your Lordſhip has faithfully determined to prevent, dutifully regarding the Royal Authority, and conforming to the *Example* of his Majeſty, who has graciouſly given *DIRECTIONS* (which are well known to your Lordſhip) *for the preſerving of Unity in the Church; and the Purity of the Chriſtian Faith*. 'Tis in vain to think that the People of *England* will ever give up their *Religion*, or be very fond of any *Miniſtry* that will not ſupport it, as the Wiſdom of this Miniſtry has done, againſt ſuch audacious Attacks as are made

upon

upon it by the *Scriblers*; for *Scribler*, your Lordſhip knows, is the juſt Appellation of every Author, who, under whatever plauſible Appearance of good Senſe, attempts to undermine the Religion, and therefore the Content and Quiet, the Peace and Happineſs of his Fellow-Subjects, by ſubtle and artful and fallacious Arguments and Inſinuations. May Heaven avert thoſe inſufferable Miſeries, which the Church of *Rome* would bring upon us! *Tyranny* is the Bane of Human Society; and there is no Tyranny heavier than that of the *Triple Crown*. And therefore, this free and happy People has juſtly conceived an utter Abhorrence and Dread of Popery, and of every thing that looks like Encouragement or Tendency to it; but they do alſo abhor and dread the Violence offer'd to *Chriſtianity* itſelf, by our Britiſh *Catilines*, who ſhelter their treacherous Deſigns againſt it, under the falſe Colours of Regard and Good-will to our bleſſed Proteſtant Religion, whilſt they demonſtrate, too *plainly* demonſtrate, that the Title of *Proteſtants* does not belong to them, unleſs it can belong to thoſe who are in effect Proteſters againſt *all Religion*.

And really, the People cannot be much blamed for being a little unwilling to part with their Religion: For they tell ye, that there is a *God*; and that *God* governs the World; and that he is wont to bleſs or blaſt a Kingdom, in Proportion to the Degrees of *Religion* or *Irreligion* prevailing in it. Your Lordſhip has a fine Collection of Books; and, which is a finer thing ſtill, you do certainly underſtand them, and can turn to an Account of any important Affair in a trice. I would therefore fain know, whether your Lordſhip can ſhow, from *any Writer*, let him be as *profane* as the *Scriblers* would have him, that any one Empire, Kingdom, Country or Province, Great or Small, did not dwindle and ſink, and was confounded, when it once fail'd of *providing* ſtudiouſly for the *Support of Religion*.

The

The *Scriblers* talk much of the *Roman* Government, and *Liberty*, and the *Spirit* of the *Old Romans*. But 'tis undeniable, that their moſt plauſible Talk of theſe Things is all *Pretence*, and *Grimace*, and an *Artifice* to ſerve the Purpoſes of Irreligion; and by conſequence to render the People *uneaſy*, and ruin the Kingdom. For if they did in *Reality* eſteem, and would faithfully recommend to their Countrymen, the Sentiments and Principles, the main Purpoſes and Practices of the wiſe and proſperous *Romans*, they would, in the firſt place, put us in mind, that *Old Rome* was as remarkable for *obſerving* and promoting *Natural Religion*, as *New Rome* has been for corrupting that which is *Reveal'd*. And as the *Old Romans* did ſignally recommend themſelves to the Favour of Heaven, by their faithful *Care of Religion*; ſo were they abundantly convinced, and did accordingly acknowledge, with *univerſal* Conſent, that their Care of Religion was the *great Means* ‡ of *God*'s preſerving the Empire, and crowning it with Conqueſt and Succeſs, Proſperity and Glory. Hence it was, that when their *Orators* were bent upon exerting their utmoſt in moving and perſuading the People, upon any Occaſion, they ever put them in mind of their *Religion*, if *That* could be any way affected by the Point in debate; not doubting that the People would determine in their *Favour*, if they could but demonſtrate, that the Safety of *Religion* depended upon the Succeſs of their *Cauſe*. And indeed, neither the *Romans*, nor any other Nation upon Earth, did ever ſuffer their *Eſtabliſh'd Religion* to be *openly* ridiculed, exploded, or oppoſed: And I'm ſure, your Lordſhip would not, for all the World, that this Thing ſhould be done with *Impunity* amongſt *Us*, which was never endured in the World

‡ *Quis eſt tam Vecors qui non Intelligat, Numine hoc tantum Imperium eſſe Natum, Auctum, & Retentum?* Cic. Orat. de Haruſp. Reſp.

World before. Did ever any Man, ſince the bleſſed Revelation of the *Goſpel*, run Riot upon *Chriſtianity*, as ſome Men, nay, and ſome few Women too, have lately done? Muſt the *Devil* grow rampant at this Rate, and not to be call'd *Coram Nobis?* Why ſhould not he content himſelf to carry off People in the common Way, the way of Curſing and Swearing, Sabbath-breaking and Cheating, Bribery and Hypocriſy, Drunkenneſs and Whoring, and ſuch kind of Things, as he us'd to do? Never let him domineer in Mens Mouths and Writings, as he does now, with loud, tremendous Infidelity, Blaſphemy and Prophaneneſs, enough to frighten the King's Subjects out of their Wits. We are now come to a ſhort Queſtion: *God*, or the *Devil?* that's the Word; and Time will ſhew, who and who goes together. Thus much may be ſaid at preſent, that thoſe have abundantly ſhewn their Spirit of Oppoſition to Sacred Things, who have not only inveighed againſt the *National* Profeſſion and Exerciſe of Religion; and endeavour'd, with Bitterneſs and Dexterity, to render it *Odious* and *Contemptible*, but are ſollicitous to hinder *Multitudes* of the Natives of this Iſland from having the very *Seeds* of *Religion* ſown among them with Advantage.

