# THOUGHTS

ON

# TRADE,

ANDA

### PUBLICK SPIRIT.

Consider'd under the

#### Following HEADS,

VIZ.

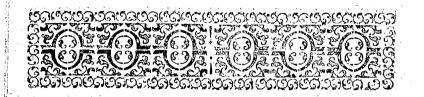
I. Companies in Trade: IV. Corruptions in the III. Stock-jobbers. Law and Public Offices. V. Of a Public Spirit.

Humbly Dedicated to all Lovers of their

LONDON:

Country.

Printed for the Author. 1716!



THE

### PREFACE.



Aving a passionate Love for my Country, a Zeal for Honesty, Vertue, and Religion, and a Detestation for Knaves of all

Kinds, I cou'd not help communicating the following Thoughts; but yet having as mean an Opinion of my own Performance as any body, and never before venturing to appear after this Manner in the World, I first gave a fight of the Manuscript to several Friends, who perswaded me to print it, as a Treatise which might be of Service to the Publick; yet not depending on their Judgment alone, I apply'd my self to a samous Author, a Member of Parliament, that

#### The PREFACE.

of late Years has made himself very Remarkable by his Writings, who after a mature Consideration, the Book (at his earnest Request) being left some Weeks with him, feem'd very much to approve of the Work, not only in bare Words, but in a more extraordinary Way, by taking great Pains in making an Abstract of it, which he shew'd me; but what Use he will make of that Abstract, or Copy of the Book, which I believe he has, except some few Additions fince, whether in the Parliament House, or out of it, I cannot tell; however, this for some Reasons necessitated, as well as encourag'd me to let it see the light.

These were the Motives for publishing this little Book, very little in respect of the copious, and weighty Subjects it ventures to treat off. But now for the Objections which I have often heard against all Undertakings of this kind;

First,

#### The PREFACE.

First, That there is such an universal Degeneracy, or Corruption of our Manners, and Morals, that the Age has no taste of, or will relish any Thing of this Nature.

Secondly, That the Persons I declaim against, such as knavish Lawyers, Stock-jobbers, &c. are so formidable for Number, Riches, and Power, that 'tis great Vanity to think such a feeble Effort as a little Pamphlet, writ by a poor obscure Author, can any ways shake the strong Foundations they are fixt on.

Thirdly, That 'tis also as great a Folly, for any one who has a mind to be an Author, to choose such a Subject as will make the most numerous and powerful Part of Mankind his Enemies; and the other part (who seems to lament the Evil of the times) but lukewarm Friends, who think at best such Subjects are dry, dull, and already worn threadbare. But as all Authors have some Ends

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#### The PREFACE.

in writing, and most People will allow no other Ends but either getting Money by the Sale of their Works, or Preferment, and sometimes both; so the Aim of these Writers must not be so much what is beneficial to their Country, as what will answer the Ends beforementioned; therefore those in Power must be complimented, their Vices sooth'd, and all Things said to go very well.

Notwithstanding these Disadvantages, I had a secret Impulse, that twas my Duty (let others think and act as they please) to declare what I knew of our Distempers; as much as in me lay to be an Advocate for the Miserable and Oppress'd, and to the utmost of my small Skill, search the national Wounds to the bottom, let the Incisions be never so deep; and whoever despises this Book, or treats it with the utmost Contempt, may know, if they will, that God's Arm is not shorten'd, nor his Power lessen'd,

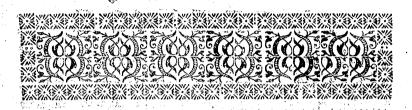
#### The PREFACE.

fen'd, for if he pleases, he can now, as he hath formerly, by mean Instruments bring great Events to pass, to whose good Providence we must leave the Success of all our Endeavours.

This Book being writ in lose Papers, some of which were through Carelesness omitted in the printing, therefore the Reader is desired to turn to the Appendix at the later end of the Book, when he comes to each of the following Pages; Page 39, read Numb. 1. in the Appendix. Page 92 N°. 2. Page 101 N°. 3. Page 113 N°. 4. Page 124 N°. 5.

The Reader is desir'd to excuse the litteral Mistakes of the Printer.

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### THOUGHTS

## TRADE,

ANDA

Publick Spirit, &c.



LMIGHTY God, in his Argument's great Wisdom, gave diffe-that Trade rent Products, or Blessings ought to be to most Nations; and this mons cou'd not be otherwise, according to the Eternal

Laws of Nature which he has establish'd: For as Nations are situated in different Climates, of Heat and Cold, &c. their Productions must consequently be also different as to Kind and Value; and this God ordain'd to promote Industry, Commerce, and mutual Correspondence between the Inhabitants of one

Of Companies in Trade.

Country and another, and so to cultivate Friendship, Religion, Learning, Arts, ho. nest Trade, and Gain amongst Mankind. which is all that is truly valuable in this Life; and by this Men are distinguish'd from other Creatures, in contributing to each others Welfare; but that Man who thinks he is born for himself only, or Company of Men that goes about to obstruct, or hinder this general Good, is an Enemy, or Enemies to the rest of the Society, which is infinitely the greatest Number, and whose Prosperity ought chiefly to be consider'd; for as Nation shou'd Trade with Nation, so all the Subjects of any particular Nation, by their Birthrights, have equally a Title to Trade where they can with the best Advantage: This is undoubtedly the Grand Magna Charta that God has granted to the Children of Men, the Charter of the whole World, where the People are all Incorporated. Then what shall we fay to that Man, or Company of Men, who exclude the rest of Mankind from this common Benefit, and Monopolize any Branch of Trade to themselves; they may as justly pretend to engross Sun-shine, or Rain: Were the common Bleffings, and Benefits of Life, made by the great Creator for the Use of particular Societies, who are not One in a Million to the rest of the

Of Companies in Trade.

Community? No, certainly all Men in those Respects are put upon an equal Level by God, who like a bountiful and impartial Benefactor hath given some Bleffings in Common, and without dispute Trade is One, which like his other Gifts is rewarded more, or less, according to the good, or evil Use made of it; but for particular Men to monopolize Trade, is against the Laws of God, Nature, and the true Policy of all Nations.

This being premis'd, naturally leads us Abufes pur to consider the Abuses put upon Trade in upon Trade England, by Sets of Men call'd Governors, by Compa-Deputy-Governors; Directors, &c. exclufive of the rest of their Fellow Subjects. If salus Populi est suprema Lex, be agreed to by every one, why do we fuffer fuch notorious Encroachments upon this Divine Law, by certain Numbers of Men who love no body but themselves, and like Conjurers, draw Circles about them, and give to the Devil all that are without. But to come to Particulars, we will take notice of some Branches of Trade almost lost, and others utterly ruin'd by being put upon this false Bottom, by self-designing Persons: For Example, the African Trade, which Examtle's was first discover'd by Sir Nicholas Crifpe sthe Afria Trade that brought us Gold, Ivory, can Trade, Slaves, &c. for such Trisles as Beads, Bu-

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Of Companies in Trade.

gles, and foolish knick knacks; but present. ly this rich Trade was vested in a Company, and such a vast Reputation it had, that from a Hundred Pound a Share, it rise to Four Hundred and Eighty, and this was the time for the Managers to get Estates by felling Shares; but after they had made their Market this way, they took so little care of the Trade which might have been so beneficial to the Publick, that by their Avarice, Negligence, ill Management, and leaving it Unguarded, the French, Dutch, &c. have got into it, so that at last the Hundred Pound Shares fell from Four Hundred and Eighty, to Forty Shillings, to the Destruction of the Trade, and many Families, and now 'tis in a manner for ever lost to the Kingdom. So was the Fate of the Hudson's Bay, Whale Fishery, Spice Trade, &c.

From this Corruption of Companies in Corrupti. Trade, breeds the Vermine call'd Stockon of Com jobbers, who prey upon, destroy, and dis-Trade pro- courage all Industry and honest Gain, for seeds the no fooner is any Trading Company erected, Stock-job or any villanous Project to cheat the Publick set up, but immediately 'tis divided into Shares, and then traded for in Exchange Aller, before 'tis known whether the Project has any intrinsick Value in it, or no; if there is any real Value (which very few

Of Stock-jobbers.

of them ever had) the Consequence of Ill Conse-Stock-jobbing it is, that instead of carrying stockon the Design by Art and Labour, which jobbing. is wholly neglected, all the wicked Artifice is us'd (of which these Gentlemen are great Masters) to put a counterfeit Value where there is no real one, and so in effect pick the Blind, Unwary, Ignorant Peoples Pockets.

If a Defign was never fo folid to promote Industry and Trade, Stock-jobbing will

effectually damn it in its Infancy.

Again, if a Trade was never fo prosperous, and long standing, Stock-jobbing will at last prove fatal to it; for when these National Pick-pockets have the handling it, there is no farther need of venturing their Money in Ships and Cargoes to the farthest Part of the World, but to Cruise and Pyrate in Exchange Alley, where they meet with vast Numbers of Prizes: 'Tis abominable to fee the Royal Exchange, the noblest Burse in Europe, which ought to be a Palace for Princes. for fo may the Honourable Merchants be call'd, turn'd into a Den of Thieves.

What chiefly supports the Kingdom, are those honest Trades, and fair way of Merchandize that the Stock-jobbers had never the handling of, viz. the Turkey, West India, Spanish, Portugal and Baltick, but if any one wishes the Destruction of these Trades, and this Country into the

Bargain, let 'em contrive to erect 'em in. to Companies, divide them into Shares, and so consequently Stock-jobb 'em, and then they will do their Business effectually.

Suppose the Newcastle, or Colliery Trade, which is a Nursery for our Navy, and the best Seamen in the World, had been erected into a Company, and so Stock-jobb'd,

what would have come of it?

How these Companies, Funds, and Stock. companies, jobbing have ruin'd personal Credit, so ne. gobbing the cessary for the Support of Trade, and ma-Ruin of ny Families, let all the World judge; for as the Body Politick may be compar'd to the Body Natural, so the Coin of a Kingdom may be compar'd to the Vital Blood in the Body of a Man, which if it lodges only in one part, and does not duly circulate throughout the whole, causes Plurisies, Apoplexies, Convulsions; and, in short, endangers, or destroys the Constitution; for before these unchristian Ways of Tricking and Cheating our Neighbours were us'd, and People were not tempted to let their Money run in these corrupt Channels, there were some Compassion and Humanity to be found, or at least most People, rather than let their Money liedead by them, wou'd venture to lend it to some honest Tradesman, or any bopeful Fellow to improve for them, which was of that general Benefit,

Of Stock-jobbers.

that the Person to whom 'twas lent, was often made by it, and the Lender had bonest Interest for his Money. But now the Case is so alter'd, that 'tis Ridiculous to talk of borrowing Money on Personal Security, if a small Sum wou'd save a Man and his Family from utter Destruction, and the Lender run little or no Risque.

Let all Mens Experience speak as to the Truth of these Hardships, and fatal Missortunes brought upon the Midling, Industrious, and poor Sort of People by these Muck-Worms, together with the infinite Number of Bankrupts, and broken Tradesmen; the Goals in the Kingdom cramb'd full of miserable Debtors, are too many mournful Evidences.

'Tis incredible to conceive the Wealth that shou'd be employ'd in bonest Trade, diverted into this Channel, and wholly apply'd to this curfed way of Gaming, and by what devilish Arts they support it, to the abusing the Government as well as the People; for like the late French King, in lowring and raising the Value of his Coin, and so plundering his Subjects, these worthy Gentlemen, the Stock-jobbers, by forging falle News, raise and fall spreading the Stocks, all the Commodity they deal in, false Rufor when their Hands are full, then they of the Arts are pleas'd to afford the Nation very good of Stock-

News, jobbers.

Ö

Of Stock-jobbers.

News, and so raise them as high as ever they can, and then dispose of them; in a Day or two afterwards there is a sudden Turn of Affairs, and we have dismal Tidings, for which they never want Vouchers, and so fall Stocks Five or Six & Cent. more, or less, for them to buy in again: Nay, some of these Fellows have the Confidence to deal for Thousands of Pounds in these Stocks, tho' they have not a Groat of their own, beyond the Impudence of a Levanting, or sharping Gamester, who sets a great Sum of Money on a Throw of the Dice without a Penny in his Pocket, only venturing a kicking against a round Sum.

But what is more aggravating, is, that these wretched Men thrive best when the thrives best Nation is in a Ferment, in times of War, War, Re- Rebellion, and publick Calamity, which bellion, they make a Market of, to vent their Lies and pub- and Cheats in, which are of that malignant Nature, that as it poisons the People, so it has a very bad and dangerous Effect on the Government, because as most weak People take Stocks to be the Weather Glass of the State; and as they Ebb or Flow, Rife or Fall, fo they judge of the Health or Sickness of the Publick, by Consequence when the Stocks Sinks pub are low, or run down; Navy, Victualling liek Credit. Bills, and other publick Credit languishes, and bears a great Discount; this has a very

Of Stock-jobbers.

pernicious Influence, for they who have those Bills, and want their Money before their Bills come in course to be paid, or doubt by the ill Situation of Affairs they will never be paid, oblige, or frighten them fo, as to fell at great Loss; and when they agree upon any new Contract, make this Discount as an Argument to enhance the Price of their Goods, and so the Govern-The Goment suffers considerably, besides the dis-vernment, couraging of the People, and spoiling Trade Subject, by these Forgeries; and no doubt of it, to suffers evebuy up these Bills is some part of these Gen-the Stocktlemens Traffick, which is a Trade no bet-jobbing ter than those Rogues have, who when Trade. their Neighbours Houses are on Fire, run away with their Goods; and who knows, feeing Riots, Insurrections and Rebellion, are so gainful to these Sort of Men, they may not have some hand in stirring them up, or at least keeping them up, by Jpreading seditious Rumours; this is certain, they contribute greatly to them one Way, that is, by bringing Poverty and Confusion on the Kingdom.

'Twou'd fill a large Volume to write a full By suffer-History of all their Rogueries, and what bad ing Stock-Consequence it is to the Kingdom, but this I &c. many shall observe, that by suffering these Villanies other arise many other Cheats in different Shapes, Cheats in tho' all Off-springs of those cursed Parents, Shapes a-fine rise

fuch rife

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fuch as Projects calculated only to amuse the Publick, which of late Years we have had plentiful Crops, and every Season is too A List of fruitful of them; for Instances, the Royal Projects. Linnen Manufactory Project, the Salt Petre, the Paper, the Mine Adventure, the Lute-string, the Diving, the Dipping, the Japanning, the Venetian Mettal, and great Numbers more; but lately, as if the Devil had a mind to deal with us by wholefale, a vast Number of Infects, numerous as the Egyptian Locusts, set up Lotteries, and Lotteries Offices for the Improvement of small Sums , of Money for the Benefit of the Poor; and Improve- they had such Emulation of each other, ment of that striving who shou'd offer the largest for the Be- Advantage to the ignorant People, in ornefit of the der to gull them of their Money, they came at last to propose, that whoever put in but Ten Shillings by prudently withdrawing it out, and putting it in again, a Man shou'd get Five Hundred Pound in one Year, fo gross they thought the Peoples Understandings to be thus horridly impos'd on; but so it was, for by a modest Calculation, within the Bills of Mortality, the poor People were in a manner robb'd by these Miscreants of above a Hundred Thousand Pounds; and they had not been down to this Day, but the Coarseness of the Villany grated fo hard on the Populacy, that they

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were going to set Fire to all their Houses;
By Projes therefore the Devil was refolv'd for the fu- By Pro ture to appear more like a Gentleman, and now has begun to liquor his Boots, and fets up for an Oil Projector, and has writ several learn'd Treatifes on this Subject, and very modestly calls every Man a Fool or Knave that has not a mind to let him finger their Money; but till this last Cheat is blown up, as all the rest have been, perhaps we may not have a new one, tho' we us'd to have feveral at a time upon the Anvil, \* but the Times now will not \*There are admit of above one grand Cheat in a Year, three or which is sufficient, with the help of the four now Devil, Companies, Stock-jobbers, and o-dell'd to ther Retailers, in Mischief, to ruin the appear at Nation if not timely remedied.

It feems worthy of Observation to see how these Projectors manage their Mat-

ters.

First, The Projector finds out some fair-The Mefac'd Project, fuch as getting Silver out of thod how the Mountains in Wells Silver out of Projectors the Mountains in Wales, Salt Petre from manage Bun-hill, or Tom-Turds-fields, Oyl from their Mat-Beech mast, and many such like.

Secondly, He procures an Act of Parlia-

ment, or Patent.

Thirdly, Takes a large House, makes a great Figure, opens Books for Subscriptions, proposes prodigious and incredible Advan-

tages

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tages to all that will venture their Money

to carry on his Project.

The Fourth Thing the Projector does, is to engage some topping Dons to subscribe large Sums: These topping Dons are made Use of as the Projector's Decoy-Ducks, to draw in other People; but they feldom pay Six-pence, or venture Six pence; or if they do pay any Money openly, 'tis privately return'd to them by the Projector.

These Decoy-Ducks set the Wheel a going; they generally employ Brokers on the Exchange to cry up the Reputation of the Project; if the Shares fell well, the Decoy-Ducks sell out, pay the Projector what they fubscribed for, and often get Hundreds, or Thousands of Pounds by Virtue of Pimp alle Pimp; or at worst, whatever the Shares sell for, they can but divide the Spoil with the Projector, for 'tis all clear Gains.

These are some of the general Methods and Rules Projectors steer by, besides many Designs by other Tricks and Rogueries, as Publishing Cheats and Books and Advertisements, which, tho they are fluft with monstrous Absurdities, Hyberboles, and Lies, yet with fuch a Quackish Cant as always deludes and carries away great Numbers of filly People to a Credibility, as proves often fatal to them; but as this weak and unthinking Part of Mankind are commonly dazled with Shew,

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Shew, easily impos'd upon by a View of vast Profit, without examining into the Probability or Possibility of the thing proposed, so a Stop, in my humble Opinion. ought to be put to this vile Way of Cheating the Vulgar fort of People. I know 'tis often faid, That if People will be so foolish and credulous as to be gull'd out of their Money by knavish and ridiculous Projects, and Stock-jobbing, and never be warned, let them take it for their Pains; yet this, with Submission, is no right Way of Reafoning; for 'tis our Duty, first, as Chri-our Duty stians, secondly, as we love and value the to binder Publick Good, to hinder those by all law-recan, ful Ways and Means, who are not so wise from being as our felves, from ruining, or running cheated. themselves to Destruction. We ought to take the Knife out of any Man's Hands that is going to cut his own Throat, or prevent him from hanging himself, which Poverty and Despair are the first Steps to. Mad Mens Hands must be tied, that they might not do themselves a Mischief, as well as endanger others. The Publick Good, and Private, must be consider'd jointly together; for instance, A Man has certainly a Right to his own Money so far that his Prince cannot touch a Farthing of it, much less his Fellow Subject, but in a legal Way, and dispose of this Money as he thinks fit with-

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out Controul; but yet this Rule is not without Exception; for a Man shall not Game extravagantly, he shall not melt down, nor otherwise destroy this Money, or above such a Sum carry it out of the Realm; for tho' he has the Property of it. 'tis in one Sense the Nation's Money, the King's Coin, fo it should have as little Mijuse made of it as possible; for this Money is not only to do him good, but it is to be handed to others for them to reap a like Benefit by, in the honest Way of Commerce and Trade; fo that well-meaning, working People, who by their Industry and Labour have got a little before-hand, to keep them in a Fit of Sickness, or other Casualties, should have as much Restraint as fuits with Justice and their own Good, laid on them, not foolishly to throw away that which they have been long getting by hard Labour, at once, in a villanous Project, calculated only to impose on their Weakness and Ignorance.

But the But the main Business, and chiefest Care chief Business of all, ought to be taken to put down (as a Law to the Parliament did the Lotteries) or disput a stop courage the knavish Projectors, at least to those prevent them from setting up their Whims which are and Chimeras, with no other Design than pernicious to impose upon and rob, soolish innocent to the Publick.

People, and get Estates on the Spoils of the

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Publick. But for footh, the Advocates for the Projectors and Stock-jobbers pretend that 'tis not in the Power of the Parliament to suppress Projects and Stock-jobbing; for (fay they) 'tis against Magna Charta for any Man to be hinder'd from disposing of his Property as he thinks fit; but the Parliament did (as before mention'd) put down the Lotteries, which had encreased to such Numbers, and rose to such a Pitch, as would have been the Ruin of Trade, and many poor Families, if a Stop had not been put to them. But with all Humility and humble Submission to that August Assembly, (if better and more effectual Means are not found out) I here propose Three, none of which are against Magna Charta.