Arguments are urged, with the utmoſt Vehemence, againſt the Education of poor Children in the *Charity-Schools*, tho' there hath not one juſt Reaſon been offer'd againſt the Proviſion made for that Education. The Things that have been objected againſt it are *not*, in Fact, true; and nothing ought to be regarded, by ſerious and wiſe Men, as a *weighty* or *juſt* Argument, if it is not a *true* one. How hath *Catiline* the Confidence left to look any Man in the Face, after he hath ſpent more Confidence than moſt Men's whole Stock amounts to, in ſaying, that *this pretended Charity has, in Effect, deſtroy'd all other Charities, which were before given to the Aged, Sick, and Impotent.*

It ſeems pretty clear, that if thoſe, who do *not* contribute to any *Charity-School*, are become more Uncharitable to any other Object than formerly they were; their want of Charity to the one, is not owing to their Contribution to the other. And as to thoſe who *do* contribute to theſe Schools; they are ſo far from being more ſparing in their Relief of other Objects, than they were before, that the poor Widows, the Aged and the Impotent do plainly receive more Relief from *Them*, in Proportion to their Numbers and Abilities, than from any the ſame Numbers of Men under the ſame Circumſtances of Fortune, who do *not* concern themſelves with *Charity-Schools*, in any Reſpect, but in condemning and decrying them. I will meet *Catiline* at the *Grecian* Coffee-Houſe any Day in the Week, and by an Enumeration of particular Perſons, in as great a *Number* as he pleaſeth, demonſtrate the Truth of what I ſay. But I do not much depend upon his giving me the Meeting, becauſe 'tis *his* Buſineſs, not to encourage *Demonſtrations* of the Truth, but to throw *Diſguiſes* upon it; otherwiſe, he never could have allowed himſelf, after repreſenting the Charity-Schools as intended *to breed up Children to Reading and Writing, and a ſober Behaviour, that they may be qualified to be Servants*, immediately to add theſe Words, *A ſort of idle and rioting Vermin, by which the Kingdom is already almoſt devoured*, and *are become every where a publick Nuſance*, &c. What? Is it owing to the *Charity-Schools*, that Servants are become ſo *Idle*, ſuch *rioting Vermin*, ſuch a publick *Nuſance*; that *Women*-Servants turn *Whores*, and the *Men*-Servants, *Robbers*, *Houſe-breakers*, and *Sharpers*? (as he ſays they commonly do.) Is this owing to the *Charity-Schools*? or, if it is *not*, how comes he to allow himſelf the Liberty of repreſenting theſe Schools as a *Means* of *increaſing* this Load of Miſchief, which is indeed too plainly fallen upon the Publick? The *imbibing Principles of Vertue* hath not, uſually, been thought the chief Occaſion

caſion of running into Vice. If the early Knowledge of *Truth*, and of our *Obligations* to it, were the ſureſt Means of *departing* from it, no body would doubt, that the Knowledge of Truth was inſtill'd into *Catiline* very *Early*, and with the utmoſt Care. 'Tis a good pretty Thing in him to ſpread a Report, and to lay ſo much Streſs upon it as he does, that *there is more Collected at the Church Doors in a Day, to make theſe poor Boys and Girls appear in Caps and Livery-Coats, than for all the Poor in a Year.* O rare *Catiline!* This Point you'll carry moſt ſwimmingly; for you have no Witneſſes againſt you, nor any living Soul to contradict you, except the Collectors and Overſeers of the Poor, and all other principal Inhabitants of moſt of the Pariſhes, where any Charity-Schools are, in *England*.

The Jeſt of it is, my Lord, that theſe *Scriblers* would ſtill be thought *good Moral Men*. But, when Men make it their Buſineſs to *miſlead* and *deceive* their Neighbours, and that in Matters of *Moment*, by *diſtorting* and *diſguiſing* the Truth, by *Miſrepreſentations*, and *falſe* Inſinuations; if ſuch Men are not guilty of *Uſurpation*, whilſt they take upon them the Character of *good Moral Men*, then 'tis not Immoral, in any Man, to be *falſe* and *deceitful*, in Caſes where the *Law* cannot touch him for being ſo, and *Morality* bears no Relation to *Truth* and *Fair-Dealing*. However, I ſhall not be very willing to meet one of theſe *moral Men* upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, if I ſhould happen to ride that Way without Piſtols. For I have a Notion, that They who have *no* Conſcience in one Point, don't much abound with it in another. Your Lordſhip, who judges accurately of *Men*, as well as *Books*, will eaſily imagine, if you had no other Knowledge of the Charity-Schools, that there muſt be ſomething very *excellent* in them, becauſe ſuch *kind of Men* as Theſe are ſo warm in *oppoſing* them.

They

They tell you, that theſe Schools are Hindrances to *Husbandry* and to *Manufacture*: As to Husbandry; the Children are not kept in the Schools longer than till they are of Age and Strength to perform the principal Parts of it, or to bear conſtant Labour in it; and even whilſt they *are* under this Courſe of Education, your Lordſhip may depend upon it, that they ſhall never be hindred from working in the Fields, or being employ'd in ſuch Labour as they are capable of, in any Parts of the Year, when they can get ſuch Employment for the Support of their Parents and themſelves. In this Caſe the Parents in the ſeveral Countries are proper Judges of their ſeveral Situations and Circumſtances, and at the ſame time, not ſo very fond of their Childrens getting a little *Knowledge*, rather than a little *Money*, but that they will find *other* Employment for them than going to School, whenever they can get a Penny by ſo doing. And the Caſe is the ſame as to the *Manufactures*; the Truſtees of the Charity-Schools, and the Parents of the Children bred in them, would be thankful to thoſe Gentlemen who *make* the Objection, if they would aſſiſt in *removing* it, by ſubſcribing to a Fund for joyning the Employment of *Manufacture* to the Buſineſs of learning to *Read* and *Write* in the Charity-Schools: *This* would be a *noble* Work: Tis already effected by the Supporters of ſome Charity-Schools, and is aimed at, and earneſtly deſired by all the reſt: But *Rome* was not built in a Day. Till this *great* Thing can be brought about, let the Maſters and Managers of the Manufactures in the ſeveral Places of the Kingdom be ſo charitable as to employ the Poor Children for a certain Number of Hours in every Day in their reſpective Manufactures, whilſt the Truſtees are taking care to fill up their other Hours of the Day in the uſual Duties of the Charity-Schools. 'Tis an eaſy Matter for *Party-men*, for deſigning and perverted Minds, to invent colourable,

ble, fallacious Arguments, and to offer *Railing* under the Appearance of *Reaſoning* againſt the beſt Things in the World. But undoubtedly, no *impartial* Man, who is affected with a *ſerious* Senſe of *Goodneſs*, and a *real* Love of his Country, can think this proper and juſt View of the Charity-Schools liable to any *juſt*, *weighty* Objection, or refuſe to contribute his Endeavours to improve and raiſe them to that *Perfection* which is propos'd in them. In the mean time, let no Man be ſo *weak* or ſo *wicked* as to deny, that when poor Children cannot meet with Employment in any other honeſt Way, rather than ſuffer their tender Age to be ſpent in Idleneſs, or in learning the Arts of Lying and Swearing and Stealing, 'tis true *Charity* to *Them* and good Service done to our Country, to employ them in learning the Principles of *Religion* and *Virtue*, till their Age and Strength will enable them to become Servants in Families, or to be engag'd in Husbandry, or Manufacture, or any kind of Mechanick Trade or Laborious Employment; for to theſe *laborious* Employments are the Charity Children generally, if not always turn'd, as ſoon as they become capable of them: And therefore *Catiline* may be pleas'd to retract his Objection concerning *Shop-keepers* or Retailers of Commodities, wherein he has affirmed, that *their Employments*, which he ſays *ought to fall to the Share of Children of their own Degree*, *are moſtly anticipated and engroſs'd by the Managers of the Charity-Schools.* He muſt excuſe my acquainting your Lordſhip, that this *Affirmation* is in Fact directly *falſe*, which is an Inconvenience very apt to fall upon *his* Affirmations, as it has particularly done upon one of 'em more, which I would mention: For he is not aſham'd roundly to aſſert, *That the Principles of our common People are debauch'd in our Charity-Schools, who are taught as ſoon as they can ſpeak to blabber out* HIGH-CHURCH *and* ORMOND, *and ſo are bred up to be Traytors before they know what Treaſon ſignifies.* Your

Lordſhip,

Lordſhip, and other Perſons of *Integrity*, whoſe Words are the faithful Repreſentatives of their Meaning, would now think, if I had not given you a Key to *Catiline*'s Talk, that he has been fully convinced, that the Children in the Charity-Schools *are bred up to be Traytors*.

My Lord, If any one Maſter be ſuffer'd by the Truſtees to continue in any Charity-School, againſt whom Proof can be brought, that he is diſaffected to the Government, or that he does not as faithfully teach the Children *Obedience* and *Loyalty* to the King, as any other Duty in the Catechiſm, then I will gratify *Catiline* with a Licenſe to pull down the *Schools*, and hang up the Maſters, according to his Heart's Deſire.