First, In regard those delusive Arts before Methods described were unknown to our Fore-sa-humbly thers, and therefore our Ancient Laws are proposed to either desective therein, or so far doubtful, those Evils. as not to restrain, or sufficiently discourage such Practices. That therefore the Legis-Knavish lature will be pleased (as soon as convenient) Projects to particularly to distinguish them by some guished by criminal Stamp, and more effectual Law some crithan is now generally known, or understamp. Stamp. Stamp. Stamp. In the mean time the Grand Juries, whose Grand Junion Buty it is to enquire into, and Present all ries to present and Nusances, will no longer over-

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look those grosser ones, and upon Detection thereof, both the Projector and his Project to be stigmatiz'd according to their Demerits.

Secondly, That if any Trading Company be set up by Virtue of a Charter, or any Project by Virtue of a Patent, and offer'd to be carried on according to the Modern Mode, by Opening Books, Taking in Subscriptions, dividing it into Shares, in order to be traded for in Exchange Alley, that grand Mart for Cheats of this fort; let there be No Trans- no Transfer allow'd: but if any Person, either Knave or Fool, will venture his Money in these Projects, let him take it to himself, for better or worse, and not transfer his Trick or Folly from himself, and lay it upon another Man of a weaker Capacity; no, 'tis but reasonable he should only reap the Fruits of his own Adventure, whether in Profit or Loss; let him be contented with the Hazard or Gain that arises from the Trade, or Project he has embark'd himfelf in. This would effectually fink or damn Stock-jobbing, of Course; this would make all Men very careful how they launched out into these Projects, to let Governors, Deputy-Governors, and Directors have the Fingering and Management of their Money. And if there were any intrinfick Value in the Trade or Project, they

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would use all the Endeavours and Industry imaginable, to make the Trade, or Project, by honest Labour turn to Account: But on the contrary, Buying and Selling of Shares, Transferring, or Stock-jobbing, ruins, and is a Bane to all Honesty and In-

dustry.

The Lacedemonians were fo plagu'd and Lacedepester'd with these Projectors, that they monians made a Law, that all Projectors should be prevent obliged to bring their Projects and Schemes Knavish to the Senate in one Hand, and a Halter in the other, that if their Project was not approv'd of, or found prejudicial to the publick, to be hang'd with their own Halter; but if Beneficial, to be rewarded according to the Benefit that might accrue to the People by it: This brings me to the Third and last Head, to proceed by the Lacedemonian Method, excepting hanging.

That if any Man by his Ingenuity, Stu-The Go. dy, or Travels, makes a new Discovery verament in Art or Nature, or produces any Scheme reward aof Trade, &c. beneficial to the Publick, let my Diferthe Government nobly reward him, and veries bethen let it be made common, and all the the Pub-Nation have the Benefit of it. As for Ex. lick; ample, if Sir Nicholas Crisp, who first Publick to discover'd the African Trade, had been well have the rewarded by the Government, and they Benefit of had immediately fent Ships and Materi-

Observa-

the Dutch.

als to build Forts, and secur'd this Coast, and so let all Men that would, have traded thither, the Wealth that they had brought into the Nation, with the Duties paid to the Government, would very well have enabled it to defend this Trade against the Encroachment of Foreigners, or the whole World, for then we should have Millions of People, the united Strength of the Nation to support it, instead of a few Covetous Mercenary Creatures, who have nothing farther in their View, than by the vilest Ways and Means to enrich themselves and Families, let it be at the Nations or whose Cost it will.

The same Method would have prevented the abovesaid Cheats, and Loss of the Trades before-mention'd, and would have gain'd Us other vast Acquisitions which we

do not now possess.

The Dutch have no Companies except the East-India Company, which is almost universal; the whole Republick is in effect but one Company, which trades every where: They are more Publick Spirited than We, and chiefly consider the General Advantage: Those wise People are not abus'd or cheated by Projectors and Stockiobbers.

They do not in their Exchange, or Affembly of Merchants, tolerate a parcel of

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Mountebanks to run up and down, and cry, Who buys Stocks, or Moon-shine? No. they compass the Globe by Trade and Induffry, and in the Space of a little more than an hundred and twenty Years, from a Parcel of poor Fishermen, have, by their Wisdom and Publick Spirit, not only freed themfelves from the Tyranny of the greatest Monarch then in Europe, defended themfelves many Years from him, and afterwards from the greater Power of France and Us together, but by well managing their Industry and Trade, notwithstanding all these heavy Wars they were continually involv'd in, without inlarging their Terra Firma, have rais'd themselves from a poor, distressed, and small Beginning, to a greater Pitch of Wealth and Power in so short a Time, than the whole Spanish Monarchy, than any State or Common-wealth that is, or ever was in the World, and is almost a fufficient Match for the greatest Potentate, and all this with the Extent of a very little Territory, no Manufactory of their own Produce worth speaking of, nor even necessary for Life, to be found in their Country for the tenth Part of the Inhabitants.

Batavia, (if I mistake not) was formerly called facatra, and was once ours. We had the Spice Trade, the African Trade, the Newfound-land, and Green-land Fisheries,

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Hudson's Bay, &c. Now I submit to the Judgment of all the thinking Men in the Nation, the immense Value of these Trades, and whether the Possession of them at this Day, with what we have, had not made us the most Rich and most Powerful People under the Sun? But all these Jewels were or are in a great Measure sunk or lost, for want of a Publick Spirit, or, rather, in other Words, by Folly, Avarice and Knavery.

Remarks upon the French Protestants.

I shall here take Notice of the senseless Clamour against the French Protestants amongst Us; I do not mean by those pretended Protestants who are Enemies to the Reformation, as well as to their Country. I mean mistaken People, who do not consider that the Number of Inhabitants of any Country is the Wealth and Strength of it, especially Ingenious, Industrious, and Trading People; such as the French Protestants generally are. How have our Manufa-Etories been encreas'd and improv'd fince they settled here? for Instance, Hats, Silks, Stuffs, &c. which we formerly had from their own Country; and so far have they been from being a Detriment to us, or underworking our Handicrafts and Tradefmen, that the Price of Labour has encreast proportionably to our Improvements; our Revenue has been much augmented; and being The General Benefit of Trade.

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being in a Manner banish'd and made irreconcilable to their native Country, have made this their natural Soil; where they enjoy the Freedom of their Religion and Liberty equal with Englishmen; so that in Interest, Inclination, and Gratitude, for the Sanctuary we have afforded them, they are as Loyal Subjects to King GEORGE, and our present Settlement, as any Englishman, and ready upon all Occasions, in Time of Danger, to stand by, and strengthen the Hands of the Government with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, which in many past Instances they have demonstrated, and in the late Rebellion were ready to do again, if the Word had been given.

Before I have done with this Head upon Trade, I shall quote the Thoughts of a Learned Author upon that Subject, and his beautiful Description of our Island, and the Advantages given us above others, by God

and Nature, viz.

'Since Trade, the Converse with the World, is the honest Way to strengthen and enrich a Nation, and the great Discourager of Idleness and Debauchery, &c.

We being situated by Nature, and Geniusses proper for it, ought to make it our Study to manage it to its highest Capacity of Improvement; which if we would in earnest pursue, War it self would be of

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The General Benefit of Trade. The General Benefit of Trade. 22 fer'd to all Nations on Earth, having both A Descrip-6 fuch Advantage and Security to us, that to so much Advantage. 'Tis an Island tion of England. we should not only be out of Danger from • placed as a Center to the Circular Globe, our Enemies, but command the Trade of 6 towards which, Trade may draw a Line the World; and on the contrary, if that from the whole Circumference; 'tis be neglected, all the Miseries Attendants blest with a Moderation of every Eleon Slavery and Poverty, that shall happen 6 ment; no scorching Sun Negroes, nor fri-Its Clito the Nation, may be ascribed to our 'gid Zone benums its Natives, but a me-mate and Inhabi-6 own Improvidence and Inactivity. 'dium Influence strengthens and beauti-tants. We contradict the received Maxim, fies its Inhabitants, who are of regular \* That Men will attempt any thing for Ad-Shapes; neither an unweildy nor Pigmy e vantage, whilst we neglect proper Me-Breed, but fit to endure the Toils of War, 6 thods for improving and encouraging 6 Trade; for no greater Advantage can or peaceful Labours on the Land; our · flow from any Fountain, or proceed from 'Climate is fo moderate, that the Sun neither exhales, nor the Cold phlegmaticks any Faculty upon Earth, than from that; ' the Spirituous Parts, but allows a Tempe-Where Im 6 for where Trade is there will be Imployployment ment; where Imployment is, thither will frature between both; fo that our Native will Peo- People refort; there will be a Consump-' Fancies are neither too Airy for Confidefration, nor too Dull for Invention; its Its Prople refort, tion of Commodities, and thereby the Soil is Mixture and Productive; and duce in se-' Publick Revenue will be increased: So where Barrenness appears on the Surface, kinds. that would we once make Trade to flouthe Bowels are inriched with Mines, &c. 6 rish, we need not doubt but People from ' No Alpine Mountains, nor Holland ' all Parts of the Universe would refort hi-Bogs, but a delightful Variety of Hills ' ther to enjoy themselves, and improve and Dales compass the Land; so that 6 their Stocks. when the parching Sun burns up and 6 We see every Day, that the convenient 6 chaps the higher Lands, the humble Mea-6 Situation of any Estate gives an Estimate, dows in a Verdure thrive; and when 6 and raises its Purchase; and without Con-'mighty Show'rs drown the Lows, the e venience, Life it self would be but a meer 'Hills by watering very fruitful grow; 6 Spiration, scarce worth the Valuing; then our Lands when till'd, produce a grateful 6 sure England ought to be valued and pre-Plenty

Plenty in return to Labour; our Trees in general are lofty, and well top'd, afford us all the Conveniences that we can expect; our Kingly Oak so firmly ribs our Ships, that they prove like Bulwarks to the daring Foe, and our Fruits pleasant and useful for Support; our Cattle large, ' healthful, strong, and numerous, which 6 are as good as the World produces, for Labour, or for Food; their Skins are firm, and of so contracted Pores, that better Leather is not to be found: Our Wooll is very good, and if duly regarded would equal the boasted Segovin; 'tis the Parent of our Chief Manufactures, and gives us a Plaudit in our Cloth, Bays, Sayes, Serges, &c. throughout the Uni-' verse. We have Fowl in Plenty, and that Plenty good. In the Bosom of our native Earth, are hid Riches, which are eafily · obtain'd by the Artist and Laborious, as ' Tin, Lead, Copper, Iron, Coals, &c. Our Land is plentifully vein'd with Rivers, re-' freshing the Earth, affording Variety and Plenty of Fish. Nature has made such a Paradise of the Land, that we show our 6 selves ungrateful to Divine Bounty, when we are negligent of the Blessings it hath 'liberally bestow'd. In short, the Nation Its Varie- 6 is a Verdure Field indented with Harty of safe hours round, where our Ships, from their ' Natural

The General Benefit of Trade. 25 Natural Situation, may ride out the teme pestuous Storm. The Sea, by Providence, is a Wall ' round us, to defend us from the Pharaoh that would enflave us; 'tis Champion and ' Servant too, for by our Ships furrowing ' its Waves, we fend our Plenty out, and ' bring the Riches of the most distant Parts of the World into our Possession. ' How ought we to be grateful when we Its Seas a-' consider the Blessings we do enjoy, and bound the Opportunities that are given us to im-with Fish. ' prove them farther to our Advantage? Tis wonderful to think how feveral Sorts 6 of Fish in vast Numbers at certain Sea-6 fons, visit our Coast by Divine Appoint-' ment and Natural Instinct for our Suste-' nance, and Day by Day are ready not on-' ly to furnish us with Food, but also to be ' made Merchandize of to the Inriching of the Nation. 'Tis very observable, how Heaven blest England fes us by the Course of the Wind, that monly a 6 commonly blows Westerly for above weatherhalf of the Year, which makes all our bore. Cape Lands and Bays, opposite to the French and Dutch Coasts, good Roads for our Ships to ride with Security; for we are on the Weather, and the French on the Lee Shore; besides, our Anchor-

6 hold is much better than either the French

> or Dutch, for we have generally a stiff ' Clay, Chalk, or hard Gravel, whilst the · French have only hard Rocks, or loofe Sands; the Flemish and Holland more number of Sands on their Coast; their Water 6 of less Depth, and consequently their Ports choaked up with Quick-Sands; when our Ships ride safe, even between our Sands by our Country's being a Weaf ther Shore.

Thus in Epitome we see what a rich ' Heiress with a vast Fortune we enjoy by the Gift of the Great Father of the Universe; but we should consider when this • Portion was given, Gratitude and Duty were expected, that it might descend as a " Jointure to our Posterity: But instead of fuch Returns, ungrateful we, by vicious Lives, forget the Obligation from the Donor; and regardless of our present e Prosperity, neglect the Means to improve the Talent intrusted to our Management; but we cannot imagine, but that we shall e're long be called to Account of our Steward-ships; and the greater our Trust is, the greater will be expected our Improvement; so let us no Clonger dally, but feriously amend, and to our Power use the Means put into our Hands to make us prosperous, which can be done by no honester Way than by Trade and Industry. And

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' And Trade is so Noble a Master, that ' it is willing to entertain all Mankind in ' its Service, and has fuch Variety of Im-' ployments adapt for every Capacity, that ' all but the Lase may support at least, if 6 not enrich themselves; its Agents are every where Laborious and Industrious; by it our British Empire will be inriched by Manufacturing and Improving our own and foreign Products, and be defen-' ded by the Increase of our Seamen and 'Shipping, which if duly imploy'd can never be too many, being always the Con-' veyors of our Riches as well as Strength ' of this Nation; as all the Happiness and Glory of England depends upon the En-' couragement and good Management of ' Trade and Navigation, so its Ruin and 6 Confusion must be the Consequence of

' their Neglect. 'Is it not a Wonder that Schools, Uni-Schools, Uversities, Inns of Court, and Colleges, niversities, 6 should be so careful to have Regulators Regula-' and Inspectors for the better Government tors.

and Direction in their feveral Faculties, ' that are not in Comparison with the Fruits

6 of a duly regulated Trade, by which they

are all maintain'd; yet Trade, that gives But Trade Warmth and Motion to the Blood, and is unre-' fresh Spirits to every Part of the Nation, garded.

from the meanest Cottage to the Royal f Throne,

Throne, that provides under God our 6 daily Bread, is in a Manner unregarded, and without a due Inspection, Regulation or Encouragement? Notwithstanding this great Lady, (affecting Freedom and Security, hath no Inclination to continue under the Arbitrary Power of France, nor the uncertain Fate of Holland, with whom fifhe hath refided only as a Sojourner, tho fhe hath been very highly carefs'd and embraced by them) is ready to espouse both our Interest and Nation, and with her felf bring in Dowry the Treasures of the World; if we would vouchfafe to give her a speedy and kind Entertainment, being very sensible of the great Advantage we might give her, by so absolutely fecuring our free Enjoyment of Liberty of Conscience, that there might appear a Certainty of its Continuance to Posterity; and by having our Civil Rights and Properties maintain'd in their original Purity; fo that Justice should be done without Partiality, Delay or unconscionable Expence, which now dayly presses every Man concern'd in Law, relating to <sup>6</sup> Trade; the want whereof formerly depopulated this Nation, both by discouraging ingenious Persons from repairing hither, and by forcing those of our own Country to feek Freedom and Justice elsewhere,

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celsewhere, and cramping the Industry of others that remained, by rendering them a Prey to each other; which deadly wound did not end here, but Debauchery and Profaneness were encreased to such a Degree, that the Nation was dissolved in Luxury and Intemperance, whilst the French had the Wit to take the Advantage of our Negligence, by encouraging Industry and Commerce; (which all the while we were labouring to overthrow and undervalue) by which Means chiefly they are become so Potent and dangerous to all Europe.

'How absolutely necessary is it then, that all possible Endeavours be made, (as the Examples of our Neighbours successful Industry, and our own Sloth and Neglect sufficiently warn us) to study the ablest Means and Methods for the

6 Improvement of Trade?

But to return, 'tis in vain to think of'Tis invain getting new Advantages, till we have the to think of Art, or Honesty, to keep what we have getting new Adalready got, or rightly to improve what vantages, God and Nature has plentifully of our own till we have Growth bestow'd upon us, I mean our Fish and Honeand Wool, Cloathing for the Back, and Food for sty to keep the Belly; these Two, and only these have altered are more than sufficient of them-ready got, selves, if rightly manag'd, to employ all

our

Our Fish, our Poor, recruit our Navy, bring us the and Wool Wealth of the World, and make us the nag'd, are most Potent and Happy People under the fufficient Sun. Whatever French, or other flavish the great- Maxims, or Politicks may be, that to keep est People a People poor is the way to keep them quiet, this bitter Pill, or Receipt, will never down with English Men, but work the quite contrary Effect, for they are People us'd to Liberty and Plenty, and that Government in England that goes on these Schemes of Poverty and Slavery, will always meet with terrible Oppositions and Disturbances; but if the common People have Employment, and enjoy unmolested the Fruits of their Labour, 'twould be impossible to delude or debauch the Minds of industrious People, so as to create any Discontents, or make them uneasie under a Government where they live the most Happy of any Nation on the Face of the Earth, and cannot possibly change their present Condition, with any probability, for a better.

The Great Duke of MARLBOROUGH found this to be the Temper and Genius of most People, more especially the English; so that to obtain those many Laurels he gain'd by his Glorious Actions, he paid, fed, and well cloath'd his Men, without which, if he had been more than Human, he cou'd not have promis'd the least Ad-

vantage.

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vantage. The English are not ignorant People; the meanest amongst them hath fufficient Knowledge to know when he is opprest or wrong'd; the most illiterate Soldier, or Sailor, knows exactly what is due to him for Wages and Victuals, and the most impatient to be wrong'd of that, tho' he will undergo all Dangers and Hardships to earn it.

But to return to our Fish and Wool; as to the Fishery, what we did in former Days I cannot tell, but I suppose every one is convinc'd what we now loofe by our Neglect, by what our Neighbours get; if we are willing to give away all our Herring Fishe- Lost our ry, 'tis strange we cou'd not keep the Whale Fishers by and Cod Fishery which were of mudicious our Negliand Cod Fishery, which were of prodigious gence. Advantages to England; but the Whale Fishery, as was observ'd before, was ruin'd by being hedg'd in, or monopoliz'd by the Greenland Company, and the Newfoundland Fishery, having too much Trade upon our Hands, we bestow'd that upon our ancient Friends and Allies the French. But if we cannot, or will not keep the Fishing of our Seas, or those new Discoveries we make, to our felves, one wou'd think we shou'd Running keep our Wool, which keeps so many of our Wool our Poor at Work, raises the Price of Lands, to France. and is equally advantagious to Landlord and Tenant; but we do not this, for if our Neigh-

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Of our Wool.

Neighbours, the French, will not come and fetch our Wool, we will carry it to them, all Laws to the contrary notwithstanding. Let us consider a little the dangerous Consequence of this, and whether we do not feel it sufficiently already, by the Increase of our Poor, the Decay of the Woollen Manufactory.

French

The French has been our Rival and E. nemy for many Ages, but much more dangerous of late Years, fince it grew a Trading many Ages. Nation, and encreas'd in Naval Power to fuch a Bulk in fo small a space of Time, that no History can parallel; but knowing by the Advantage of our Wool, we got the richest Trades in the World, viz. the Spanish, Portugal, Turkey and German Trades, &c. Therefore wanting no Industry, or Craft, work'd upon some covetous and wicked People amongst us, and clandestinely got our Wool from all Parts of the Three Kingdoms, which together with the Spanish that they have Plenty of, bids fair to undermine us in all the aforesaid Trades, and as it were, lays a political Siege to this Nation, designing to Ruin us by the Hands of our own Poor, hoping to do that by Cunning which they cannot do by Force. 'Tis miraculously strange, that the Wisdom of our Legislature can find no sufficient Remedy for this Evil, of Running our Wool to France. I am afraid this Mystery of IniOf our Wool.

quity is deeper than vulgar Eyes can fee; 'tis agreed on all Hands, 'tis drawing out the vital Blood of the Nation, 'tis wickedly parting with that peculiar Gift that God has bestow'd on us for the good of our Poor, to enrich our Enemies, or some few vile Wretches amongst us. I knew one Man Instance of that for some Years was employ'd in inter-a Person cepting the Owlers, and did more Service employ'dto than half that ever were in that Servicethe Owfor this Twenty Years past, yet this Manlers. was fo far from being encourag'd, that he met with all the Discountenance and Hardships imaginable, and is now starving, tho' nothing as I ever heard of was laid to his Charge, except 'twas too zealoufly ferving his Country. One Instance I will give amongst many, of his Hardships, and Seizures of a parcel of Wool which he feiz'd on the Custom-house Key, under the very Nose of the Commissioners of the Customs, where such a number of their Officers are together, who watch, or ought to watch, to prevent these Abuses, or Crimes against the Government, and for this Purpose they have their Salaries, and other Advantages; but if such Connivance, Negligence, or Corruptions, are at the Fountain-Head, I'm fure the lesser Streams must be very foul.