Theſe and ſuch Things as theſe are urg'd with the like *Bitterneſs* and as *little Truth* in the Book mention'd above, viz. *The Fable of the Bees*; or, *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, &c. *Catiline* explodes the fundamental Articles of *Faith*, impiouſly comparing the Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity to *Fee-ſa-fum*: This profligate Author of the *Fable* is not only an Auxiliary to *Catiline* in Oppoſition to *Faith*, but has taken upon him to tear up the very Foundations of *Moral Virtue*, and eſtabliſh *Vice* in its Room. The beſt Phyſician in the World did never labour more to purge the *Natural* Body of *bad* Qualities, than this Bumble-Bee has done to purge the Body *Politick* of *good* ones. He himſelf bears Teſtimony to the Truth of this Charge againſt him: For when he comes to the Concluſion of his Book, he makes this Obſervation upon himſelf and his Performance: "After this I flatter my ſelf to have demon-"ſtrated, that neither the friendly Qualities and "kind Affections that are *natural* to Man, nor the "real *Virtues* he is capable of acquiring by *Reaſon* "and Self-denial, are the *Foundation of Society*; but "that what we call *Evil* in this World, *Moral* as "well as *Natural*, is the *Grand Principle* that makes

"us

" us ſociable Creatures, the *ſolid Baſis*, the *Life* and " *Support* of all Trades and Employments without " Exception: That there we muſt look for the " true Origin of all Arts and Sciences, and that *the* " *Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoil'd, if not* " *totally diſſolv'd.*

Now, my Lord, you ſee the *Grand Deſign*, the main Drift of *Catiline* and his Confederates; now the Scene opens, and the ſecret Springs appear; now the Fraternity adventure to ſpeak out, and ſurely no Band of Men ever *dared* to ſpeak at this Rate before; now you ſee the *True Cauſe* of all their Enmity to the poor Charity-Schools; 'tis levell'd againſt *Religion*; *Religion*, my Lord, which the Schools are inſtituted to promote, and which *this Confederacy* is reſolved to deſtroy; for the Schools are certainly one of the greateſt Inſtruments of *Religion* and *Virtue*, one of the firmeſt Bulwarks againſt *Popery*, one of the beſt Recommendations of this People to the Divine Favour, and therefore one of the greateſt Bleſſings to our Country of any thing that has been ſet on Foot ſince our happy *Reformation* and Deliverance from the Idolatry and Tyranny of *Rome*. If any trivial Inconvenience *did* ariſe from ſo excellent a Work, as ſome little Inconvenience attends all human Inſtitutions and Affairs, the Excellency of the Work would ſtill be Matter of *Joy*, and find *Encouragement* with all the *Wiſe* and the *Good*, who deſpiſe ſuch *inſignificant* Objections again it as *other* Men are not aſham'd to raiſe and defend.

Now your Lordſhip alſo ſees the *true Cauſe* of the *Satyr* which is continually form'd againſt the *Clergy* by *Catiline* and his Confederates. Why ſhould Mr. *Hall*'s Conviction and Execution be any more an Objection againſt the Clergy, than Mr. *Layer*'s againſt the Gentlemen of the *Long Robe*? why, becauſe the Profeſſion of the *Law* does not immediately relate to *Religion*: and therefore *Catiline* will allow, that if any Perſons of *that* Profeſſion ſhould

be

be Traytors, or otherwiſe *vicious*, all the reſt may, notwithſtanding the Iniquity of a Brother, be as loyal and virtuous as any other Subjects in the King's Dominions: But becauſe Matters of *Religion are* the profeſs'd *Concern* and the *Employment* of the *Clergy*; therefore *Catiline*'s Logick makes it out as clear as the Day, that if any of *them* be diſaffected to the Government, all the reſt are ſo too; or if any of *them* be chargeable with *Vice*, this Conſequence from it is plain, that All or Moſt of the reſt are as vicious as the Devil can make them. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a particular Vindication of the Clergy, nor is there any Reaſon that I ſhould, for they are already ſecure of your *Lordſhip*'s good Affection to them, and they are able to vindicate themſelves whereſoever ſuch a Vindication is wanted, being as *faithful* and *virtuous* and *learned* a Body of Men as any in *Europe*; and yet they ſuſpend the *Publication* of Arguments in a ſolemn Defence of themſelves, becauſe they neither *expect* nor *deſire* Approbation and Eſteem from *impious* and *abandon'd* Men; and at the ſame Time they cannot doubt that all Perſons, not only of great *Penetration* but of *common Senſe*, do now clearly ſee; that the Arrows ſhot againſt the *Clergy* are intended to wound and deſtroy the *Divine Inſtitution* of the Miniſterial Offices, and to extirpate the *Religion* which the ſacred Offices were appointed to preſerve and promote. This was always *ſuppoſed* and *ſuſpected* by every honeſt and impartial Man; but 'tis now *demonſtrated* by thoſe who before had given Occaſion to ſuch Suſpicions, for they have now openly declared that *Faith* in the Principal Articles of it, is not only needleſs but ridiculous, that the *Welfare* of human Society muſt ſink and periſh under the Encouragement of *Virtue*, and that Immorality is the only *firm* Foundation whereon the Happineſs of Mankind can be built and ſubſiſt. The *Publication* of ſuch Tenets as theſe, an open avow'd Propoſal to extirpate

the *Chriſtian Faith* and all *Virtue*, and to fix *Moral Evil* for the *Baſis* of the Government, is ſo ſtunning, ſo ſhocking, ſo frightful, ſo flagrant an Enormity, that if it ſhould be imputed to us as a *National* Guilt, the *Divine Vengeance* muſt inevitably fall upon us. And how far this Enormity would become a *National Guilt* if it ſhould paſs diſregarded and unpuniſhed, a *Caſuiſt* leſs ſkilful and diſcerning than your Lordſhip may eaſily gueſs: And no doubt your Lordſhip's good Judgment in ſo plain and important a Caſe, has made you, like a wiſe and faithful Patriot, reſolve to uſe your utmoſt Endeavours in your high Station to defend Religion from the bold Attacks made upon it.

As ſoon as I have ſeen a Copy of the *Bill for the better Security of his Majeſty and his happy Government, by the better Security of* Religion *in* Great-Britain, your Lordſhip's *juſt Scheme of Politicks*, your *Love of your Country*, and your *great Services* done to it ſhall again be acknowledg'd by,

MY LORD,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

THEOPHILUS PHILO-BRITANNUS.

Theſe violent Accuſations and the great Clamour every where raiſed againſt the Book, by Governours, Maſters, and other Champions of Charity-Schools, together with the Advice of Friends, and the Reflection on what I owed to myſelf, drew from me the following Anſwer. The candid Reader, in the peruſal of it, will not be offended at the Repetition of ſome Paſſages, one of which he may have met with twice already, when he ſhall conſider that to make my Defence by it ſelf to the Publick, I was obliged to repeat what has been quoted in the Letter, ſince the Paper would unavoidably fall into the Hands of many who had never ſeen either the *Fable of the Bees*, or the Defamatory Letter wrote againſt it.

it. The Anſwer was Publiſhed in the *London Journal* of *Auguſt* 10, 1723, in theſe Words:

WHEREAS in the *Evening-Poſt* of *Thurſday July* 11, a Preſentment was inſerted of the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, againſt the Publiſher of a Book, entituled, *The Fable of the Bees*; or *Private Vices Publick Benefits*; and ſince that, a paſſionate and abuſive Letter has been publiſhed againſt the ſame Book and the Author of it, in the *London Journal* of *Saturday, July* 27; I think myſelf indiſpenſably obliged to vindicate the aboveſaid Book againſt the black Aſperſions that undeſervedly have been caſt upon it, being conſcious that I have not had the leaſt ill Deſign in Compoſing it. The Accuſations againſt it having been made openly in the publick Papers, it is not equitable the Defence of it ſhould appear in a more private Manner. What I have to ſay in my Behalf, I ſhall addreſs to all Men of Senſe and Sincerity, asking no other Favour of them than their Patience and Attention. Setting aſide what in that Letter relates to others, and every thing that is Foreign and Immaterial, I ſhall begin with the Paſſage that is quoted from the Book, *viz. After this, I flatter my ſelf to have demonſtrated, that neither the Friendly Qualities and kind Affections that are natural to Man, nor the real Virtues he is capable of acquiring by Reaſon and Self-denial are the Foundation of Society; but that what we call Evil in this World, Moral as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that makes us ſociable Creatures; the ſolid Baſis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception: That there we muſt look for the true Origin of all Arts and Sciences; and that the Moment Evil ceaſes, the Society muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved.* Theſe Words I own are in the Book, and, being both innocent and true, like to remain there in all future Impreſſions. But I will likewiſe own very freely, that, if I had wrote with a Deſign to be underſtood by the meaneſt Capacities, I would

not have choſe the Subject there treated of; or if I had, I would have amplify'd and explained every Period, talked and diſtinguiſhed magiſterially, and never appeared without the Feſcue in my Hand. As for Example; to make the Paſſage pointed at intelligible, I would have beſtowed a Page or two on the Meaning of the Word *Evil*; after that I would have taught them, that every Defect, every Want was an Evil; that on the Multiplicity of thoſe Wants depended all thoſe mutual Services which the individual Members of a Society pay to each other; and that conſequently, the greater Variety there was of Wants, the larger Number of Individuals might find their private Intereſt in labouring for the good of others, and united together, compoſe one Body. Is there a Trade or Handicraft but what ſupplies us with ſomething we wanted? This Want certainly, before it was ſupply'd, was an Evil, which that Trade or Handicraft was to remedy, and without which it could never have been thought of. Is there an Art or Science that was not invented to mend ſome Defect? Had this latter not exiſted, there could have been no occaſion for the former to remove it. I ſay, p. 308. *The Excellency of human Thought and Contrivance has been, and is yet no where more conſpicuous than in the Variety of Tools and Inſtruments of Workmen and Artificers, and the Multiplicity of Engines, that were all invented, either to aſſiſt the Weakneſs of Man, to correct his many Imperfections, to gratify his Lazineſs, or obviate his Impatience.* Several foregoing Pages run in the ſame ſtrain. But what Relation has all this to Religion or Infidelity, more than it has to Navigation or the Peace in the North?