This Man in June 1700, seiz'd a parcel of Wool weighing 3000 odd Hundreds Weight,

shipt at the Custom-house-key for France, where there were feveral Thousand Weight more, which they got off before he cou'd come at them: This Wool, after three Trials, which cost him a Hundred Pounds in 1701, he condemn'd, the Wool was put into the King's Ware-house at the Customhouse, but after abundance of Charge, Vexation and Opposition, 'twas resolv'd he shou'd have little or no Benefit by this Seizure, he having the like Usage in most of the other many Seizures he had made, the Wool was appraised by their own Appraisers at far greater Price than any one cou'd afford to give for it, and they refus'd to take it at their own Appraisment: And tho' he demanded his Wool many times before several Witnesses, yet they refus'd to deliver it to him, without he paid down a third Part of the Appraisment, which was the King's part of the Seizure according to Act of Parliament, which was more than the Wool was worth; but after the Wool had been shifted from Place to Place, now the 3000 odd Hundreds Weight is shrunk, or melted away to about 600 Weight, and that not worth a Penny a Pound; fo that this Man has been out above a Hundred Pounds in profecuting, and condemning this Wool, besides loss of Time, and now circumvented, or rather cheated of the whole

whole Benefit of his Seizure; rare Encouragement for preventing the Running of Wool to France! But this is but one Pattern, or Sample, of vast bulky Rogueries of the same make, of which this very Person can furnish a large History.

One Remark more I will make of the Tricks they use to render ineffectual all Benefit that can accrue by the Law to the Seizer, and so disappoint and ruin him, which is, that in all Profecutions of this kind, the Law provides, That whoever owns fuch Wool as is feized upon Condemnation, the faid Owners, or those who defend the Suit, shall pay Three Shillings for every Pound of Wool fo condemn'd, to the Seizer or Prosecutor, over and above the Benefit of his Seizure, as an Encouragement and Compensation for his Trouble and Charge. But the Gentlemen concern'd in carrying on this Villany, provide sham Persons to own the Wool, in whose Names the Suit is defended, and made as difficult, chargeable, and vexatious to the Seizer. or Prosecutor, as possible; and after all, when the Wool is condemn'd, they vanish, and no fuch Persons are to be found in Nature.

This Man puts me in mind of the Hard-Hardsbips ships of our brave Sailors, of which this of our Sai-Person was one. I suppose 'tis allow'd on

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all

all Hands, that this Island, without Trade, cannot be Rich, and without Riches it can have no Power, without Trade no Navigation, and without Navigation no Sailors; without Sailors no Fleet, without a Fleet no Defence, without Defence no Safety; and confidering the Treachery, and false Brethren we have amongst us, we shou'd foon become a Prey to our Neighbours, and cease to be a Nation and People. All this being granted, how necessary is it then to take care of those useful Men who not only make us Powerful and Rich, but are our Protection? 'Tis true, 'twill be alledg'd, we have at present a very great Fleet, no doubt of it many Ships more than we can Man, but so have our Neighbours, and nothing is greater, or leffer, but by Comparison. We were much stronger in the Usurper Cromwel's Days, tho' his Fleet was not a third Part fo big as ours is now, but 'twas big enough to beat any Nation in the World, and make all Kingdoms tremble, and truckle to him; he cou'd fettle Trade as he pleas'd, for, in effect, hardly any Nation cou'd Trade without his leave, and Trade without a Power to protest it, is a Jest. There was no pressing Men, in his Days the Sailor was cherish'd and encourag'd; thus if a Usurper, who had not a hundredth Part of the Nation for him,

Hardships of our Seamen.

him, cou'd make so mighty a Figure in the World, what might not a lawful Government do, if they wou'd not fuffer themfelves to be abus'd by Wretches, that a Thousand of them are not of the intrinsick Value to the Kingdom as one able Sailor? Yet those fort of Cattle, tho' sprung from Dirt and the Dunghil, shall purchase Estates, keep Coaches, all got out of the Blood of the poor Sailor, and his Family. If any wou'd be at the Pains to make a List of those at present living, who from the meanest beginning crept into the Navy, as Clerks, Commissioners, and other Officers, and have rais'd great Fortunes, which cou'd not possibly be done by any visible or lawful Allowance they have had, it wou'd fwell to the bulk of an Army. In some Climates abroad the Worm destroys our Ships, and these Land Vermin our Seamen at home; and as they thrive the Sailor is ruin'd. The curfed Oppression they have labour'd under, in respect to the Q's and R's put upon their Pay, which are like Executions, strips them of all for the least neglect or absence, and sometimes no fault, tho' it may be, that they have five or fix Years Pay due, which hath been dearly earn'd, by undergoing all the Hardships and Hazards of Life, Human Nature is capable of. D 3 These

Q's and R's.

Buyers.

These fatal Letters, Q's and R's, viz. Queries and Runns, may be put upon the Books at the Discretion of the Captain's Clerk, on Board Ship, Muster Master, or Clerk of the Cheque, without giving any Reason for it; and if the Sailor is never so guiltless, he must attend the Navy-Board with Petitions, and wait time after time. till he and his Family are starv'd to Death, before he shall have Remedy, if he gets any at all; but when the poor Wretch is tir'd, Brokers, or and ready to perish, then, it may be, he is recommended to a fort of Brokers, or Solicitors, which fet up a Trade for taking off Seamens Q's and R's, and these Sea Leaches tell the Sailor, that if he will give one half of his Pay, he will by his Interest take off his Q or his R; no doubt of it, the Gentlemen in whose Power 'tis to take off these Q's and R's, have a fellow feeling with the Broker. There are another fort of Blood-suckers, call'd Ticket-Buyers, to whom the poor Sailors have often fold their Pay for 5, 6, 7, and 8 Shillings in the Pound difcount. There were Multitudes of these Ticket-Merchants, and some of them dealt for Thousands of Pounds in a Year, and I knew one of them that has bought above Five Thousand Pounds worth of Tickets in that time, fo that it cou'd not be thought otherwise, but that these People must be

Hardsbips of our Seamen.

very Rich, yet most of them broke or died not worth a Groat; but this Mystery is easily unfolded, for these Fellows were only Tools, or Purveyors, for some Gentlemen that belong'd to the Navy, who had the Seamens Money in their Hands, and by the means of these People, bought the poor wretched Sailors Wages with their own Money: How cou'd it be otherwise, when of four Clerks that belong'd to the Pay-Office, who had but Twenty Pounds a Year Salary each, without any allowance of Perquisites, in about four or five Years Service got Twenty Thousand Pounds

'Twas not for nothing the poor Sailors were kept fo long out of their Pay, for distressing them thus, Advantages were taken of their Necessities to make this havock of them.

The Register Money was another abominable Abuse to the Sailors, and seem'd as if it was purposely calculated, or at least made use of to discourage, sower, and give them very bad Ideas of the Faith and Honour of their Country.

One Instance I will give amongst Hundreds that might be brought, how these People were us'd after the greatest Zeal shew'd for the Desence and Service of their Country.

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a Man.

In King WILLIAM's Reign, in the Winter Season, when our Fleet was mostly laid up, the French was refolv'd to take that Opportunity to make us a Visit, and confidering the Faction amongst us, 'twould have been of dangerous Consequence; in order to which they drew down a Body of Forces to the Sea-Coast, and got a great Number of Transport-Ships near Havre de Grace, Bologn, and that way, with a Squadron of Men of War to Convoy them; this gave us, with good Reason, a great Alarm, so that his Majesty order'd the Admiral of the Fleet to repair immediately to the Downs, and draw together as many Men of War as possible to prevent this Invasion, and issued out a Proclamation to encourage the Seamen in this Time of publick Danger, to enter themselves Voluntiers on board his Ships, promising them Conduct. and Bounty Money; accordingly the brave and honest Sailors, notwithstanding their former ill Usage, repair'd from all the remote Ports in the Kingdom, and enter'd themselves voluntarily on Board his Majefty's Ships at Portsmouth, or the Downs. and to the Astonishment of the World, in a few Weeks time, the Admiral got together a considerable Fleet, before ever the French cou'd be ready to make the intended Descent, with which he stood over to the Coast

Hardships of our Seamen.

of France, burnt and destroy'd some of their Transport Ships, and so overset and disappointed the whole Expedition, and confequently fav'd the Kingdom; and then the Fleet came back again to Spithead. And now all Men may expect that I shall give them an Account how the honest Sailors were paid their Conduct-Money, Bounty-Money, according to the King's Proclamation, and Wages for the Time they ferv'd, with a great deal of Thanks for their heartiness and alacrity in so zealously serving their Country in time of the most eminent Danger; nothing less, for when they were to be discharg'd and turn'd a-shore, they were told there was no Money for them, but they shou'd have Tickets, and if they wou'd attend the Navy Office in Crutched Fryars, London, they wou'd be paid some time or other. This struck such a damp upon the Sailors, many of them living at Portsmouth, Plimouth, Deal, and Newcastle, to find that they must travel up to London without a Farthing in their Pockets, to attend, and solicite at an Office which is as vexatious, perplexing, and as dilatory as a Court of Chancery, leaving their Family starving at home, and themselves in the same Condition at London, that cursing their Country, many of them lighted their Pipes with their Tickets, and others fold them

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There was one Gentleman in Kent that reliev'd, or refresh'd Hundreds of them as they past by his Door, and upon my saying to a Man of Figure in the Navy Office, that the Gentleman ought to be taken notice of by the Government for his Zeal and Goodness, in cherishing these poor Men, was answer'd, That indeed he shou'd be taken notice of, but not my way, for what had he to do, to meddle or make with a Business that did not concern him.

About Two or Three Hundred of them flopt the King's Coach at Guilford, and on their Knees humbly implor'd his Majesty's Compassion on them: But he that sav'd us from all the Miseries that cou'd attend us in this Life, and neglected his Ease and Sasety for an ungrateful People, had not Power to remedy these cursed Evils, being loaded with a War Abroad, and so encompass'd, and haras'd at home by contending Factions,

Hardships of our Seamen.

Factions, whose Strife was chiefly who shou'd rend, tear, devour, and make a prey of the Publick, that 'tis thought it

shorten'd his precious Life.

But to return, at last this Matter was brought before the House of Commons, and a Committee appointed to examine what was the Reason of this Treatment of the Seamen, and indeed they did find, that 'twas not for want of Money to pay them, but the Clerks that kept the Keys of the Money Box chanc'd to be out of the way. In short, some frivolous or ridiculous Excuse was made, and so it dropt.

I will conclude this Head with two or Instances three Instances, to show in part the Ways how the and Means how the Chief Officers of the great Offinal Navy purchase such great Estates, as most Navy get of them have, out of the Ruins of the Pub-Estates. lick.

There was a Store-keeper at Portsmouth, amongst many other Rogueries, mentions, and proves this one Particular, which no doubt have been more than once repeated in that Yard, and others. A parcel of Hemp, and other Stores, which upon a Survey was cast as unserviceable, and so expos'd to Sale by Inch of Candle; but every thing being order'd according to Art, to carry on the Cheat, their own Tools were ready to buy it, which was done for about a Hundred Pound;

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Pound; but the very same individual Goods, in a very sew Weeks time, were afterwards sold to the King for above Three Thousand Pounds.

Another Instance is in their scandalous Contracts, which is, and have ever been a rare Perquifite. They made a Contract with a certain Person for the Repair of Portsmouth Dock, and a great Officer of the Navy, whose proper Business was to be most concern'd in making such Contracts, told the Person, that all Men must live by their Places, and therefore 'twas usual in such Cases to present a pair of Gloves; and the Man knowing it to be true, gave him Five Hundred Guineas, which he thought was pretty well, but a Fortnight or three Weeks after he wanted Three Hundred more; the Undertaker told him 'twas impossible for him to give fo much for his good Will, because the Profit of the Contract would not bear it, and so he shou'd be a looser, or in danger of being undone by it; the Officer told him, if his Contract wou'd not bear fuch large Presents, he cou'd make it, and order'd him to put a greater Price on his Plank, and other Materials. The Undertaker startled at that, saying, that he had put a very large Price already, and if he shou'd add to it 'twou'd be too barefac'd, for any dealer in these Goods wou'd offer the fame Hardships of our Seamen.

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same Goods at a little more than half the Price, which was the usual Rate fold to private Persons. The Officer answer'd. That he was not to trouble his Head with that, for he, and two others which he nam'd, rul'd the Board, and nothing was ever question'd that they did. However, the Contractor would not go his lengths, fo that they parted in Anger, not without Threatnings from the Officer, that he shou'd repent his not complying with his Demands. The Contractor went to work, but was made fo uneasy, by not making his Payment's to him according to his Contract, and yet fuing him for not performing Articles, that perceiving they defign'd utterly to ruin him, he very fairly discover'd, and prov'd the whole Villany.

Of late Years they appointed a new Sort Clerk of of Officer, call'd Clerk of the Petitions, for, the Petiti-by the way, the Officers depending on our Navy are about ten Times as many as the French or Dutch use, and yet our Fleet is not the tenth Part so well regulated; and as these Officers multiply, they multiply Methods, Ways and Means to support them, and enable them to grow Rich; so that passing an Account, or other Business in the Navy Office is much like a Chancery Suit, and shall as long lie by the Walls, except, like that, 'tis well paid for before it can be

dispacht.

dispacht. This Clerk of the Petitions, forfooth, is to draw all Peoples Petitions who have Money, that make any Application this way to the Board, and tho' they have not yet got an AEt of Parliament to prohibit all Persons from making use of a Friend, or writing their Petitions themselves, yet they who do fo, their Business shall go very heavily on; besides, 'tis to this Clerk they must apply for an Answer, and if the Petition be not of his own drawing, (which is usually very short, without much regard to the Matter, which fometimes cannot possibly be contain'd in three or four Lines, the usual Form, or Length they confine themfelves to, because they have a multitude of them on their Hands at a time) they shall have but a very indifferent Answer, if any at all, besides the Advantage of prying into all Peoples Business, and managing Matters accordingly.

In short, the late Clerk of the Petitions, from the meanest beginning has now a great Estate, and the present in a fair way of getting one also: No doubt of it, these Places, or fuch like, are farm'd of fomebody on

valuable Considerations. If any one will be at the Pains to fee more

particular, or larger Proofs of the Abuses of the Seamen, must read these following

Pamphlets, where all the Affidavits and Proofs Hardsbips of our Seamen.

Proofs are mention'd at large, viz.

Justice perverted, &c. by Mr. Crosfield, Books and with several other of his Books.

Mr. Hoar's Complaint of the Abuses in Abuses and

A Dialogue between a modern Courtier, ons in the and an honest Gentleman. By the same Au-Vistual. thor.

Mr. Everet, a Shipwright, his Book. Mr. Trevor, formerly Store-keeper at

Portsmouth, and many others.

If the Sailor had his full Wages, and duly paid, 'tis little enough for him and his Family, confidering the Service he does his Country. But I appeal to the Sailors, and all Mankind that know their Circumstances, how they have been us'd in all Respects, as to Victuals, Wages, and all Things relating to them.

Tis not the Intent of this little Book to descend to all Particulars, which wou'd be endless, and swell it to an immense Bulk; besides, it has been done before, and prov'd a hundred Times over, and believe most Men are well enough appriz'd of it; but if our Nation is not, other Nations who have got so many of our Seamen in their Service, know it perfectly well. These, and many of our Ship-Builders, for want of Encouragement, have run to them, taught them the Art of Building

Ships

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the Victualling. Baston's Case.

Pamphlets.

Corrupti-Navy and ling.

Ships of War, and then helping to fight More Sea- them against their own Country; besides, men lost 'tis believ'd there has been many more Seaof due Care men died for want of due Care taken of taken of them, and ill Usage, than were killed in

plaints without any cause.

them, than Fight. I have heard many of them profess, in Fight. that Algier Slavery was as tolerable as the Usage they have met with in their Country's Service. Our Sailors are English Men, and certainly deserve the valuable Bleffings of Liberty and Property, as well as any of their Fellow Subjects; but how much they enjoy that, when they are forc'd into a Service against their Wills, which destroys them, when if at Liberty, are able to get their Bread, not only in their own Country, but most other Nations in the World; let any one judge? Certainly they are rational Creatures, and do not make all these Com-

> The Sailor that knows how to fight, and Sail the Ship, fometimes better than his Officer, can also tell when he is paid his Wages, or whether he has his due in that and Victuals. There were some of our Captains who were good Sailors, and kind to the Men, never had Occasion to press a Man; and those Officers always did most Service, and took most Prizes. If the Seamen had exact Justice, the Nation's Service is to be preferr'd before any Service

Hardsbips of our Seamen:

at Sea in the World; but 'tis not without great Reason the Seamen so detest it; for besides the Wrong done them in relation to the Wages and Victuals, the Tyranny exercis'd over them on Board-Ship by upstart Commanders, and the little Hopes they have ever to be preferr'd, let them serve never so long, or merit ever so much, except they have great Friends, or that which is the only prevailing Argument now a days, Money, both which the poor Tarr is rarely furnish'd with. I must not be tedious; but these are but small hints of the Sufferings of those more than necesfary People, or rather Men, of absolute Necessity for the Happiness of these Kingdoms.

I beg my Reader to believe, I write nei-The Ailther as a Malecontent, nor a Flatterer; I thor writes am neither sway'd by Terror nor Reward, ly to the I ardently court Truth; and if I make any best of his Mistake, 'tis an Error of my Judgment, ledge: not of my Mind: Therefore not with standing all the Severity, or bold Truths found in this Book, I shall not be so sower a Critick as to make it my whole Business to find fault without doing Justice, and giving due Praise where I have a handle for it; for I hope if I live some time, and ever write again, I shall have a more pleafant Task, and infinitely more agreeable to

me, which is to congratulate with my Countrymen, the Redress of most, if not all these Grievances; the Prosperity and Flourishing Condition of the Nation, which I have great Reason to believe will be the Effects of his Majesty's Happy Government, because, notwithstanding the dangerous Ferment, or Rebellion, which took up so much Time of our Legislature, yet many Evils have been redress'd since this Book was begun to be writ, particularly in relation to our Seamen, some Laws are made for their Advantage: They are better paid; the Discount upon their Tickets and Bills is very much lessen'd to what it was. There is a worthy Set of Gentlemen now at the Admiralty Board, with a noble Peer at the Head of them, which shook France in the great Defeat at Sea he gave them at La Hogue; besides, the Service he did his Country, by his excellent Conduct in the Mediterranean; and the Fleet never was so Formidable, or so Terrible to our Enemies, as under his Management. In short, the scope of this Book, is in one Part to show the Distempers we have labour'd under; and in the other Part, what we still labour under, without the least Defign, or Infinuation against the present Administration, from whom only, under God, we can hope for the redress of these Evils.

Decay of a Publick Spirit.

My humble Opinion is, that if the Sea- To make men's Tickets, and if possible all Navy the Sea-Bills, were made ready Money, as Exche-kets and quer Bills, it wou'd be a mighty Encou- Navy Bills ragement for the poor Sailor, and his Fa-quer Bills; mily, because 'tis the best Pay-in the World, destroys Ticket-Buying, and faves the Government a vast deal for paying Bills only in Course, or rather Partially, makes the Contractor hold up the Price of Goods; for when there is no Discount upon the Bills, the Government wou'd have all Things at the best hand, whereas it gets nothing now but great Disadvantages by these Delays in Payments, and no Profit is reap'd by it, but by a parcel of Rogues who live upon the Ruins of the poor Sailor, and the Distresses of the Publick.

But after all, there is no Cure for these Want of a Evils, or the like, without a Publick Spirit Publick can in some Measure be restor'd to this true Cause Kingdom, and brought more in Fashion, of all our than it has been of late Years; the want of Misforwhich is the true Cause of all our Missortunes, for to such a Degeneracy the Age is fallen, that he is laugh'd at and ridicul'd who preaches it up. We are generally tickl'd with fine worded Harangues, Amusements on foolish and indifferent Subjects, and Things, but who is so honest and bold that dares speak out, and appear bare-

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Decay of a Publick Spirit. 52

fac'd in the Cause of his Country against so formidable a Party, who he must of necessity Oppose, and whose Views are to build their Fortunes on its Ruin. 'Tis almost become a common Proverb, that Kings are born to be cheated; that 'tis at most but a venial Sin; and to make use of all Opportunities, if you have a Post, to plunder the Publick, and get an Estate, is counted good Policy, and he is look'd upon as a Fool who scruples it.

I have often heard this hellish Principle justify'd in many Companies, and any one that held the contrary laugh'd at, and told he was never born to be Rich; that much good may do him with his Religion, and musty Morals, which wou'd be so far from keeping him a Coach, that 'twou'd hardly buy him a Dinner; but the worthy Gentlemen before mention'd had fomething more substantial to trust to: So when these Wretches have damn'd, or dispatch'd out of the World all Honesty, Virtue, and the very Notions of it, they go farther to difcourage all Art and Ingenuity, but the

Artists the Art of Cheating; for there is no Natileast encou. on under Heaven starves so many Ingeni-England ous Men as England, which is a Nation of of any Na all others best able to cherish them; for when Avarice and Corruption are got into Power, to plead Merit, long Service, and

Selling of Places.