The many Hands that are employ'd to ſupply our natural Wants, that are really ſuch, as Hunger, Thirſt, and Nakedneſs, are inconſiderable to the vaſt Numbers that are all innocently gratifying the Depravity of our corrupt Nature; I mean the Induſtrious, who get a Livelihood by their honeſt

Labour,

Labour, to which the Vain and Voluptuous muſt be beholden for all their Tools and Implements of Eaſe and Luxury. *The ſhort-ſighted Vulgar, in the Chain of Cauſes, ſeldom can ſee farther than one Link; but thoſe who can enlarge their View, and will give themſelves Leiſure of gazing on the Proſpect of concatenated Events, may in a hundred Places ſee* Good *ſpring up and pullulate from* Evil, *as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs.*

The Words are to be found *p.* 59, in the Remark made on the ſeeming Paradox; that in the Grumbling Hive

The worſt of all the Multitude
Did ſomething for the Common Good:

Where in many Inſtances may be amply diſcovered, how unſearchable Providence daily orders the Comforts of the Laborious, and even the Deliverances of the Oppreſſed, ſecretly to come forth not only from the Vices of the Luxurious, but likewiſe the Crimes of the Flagitious and moſt Abandoned.

Men of Candour and Capacity perceive at firſt Sight, that in the Paſſage cenſured, there is no Meaning hid or expreſſed that is not altogether contained in the following Words: *Man is a neceſſitous Creature on innumerable Accounts, and yet from thoſe very Neceſſities, and nothing elſe, ariſe all Trades and Employments.* But it is ridiculous for Men to meddle with Books above their Sphere.

The *Fable of the Bees* was deſigned for the Entertainment of People of Knowledge and Education, when they have an idle Hour which they know not how to ſpend better: It is a Book of ſevere and exalted Morality, that contains a ſtrict Teſt of Virtue, an infallible Touchſtone to diſtinguiſh the real from the counterfeited, and ſhews many Actions to be faulty that are palmed upon the World for good ones: It deſcribes the Nature and Symptoms of human Paſſions, detects their Force and Diſguiſes;

and traces Self-love in its darkeſt Receſſes; I might ſafely add, beyond any other Syſtem of Ethicks: The whole is a Rhapſody void of Order or Method, but no Part of it has any thing in it that is ſour or pedantick; the Style I confeſs is very unequal, ſometimes very high and rhetorical, and ſometimes very low and even very trivial; ſuch as it is, I am ſatisfied that it has diverted Perſons of great Probity and Virtue, and unqueſtionable good Senſe; and I am in no fear that it will ever ceaſe to do ſo whilſt it is read by ſuch. Whoever has ſeen the violent Charge againſt this Book, will pardon me for ſaying more in Commendation of it, than a Man not labouring under the ſame Neceſſity would do of his own Work on any other Occaſion.

The Encomiums upon Stews complained of in the Preſentment are no where in the Book. What might give a Handle to this Charge, muſt be a Political Diſſertation concerning the beſt Method to guard and preſerve Women of Honour and Virtue from the Inſults of diſſolute Men, whoſe Paſſions are often ungovernable: As in this there is a Dilemma between two Evils, which it is impracticable to ſhun both, ſo I have treated it with the utmoſt Caution, and begin thus: *I am far from encouraging Vice, and ſhould think it an unſpeakable Felicity for a State, if the Sin of Uncleanneſs could be utterly baniſhed from it; but I am afraid it is impoſſible.* I give my Reaſons why I think it ſo; and ſpeaking occaſionally of the Muſick-Houſes at *Amſterdam*, I give a ſhort Account of them, than which nothing can be more harmleſs; and I appeal to all impartial Judges, whether what I have ſaid of them is not ten times more proper to give Men (even the voluptuous of any Taſte) a Diſguſt and Averſion againſt them, than it is to raiſe any criminal Deſire. I am ſorry the Grand-Jury ſhould conceive that I publiſhed this with a Deſign to debauch the Nation, without conſidering that in the firſt Place, there is not a

Sentence

Sentence nor a Syllable that can either offend the chaſteſt Ear, or ſully the Imagination of the moſt vicious; or in the ſecond, that the Matter complained of is manifeſtly addreſſed to Magiſtrates and Politicians, or at leaſt the more ſerious and thinking Part of Mankind; whereas a general Corruption of Manners as to Lewdneſs, to be produced by reading, can only be apprehended from Obſcenities eaſily purchaſed, and every Way adapted to the Taſtes and Capacities of the heedleſs Multitude and unexperienced Youth of both Sexes: but that the Performance, ſo outragiouſly exclaimed againſt, was never calculated for either of theſe Claſſes of People, is ſelf-evident from every Circumſtance. The Beginning of the Proſe is altogether Philoſophical, and hardly intelligible to any that have not been uſed to Matters of Speculation; and the Running Title of it is ſo far from being ſpecious or inviting, that without having read the Book it ſelf, no Body knows what to make of it, whilſt at the ſame time the Price is Five Shillings. From all which it is plain, that if the Book contains any dangerous Tenets, I have not been very ſollicitous to ſcatter them among the People. I have not ſaid a Word to pleaſe or engage them, and the greateſt Compliment I have made them has been, *Apage vulgus. But as nothing* (I ſay, p. 182.) *would more clearly demonſtrate the Falſity of my Notions than that the Generality of the People ſhould fall in with them, ſo I don't expect the Approbation of the Multitude. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any Well-wiſhers, but among the few that can think abſtractly, and have their Minds elevated above the Vulgar.* Of this I have made no ill Uſe, and ever preſerved ſuch a tender Regard to the Publick, that when I have advanced any uncommon Sentiments, I have uſed all the Precautions imaginable, that they might not be hurtful to weak Minds that might caſually dip into the Book. When (*pag.* 181.) I owned, *That it was my Sentiment that no Society*