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Honesty, is made a mere Jest; the Question is, what Money have you brought? Thus a Fool, and unqualify'd Person buys silling of a Place, and a Knave fells it, and he that Places. fells it is bound to support the Buyer in it, let him be never so great a Knave, or unfit for it, for fear he shou'd tell Tales, and demand his Money again; and he that has given Money for a Place, concludes he may do what he pleases, and take all Advantages, good or bad, to get up his Purchase Money, and to make what Profit he can of his Employment; so between Ignorance and Roguery, the Publick is most wretchedly abus'd, which is the Fruits of Selling Places.

I will here give the Opinion, or Judgment of the Ancients about Buying and

Selling of Places.

We find that this Maxim, like Golden The Sale Pillars, supported the most Flourishing of Offices and Victorious Cities in the World, That the greatthe Sale of Offices is the greatest Wrong that can be and Affront that can be offer'd to a Com- offer'd a monwealth; and that Money ought not to Buy those Places which may, nay, ought to be the Reward of Virtue; for Covetousness is so pernicious a Weed, that it choaks and over-runs the Merits of deserving Men.

Selling of Places.

The Athe-

The Athenians, while any Honesty remain'd among them, politively forbid, and monians continually declaim'd against such Practices as dishonourable, &c.

The Lacedemonians, a People the most forbid it. firictly Virtuous of all others, by observing the just Laws of Lycurgus against it, continued an Happy People for Eight Hundred Years, whilst they being govern'd by Experience from their Neighbour's Fate, counted the Sale of Offices, and taking Bribes, to be utterly destructive to moral Honesty, and the fundamental Rules of good Policy; of which Truth, at last, they themselves became miserable Instances. After Agis and Lyfander had filled the City with Riches, whence laxing the Reins of Strict Virtue and Justice, and indulging Sensuality, the remisness of their Magistrates either permitted, or over-look'd the permission Introduction of those villanous Practices zheir Ruin which had been the utter Ruin of their Neighbours, and concluded in the total Abolition of all their former Honour and Liberty, and their very Being it felf; for the natural Consequence of purchasing of Places, and taking Bribes, is Oppression, and of Oppression comes Strife, and Ruin is its constant Attendant.

The Roman Government, when it appear'd in its greatest Beauty, and most flourishSelling of Places.

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flourishing Condition, severely fined and punish'd those who sought Offices by Bribery or Favours, or took upon themselves Employments, for the Discharge of which they should not appear meritoriously Capable. And it's Remarkable, that then some vitiated Men of the Republick were fowing the Seeds of future intestine Dissentions, and laying the Foundations of her Ruin and Calamities, when she brook'd so patiently the farcastick Scoff of Jugarth, That all The same Things at Rome were to be had for Money the Ro-'Twas then (not this present Papistical mansupon Rome, which fells Heaven and Earth, but) the same old Heathen Rome, whose victorious Eagles had raised themselves to an unequal'd height, and display'd their extensive Wings over all the known World; who by the immoveable Justice and Integrity of her Laws, and Exactness of her Policies, obliged more Nations to acknowledge her Sovereignty, and importune her Friendship, than were subdu'd by the Threats and Menaces of the proudest Monarchy, till through the Vice, Folly, and viperous Treachery of her Magistrates, neglecting their Duty, dwindling by Degrees from her former Excellence, the became to enfeebled by her daily Colruptions, that she, whose Virtues had once made her Mistress of the World, had not Power enough left to conquer her own Vices. Their

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Selling of Places.

Their Historians assign the Reason, viz. They made Justice subservient to Covetousness, and Virtue a stalking Horse to Extortion. And they who but nibled at the Margin of History, know that the unreproved, and unrestrained dissoluteness of their Manners, was the original Ground of all their Intestine And gave Convulsions and Disorders, giving thereby Opportu- Opportunity to Pompey and Casar, &c. who to gratifie their Ambition by Briberies, &c. and Castar footh'd, and brought the People into the apto enflave proving of their being preferred, which when done, their Sun-shine refreshing those below, strengthned their Parties, so as Nemine Contradicente, they passed what Votes they pleased, even that for the perpetual Dictatorship, to the depression of Virtue, and taking away the meanest Subjects Rights and Liberties, and fuffering a Thouland Calamities, Rapines, Murders, and other Enormities from the Persons of their Emperors, and wicked Parasites, which so dispirited the People, that it was an inlet to the Goths and Vandals to invade them, which terminated in the irrecoverable, and entire extinction of the Glory and Greatness of that famous Empire.

If Rome, which was provided with fo many Hundred Counsellors of State, and had so many Thousands of Citizens that lov'd their Liberties, was not able to preSelling of Places.

ferve her Freedom, when once Places were fet to Sale, and Bribery encourag'd, then how can we expect a milder Fate, fince it is amongst us not only conniv'd at, but promoted? Especially in the City, Army, and Law, if not at Court, and in all the Offices

in general.

Property, the Twin-Brother to Self-Prefervation, in all Ages hath been contested for. At Rome the Patricii could not keep the People quiet, till they yielded to have their Tribunes to be confulted with before any Laws were made, least their Properties should be invaded; and whilst they preferv'd, and retain'd that Liberty, the Empire flourish'd, but when once they had for the parted with that Property (their native bed by the Right) bribed by the Patricii, grown Patricii to Rich by the Eastern Conquest, they soon part with their Probecame Vassals to their ambitious Gover-perties, nors, and bowed the Knee to the Images were by them follows had for up they themselves had set up.

The pernicious Vices of Bribery, and fel-Bribery, ling of Places, was so hated, even by the and Sale of Persian Cambyses, that he flea'd one of his places, was Judges for it; but certainly it wou'd have by the Perbeen a very unjust Punishment, if he before fians. had fold him his Place; much more had it been farmed to him at a rack'd Rent: But tho' the Father was flea'd, yet Cambyses gave his Son his Employ, with Orders for

58 Complaints of Frauds generally stifled.
his Father's Skin to be the covering of his Cushion, to terrifie him from the like Offence.

But as this Evil is become fo Customary, and all the feeble Remedies hitherto apply'd render'd ineffectual, the Sin, like other vicious Habits, is hardly thought a Crime, and few concern'd at the dismal Consequences that attend this, or any Government by it. But I shall enlarge a little on one Particular which I conceive naturally accrues from this scandalous Management; that is, as the Buyer and Seller may both be very well intitled to the Attributes of Complaints Fool and Knave, fo when any Complaints generally are made of the Publick being abus'd and flifted. Complaints are generally flicheated, fuch Complaints are generally stifled, and the Informers ruin'd. This is fo notorious, that no Nation under Heaven, or Age since the Creation, can shew the like for Number and Quality, as may be produc'd amongst Us, if We look no longer back than fince the Restoration; and more plentiful Instances since the Revolution, for then they thickned upon Us. To relate all the Particulars wou'd fill a Volume as big as the Book of Martyrs; but I am certainly inform'd that a Gentleman is upon this Work of our universal Corruptions, in all Offices and Employments, wherein the Facts and Proofs will all be laid open, that the

Complaints of Frauds generally stifled. World may fee what a Condition We are in, and what may be the fatal Confequences of continuing in it. This will be a large Book, and has cost great Time and Expence, but may be of infinite Benefit to the Publick. But what I affert at present cannot be deny'd, even by the Criminals themfelves, tho' with a falvo of their own Innocency; and the Business of this small Treatife is only to touch on Generals, which all Mankind agree in, tho' every one does not think on, or call often to mind the fad Case his Country is reduc'd to by these Corruptions, which, like a Gangreen, may turn to a Mortification. The Gazettes, The Gafor these many Years, are fill'd with Anoni-zette has mous Letters to the great Officers, offering continualto discover several Frauds and Abuses, and tisements in return they are promis'd due Protection of Frauds and Encouragement; now it wou'd be ve-fes. ry fatisfactory to most People, especially those who have any Value for their Country, to know what has been done, or difcover'd for the Benefit of the Publick, and how the Discoverer has been rewarded, for the Encouragement of others to be vigilant in watching for the general Good; and We bear of what Knaves have been made Examples of, but very turn'd out, or punish'd any way, but not bave been withstanding so many Hundred Advertise-punisht ments, there is a profound Silence kept as Crimes.

brought

Complaints of Frauds generally stifled. to Proceedings, except by those People who have been ruin'd, instead of rewarded, for the Service they intended the Nation, by not only discovering, but proving the Cheats, and clandestine Management in But many most of the Offices. There are many flagrant Instances of Persons that have ventur'd, and spent the best part of their Life, all their Substance, in the Service of their Country; particularly in detecting Rogues, and Villanies of the deepest die, and have prov'd all by Oaths of Persons of undoubted Credit, as clear as the Sun, and after all have been ruin'd, and almost starv'd to Death. These are Facts which are very aftonishing, but they are true; and tho' many are dead, there are several living Witnesses still to produce; so that 'tis come to a Proverb, That if any one designs to give Information of Frauds, or Abuses of the Publick, he is told by them who have fad Experience of it, that he runs upon the point of a Sword; as if a Confederacy, or thorough Combination was enter'd into by those in Offices, to stand by one another, against all those who they call Informers, as being a Power more than sufficient to crush and extirpate these poor Animals, that so they might make a Prey of the Publick without Interruption or Controul; and this is Fact, that their Strength

Complaints of Frauds generally stifled. has been fo Formidable, that when a Mismanagement has gone so high as to be prov'd before the House of Lords, and their Lordships been convinc'd of the Evil attending it, and have made an Address accordingly, humbly begging their Prince to remedy it; yet not with standing all this, their Interest has been so great, as, that instead of being turn'd out, and punish'd, the Criminals have been continu'd in their Posts, and carry'd on the same Trade. One Objection An Objection they have against Encouragement of Infor-tion amations against Men of Figure, or in Posts, gainst enthat 'twou'd give an Interruption to all Informatimanner of Business, to hear frivolous Com-ons of this kind. plaints, and the Government wou'd find it hard to get Men of Parts on these Conditions to ferve. But are all Informations that Answer'd. have been, or may be brought, frivolous? Certainly an upright way of judging, and administring Justice, might be found out in this Case, as well as in others; and 'twou'd be no hard Matter to distinguish, whether a Complaint was prov'd, and just, from one that was malicious, vexatious, or frivolous. Let there be more Severity us'd in both Cases, and the malicious Informer punisht, as well as the Criminal inform'd against, if prov'd so. I have heard, The Czar that that Excellent Prince, the Czar of wy's Me-Muscovy, is so exact in this Point, that the thodinth's meanest Cofe.

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meanest Subject in his Dominions may complain against the greatest Peer of his Realm; and if his Courts of Judicature delays, or denies Justice, he may appeal to the Czar's own Person, and none dares hinder his Accefs, where he shall be certain of speedy and impartial Justice. 'Tis not to be suppos'd, the Czar is fond of impertinent Comblaints: undoubtedly, by this Method he is troubled with very few, because the Terror of his Tustice is such, that his Officers venture not to Cheat, or Oppress, any of his Subjects, as despairing of any Pardon, or Connivance from a Prince, that in those Cases is no respecter of Persons: But our Case is, that our good Kings have seldom Power enough, but our bad Princes always complimented with too much. 'Tis very Melancholly, to confider those few Instances of publick spirited Men amongst Us, generous Lovers of their Country, more than their private fordid Gain, shou'd be so miserably discountenanc'd and neglected, as to want Bread; 'tis in the Words of our present Gracious Soveraign (tho' upon another Occasion) both Unjust and Ungrateful.

Useful Pro-

There is another great Stupidity reigns in this Nation, if it deserves not a worse Term, that is a flight of those Persons who have neglested. made great and beneficial Discoveries for the Advantage of the Nation, and a Neglect Useful Discoveries neglected.

of those Discoveries. Columbus first offer?d the Discovery of the West-Indies to England; and I am credibly inform'd, no longer ago than the late Queen's Reign, a Person made a Discovery to the Lord of Oxford, then Lord-High-Treasurer, of some very rich Gold Mines on the Continent, near Brazile, but not under the Claim of the Portugueze, or any other Prince, and that 'twas free for Us, or any other Nation that first seiz'd it to Claim it in Propriety: but this poor Man lay waiting, and feeding upon fine Promises for two or three Years, till he had been starv'd to Death, if a Gen. tleman of my Acquaintance had not reliev'd him: But at last the Portugueze got Notice of it, and have taken Possession of the Place, and 'tis Farm'd of the Crown at a vast Sum yearly.

'Tis the usual Way when any Ingenious Man that has taken Pains, and studied something very advantagious to his Country, when he has apply'd to a Courtier, either the Project is rejected, which most are that tends to a general Benefit; or if lik'd, the honest Courtier praises the Projector, and tells him that he fees now, how Wits can jump together, for 'twas his own Thoughts fome time fince, but he is mightily confirm'd in the Usefulness of it, by the Approbation of fo Ingenious a Man; and fo the poor

## Our present Corruptions dangerous.

Gentleman who was big with Expectation that he had rais'd his Fortune, by projecting at great Costs and Pains a Method to serve his Country, is fobb'd off with a Grin and Compliment; and if his Project is put in practice, 'tis studied how to make it subservient to the Courtier's Interest, and not to the Publick.

I repeat it once more, that I wou'd not

be misunderstood I infinuate any Thing throughout this whole Book against Persons in the present Administration, I hope, and believe better from them; but if this Male-Administration has not formerly been, and that very lately, I believe almost the whole Nation is mistaken, as well as my felf. Companies, Projectors, Stock-jobbers, and fent Cor- knavish Lawyers, like a Leprosy, stick close to us still, and when We shall have a Cure God alone knows. God has undoubtedly preserv'd Us from our Foreign Enemies, by fending Us his present Majesty King GEORGE, and now the late Rebellion is down, yet we have the most dangerous Enemy to subdue, our own Corruptions; 'tis nothing under Heaven, but this, can Ruin the greatest People in the World.

I cannot but admire at the Thoughts of a modern Author, who expresses himself thus. "If ever the English will be truly Mighty, " not in Discourse, but in Reality, they

Corruptions in Elections.

" must begin it by their Labours, as well " as by their Weapons; they must rouze " from the Lethargy, and pant after Im-" provements: Till they resolve to do this, " in vain will they conquer; their Ardor " will cool at the end of their Wars, and " they will give up the Fruits of their own " Victories. In short, the Arts of Peace " and Industry must proceed step by step " with the Success of our Armies. The "Works of our Citizens, and our Coun-" trymen, our Fishers, and our Miners, " must advance in Proportion to the rest of " our Triumphs, or Seas of Blood may be " fpilt to no purpose.

A Nation may be compar'd to a Beehive, the labouring and industrious People to the Bees, which except the Owner, or Governor of the Hive defends against those Drones, and Wasps, call'd Stock-jobbers, Lawyers, &c. the Hive will yield him but very little Honey, and the Bees themselves

be starv'd and waste away.

We have another Evil which touches Us Corruptis in the most sensible Part, viz. the Electing ons in Eof Parliament Men. Tis not half a Con lettions of of Parliament Men. 'Tis not half a Cen-Parliatury ago, since 'twas common for a wor-ment Meni thy Gentleman who was fam'd for his Publick Spirit, to be chose in his Parlour, and beg'd to Represent his County, City, or Borough, in the House of Commons. The Cafe

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Corruptions in Elections.

Case is so strangely alter'd, that now a Gentleman shall exhaust his Estate, and spend vast Sums to get to be elected for a pitiful Borough: Borough; there must be some great Mystery in this, but 'tis rarely for any good Motive; for if they have nothing in View but purely the Service of their Country, 'tis a Place of Charge, and no manner of Profit, which in this bad Age, so few are fond of, that instead of giving Money to put them in a Capacity to do good to the Publick, there is few Men to be found, tho' of never so great Estates, that will serve without round Salaries, if they have not strong Inclinations to Perquisites also. The frequent Orders of the House against Bribery and Corruptions in Elections, has had but little effect, for most People believe they are easily evaded. But one great Fault lyes in the Electors, which are generally of that fordid Temper, to fell their Votes, Birthrights, and Country, for a small Sum, or what is worse, a Pot of Ale. 'Tis hardly to be remedied now (except it be by the Remedied way of Balloting) fince Custom has so by Ballot riveted it in the Nature of the People, which necessitates some honest Gentlemen to make use of those Methods to keep out others, who wou'd do Mischief to their Country.

I will make some Remarks on the Ma-Corruptinagement of our Law. Here one has a large one in the Field of Willanies to travel in W. I are Field of Villanies to travel in. We boaft We have the best Laws in the World, Magna Charta, and the Lord knows what. We talk much of Liberty and Property, and with Reason claim it as our due, and praise our Excellent Constitution above all others, and so it is if we kept to it; but all this is little more than a jingle of Words, which have a delicate Sound. How We enjoy these Bleffings, the Lawyers, who are our Guardians, and have the Custody of this rich Patrimony, will no doubt give a very good Account of. To borrow a few hard Words from the Tories, 'tis most certain that all Men have a Divine, Hereditary, and Indefeasible Right to Justice, 'tis their Jure Divino, but we are like the Romanists, who make it very difficult for the Poor, and very easy for the Rich to gain Heaven; so if a Man wants Money, of Consequence, he shall want both Law and Justice: At this Rate poor Men are in a miserable Case, who have neither a Title to Heaven or Earth.

Corruptions in the Law.

As Matters are carry'd in England by the Nogreater Lawyers, there is no greater Tyranny un-Tyranny der the Sun, for instead of being opprest by Place than one Tyrant, as in an absolute Monarchy, in Eng-We have a Hundred Thousand. What un-land.

2 fortunate

fortunate Wretch amongst Us, that is so miferable as to have no Money, can have the Benefit of the Law as to the Recovery of his Right, or defending himself against Oppresfion? I will endeavour to illustrate this by two Cases; and if I am in a mistake for want Without of understanding the Law, or any other Parti-Money 'tis culars contain'd in this Tract, I beg Pardon.

defend him[elf from Op-

The first is of a Stranger that shall come any one to up to Town, and thro' Malice, or any orecover his ther Motive, be arrested in the City; nay, even by a Man that owes him Money, and shall be carried to one of the Counters, if he have not Two substantial House-keepers, Inhabitants of the City, fuch as the Serjeants shall approve of, to be his Bail: Now We suppose this a very poor Man, that has not a Shilling to help himself, nor any Acquaintance, or Friend, within reach; and this will not be deny'd, is, and has been many poor Man's Case; the first Usage he meets with, is, that his Clothes are taken from his back for Garnish Money, and other Rogueries suffer'd, and practis'd in the Goal; and after lying fometime on the Ground amongst Villains, and cover'd with Vermine, if he cannot Fee an Attorney to appear for him, he shall have Judgment go against him by Default, and so nail'd down with an Execution for ever; fometimes if he does make a shift to get an AtCorruptions in the Law.

torney, and he is a Knave, which few of them are otherwise, no Argument but Money being capable to make them honest, or mind their Client's Business, Judgment shall be obtain'd, and consequently Execution against him, by Bribery, thro' Connivance, Neglect, and a Thousand Tricks daily practis'd amongst them; and he is accounted the cunningest Solicitor, or Attorney, and gets generally most Business, who has the Reputation of understanding best the knavish Part of the Law, a usual Phrase they have; and that Part of the Law is so copious, takes up the Study of so many of these Gentlemen, being infinitely the most profitable Part of it, that the honest side of it, or the impartial Administration of the Law, is very little thought on, or rarely us'd. Again, the Law is chiefly Great part in Latin, a Tongue few understand, and of the Law fuch Latin too, that none but themselves in the Lacan construe; this is mere Popery, for as they have their Prayers in the same unknown Tongue, that the ignorant Wretch knows not what he asks of God; fo a Man that goes to Law must of Necessity wholly trust to his Lawyers Honesty, and Ability, to fet his Cafe in a true Light, and must stand or fall by what the Lawyer does, it being totally put out of his Capacity to judge in his own Case, whither it be sta-

ted right or wrong; and still to make it more dark and mysterious, they have also Particular peculiar Hands, with many crabbed Abbre-Hands and Viations, with a Dictionary of hard Names, with many unintelligible Jargon, Eternal, and endless difficult Tautalogies; writing six Words in a Line, Abrevia- and fifteen Lines in a Page, only to enhance liar to the the Charge, many scores of Pages in a Bill, Law, which fill or Answer, in Chancery, which shall be renders it compris'd in a Breviate of half a Sheet of more unin-Paper, and no Man suffer'd, at least under to the com- great Discouragement, to plead in his own mon Peo. Cause, so that all Men are totally at their Mercy; and if a Word in a Declaration, or other Instrument, is omitted, misplac'd, or mis-spelt, or wrong apply'd in pleading, a Man is in danger of being ruin'd, at least Costs assign'd against him, if he comes off so. In short, the Justice, Equity, or Merit of the Cause is rarely consider'd, but that is the successful Suit which is carry'd on according to Military Stratagems, Doublings, Windings, Surprizes, Tricking, Catching at all Advantages. This went fo far formerly, that Men were worded, as well as swore out of their Lives and Estates. If a Lawyer shou'd make this Answer in case of fob Actions, that a Man may fummon the Plantiff before a Judge to shew cause of Action; and if he does not, or cannot, the Person is discharg'd of Course, but this makes noCorruptions in the Lam.

thing against what I said before, for still a Man must have Money to do this; and without it I cannot see any possible ways to defend himself against Oppression, as I afferted above.

The other Instance, that a Man without Money cannot recover his Right; allowing the former, the latter will easily be granted, for if a Man has not Means, Money, or Ability to defend himself, he is less capable to make an Attack, and dislodge his Enemy.

In the Course of our Law there is no No diffedifference made between the sueing for the rence in smallest Sum and the greatest: the Prosecu- the Charge of the Law tions are equally tedious and chargeable: between Thus if a poor working Man has a Debt of the smallbut Forty Shillings, which, tho' but little eft Sum in it felf, yet it may be half as much as he and the is worth, for abundance of our poor People greatest. by their indefatigable Industry, and Labour, support their Families with a very little Stock; and there is a Thousand of these Cases for one of Consequence; yet if the poor Man has to do with a rich one, and he is refolv'd (as most are) to perplex, oppress, or cheat the poor Man of his Right, before he shall have Justice done him, if he gets anv at all, and finds Money to profecute, and runs thro' all the Mazes and Labyrinths of our Courts, it shall cost F 4

cost him ten Times his Debt; and if he recovers his principal Money, with Costs of Suit, upon the Ballance of his Account, he shall be out of Pocket ten Pound for the Recovery of the aforesaid Sum of Forty Shillings (for the Costs that is allow'd falls very short of the Money a Man is out in profecuting) besides the loss of his time in folliciting, more valuable than his Money, running from one knavish Attorney to another, attending Council, Offices, and other Vexations not to be exprest. The Lawyers, above all other People, who much better deferve, or earn their Money, having this Privilege, or rather Ascendency over Mankind, that you must wait on them, and beg them to take your Money, and thank them too; be mightily oblig'd to them if they please to afford you a gracious Nod, or Smile, for vouchfafing to plunder you, when others are glad to have their Wages, or due, for fetching.

Our Justice divided between Law and Equity. The Administration of our Justice is divided between Law and Equity, of which we have distinct Courts; and 'tis a Proverb amongst Us, That a Man who makes the Common Law his Conscience may be a great Knave; and that rigid Justice may become the greatest Injury. 'Tis strange one Court cannot be sufficient for both these Ends of Law, and Conscience; Law with-

Corruptions in the Law.

out Conscience is a very odd Law. We know but of one Court in Heaven, where We must all be try'd, without the Advantage, or Vexation of removing it to another. Thus the Letigious, when Sentence is given against them, tho' never so justly, in one Court, shall remove the Cause to another; get Things they call Injunctions to stop the Execution of Justice, and so perplex, and weary out the injur'd Person by excessive Trouble and Charge, and render ineffectual all that has been done for his Relief, except he has a potent Purse to wage an endless, or lingering War; and if he gets the Day at last, he shall sit down a considerable looser, and had better been contented with the loss of his Right, which had been the least Evil of the two. 'Tis too much, for the narrow Compass of this Treatife, to particularize all the troublefome Circumstances that attend Suits of this Nature, which wou'd very much aggravate, lay open, and prove this Mystery of Iniquity; let that be left to other Pens, who have more Knowledge, and better vers'd in this Mass of Wickedness. But I can think of but one Reason for this vile Trade (which gratifies fo much that hellish Passion of Revenge, a Vice We are very much prone to by Nature) which is, that there must be a great many younger Bro-

thers, and fuch like, provided for, and what is more feazable, than to breed them up to the Practife of the Law to raise their Fortunes? And so about Fifty Thousand must be provided for this way, tho' at the Expence and Ruin of Three Millions.

I am sensible the great Hazard I run by this plainness, and perhaps I may be ruin'd my felf for it; but is their any Cause so noble to fuffer in, as that of Truth and Liberty, in Opposition to Villany and Oppressi-

'Tis thought that there is above Two Millions a Year expended in the Law, and pended in if it goes on at the rate it has done, by multhe Law. tiplying Villanies and Vexations, the Wealth of the Nation will not at last be sufficient to fatisfie the voracious Appetite of the Lawyers, Goalers, and their Dependants. If a Man's Horse steps into another Man's Field, tho' not Two Pence Damage is done, the Cost of the Law in suing for the Trespass commonly amounts to about Thirty Pound. They fay there is a Record in Chancery, that shows, that two good Estates were spent in a Dispute about a black Sheep of one Man's, running into a Flock of Sheep of another Man's. 'Tis endless to tell the aftonishing Instances of the Ruin the Law has brought on Families for Trifles. Undoubtedly the Law was originally made

Corruptions in the Law.

for the Peace and Preservation of Mankind, but now 'tis in a great Measure made use of for their Destruction, giving great Encouragement to wicked Men to execute their Malice and Resentment, when they dare not attempt any other way of less Certainty and Safety; for 'tis very common to hear revengeful Spirits fay, I care not what it costs me so I can ruin the Dog; too frequent, too many, and too successful are fuch Instances; fad it is, particularly to the Poor, to live in a Country that gives not a imall, but a more than ordinary Countenance to fuch Violences and Oppression. They tell us there is a Court of Conscience erected in London, for the easy and cheap recovery of small Sums; but this is but one, and there are no more in England that I know of, and this extends only to Freemen. except the High Court of Chancery, or Equity, for that is the Grand Court of Confcience; but as to the speedy, and cheap Execution of Tuffice there, let those who have Experience speak to; I heartily pray that no one that has not already, may ever try it. Were all People of my Mind, the Law shou'd speedily be curtail'd, and the Lawyers reform'd, for no one in their Wits, if I cou'd help it, shou'd ever make use of them, and then Ninety nine in a Hundred wou'd foon be turn'd a grazing, or fent to

feek honester Employments, than as they now make them. I know no Difference I hardly ever had in my Life with any Person, I cou'd not willingly put to Arbitration, or submit to the Determination of honest Men, indifferently chosen; nay, more than that, I have often, when I have met with a litigious, or troublesome Person, proffer'd to leave it to a Friend of their own choosing, provided he was a Man that had a Chara-Ater for Probity, and so save both our Money in our Pockets, that must infallibly be thrown away amongst the Lawyers; and when People have almost ruin'd themselves by Law, they generally have recourse to that Remedy at last, which they might as well have done at first, and so sav'd all their Expences. I do not pretend to prefcribe my Method to all other Men. There is an absolute Necessity to go to Law in some Cases, and so that good Book, The whole Duty of Man, allows; but it must be under those Restrictions there laid down. I only speak of the horrible Abuse and Corruption of the Law; and if I have not told Matter of Fact, I have faid nothing, and blotted Paper to no purpose; but if I have, and the People of England labour under this grand Grievance and Oppression, especially the Poor, and midling Sort, who are Ten Thousand to One of the

Corruptions in the Law.

other Sort, 'tis most worthy the Notice of those Gentlemen, and Great Men, who set up for Patriots, or else I do not understand the meaning of the Word, for otherwise the noise and pretence of publick Good

is mere sham and grimace.

If a Man has but little Money, and his A Man Adversary a potent Purse, he shall spend that has what he has, and be ne'er the better. If Money can his Pocket is so shallow that he can fee but never caran indifferent Council, and with an indif- cause. ferent Fee, his Antagonist, that has plenty of Guineas to bestow on the Golden Council, they shall noise him and his Cause out of the Court. Our eminent Council, for without them there's nothing to be done. can hardly open their Mouths under Three, Four, or Five Guineas for a Fee; and if the Cause is not try'd that Term, or put off but for two or three Days, which is often their Faults, being employ'd in other Courts, having generally more Business than they can well turn their Hands to, the Fee, or Dose, must be repeated again and again, if you intend to refresh their Memory to any purpose, tho' they have your Breviate all the while. I have heard that in France, no Council or Advocate feldom takes above a French Crown for a Fee, but here the Council's Fees in some fat and durable Causes.

wou'd buy a moderate Estate. 'Tis thought

The Instance of People having the Benefit of the Law without Money, in the Case of Forma Pauperis, is a Thing not worth answering; for as few ever had Benefit by it, so 'tis rarely us'd, the Lawyers not caring to encourage such fort of Customers.

A Compu-

By a modest Computation, these Gens d' Arms of the Law, to be reckon'd from ber of Law. the highest to the lowest, may be computed at a 100000 Men; now allow these but England. Dragoons Pay, one with another, which is Twenty Pound # Head, and very short Allowance for a Lawyer, yet it amounts to Two Millions Sterling, which is no small Article in the National Account, for all that's more than necessary, does the Devil more Service than the People, and haftens their Ruin.

There

Corruptions in the Law.

There is a necessity that there should be good Laws, and so confequently there must be Lawyers to plead them, and put them in Execution, but as few of them as is possible, for the Wealth and Prosperity of all Nations depends upon the working People; fo those Sort of People who neither Plow nor Sow, except it be Discord, ought to be us'd very sparingly, and very few in number may serve: The first is like the Silk-Worm, the last the Caterpillar. Since the vast encrease of our Lawyers, our Laws have encreas'd in Proportion, till they run Counter, and contradict one another, for in fuch vast Number of Acts of Parliament, we are forc'd to have many explanatory Acts, for 'tis Ten to One, if they are not like voluminous Writers, liable to Contradictions, and as Oldham fays,

Where darken'd Equity is kept from Light, Under vast Reams of Nonsense buried quite.

But this makes Work for the Lawyers, and brings great Grist to their Mill, for as there is hardly honest Employment for the hundredth Part of them, the other Ninety nine must studdy how to pick Holes, find Flaws, and puzzle the Cause, and so many of them are got into the House of Commons, who have generally the Management of all the Bills, that

that 'tis not to be doubted but great Care will be taken of the grand Concern of the Nation, viz. Merchandize, Trade, and employing the Poor, or keeping them fo.

Some Causes shall last half an Age before of Law they be determin'd, because of the difficul-Man's Life ty of interpreting right the Law, it being fo hard to find the true meaning of some Acts of Parliament, but all this while, who ever gets the better, or where-ever the Cause is decided or no, the Lawyers pillage both Sides, and the longer the Suit, or more intricate, the better for them, for 'tis everlasting if the Money is so. Amongst other deep Policies of the late French King, and it cannot be deny'd but he did in his Civil Administrations amongst his Subjects, many great and laudable Actions worthy the Imitation of other Monarchs, reduc'd all the Laws of France into two small Volumes that one might carry in ones Pocket, call'd, Code de Lewis des Affair de Mere. Code de Lewis de Affair de terre. But I believe a Man's Pocket that wou'd hold all our Law Books must be little less than Westminster-hall. The Law in France began to be corrupted as ours is now, but this present Regent is a stopping the Lawyers in their Career, curtailing the Law and Courts, reducing it to its primitive Practife, to make the Execution of Justice speedy, cheap, and

Corruptions in the Law.

easy. In former Times a Man might for a very small Matter sell, and in half a Sheet of Paper convey away a great Estate; but I have known an Estate of but Thirty Pound & Annum, that the Writings, and passing Fines, and learn'd Councils Fees, &c. have come to a Hundred and Forty Pounds, and the Deeds and Parchments almost as much as one cou'd carry, before it cou'd be convev'd to the Purchaser according to modern Law. I wonder what shou'd be the Cause of this mighty Disference; is it because We are wiser, or better than our Ancestors. I must confess the Lawyers are excellent Tutors, if you will take Craft for Wisdom, or Litigiousness and Tricking for Honesty. The Particulars of the infinite Number, and variety of Villanies practis'd by them, to the Ruin of poor People, and numberless Families, wou'd fill a Cart-load of Books. If any one is fo much a Stranger in the World, or to Our Country, as not to know it, let him inquire of any one that ever went to Law, and that most Men in the Kingdom, that have liv'd here but a fmall time, have fome time or other, and fee if you can find one that fays he ever met with an honest Lawyer, or at least was not abominably abus'd, or does not grievoully complain of the tediousness and chargeableness of the Law. 'Tis the sad Fate of ma-

ny poor Men, that when the Lawyers have got all their Money, they throw them into Prison because they have none.

How is it possible but that the Law must be prodigious chargeable and oppressive, when Clerk's, and other Places, are fold for fuch vast Sums, as Five Thousand Pound, and more given for one of them, which requires no other Qualification, or Duty, than writing ones Name; and if you cannot do that, you may have a Deputy to do it for you? This is levying a Tribute upon the People with a Witness; the Burthen of which will be fo heavy at last, that they must fink under it, if not timely eas'd.

Our Re-

As our Rewards are very unequally diwards and stributed, so our Punishments are as parments un- tial. 'Tis strange that it shall be made Feequally di-lony without Benefit of the Clergy to pick a Handkerchief out of a Man's Pocket, and fo consequently Death, and yet most gross and wilful Perjury lightly punish'd; and Breach of Trust hardly punished at all. I will leave it to any Man's Choice, which Injury he rather wou'd have done him, his Pocket pickt, rob'd on the Highway, or to have a Person whom he hath intrusted with his All, cheat and deceive him. To have Executors and Guardians rob Orphans, plunder those committed to their Charge of plentiful Estates, and turn them a starving Corruptions in the Law.

into the World; and if the injur'd have Friends and Money (for without that there's no notice taken, or Remedy against those Crimes) to profecute these worst of Thieves, the greatest Punishment they can have by our Laws, is only to fasten them in the Fleet, or King's Bench, where they will in spite of Mankind, live upon the Orphans, or cheated Person's Estate.

The Law necessitates Trust as Executors. Guardians Deeds of Trust, and a great many other Instances which cannot be avoided. but when this Trust is betray'd, it ruins Orphans, and Families; and he that has got Possession of the Estate, or Money in his Hands, how hard it is to get it out, considering the wronged Person is stript of all, and so totally disabled to sue or contend for his Right, which is difficult to get with Money, but hardly ever without, therefore there shou'd be some Corporal, and severe Punishment for this enormous Crime of Breach of Trust.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justices, Judges, and other worthy Lawyers; can't help these Corruptions of the Law, for they must take, and act by the Law as they find it; and undoubtedly they wou'd remedy these Abuses I here treat of, if 'twas in their Power.

Training

What-

Whatever Conceit We may have of our felves, and our Wisdom, God's Laws are not only the justest, but wisest and best, and fuits all Countries and Ages, and whatever Laws of any Country derogates from them, they are in the wrong, and will find their Folly. God's Laws never punish'd Theft with Death; and no doubt of it better Remedies, more proper, and just Punishments, might be found for that Offence, than shedding the Criminal's Blood, who might repent, have it put out of his Power of doing more Mischief, do himself and his Country Service. But is there any Proportion between the Crime of a Man, that to supply his pressing Necessities, ventures his Life to furprize, or take only what you have about you, or break your House, of which all People ought to be on their Guard, as expecting no other Usage from them, and a Person who I think is an honest Man, and my Friend, who by his fair Promises and Infinuations deludes me to fuch a Confidence in him, as to intrust my All, or best part of my Substance in his Hands; nay, what is more dear to me, my Wife, my Children, and all that is truly precious in this Life, and he to betray and ruin me, or my Family, and sometimes so craftily, as no Law We have in being will touch the Villain? Does any Mortal put common Thieves

Corruptions in the Law.

Thieves upon a ballance with fuch Rogues? And yet our Lawyers, or Law-makers, amongst the Thousand of Acts of Parliaments, have hitherto overlookt, or omitted to distinguish this highest Pitch of Villany.

The want of due, and fevere punishing Perjury, Frauds, Cheats, clandestine Mortgages, selling Estates over and over, and fuch like, is a great discouragement to Foreigners to come to be naturaliz'd, in order to Purchase amongst Us; for if our own ablest and cunningest Lawyers have frequently been cheated themselves, how shall an illiterate Man in the Law, a Foreigner, be fafe? There is so many Quirks, Villanies, and Tricks, now practis'd in the Law, besides the many Deeds upon Deeds, Fines passing, and endless Scrols and Offices to pass, that no one knows when he has a Title, or when not, or whether ever he is fafe, or no, in the Possession of an Estate, or that some Flaw or other that he nor his Council never dreamt of, might not be pickt in his Title; and if it do not totally deprive him of his Estate, yet it may put him to a vast Expence, For our Laws are now so Ambiguous, that they may be eternally disputed and never reconciled.

I will draw one just Parallel between our Religion, and our Law; what relates

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to the Soul, and what to the Body.

The Christian Religion lay several Ages under Egyptian Darkness of Popery, till the Reformation; but then the Priests (as our Lawyers do now) made a mighty Outcry, and Opposition against an Alteration of a Religion of fo long standing, and the settled Constitution of the Church Establish'd by Law; but 'twas answer'd, that not withstanding their pretended Antiquity, 'twas they that had alter'd, corrupted, and departed from the true and ancient Constitution of the Church, nor shou'd their long continuance in this Error, fo dangerous to Souls, be admitted as a Plea, or Reason, to remain fo for ever; for according to the Proverb, Better mend late than never. The fame Argument holds good also in respect to the present State of our Laws; We have infring'd and broken our good old Constitution, and 'tis more than time to return to, and recover it. A Reformation in the Law is of as absolute Necessity, as a Reformation was formerly in the Church, if any Regard is to be had to the Bodies of Men; otherwise, to call this an excellent Constitution, according to our present Management, is no better than deceiving poor and unfortunate People with an empty, or rather wrong Name.

Corruptions in the Law.

The Corruption of our Law was later than the Corruption of our Religion. The vast Number of Priests, Friars, Monks. Abbey-Lubbers, &c. bred out, fwarm'd, and liv'd upon the Corruption of Religion. as Insects do upon a rotten Carcas; and fome Remains of this Filth We have at this Day, viz. the Ecclefiastical Court, Esc. But when the Gospel Light shin'd amongst Us, these Vermin, who were by a Calculation about 200000, were reduc'd to about 8000 Orthodox, benefic'd Clergy, and probably three Times that Number of inferior ones. Thus the Lawyers, or those that live upon the Corruption of the Law in England, are more in Number than in all Europe besides, and ten Times more than are necessary, which nine Parts are not only fuperfluous, but mischievous, and a very heavy Burthen upon the People, and the greatest Nusance, or Grievance, the Nation now groans under. The Scriptures fav the Laws are made to punish Transgressors, but these Men encourage Transgressors. and Transgressions, perpetually setting Neighbours at Variance, without which

diabolical Work they cannot live; the very

reverse of the Peace-Makers, to whom a

Bleffing is annex'd. They Trade for the

Devil as well as themselves, being insepa-

rably join'd in one Cause and Interest toge-G 4

ther.

ther. If I was to buy an Estate, I wou'd give more Money, the farther it lay from the Neighbourhood of a Lawyer. Where most Lawyers are, there are most Dissention and Debate, and at last most Poverty. The Law is fometimes, tho? not always, begun for Right, but seldom fails to be carry'd on for Revenge. They are in one Sense much worse than the lazy Priests before spoken of, as the first being passive Rogues, the other active ones.

Case of the I will conclude this Head with some Obfervations on our Law, in relation to Debtor and Creditor. Our Laws, in this Case, are different from all other Nations, even from that part of the Island call'd Scotland: 1 mean in imprisoning, and detaining the Person of the Debtor for ever, tho' not worth one Farthing in the World, nor any ways capable to make the least Satisfaction to his cruel Creditor. I wonder fuch fort of Creditors have the Impudence to pretend they are Christians, or say the Lord's Prayer, which is fo diametrically opposite to their Practice, and the vain Hopes of those Men, to think they shall be fav'd, when the Condition of their Salvation depends upon this very Point, Of forgiving their Debtors, as they expect God will forgive their Debts. Our Saviour enforces this, by a Parable of a Lord that forgave his Steward a great many

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Talents upon his pleading Insolvency, but this wicked Steward, as soon as he went out of his Presence, forgot his Lord's Clemency, and threw his Fellow-Servant in Goal for a few Pence he ow'd him, tho' he us'd the same Plea of Poverty, and begg'd Mercy; which when his Lord heard of, he pronounc'd a just Judgment on him without Mercy, to throw him into an eternal Prison.