could

could be raiſed into a rich and mighty Kingdom, or ſo raiſed ſubſiſt in their Wealth and Power for any conſiderable Time, without the Vices of Man, I had premiſed, what was true, *That I had never ſaid or imagined, that Man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty Kingdom, as in the moſt pitiful Commonwealth:* Which Caution, a Man leſs ſcrupulous than myſelf might have thought ſuperfluous, when he had already explained himſelf on that Head in the very ſame Paragraph, which begins thus: *I lay down as a firſt Principle, that in all Societies, great or ſmall, it is the Duty of every Member of it to be good; that Virtue ought to be encouraged, Vice diſcountenanced; the Laws obeyed, and the Tranſgreſſors puniſhed.* There is not a Line in the Book that contradicts this Doctrine, and I defy my Enemies to diſprove what I have advanced, *p.* 182, that *if I have ſhewn the Way to worldly Greatneſs, I have always without Heſitation preferr'd the Road that leads to Virtue.* No Man ever took more Pains not to be miſconſtrued than my ſelf: Mind p. 182. *when I ſay that Societies cannot be raiſed to Wealth and Power, and the Top of Earthly Glory, without Vices; I don't think that by ſo ſaying I bid Men be vicious, any more than I bid them be quarrelſome or covetous, when I affirm, that the Profeſſion of the Law could not be maintained in ſuch Numbers and Splendor, if there was not abundance of too ſelfiſh and litigious People.* A Caution of the ſame Nature I had already given towards the End of the Preface, on Account of a palpable Evil inſeparable from the Felicity of *London.* To ſearch into the real Cauſes of Things imports no ill Deſign, nor has any Tendency to do harm. A Man may write on Poyſons, and be an excellent Phyſician. Page 307, I ſay, *No Man needs to guard himſelf againſt Bleſſings, but Calamities require Hands to avert them.* And *p.* 308, *It is the Extremities of Heat and Cold, the Inconſtancy and Badneſs of Seaſons, the Violence and Uncertainty of Winds, the vaſt Power and Treachery of Water, the Rage and Untractableneſs of Fire, and the Stubbornneſs and Sterility of the Earth, that rack our*

Invention,

Invention, how we ſhall either avoid the Miſchiefs they produce, or correct the Malignity of them, and turn their ſeveral Forces to our own Advantage a thouſand different Ways. Whilſt a Man is enquiring into the Occupations of vaſt Multitudes, I cannot ſee why he may not ſay all this and much more, without being accuſed of depreciating and ſpeaking ſlightly of the Gifts and Munificence of Heaven; when at the ſame time he demonſtrates, that without Rain and Sunſhine this Globe would not be habitable to Creatures like ourſelves. It is an out-of-the-way Subject, and I would never quarrel with the Man who ſhould tell me that it might as well have been let alone: Yet I always thought it would pleaſe Men of any tolerable Taſte, and not be eaſily loſt.

My Vanity I could never conquer, ſo well as I could wiſh; and I am too proud to commit Crimes; and as to the main Scope, the Intent of the Book, I mean the View it was wrote with, I proteſt that it has been with the utmoſt Sincerity, what I have declared of it in the Preface, where at the bottom of the fourth Page you will find theſe Words: *If you ask me, why I have done all this,* cui bono? *and what Good theſe Notions will produce? truly, beſides the Reader's Diverſion, I believe none at all; but if I was ask'd, what naturally ought to be expected from them? I would anſwer, that in the firſt Place the People who continually find Fault with others, by reading them would be taught to look at home, and examining their own Conſciences, be made aſham'd of always railing at what they are more or leſs guilty of themſelves; and that in the next, thoſe who are ſo fond of the Eaſe and Comforts of a great and flouriſhing Nation, would learn more patiently to ſubmit to thoſe Inconveniencies, which no Government upon Earth can remedy, when they ſhould ſee the Impoſſibility of enjoying any great Share of the firſt, without partaking likewiſe of the latter.*

The firſt Impreſſion of the *Fable of the Bees*, which came out in 1714, was never carpt at, or publickly taken Notice of; and all the Reaſon I can think on

why

why the ſecond Edition ſhould be ſo unmercifully treated, tho' it has ſo many Precautions which the former wanted, is an Eſſay of Charity and Charity-Schools, which is added to what was printed before. I confeſs that it is my Sentiment, that all hard and dirty Work ought in a well-govern'd Nation to be the Lot and Portion of the Poor, and that to divert their Children from uſeful Labour till they are fourteen or fifteen Years old, is a wrong Method to qualify them for it when they are grown up. I have given ſeveral Reaſons for my Opinion in that Eſſay, to which I refer all impartial Men of Underſtanding, aſſuring them that they will not meet with ſuch monſtrous Impiety in it as is reported. What an Advocate I have been for Libertiniſm and Immorality, and what an Enemy to *all Inſtructions of Youth in the Chriſtian Faith*, may be collected from the Pains I have taken on Education for above ſeven Pages together: And afterwards again, *page* 253, where ſpeaking of the Inſtructions the Children of the Poor might receive at Church; *from which*, I ſay, *or ſome other Place of Worſhip, I would not have the meaneſt of a Pariſh that is able to walk to it, be Abſent on Sundays*, I have theſe Words: *It is the Sabbath, the moſt uſeful Day in Seven, that is ſet apart for Divine Service and Religious Exerciſe, as well as reſting from bodily Labour; and it is a Duty incumbent on all Magiſtrates to take a particular Care of that Day. The Poor more eſpecially, and their Children, ſhould be made to go to Church on it, both in the Fore and the Afternoon, becauſe they have no Time on any other. By Precept and Example they ought to be encouraged to it from their very Infancy: The wilful Neglect of it ought to be counted Scandalous; and if downright Compulſion to what I urge might ſeem too harſh and perhaps impracticable, all Diverſions at leaſt ought ſtrictly to be prohibited, and the Poor hindered from every Amuſement Abroad, that might allure or draw them from it.* If the Arguments I have made uſe of are not convincing, I deſire they may be refuted, and I will acknowledge it as a Favour

in any one that ſhall convince me of my Errour, without ill Language, by ſhewing me wherein I have been miſtaken: But Calumny, it ſeems, is the ſhorteſt Way of confuting an Adverſary, when Men are touch'd in a ſenſible Part. Vaſt Sums are gather'd for theſe Charity-Schools, and I underſtand human nature too well to imagine, that the Sharers of the Money ſhould hear them ſpoke againſt with any Patience. I foreſaw therefore the Uſage I was to receive, and having repeated the common Cant that is made for Charity-Schools, I told my Readers, *page* 216, *This is the general Cry, and he that ſpeaks the leaſt Word againſt it, is an uncharitable, hard-hearted and inhuman, if not a wicked, profane and Atheiſtical Wretch.* For this Reaſon it cannot be thought, that it was a great Surprize to me, when in that extraordinary Letter to Lord *C.* I ſaw my ſelf call'd *profligate Author; the Publication of my Tenets, an open and avowed Propoſal to extirpate the Chriſtian Faith and all Virtue*, and what I had done *ſo ſtunning, ſo ſhocking, ſo frightful, ſo flagrant an Enormity*, that it cry'd for the Vengeance of Heaven. This is no more than what I have always expected from the Enemies to Truth and fair Dealing, and I ſhall retort nothing on the angry Author of that Letter, who endeavours to expoſe me to the publick Fury. I pity him, and have Charity enough to believe that he has been impoſed upon himſelf, by truſting to Fame and the Hearſay of others; For no Man in his Wits can imagine that he ſhould have read one quarter Part of my Book, and write as he does.

I am ſorry if the Words *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, have ever given any Offence to a well-meaning Man. The Myſtery of them is ſoon unfolded when once they are rightly underſtood; but no Man of Sincerity will queſtion the Innocence of them, that has read the laſt Paragraph, where I take my Leave of the Reader, *and conclude with repeating the ſeeming Paradox, the Subſtance of which is advanced*

advanced in the Title Page; that Private Vices *by the dextrous Management of a skilful Politician, may be turn'd into* Publick Benefits. Theſe are the laſt Words of the Book, printed in the ſame large Character with the reſt. But I ſet aſide all what I have ſaid in my Vindication; and if in the whole Book call'd, *The Fable of the Bees*, and preſented by the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex* to the Judges of the *King's Bench*, there is to be found the leaſt Tittle of Blaſphemy or Profaneneſs, or any thing tending to Immorality or the Corruption of Manners, I deſire it may be publiſh'd; and if this be done without Invective, perſonal Reflections, or ſetting the Mob upon me, Things I never deſign to anſwer, I will not only Recant, but likewiſe beg Pardon of the offended Publick in the moſt ſolemn Manner; and (if the Hangman might be thought too good for the Office) burn the Book my ſelf at any reaſonable Time and Place my Adverſaries ſhall be pleaſed to appoint.

The Author of the Fable of the Bees.

F I N I S.

1 Sir Walter Scott
4 John Wilson Esq
7 W. Wordsworth Esq.
10 Thomas Moore Esq
13 Sir David Wilkie
16 Sir Humphrey Davy

MR. J. FLETCHER,

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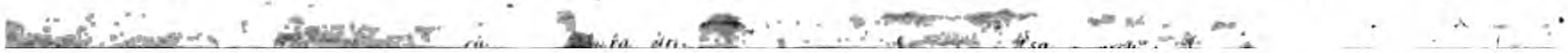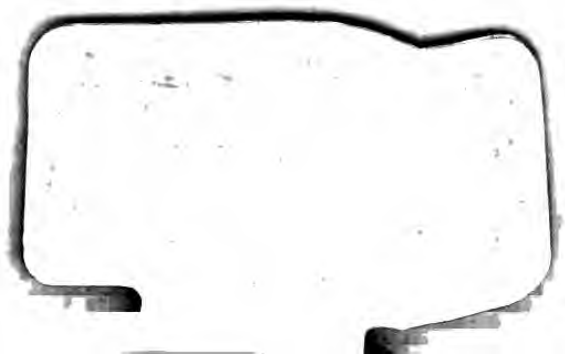
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