There is one general Pretence for this Severity of the Law in confining the Bodies of Men for Debts, that if it was otherwise, it wou'd destroy Credit, and People wou'd not care how far they run in Debt. Certainly there is Credit in Holland, France, and other Countries, and yet they do not keep Debtors, who have nothing to Pay, in Goal. But 'tis my mean Opinion, that this Sort of Credit that is given upon Presumption of throwing Men in Goal at Discretion, is as well ruinous to the Creditor as Debtor. I have known many Men of this cruel Disposition (particularly one who has had feldom less than two Hundred poor People under Arrests at the same time, and 'tis very common with those People call'd Tally-Men) trust Hand over Head till they have broke, as depending that the Goal was an infallible Security for their Money, which as infallibly deceives them, and as

the Proverb fays, Pays no Debts; fo that Men relying upon this rotten Foundation, or Remedy, tipp one another down like Nine-Pins, and follow close at the Heels into the Road of a Prison. If Men had not this Power over one another, they wou'd be a little more Circumspect, and careful who they trusted; they wou'd inquire a little more into the Sobriety and Induftry of the Person who they were going to give Credit to; and if he was an honest and industrious Man, it wou'd be his Interest to keep up his Credit, and good Name, fo effential to his well-doing in this World; but a Goal is far from giving Relief to the Creditor in any Respect; and most Creditors are so besotted, that when they have arrested their Debtor, will comply with no reasonable Terms for his Release, not considering that the Debtor, when first laid hold on by those Cannibals call'd Bailiffs, is fo terrified with the Apprehensions of a Goal, that he strains all, and offers what Terms is possible for him; which if then refus'd, the Creditor never has, or can have the like Offer again; for the Blood-hounds of Bailiffs, Goalers, and the like, foon empty his Veins, and then the merciful Creditor has nothing but the bleffed Satisfaction to make Dice of his Bones, a common Saying amongst these Savages. The Curse of this

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Way of attaching, and confining the Body at Discretion, is so fatal, that if an honest Dealer, who has liv'd in great Credit, and has wherewithal to pay every one, yet if one malicious Creditor shall sue him more out of Pique and Revenge, than to get his Debt, it so ruins his Reputation, that it shall bring all the rest of his Creditors, like Vultures, upon his Carcafs, and utterly destroys him and his Family, before he can possibly call in his Debts, or Effects, to stop their ravenous Mouths. The Apprehenfion of a Goal strikes others with such a Terror, that when they have Peoples Money and Goods in their Hands, and fear the Confequence of any Lofs, or falling into the Power of the Law, run into Foreign Countries, and ruin others before they will be ruin'd themselves; in short, it hardens both Creditor and Debtor, to their mutual Destruction; for what is more Barbarous than in the Case of Bankrupcy, that after a Bankrupt has on Peril of his Neck given up all his Effects, to which his Creditors have no Objection, yet the Lord High Chancellor, who is a Judge, and has Power to determine Matters of much greater Consequence, shall not have Power to discharge the Bankrupt, but his Creditor, or Creditors, without being oblig'd to give the least Reason for it, shall, after they have stript the Bank-

rupt to his Skin, refuse to fign his Certificate, and so condemn him to perpetual Imprisonment, when he has nothing left to Support Life. If a Creditor has all that a Man hath, what can he defire more. The Laws of God, Reason and Nature, require no more, not Impossibilities; but most Creditors are such Fools, that rather than take what their Debtors (who are not Bankrupts) can give them, they will let them carry it into a Prison to spend it there.

Our Laws, in this Particular, are either better, or worfe, than those in other Countries, but be fure the latter, as far as they are against the Laws of God, Reason, and Sense of all the rest of the World; they are unreasonable, and unjust, because they do not in the least distinguish between the honest unfortunate Man, which is an object of Pity, and not of Punishment; and the Knave who always fares best, and if he has got Money, let it be by all the Villanies in the World, shall evade the Severity of our Laws, and make any Prison (if it hold him) a Palace; whereas the unfortunate Person, if he has led the Life of an Angel, and in its whole Course has been charg'd with no ill Action, or the least Extravagancy, an unavoidable Accident may happen to him that no human Prudence cou'd foresee, or prevent, as a Loss at Sea, a Fire at home,

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home, fo that the Person that was to Day worth some Thousands, to Morrow shall be as many in Debt, and for his Confolation after these miserable Missortunes, a Goal is to be his Portion, where he must meet with the cruelest of Deaths, viz. a lingring one, to starve between Stone Walls, whilft his Wife and Children are begging about the Streets. The Law of God fays this, At the end of every seven Years thou shalt make a Release. And this is the Manner of the Release: Every Creditor that lendeth ought unto his Neighbour, shall release it, he shall not exact it of his Neighbour, or of his Brother, because it is called the Lord's Release. In the Year of the Jubilee there was a Release of all Mortgages, Slaves, &c. But the poor Debtor in England has no Redemption till the Day of Death or Judgment.

'Tis reckon'd there is about Sixty Thoufand miserable Debtors perishing in the Prifons of England and Wales, where Hundreds die weekly of Want and infectious Diseases, whose Blood, I fear, cries for Vengeance on a Nation that tolerates fuch Cruelty by a Law. I knew a poor aged Instance Man that had liv'd well in his time, and of a pour married a very good Woman, with whom his Family he had a Fortune, but was brought by Mif-ruin'd for fortunes to that Degree of Poverty, that he a Debt of Six Pence. was arrested in the Borough of Southwark

for no greater Sum than Six-pence in a Marshal's Court Writ (that cursed Court, which is only kept up to breed, and maintain a vile Kennel of Blood-Hounds call'd Attorneys, Solicitors, Petti-foggers, Bailiffs, Goalers, and the like) and carry'd to Prison because he cou'd not pay that, and the Charge of the Writ and Arrest; and tho' his Wife, who was a weak and fickly Woman, offer'd to pawn, or fell the Bed from under her to release him, yet it cou'd not be done, for his Fees in two or three Days amounted to above Thirty Shillings, which was more than all they had in the World wou'd raise; so he was forc'd to lye starving in Prison, the poor Woman, thro' Grief and Want, soon died, and he continued a Prisoner till he was releas'd by the Fifty Pound Act, but was fo reduc<sup>3</sup>d by Hardships, and contracted such Distempers in the Prison, that he died immediately aster he was out, his Children were turn'd naked into the World to shift for themselves. This is one Instance of Hundreds of the like Nature that daily occurs in the Counters. Marshalsea, Whitechappel, and other curfed Prisons.

The Word of God not only forbids in many Places, the use of false Weights and Measures, but likewise declares divers Weights and Measures are an Abomination

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to the Lord. To what end then do fundry Courts, of different Methods, and distinct Prices, in the same Place, for the same Matter, ferve, but meerly to puzzle and confound the unwary Suitor; as the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and many other Jurisdictions are now used for one and the same Purpose, according to the Pleasure of the Law-quack, quite contrary to their original Institutions? And if it be beneath the Dignity of Superior Courts (in tenderness to the Liberties of the Subject) to require Bail for less than Ten Pound certain Debt? Why have the Inferior ones a Power to imprison the Subject upon the least Suggestion, and even no Certainty at all? To the Ruin (I may fay Murther) of many Hundreds of People every Year, in the numerous Jurisdictions in every County, City and Town in this Kingdom, which, like Spider's Webs, not only intrap the viler Insect, but likewise the laborious Bee, and whatever is not of Force to relift them, and pollute all Places where they are; or rather like so many Inquisitions, which under the pretence of Justice, and publick Conveniency, are the Nurseries of Cannibals, and meer Pests of the Nation; of which the Marshal's Court may properly be of the call'd the Grand Inquisition. 'Tis stil'd, in-Marshal's deed. Caria Palatii. how ressonable its deed, Curia Palatii; how reasonable its

Original

Original was, I leave my Betters to judge, and consider it here only in its present State, and as it has been for many Years past.

This Court extends Ten Miles round the King's Palace; and within that Verge, any Person whatever (that is not especially privileg'd) may be Arrested and Imprison'd for any Value whatever, even to a Farthing Candle, and for any Cause or Pretence, ei-

ther known or unknown.

'Tis a Court, for the most part, used for Vexation and Revenge, and generally known to favour the Plantiffs in the vileft and most scandalous Litigations, where Defendants shall be put to several Pounds Expence for a Three Penny Matter, or less, fuch as a Quart of Green Peas, valu'd Two Pence half-penny; a Penny worth of Herbs. The First there was a Trial for in this Court, and a Child was arrested for the Second; and many Hundred of the like Prefidents; and are often condemn'd in fuch Causes as wou'd every where else be rejected as infamous and abominable; to the great Encouragement, and Propagation of Envy, Hatred, Malice, and all Uncharitableness; and to the vast Trade and Affluence of that mock Judicature.

It's Practice is all engross'd by four Council and six Attornies, for which each of these last pays about a Thousand Pounds at his

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Entrance; and 'tis a known Maxim among them, That he who buys the Devil may fell him again. They have prodigious Numbers of select Bailiffs, or Catch-poles, who purchase their Places, each of whom keeps an Office and a Goal in his House, where the Person arrested is usually brought, in order to be well drain'd, under pretence of Civility, where he is reckon'd about Nine Shillings for his Arrest; his first Nights Lodging costs him Two Shillings, in a Bed; it may be, not worth Five, and a Shilling a Night afterwards; besides, their spunging for Liquor, where he must pay a Groat for what is not worth Two Pence: And if the poor Wretch has not Money to pay for Drink, Tobacco, or other Necessaries which the Bailiff sells in his House, these Rogues will not suffer his Friends to bring it to him: And if the poor Captive cannot find Bail, or fuch as they like (after this Purgation) he is hurry'd to the Marshalsea, where his first Entertainment is, to have his Clothes strip'd off his Back for Garnish Money, and then for want of Money, Clothes, and Friends, is lest naked to perish by Cold and Hunger.

Such has been the Fate of Thousands within the Compass of a few Years; and so notorious are the Calamities and Destructions of that Place, that all the Inquisitize

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ons in Spain and Portugal, and all the Gibbets and Gallows in England, cannot vie with it for Slaughter; feldom less than five or six Hundred being there pent up together at a time, besides what is in Bailiss Houses, as private Prisons; and seldom less than six or eight, and sometimes more, dying in it every Week thro' Misery and Want, and a Distemper peculiar to that Place, call'd the Distemper of the Prison, which is an Insection near akin to the Plague; while vast Numbers abroad are continually worry'd, and sleec'd by the Beasts of Prey belonging to that Court.

It may be objected, that an Habeas Corpus will remove all Causes above five Pound. Tis true, but that is very Expensive, and likewise Bail requir'd thereon, which the poor and friendless cannot procure; also, the far greater Number of Causes in that Court are laid under Five Pound to prevent such a Remedy.

That such notorious Grievances shou'd stare every Hour in the Face of Sacred Majesty, and the Supreme Courts and Councils in the Nation, without Consusion, is no less wonderful? A Court (rather a Monster of the first Magnitude) obnoxious to all but it self, and universally condemn'd as Iniquitous and Oppressive, and as a grand Disturber to the best and most approv'd Course of our Laws.

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I know not how this Python came to survive all the Shafts of a late Parliament that were shower'd upon him. If a shower of Gold will do it at any time, that cannot be wanting, and in a large Quantity too, feeing there are so many who are able and willing to contribute to it. Its Members are all at Unity in themselves, and have also their distinct Interests, by Wiliness, and Diligence to Parry every Thrust; and the Patrons of Vice, and Oppression, being generally more subtle, and vigilant in their Generation than the most Virtuous: Thus I doubt it formerly was, and thus it feems to have stood in some other Cases of Moment. I wonder the other Gentlemen of the Law, the Judges, and eminent Council, Men Famous, and of great Reputation, don't rife up all in Arms against this rascally Court, as a Scandal, and great Encroachment on the Law. This Court is as ridiculous for the Lawyers. of Reputation to suffer, as for the College of. Physicians to sit still, and see a Seminary of Quacks, Horse-Doctors, and Merry Andrews, set up for Poisoning People under their very Nofes, and get more Money by it than they do by Curing.

But I hope in God, that so Excellent a Parliament, under so Gracious a King as at this time, will revise the said former Pro-

ceedings in Parliament, against that Sourse of Inquity, and Destruction, and extirpate the same for ever.

Besides the Numbers that perish for ny of Goal want in the Marshalsea Prison, White Chappel, Counters, and other Prisons in England, mostly by the Villany of the Goalers, I am credibly inform'd by Persons who have been Prisoners, and Eye Witnesses in the Gate-House Westminster, that Prisoners there have been willfully, and actually starv'd to Death, by the Tyranny of the Goaler, who for a Word speaking, that has offended this absolute Monarch (as all Goalers are) have been fetter'd with Irons of Sixty Pounds weight, and have worn them fo long as to eat into their Legs, gangreen'd them, and turn'd to a Mortification, and at the same time has deny'd them Sustenance, and imprison'd, for some time, the Persons that presum'd to bring them any; 'Tis very odd that a Goaler shall be suffer'd to assume such a Despotick Power over a Free-born Englishman, as to put Fetters on him at Discretion, and take them off at Pleasure: Fetters are a terrible Addition to the Punishment of a Prifon, and has cost many Mens Lives. Now if the Law annexes this Punishment to any Capital, or particular Crime, why should it be left in the Power of a Goaler to put them on, or take them off as he thinks fit?

Case of the poor Debtors.

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But the Reason is very plain, 'tis a considerable Perquisite of his Place, for which he gives a great deal of Money; for this very Article in the fingle Prison of Newgate, is worth fome Hundreds a Year. But why must poor a Debtor be setter'd like a Malefactor? Why, Toleration and Custom goes a great way with Us (except the Cufforn of doing good) and is as good as a Law, especially if it be well paid for: Thus the Catholick Inquisitions, were first set up against Moors and Jews, but now turn'd upon Christians.

Most, or all of these Goalers, purchase Goalers their Places, and give Civility Money to give great fome body to wink at their Villanies and Sums of Money for Murthers. I remember a Book was prin-their plated about twelve Years ago, of the Oppref-ces. fions of Goalers, wherein was prov'd Rapes. Robberies, and Murthers, but nothing came of it: Orare Liberty and Property! Bleffed Constitution, that other Countries need Envy Us in, which if it shou'd tempt a Foreigner to come and dwell amongst Us, and he be arrested for a Suspicion of Debt, in a right or wrong Action ('tis all one for that) and so fall into the Power of one of our Goalers, and be us'd according to Custom by the Lawyer and the Goaler, Extortion, Cheats, and Oppression, unknown in other Countries, he wou'd think all our fine Pre-

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tences

tences were to be read backwards, as Witches fay their Prayers; and that the true meaning of Liberty and Property in our Sense, or rather Practise, was Tyranny and Slavery.

To these Miseries every Man, Woman, and the very Infants who live in England, are all liable, especially those that are so unhappy to meet with Casualties and Misfortunes, tho' never so unavoidable.

All these Oppressions, they say, have more than once been complain'd of, offer'd to be prov'd, but never punish'd, or remedied; and are still ready to be prov'd again by the Oaths of many living Witnesses.

The Miseries and Torments poor Prisoners for Debt have fuffer'd, as Starving, Dungeons, Chains, Whippings, Beatings, breaking their Limbs, and other Punishments, if they did not quite kill them, has driven some into Despair, so as to lay violent Hands on themselves, and others it has bereft of their Senses, and, as before, all Complaints against these Devils incarnate have been in a manner fruitless, and cou'd never procure an Enquiry into the Behaviour of Goalers.

The Prisons in France, Holland, and o. ther Countries, are at the Governments Charge; the Goaler paid his Salary by the State; the Prisoner for Debt allow'd a good ChamCase of the poor Debtors.

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Chamber, Bed, Bread and Water at the Publick Coft, besides what the Creditor is oblig'd by the Laws of the Country to give for the Subfistence of the Debtor, which is unalterably stated, according to the Quality and Manner of Living of the Debtor before he fell into Misfortune. There the Goaler has not the least Power over the Prifoners; he has nothing to do, but to keep his Doors shut, and his Prisoners safe, till they are deliver'd by due Course of Law, which cannot be long; for if the Creditor does not foon grow weary of maintaining the Debtor, in most Countries he will be discharg'd upon giving up his Effects. But here a Free-born Liberty and Property Englishman, shall upon the bare Pretence of Debr be confign'd over to the Tormentor, and destroy'd, before 'tis known whither he has infring'd any Law, or fallen under that barbarous one We have in Relation to real Debts.

Our two great Prisons, the Fleet and King's-Bench, to which, by Virtue of the Habeas Corpus Act, a Prisoner may remove himself for his greater Ease, from any other Goal in England, has Rules appointed each of them, our Courts well knowing, that the bare Prison Houses cou'd not at some times contain the tenth Part of the Prisoners, except they wou'd flow them like H 4 Fag-

Faggots upon one another; but this small Benefit the poor Prisoner cannot have, for all 'tis allow'd by Law upon an absolute Necessity, except the Goaler is well brib'd, for 'tis left purely to his Will and Pleafure, whether he shall stiffle all his Prisoners to Death, or give them Air, according as 'tis most for his Profit; for which Reasons vast Sums of Money, and prodigious Rents, are given for these Prisons, which must be got out of the Blood of the Unfortunate, extorting that Money from them which justly belongs to their Creditors, or that which shou'd preserve the miserable Debtor from perishing in the Prison, or his Family from starving out of it.

What trifling Objections against altering this cursed Law, or rather Corruption, Innovation, or Custom, I have already answer'd; but if there is any Reason, or colour of Reason for exercising this Tyranny, which neither the World, or I, have ever heard, it wou'd be very convenient to publish it, that if We must be used worse than Dogs, or Slaves, we may have the Satisfaction to know where the Wisdom, or Policy of it lies. Why truly, the Rich that feel none of this, and the Villains that get by this, will tell you, that notwithstanding all these bitter Complaints, We are the happiest and most powerful Nation in the World

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World. 'Tis plain, that God has given Us more Bleffings and Advantages to be fo, than any other Nation, but that We have had dangerous Convulsions, and upon the very brink of Ruin more than once, I believe no one will deny, which cannot justly be attributed to any Thing, but our Wickedness and Folly; neither can We ever in a Religious, and Human Sense, say, We now, or ever shall stand secure, except We mend our Manners; and to lay a Claim to the Bleffings of Providence upon so ill a Foundation, as Corruptions and Cruelty, is the height of Madness. But how ungrateful are We to God for our many Deliverances, and undeferved Bleffings, as to make fuch merciless Returns upon our Fellow-Christians, Subjects, and Countrymen.

'Tis strange that We shou'd boast so much of our Liberty and Property; if We mean any Thing by these Words, it must be ironically; but they who talk most of it, are Persons who (as We commonly say) are above the World; they have Estates, Employments, very Rich, or generally are Lawyers, who all have it in their Power to oppress, and ruin the Poor, and meaner Sort of People, without fearing any such Usage themselves, because they have the Protection of Money to depend on, which is sufficient to save them, and destroy others.

The vulgar Mistake about this Liberty and Property, is, because 'tis not in our Princes Power to oppress Us; but 'tis in every one of his Subjects Power to tyrannize over one another, so that We have only taken this Power from him, to lodge it in our selves, or rather the Lawyers; but some are of Opinion, that 'tis a less Evil to have one Tyrant than many: Our corrupt Nature prompts Us to oppress and tyrannize over our Fellow-Creatures, and 'tis great pity any Government should leave it in our Power to exercise it, when we seldom want the Will.

Instead of being a Free People, We are in some respect the worst of Slaves, I mean the common People, who are a Hundred to One of the other Sort, for which of them can call the little they have their own a Moment, or secure their Persons one hour out of Goal.

As to a Man's Property, or Goods, how long can he promise himself the Enjoyment of them, when he shall be sued to an Outlawry and an Execution, unknown to him; and tho' he never absconded a Minute, of a sudden be stript of all.

As to the Liberty of his Person, 'tis too notorious We all have full Liberty to throw one another in Prison when We please, right or wrong, for a Cause or no Cause;

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and if we have not Friends, Money and Bail, there we must lye at the Mercy of those good natur'd Men the Goalers, who may put Us in a Dungeon, load Us with Irons, and starve Us, as a great many have been.

In criminal Cases, or breach of the Peace, no one can be depriv'd of his Liberty without Oath first made as a Proof of the Fact, but in the Case of Debt, or Damages, a Man shall first be punish'd, nay executed, and his Family destroy'd, before 'tis known whither he is a Debtor, or no; nay, he shall lye in Prison till the Day of his Death, and never be try'd, except he has Money to force, and stand a Trial with his Adversary; and after all, his Adversary knowing that his Action was only Vexatious, will fuffer a Non-suit, and in the City the Cost is not above Seven Shillings, or thereabouts, tho' perhaps the Prisoner has lain in the Counter, or Spunging-House, for some Weeks or Months; and besides the Charge, and loss of time in his Imprisonment, have been at ten times that Expence in defending the Suit; fo that when the poor Man, with great Trouble, Difficulty and Charge, has got rid of that Action, the Prison Doors shall be no sooner open'd to him, but another Fob Action shall be laid upon him, his Adversary having no

orner View, than thro' Malice, or Revenge to ruin him, being at the Certainty to be at a small Expence, in Comparison of the great Charge, Imprisonment, Vexation, and Trouble, he shall put the poor Sufferer to. To my certain Knowledge, and Hundreds others, many have been ruin'd and destroy'd this Way; and 'tis so far from being a Novelty, that 'tis in a manner a com-

mon and daily Practice.

'Tis very unjust that a Man shall suffer fo grievous a Punishment as Imprisonment, especially in our Goals, where if they are friendless, and moneyless, as many miserable Wretches are, they had much better be hang'd out of the Way, than endure the Hardships they must conslict with there: Our Prisons, particularly for Debt, being the worst look'd after in the World, for the Goaler is perfectly Absolute, and may do what he pleases with his Prisoners, and all this upon hardly so much as a Presumption of being in Debt. 'Tis not enough to punish Us for such Misfortunes as all Men are liable to, and may bring them in Debt, notwithstanding the greatest Caution in the World, except Men can command Providence; but We must have strange Paradoxes amongst Us, for many have been starv'd in a Prison for Debt, who ow'd nothing, at least not to those at whose Suit Case of the poor Debtors.

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they lay; and what is still worse, perhaps the Prisoner is the Creditor, and the Prosecutor the Debtor; and as this has been, for I affirm it may be, and will be, as Matters stand at present; for if one Man has Money, and has a mind to ruin another that has none, or Friends to affift him, he may accomplish his Designs, and no Remeay provided in the Law for the wrong'd and perfecuted Person, for what little Justice We have left, must be well paid for before you can have it; and if you are without Money, tho' you cannot be hang'd for having empty Pockets, you may be starv'd in a Goal, if any Body will please to put you there. Why shou'd a Free-born Englishman, (as we vain-gloriously stile our selves) be imprison'd for Debt at the Suit of any Perfon, till 'tis certainly known that he owes him any thing?

If to be in Debt is so great a Crime, whether We come into it by Missfortunes, or otherwise, as to deserve the worst of Punishments, perpetual Imprisonment, 'tis all the Reason in the World it shou'd first be determin'd, if the Person has committed this heinous Crime before he suffers the Punishment. To be hang'd first, and try'd afterwards, is very hard upon Free-born Subjects. What Guilty, or not Guilty, all one in the Language of a Goal? I suppose then,

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that Prisons, Dungeons, Fetters, starving between Stone Walls for no fault, are no material Articles in the Liberty of a Free-

born Englishman.

Our ancient Law was, that the Debtor must first be summon'd, and the Creditor prove his Debt, before he had any Power over his Person; but 'twas not over that (but only over his Goods) 'till our later, and corrupter Ages. Some will fay, that if this way of Summons is allow'd, 'twill be only a Warning for Debtors to run away. and then the Creditor will loofe his Money. A Man that runs away from his Creditors may recover himself, come again, and make Satisfaction in part, if not the whole, however the Creditor has some Chance for its but those thrown in Prison are dead to the World, their Effects (which the Creditors cannot come at) are become forfeited, and the Perquisites of the Goaler. The dread of a Goal for Debt being infinitely more terrible than for Felony (because Felons have a common Purse, and live well for the short time they are confin'd) has made many, besides those who have fled the Kingdom, take to the Highway, House-breaking, Coining, &c. because those who were sensible of the Terrors of perpetual Imprisonment in the utmost Penury, preferr'd the hazard of Death before it. In short, besides the inhumana

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human, barbarous, and foolish Way of these Proceedings, or pretended Law, in-

numerable Mischiefs attend it.

There is a Place on the other Side of the Water, in St. George's Parish, call'd the Mint, where a great Number of unfortunate Persons have agreed together to recover a little of ancient Liberty, and rather to loofe their Lives than be carry'd to Prison for Debt, tho' they do not in the least refist the Execution of the Law in any other particular; for this little Republick (in this respect) has a very regular Government, executed by their Senators. which they call Clubs, in which some Days every Week they meet together, and examine all Enormities, for they give shelter, or Protection unto none, except purely to the Unfortunate in the case of Debt. They protect no Man who has it in his Power to make Satisfaction; no Man who flyes from his Bail; no Cheat of any Sort: In short, they are a tolerable good Sort of People, as Times go, and every whit as honest as their Neighbours, notwithstanding they are call'd by a great many bad Names; yet I am of Opinion they are at worst, very diminutive Rogues in Comparison of those out of the Place; however, their Creditors, and the Bailiffs in general, are mighty Angry with them, because they will not quietly

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quietly go to Goal, and there be starv'd; tho' abundance of them, being at liberty to Work, having Time, with their Industry, have paid their Creditors their whole Debt; and others part, according as they can agree, which cou'd never have been done if their Creditors had had their Wills to throw them into a Prison. God allow'd several Sanctuaries, or Cities of Refuge; and feeing the Law of our Land allows of none, these Gentlemen allow themselves one. When they catch a Baily (who is an Enemy to their Constitution) they treat him according to the Custom of the Place, which like most of our Courts, is as binding as a Law. 'Tis true, they make use of very few Law-Books, for which Reason they live very lovingly together, confulting one anothers Good, and Safety, and account their little Cottages happier Dwellings, than Palaces out of the Place, where Bailiffs and their Dogs are continually waiting at their Doors with Writs and Executions. They give Credit to one another, as well in this Place as in any other, according to their Abilities, only upon Honour, and honestly pay when they have it, and better than those out of it, notwithstanding the infallible Security of a Prison, as some soolishly and ridiculously account it. It has been talk'd a long time of putting down Case of the poor Debtors.

this Place, but I believe it will not be easily done without a great deal of Mischief; but the best Way to set this Place on the same level with the rest of the Kingdom, is to bring the rest of the Nation on a nearer level with them; that is, to let all the other good People of England have the same Protection for their Persons by Law from a Prison for Debt, as they have by Force.

Such prodigious Wickednessas is sum'd up in this Treatise, and much more which cannot be brought into so short a Compass, one wou'd think, without the Mercy of a forbearing, and long-suffering God, were more than sufficient, before this time, to sink any Nation to the bottomless Pitos Perdition, and shower more dreadful Judgments on Us, than was pour'd down on Sodom and Gomorrab.

God told his People, the Jews, that if they suffer'd one Murther to go unpunish'd, their whole Nation shou'd answer for it. The Guilt of Blood has a dreadful and malignant Influence; and as a small Taint, or Poison in the Finger, shall by degrees corrupt, or contaminate the whole Mass in a Man's Body, then what can We expect for so much innocent Blood, and many Murthers (in all the most cruel and aggravating Circumstances that can attend that unpardonable Sin in this World) to pass with Impunity? Let us not deceive our selves,

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felves, 'tis the same God who rules over Us, that denounced his Curse to the Jews; who did not shed that Man's Blood, who was the Death of another; he has not alter'd his Mind, or this Law, but 'tis horrid Folly to tempt and provoke God at this rate, for Blood incessantly cries to Heaven for Vengeance, and no Atonement, or expiating the Crime, but by rendring Vengeance to the Offenders.

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I have often heard the Members of Parof Parlia- liament for Scotland shew a great Indigna-Scotland, tion against the Cruelty of our Law, in for bring- keeping poor Wretches in Prison for Debt, and starving them, when the Laws of their bout Deb. Country obliges the Creditor to give them tors, upon an Allowance fuitable to their former Way Foot with of living. These Gentlemen have made feveral Efforts to put our Laws, in this respect, upon the same foot with theirs, purely out of a compassionate and generous Principle, for it can be little or no Advantage to them; but as they have conform'd in the Union to some of our Laws, 'tis very reasonable to agree with them in a Particular calculated for our own Benefit.

I will answer one general Objection, tho? dion, and I think it an ignorant and foolish one, that is, 'Tis very inconvenient, if not dangerous, to alter the Course of our Laws, tho? iome

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some may be Sufferers through their Severity. To this I reply, That 'tis as much our Duty to stop the Course, or alter bad Laws, as 'tis to make good Ones. Now I hope I have in some measure shew'd, that our present Laws, especially about Debtors, is Anti-christian and Impolitick; but 'tis so far on the contrary side, that I will prove that We have departed from our good old Laws, which were fo tender of the Liberties of the Subject, and have alter'd, or which is worse, corrupted them; and that by the ancient, and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, no Man's Person was to be imprison'd, or detain'd for Debt.

"It is evidently, and undeniably plain, We have " that (by the Ancient, Common Law of departed " the Land) the Bodies of any of the Peo-ancient " ple of England, could not, at the Suit of Laws. any Subject, be Arrested, Imprison'd, or " any of them Out-law'd, for Debt or Da-" mages (or any Thing thereunto relating) " as clearly appears, not only by our anci-" ent Laws, but by the Authority of these " two great Sages of the Law, the Lord " Chief Justice Coke, in his Third Report, " Fol. 11, & 12. and the Lord Dyer, An. " 23 Eliz. 305. b. the which, also by Magna " Charta, Chap. 29. (that great Expositor. " of our ancient Laws) was, in affirmati-" on of the ancient Common Law, with

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" great and wary Circumspection, provi-" ded against, and not only (not as much " as thought on before the Conquest) but " was abhorred, in the least, to be practi-" fed from that time, and the time of the " Birth of that explanatory Law, which " was in the Ninth Year of the Reign of "King Henry the Third, until many Ages " after, there being variety of great, weigh-"ty, and pregnant Reasons, for the Pre-" servation of that greatest Liberty, and " Privilege of the Subject (the Freedom of " their Persons from Imprisonment) and as " well those ancient Laws before the Con-" quest, as the Laws until the making of " the great Charter (and Threescore Years " after) were in that particular, (with all " studious and sedulous Care) inviolably " observ'd, as an eminent and signal Badge " of the Immunity, and heroick Freedom " of the English Nation, who were then " deservedly called (Libera Gens) and liv'd " fo, and in fo great and happy Splendor, " to the envious Admiration of the rest of " the Christian World, and to the eternal " Honour of our Ancestors, without being " subject to any such Imprisonment, not only all the time of William the Conque-" ror's Reign (which was above Twenty "Years) but One Hundred Fourscore and "Fourteen Years after his Death, and une Case of the poor Debtors.

" til the Statute of Westminster the Second, " Chapter the 11th, made in the Thir-" teenth Year of King Edward the First, " invented a Capias, and a new Process of " Out-lawry which (from that time) was " full so many Years; the Statute of the two " and fiftieth of Henry the Third, Chap. " 23. (although the first that ever made any English Mans Person subject to such Arrest) " yet it being only against Bailiss of parti-" cular Lords, I lay no great stress on; but " that Breach and Inroad being once made " into, and upon the Common Law, by " the Statute of Westminster the Second. " gave Encouragement to the unhappy " Production of another Statute, made in " the twenty fifth Year of the Reign of "King Edward the Third, Chap. 17. by " which it was Enacted, That fuch Pro-" cess shou'd be made in Debt, and Detinue " of Chattels, and by Process of Exigent, as " was then used in Writs of Accompt; " which were two fuch keen Laws, that " they not only invaded, but cut in funder " the choicest Liberty of the Subject, by " fubmitting the Persons of the then Free " People of England to the Cruelty of Im-" prisonment for Debt and Damages; but "the same wise King Edward the Third, " of whom the Lord Chief Justice Coke,

in the second Part of his Institutes, Fol. 29.

" gives

" gives this Character, That King Henry "the Second, Edward the First, and Ed-" ward the Third, were all of them Prin-" ces of great Fortitude, Wisdom, and Ju-" flice, that govern'd by their Laws; but " that, in the Reign of King Edward the 66 Third, the Laws did principally flourish, who, faith he, was a Noble, Wife, and " warlike Prince. This prudent Prince, "I fay, looking deliberately into the Wounds " those Statutes had given to the Honour " and Happiness of the Kingdom, and to " that Ancient and most Venerable Part of " the Common Law, which preserv'd his "Subjects Persons from Imprisonment, " and the very many Kings Reigns and " Ages, without any the least interruption, " which that glorious, and famous Liber-"ty had prosperously continu'd; and as it " were, repenting of the making of the " faid bitter Statute, of the twenty fifth "Year of his own Reign; and he and his " Parliament finding the mischievous In-" conveniences and Dishonour that it had " put upon the People, and resolving to file " those Shackles from off the Subjects Feet, " and to re-invest them into the Liberty " and Freedom of their Persons from Im-66 prisonment, according to the Common " Law of the Land, by that gracious healing Statute, made in the two and forteth "Year

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"Year of the Reign of the same King Ed-" ward the Third, Chap. 1. those two Razor " mettled, cutting, rigorous Laws were, as " to fuch Imprisonment as aforesaid, by " the Opinion of many, and by the general " Construction of Law, and the true in-" tendment hereof, repealed, which decla-" red, That the great Charter should be " holden, and kept in all Points; and if a-" ny Statute be made to the contrary, that " it shou'd be holden for none; which said " last mention'd Statute, was according to " common Construction, intended fully to " restore the Brightness and Lustre of the " ancient Common Law, and to support " and maintain the Strength and Vigor of " that Standard of Law and Justice, the " great Charter, which not only afferts "his Majesty's just Rights and Preroga-"tive Royal, but defends, and preserves " the Freedom, and just Liberties of the " People, which, as the same Author in " his Preface to his fecond Institute tells "Us, hath been confirmed by two and " thirty Acts of Parliament; and not only " fo, but by the Statute of the twenty fifth of " Edward the First, the same is to be taken " as the Common Law. But the fetting " up, and Creation of the great Numbers " of Offices, and Officers, and the Herds " of Persons, which those most severe Laws,

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" Westminster the Second, and the Statute " of the twenty fifth of Edward the Third, " had most advantagiously preferr'd, al-" most in every City, Town, and Village " of the Kingdom, had so fix'd, fastened, " and rivited fuch Multitudes of Persons, " many of them of very great and eminent "Quality and Interest, in Places of great and tempting Gain, which had made fo deep an Impression upon the Minds of " that prevalent and powerful part of the "Kingdom, who had thereby plentifully enrich'd themselves, that notwithstanding the faid Statute of the two and fortieth of Edward the Third, so intentionally com-" pos'd as aforesaid, for the manumitting of the People of England, as well from "the thraldom of a Prison, as otherwise to preserve their Liberty, they went on to imprison the Bodies of the Subject, which " hath ever fince been practifed, not only " by virtue of those two Laws, Westminfor the Second, and the twenty fifth of " Edward the Third, but that of Acton, " Burnell, and the Statute de Mercatoribus, touching Arrests upon Statutes, Staple, and Merchant, and by other Laws built upon them, which contrary to the " ancient Common Law, as is very plain, "doth continue the Invaffilation of Impri-" forment against, and upon all the FreeCase of the poor Debtors.

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"born Subjects of England, except Peers; so that it is indisputably clear, how great an " Intrenchment the Imprisonment of Men's "Persons is, upon the Honour of the an-"cient Common Law, of which, as the Lord Chief Justice Coke saith, the great " Charter is but declaratory; and as a late "Writer, from good Authority, tells Us, " did not grant any thing de novo, but that thereby our ancient Laws and Liberties " were only repeated and confirmed; and " indeed all those our Ancestors maintain'd, " not only with indefatigable, prudential " Care and Industry, but with the vast " Expence of Blood and Treasure; wit-" ness the more than twenty Years inte-" ftine bloody Civil War in the Reign of King John, and in the end, the Confir-" mation of those Laws and Liberties by " the fame King, in the Face of the No-" bility, and other the great Men of the Kingdom, and of an infinite Number of " other the Free People of England, as saith " Brittaine, Fol. 219. So that there wants " nothing to make it fully demonstrable, " that by our Ancestors Magnanimity, and resolv'd Courage in maintaining the ancient Common Law, they and their Po-" sterity were not only establisht in their just Rights, but were preserv'd from such "Imprisonment for Debt, or Damages, or

" any Thing thereunto relating, Two Hun" dred and Fourteen Years after the Nor-"dred and Fourteen Years after the Nor"man Conquest, which now is inflicted,
"upon many Thousands of his Majesty's
"good, loyal, and faithful Subjects, to the
"utter Ruin of them, their Families, and
"Relations, whilst those who have lined
"their Iron Consciences with nothing but
"their Profit, and their Chests throughout
"with the Wealth of the Kingdom, which
"they have gotten by the late Wars, smile
"to see those who have sacrific'd their
"Bloods, nay, themselves and theirs, in. "Bloods, nay, themselves and theirs, in, and to his Majesty's faithful Services, pent up by many Thousands of them, in disconsolate and loathsome Prisons, and "thereby made useless Nothings to the World and themselves. Whereas, if We cast our Eyes back into the Reigns of the Saxon Kings, We shall find, that those martial, wise, and wary Princes, King Ina, King Echelston, and after them, all "the Saxon Kings, according to the anci-ent British Laws, were so very tender of the Imprisonment of Mens Persons, that " they did not punish their very Bond-Men " with it; and King Alfrede displac'd and imprison'd one of his Judges for daring so to do: And when the Government de-" volved, and came to the Normans, Willi-" am the Conqueror, William Rufus, and " Henry

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" Henry the First, took such exact Care to preserve this Liberty un-infringed, that in their Reigns not any Person was imprison'd, although for mortal Crime it self, unless he were first Attainted, upon the Verdict of twelve Men. And, "additional to all this, many Ages after the Conquest, by the ancient Common Law, the Writ de Odio & Atia was given " to a Man that was imprison'd, although for a hainous Crime, for the Death of a Man, yet the Law in that golden Age, in Favour, and out of an high Esteem it had of the Liberty of a Man, and that his Body shou'd not be detained in Prison until the Justices in Eyre shou'd come, he might sue out this Writ, directed to the Sheriff; and although the Offence for which he was committed was not Bailable by Law, yet the ancient Common Law, did so highly hate and abominate the long Imprisonments of Men, that it gave him this Writ for his Relief, which appears by Bracton, in his Third Book, Fol. 121. and by Fleta, in his First Book, Chap. 14. And with whom also Glanvel agreeth, in his Fourteenth Book, Chap. "3. And the Mirror of Justice, a Book of great Antiquity, and Estimation in the Law, as well as the Books before ci-" ted, Chap. 5. Sest. 1. complains of the " Im+

" Imprisonment of Mens Persons as an " Abuse, although it had been for break-"ing of a Goal. Now, for that it is clear " as the Light, how highly valuable, and " dearly precious, the Liberties of Mens " Persons were, by the Common Law of " the Land, all Debts and Damages being " to be properly had out of the Estate of " the Debtor, and not his Person. 'Tis " very odd, that the Law is so kind and " merciful to my Horse, as to take provi-" fional Care for a Replevin to enlarge him, " and yet that my self shou'd be retained " in durance, under a perishing Condition; " nay, and without as much as any defini-"tive Time by Law set for my Release-" ment." There are many Hundreds now starving in Goals, who ventur'd their Lives, and lost their Fortunes in the late Wars in Defence of their Prince, and Country, and have given Credit to the Government in the greatest Exigences; for want of which Debts due to them from the State, they have been thrown in Prison by their own Creditors. A hard Case, they shall be thus rewarded for their Zeal and Service to their Country; one wou'd think the least Thing the Government cou'd do for these fort of People, was, that if it cou'd not, or wou'd not pay them, it shou'd keep them out of Prison, by giving them a Case of the poor Debtors.

Protection till it did. At this rate, a Man that ventures to serve a Government is infallibly ruin'd; for if his Enemies fail to

ruin him, his Friends will not.

We thankfully acknowledge, that God Almighty has feafonably, and miraculoufly interpos'd, by his good Providence, to disperse the black Clouds that hover'd over Us, has fent Us his present Majesty King GEORGE, as his Instrument, to secure our Liberties and Properties, Jewels of the greatest Price; but how much Benefit has the poor starving Prisoner of these? Shou'd the Pretender, Turk, or Jew, over-turn this Nation, fo they broke open the Prison Doors, 'twould be a happy Change to those miserable Wretches; whoever releases them from Bondage they will account their best Friend. 'Tis pity, that (according to former Cufrom in a new Reign) there has not been yet, one Act of Grace (as they call it) in this, a general Discharge for poor Prisoners for Debt, those highest Objects of Charity: If no other, or better Means are us'd, wou'd to God this Book, or this part of it, which relates to Debtors, might fall into his Majesty's Hands, and then let it be left to his Royal Breast (which is fill'd with Goodness and Compassion) to reflect, that as he is God's Vicegerent here, he shou'd also, like that King of Kings, hold the Lives and

Preservation of all his faithful Subjects equally dear to him, and not fuffer fo many Thousands to be totally depriv'd of all the Bleffings of his Reign. Wo be to them who hide those Things from his Eyes, and interpose as a dark Cloud, or Shadow, between this Sun and the withering Plant, which perishes for want of his vital Heat; let the Sin lye at their Door, but on his Head let the Crown flourish. If these obdurate Men escape a Prison here, which wou'd foon make them Converts to Compassion, at least they wou'd have pity on themselves, if they had none for their Fellow Subjects, and Fellow Christians, they are in great Danger of a worse Prison hereafter, where there's neither Bail, or Mainprize, nor Act of Grace ever to be expected, or granted: At which just Tribunal Mens Actions will be weigh'd in an equal Ballance; all Accounts made even, which cannot be hop'd for in this World: Cruelty and Oppression shall then lose its Power; There the Wicked cease from troubling; there the Weary be at rest. There the Prisoners rest together, they hear not the Voice of the Oppressor. The small and great are there, and the Servant is free from his Master.

Those Miscreants call'd Tally-Men, who trust poor People with wearing Apparel, &c. to be paid at a certain Sum weekly,

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for which they have an extravagant Profit, use this Way; when any Person comes to take up Goods, they not only fet down the Name, and Place of Abode of the Person fo trusted, but if they bring any Servant with them to carry home the Goods, or any Acquaintance, they fet down all their Names, and then upon any failure of the weekly Payments, they Arrest all, or any of the Persons; and every Talley-Man generally keeps a Rogue of a Servant, who he makes a Bailiff; and for every Arrest, if the Debt is not Eighteen Pence, exacts ten Shillings, besides other Fees. Whitechappel Goal is cramb'd full of these miserable Creatures, at the Suit of Tally-Men; and tis these Rogues that chiefly support that Court, as well as the Marshalsea; and for the better Encouragement of Villany, which only promotes their Trade, the Plaintiff very rarely, right or wrong, misses of getting the Day; so that the whole Subsistence of all that vast Number of Insects, dependant on these wicked and barbarous Courts, is on the Bread, or rather Blood of the Poor, Widows and Orphans.

The Debtors in Newgate, especially those on Escape Warrants, who are mixt with the Malesactors, are in much a worse Condition than the Thieves and Felons, for these not only live infinitely better for

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Tally-Men. the short time they are confin'd, being foon releas'd; and if they be hang'd, 'tis much to be preferr'd before perpetual Imprisonment, to be by degrees perishing with Hun-

ger, Cold, and other Hardships.

What a Banter is Liberty and Property in a Kingdom, where Credit is fo necessary to its Trade; but when a Tradesman fails by unavoidable Misfortunes, even by trusting the Government, or a Noble Man, against whose Person he has no Remedy at Law, his Creditor shall have more Power over him than his Prince, or as much as the most absolute Tyrant, to take all he has, and then punish his Body with the worst of Deaths, perpetual Imprisonment; and where is the Benefit of all this, to render fuch a vast Number of People useless, and their Families a Burthen to the Publick, and compel others to fly their Country, or to Places of Sanctuary, where Numbers of unfortunate Persons enter into an Association to stand by one another with their Lives, in defiance of all our Laws that relate to Debt. These miserable Oppressions put Men upon a kind of a fatal Necessity to turn Knaves, and wreck their Wit to evade it all, or as much of it as they can, which by the help of the Lawyers, if they have Money, they may do; but where accrues, as I faid before, the Benefit of all this unchriCommission of the Peace.

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Hian Severity? To none but to the very worst of Rogues that tread on the face of the. Earth, viz. Pettifoggers, Goalers, Keepers of Spunging-Houses, Bailiffs, and their Dogs.

Before I have quite done with the Abu-Commissions fes of the Law, I will take a little No- of the tice of the Committee of t tice of the Commission of the Peace. 'Tis a common Proverb amongst Us, As Corrupt as a Middlesew Justice: And indeed they are corrupt enough. A Justice of Peace is a very useful Magistrate, if he keeps to, or minds his Oath, and such as We cou'd not well be without; he is ready at hand to execute the Law, be a Terror, and Check upon Evil-doers, and therefore these Magistrates are plac'd in great Numbers, in all Parts of the Kingdom, especially Middlesex; and the Nation more than sufficiently furnish'd with them, seeing hardly half of them A&; for there is a material Distinction between an acting Justice, as We call them, and an indolent one; those. who do not Act, are either Gentlemen of good Estates, or good Posts in the Government, and do not think it worth their while to neglect more profitable Business, for the poor Satisfaction of serving their Country before themselves. The acting Justices are generally posted in Places of greatest Action, viz. amongst Pick-pockets, Whores and Thieves, fuch as inhabit the

Commission of the Peace.

Out-skirts, and poorest Part of the Town, where they are very Numerous; for the Dregs of the People, in these Cases, bring in the largest Contributions. I knew a Tustice at Stepney, that his Clerk Farm'd that Office of him at Two Hundred Pounds # Annum, and got another Hundred for himself; and another Justice of Peace in Marine-square, who had not a Hundred Pound a Year Estate, liv'd at the Rate of Five Hundred, for his Dominions were very Extensive, and brought him a great Revenue, viz. a part of Ratcliffe Highway, Rosemary-lane, Church-lane near Whitechapple Church (in which Lane was not one House but was a Bawdy House, or a shelter for Thieves) Knock-Fergus, and Rag-Fair, Places vastly Populous with these Sort of People, and most, or all of them, were Tributaries to this Worthy Justice, who gave them due Protection and Encouragement, fo that round his Worship's House, in the Evening, when the Cats ufually strole Abroad, you cou'd not pass, without either having your Pocket pickt, or your Clothes torn off your Back, to oblige you to go with them; and if the Question was ask'd why the Justice of Peace, or his Constables, did not keep better Order, or suffer those leud People to act so openly, "swas answer'd, That the principal Market Commission of the Peace.

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thereabouts for the Whores, &c. at Night, was amongst the Constables at the Watchhouse, close by the Justice of Peace's House, and that two Constables who live in Churchlane, aforefaid, and daily attended this Justice, were seldom without several Highway-Men, Whores, and House-breakers, as Lodgers, and Boarders in their Houses. Tis too notorious to the World, the Bloca kishness, Knavery, and Connivance at, Lewdness, and Villany of many Justices of Peace; but the Proofs and Particulars are very much too long to infert here. If most of these Gentlemen were able and honest, 'twas impossible so little Notice wou'd be taken of the many Orders, Proclamations, Ec. against Vice and Prophaneness; Removing Papists Ten Miles from the City, and keeping a watchful Eye on the Enemies of the Government, and Things of the like Nature: That Office, through filthy Lucres fake, is corrupted as well as others. A Freuch Protestant told me this Story immediately, after it happen'd: In the late Queen's Time he was at Tom's Coffee-house in St. Martins-lane, where the French frequent, so that in a Room full you will scarcely find an English Man; and some of his Country-men, who were Papills, being talking of the Times, told the Protestants there, that this Kingdom wou'd not long

be a Shelter, or a Protection for them, for the right Heir wou'd foon be restor'd, and then the Gallows, or the Gallies, wou'd be their Portion, with many other treasonable Words. The French Protestant thought it his Duty to discover such profest, and dangerous Enemies to the Government; therefore went to a Justice of Peace, gave in his Information upon Oath against his two Country-men that spoke the Words; accordingly the Justice of Peace granted his Warrant, and they were brought before him, and the Words prov'd by the Informant, and other Witness; and when they expected the Justice wou'd have committed them to Newgate, or the Gatehouse, in order to be try'd for their Lives, he only gave them a slight Reprimand, and said, If he ever heard they did the like again, he wou'd lay them by the Heels, and so discharg'd them. In the Evening, two Days after, these two very Persons met the French Protestant that inform'd against them in St. James's Park, near the Passage opposite to the Mews, and calling him Hugonet Dog, both drew their Swords, and had he not taken to his Heels, being an unarm'd Man, and run into the Red Lion Inn, which is just by the Passage, he had been Murther'd. When he told me this Story, I proffer'd to go before the Secretary of State with him, and

Commission of the Peace.

hear what he wou'd fay about his Countrymen and the Justice of Peace; but the Man was so discourag'd and frighten'd, that, as he heard, so he believ'd, most of our Magistrates were of a Piece with the Justice; and said, if he knew there was a Defign to cut the Queen's Throat, he wou'd not trouble himself about it, or venture on a Discovery, for instead of any Reward he shou'd expect nothing but to have

his own Throat cut for it.

'Tis in vain to think that Reformation of Manners can thrive, when the Justices of Peace, whose particular Province is to take care of that Matter, want so much Reforming themselves. 'Tis with good Reason believ'd, that had only the Commission of the Peace been put into good Hands, it wou'd have been very difficult for the Enemies of our Peace to have promoted fuch Riots, and even Rebellion, as has lately spread it self so univerfally over the Kingdom. There cannot be too great Caution, or Care taken, in appointing Gentlemen for that Commission, because the Quiet and Welfare of his Majesty's Subjects, in a high Degree, depends on it; and not to bestow that Honour, and Trust in one, as a Feather in his Cap, who never intends to act; and to another, it may be, not hearty for the Government; or at least Ignorant, Indigent, K 3

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Ecclesiastical Court.

or Avaricious, and will not stick to play at small Game rather than stand out, and so admit of Whores and Thieves as his Tributaries.

peciejiaji:kal Court.

I must have one little Touch on the Ecclesiastical Court, vulgarly call'd Doctors Commons; here is an Augean Stable of Filth that requires a Hercules to remove. This Spawn, or Relick of Popery, is thought to be perfectly needless, for the Courts of Common Law may have Offices to prove, and register Wills, or any other necessary Business they transact; so that this Place is only a Harbour for the worst Herd of black Cattle in the Kingdom; and those of them that are not Atheists, have generally great Inclinations to Mother Church of Rome, who first modell'd their Court, and so consequently the greatest Jacobites in this Country. But for sooth this is a Spiritual Court, but I fear of the Kingdom of Darkness, which punishes Fornication, Adultery, Blasphemy, and the like; determines the Case of Marriages, whether lawful or unlawful, and is of great Use to separate a Man from his Wife, when he grows weary of her, and has Money enough to pay for it, as I will give an Instance presently. And indeed, if any one wou'd consider how Virtuous, and Religious the present Age is, and how these Vices are punish'd, they cannot

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but admire at the Benefit of this excellent Court. They will, now and then, catch a poor Dog, make him stand in a white Sheet, do Penance for calling a Woman Whore; but as for Blasphemy, Whoring, &c. Sins they are superior to their Neighbours in, is not their Business to suppress, except they begin the Reformation in themselves; for my part, I never heard such open Blasphemies, and Prophaneness, as from these fort of Men, and Men so universally detested, and spoken against by all Sorts of People. I have known several Papists wou'd undertake to prove, that in some Respects this Court is more Arbitrary, and worse than their Courts of Inquisition; however, I do understand but a very small part of their Mystery of Iniquity, and shall proceed to my Instance of a Marriage.

A young Man, an Apprentice, before An Inhis Indentures were expir'd, courted a stance of a Maid, and married her, which was kept bout a private, and a convenient Lodging taken Marriage. for her accordingly; soon after he was out of his Time, a Fortune fell to him, and an Offer of another Woman with Money, whom he lik'd better than his Wife; but not knowing how to get rid of her, was soon put into the Way by a Doctors Commons Man, which was thus, He cited his Wife to prove her Marriage; upon the

K 4 Trial,

Trial, which I heard, the Woman first brought several credible Witnesses to her Reputation; prov'd the previous Court-Thip, afterwards they took a Licence out of their own Office, as it appear'd by their Register; then the Marriage by virtue of that Licence, and the Register of the Church Book, together with the Witness of the Clerk, and some others present at the Wedding. Then the People of the House where they lay the first Night, and three Persons Iwore they faw them put to Bed together, afterwards the People of the Lodging which he took for her, depos'd, That he for several Months own'd her for his Wife, provided for her accordingly, besides several Letters from him she produc'd to the same purpose. Yet all this wou'd not do, for the Judge very learnedly determin'd, that whereas their Books inform'd them 'twas requilite to have about Fifteen or Sixteen Qualifications to prove a legal Marriage, and this good Woman wanting two or three of them, he pronounc'd it no Marriage (and by the same Rule might have unmarried the whole Kingdom, and made all Mens Wives Whores) and the young Fellow, who fat laughing in the Court all the while, was left at liberty to marry who he pleas'd; the Judge not regarding the Curfe entail'd on those who part Man and Wife. The poor Woman, This is the state of the when

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when she heard the cursed Sentence, and her Doom, fell down in a Swoon in the Court, and the Women who heard the Trial, were for pulling the Judge, and Councils Throats out, for they fear'd it wou'd be a President for all their Husbands to get rid of them; but when she recover'd, appeal'd from this unjust Tribunal, to the righteous Judgment Seat of God; but her Lawyers were of Opinion, 'twere better for her to appeal to the Court of Delegates, which wou'd not cost her above a Hundred Pounds; but she had not the tenth Part of that Sum to spend, and then if her Husband had more Money than she, 'twas Ten to One if she was not left as they found her, except easing her of all her Money.

If this Cause had been try'd in the ordinary Course of Justice at Common Law, by a Jury, 'twas morally impossible to have pack'd such a Set of Men together as wou'd

have given so black a Verdict.

There has been Fourty Thousand Pounds spent in a Cause of Marriage, in that Court,

and before the Delegates, of a great Fortune marrying two Gentlemen, who shou'd be the Husband, which they left undetermin'd at last; and I heard an old Proctor of the Commons say, that he was afraid he shou'd

Commons say, that he was afraid he shou'd never live to see so good Times again; I de-

manded of him, what Times he meant, he

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faid, the Time of the Plague, and the Time of that fat Cause, in both which he got an Estate.

I went to Dinner with some of the Do-Stors. who were Council against the poor Woman beforemention'd, and ask'd them whether they did not think that Man was as lawfully married to the Woman they pleaded against, as any Man in England was to his Wife; they confest they believ'd fo, but what was that to them, who were Council retain'd on the other Side. 'Twas confidently reported amongst them, that the Judge had a Hundred and Thirty Guineas for a Bribe, besides the other Bribes and Charges the Villain was at to be parted from his Wife: But this wicked Judge, that never did any Thing without a Bribe, died miserably soon after.

It wou'd be too long to enumerate all the Chargeableness, Litigiousness, Bribery, and Corruption of the Admiralty Court, in the Prosecution and Condemnation of Prizes taken in the late Wars; but this I suppose, as well as infinite other Villanies, will be set forth at large in the Book the Gentleman is writing, before spoken of.

Selett Vestries. Another great Grievance to the Nation, is Select Vestries in most Parishes throughout the Kingdom: These the late Lord Chief Justice Holt, in a Trial before him, call'd Select

select Companies of Rogues: They are a parcel of Fellows, in many Places, the Dregs of the Parish, and in some Cases of more Authority than a House of Commons, for they can levy Money at Discretion upon the Subject; solely by their Arbitrary Will and Pleasure make a Distress, and sell the Goods immediately.

They choose themselves; for when any of their Society dies, or is otherwise dispos'd of, they elect another in his Room, and so render themselves perpetual; a Privilege the House of Commons have a privilege the

House of Commons have not.

They choose all Lecturers, and other Parish Officers, and as Bribery, Favour, or Affection sways, can compel, or excuse a Parishioner to serve in the meanest and most troublesome Office in the Parish.

They influence mightily Elections in Parliament, Mayors, Common-Council-Men, &c. for if a Parishioner will not Vote as they will have him, they will be sure to sit upon his Skirts.

They Audit their own Accounts, by choosing some of their own Body for that Office. In short, a great many other Rogueries, Cheats, and Oppressions, they exercise in their Parishes, by having so large a Power, and continuing it to themselves, which is great Temptation to Corruption; all which might be easily remedied, by clip-

oing

ping their Prerogative, and making them

be chose Annually by the Parish.

Incredible are the Sums of Money rais'd through England for the Poor, tho' the Streets swarm with Beggars; and 'tis beyond all doubt, that hardly a moiety of it is really, or justly apply'd to that Use.

I might here touch upon the Corruption, and Abuse in Hospitals, and in all charitable Foundations; but least this Book shou'd fwell to a greater Bulk than I intended, it

must be let alone for the present.

Greenwich Hospital, because it relates to our wich Hof Seamen. King WILLIAM, when he view'd this Hospital, said, The English had the Vanity to make magnificent Palaces for Beggars, when their Princes liv'd in Cottages. The Revenue of this Hospital is not supported by a Tax on any other of the Subjects but the poor Sailors, they paying Six Pence a Month out of their Pay; this, with Gifts given to it, is in great part laid out in

Observati-

But I cannot omit some Observations on a stately Structure, which, tho' it be never so much for the Glory of the Nation, is very little for the Benefit of the Seamen; on the contrary, the Building being fo chargeable, the less Men can be entertain'd in it till the whole Hospital is finish'd, which according to the present Plan, and progress of the Works, cannot be in many

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many Years. But what fignifies all this Grandure of an out-fide Building to a poor Sailor, in which he must be confin'd from his Wife and Relations during Life, and made do a needless Duty. 'Tis computed the Charge of every Man there amounts to about 33 Pound # Annum; now give each of these Men but 20 Pound a Year Pension, and let him shift for himself, and he will be ten Times better pleas'd. Few Men but have Kindred and Friends, who they wou'd be glad, after the Hazards and Fatigues of a very troublesome Life, to fpend the latter Part of their Days with, and even be buried in the Graves of their Families: This wou'd be attended with great Advantages to the poor Men, and to the Government likewise; the poor Men wou'd disperse themselves all over the Kingdom, get into cheap Countries, where they might plentifully Board for ten Pounds a Year, be under no Confinement; Liberty, next to Health, being the greatest Pleafure of Life; and many of them having good natural Parts, wou'd so please the Country Gentlemen and Farmers with their Conversation, and Relation of Sea-Adventures, which the Country People are in a great measure Strangers to, that they wou'd be generally cares'd, made easie, and happy in their Circumstances, and per**fwade** 

fwade a great many young Fellows into a

love of the Service at Sea.

The Advantages to the Government wou'd be; that as these Men by Inclination, so by Duty and Gratitude, wou'd hold themselves bound to spread the Praises of it, as much as in them lay, and take off mislead Peoples Prejudices from it, and be living Monuments of the Care the Government takes of those who faithfully serve it; but these good Consequences cannot be supposed, if these Men, who by this Way wou'd disperse themselves in all Corners of the Kingdom, continue to be coup'd up in one Place, where their Consinement, and ill Usage, sours their Temper, and causes perpetual Murmurings amongst them.

But another great Advantage that wou'd accrue to the State, wou'd be, that 'twou'd fave a great deal of Money by it, which is a weighty Confideration now a-days, and indeed in all Times. There is about 500 Men now in this Hospital, and if this Method were put in Practife, the Charge that maintains these 500 Men upon the Establishment they are at present, there may be 1500, with each a Pension of 201. Phanum, for the Officers of the Hospital swallow up a vast Sum, of which there wou'd be now no need, besides the Frauds, Cheats, and Corruptions in all those Foundations.

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The great Trust vested in the Steward of this Hospital, without a legal or regular Controul, or Check, gives great Opportunities for Collusions, Bribery, and other Abuses.

Here all Justice and Discipline is turn'd out of Doors, and the Usage of the Navy at Sea, and at Land, where any Order is observ'd, which is for Superiors to be preferr'd before Inferiors, as in Pensions, and the like, where the Rank and Quality of the Person, according to the Post he serv'd, is always regarded; but in this Hofpital'tis quite the contrary, the Warrant Officers, fuch as Pursers, Boatswains, Masters, Gunners, &c. are not distinguish'd from the common Seamen, and their Victuals many times fo bad, that I have heard them fay, they have sometimes sold their Dinner for a Penny, or a Half-penny, when by the Partiality, Favour, or some other By-ends of the Managers of this Hospital, there are Fellows call'd Boatswains, who are put over these Warrant Officers Heads, have a particular Table allow'd them, have the best of the Meat either roast or boil'd, as they think fit, with Attendance on them, and half a Crown a Week; and these new fashion'd Boatswains are compos'd of Marine Soldiers, Taylors, Coblers, and Fidlers: This is a great Heart-breaking to the War-

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rant Officers, who have liv'd well, and been equally respected with Commission Officers under a Captain, and even to the common Sailors, to have fuch Persons who they knew Abroad to ferve in no other Capacities than above, and were despis'd in time of Service by the meanest Seamen, as much below them, to be ashore, where no need of any Service is, not only preferr'd before them, but even the Warrant Officers themfelves.

Then here is so much Respect shew'd to Recommendations, that the Intent of the Foundation of this Hospital, as well as all other Charities, is in time corrupted and inverted; 'tis thought, that take away the Blew-coat Habit of the Children of Christ Church Hospital, in the City, founded by King Edward the 6th, and in a few Years, instead of the Children of poor decay'd Freemen of the City getting in there, the Aldermen, and other wealthy Citizens, wou'd fill the Hospi. tal with their Off spring; but 'tis the Disgrace of the Habit that generally hinders the others, and is a Protection to the poor Orphans; so Greenwich Hospital, if a Scrutiny, or Visitation was made, 'twould be found upon a strict Examination, that hardly a moiety of the Men are entitl'd, according to the Laws of the Foundation, to be there; this is the Effect of powerful Recommendations?

Observations on Greenwich Hospital. 145 mendations, when a Gentleman has a mind to be rid of an old Servant, which he is not willing to provide other wise for, by Bribery, and other clandestine ways, to the unjustly shutting out the deserving, but decay'd Sailors, for whose Relief this Hospital was only erected. I wou'd not be thought, by this, to infinuate the turning out of any old decay'd Men, who are now there, let them get in which way they cou'd, God forbid

my Intent is only to give Hints to prevent these Evils for the future.

Besides all this, for very small Offences the brave Sailors are often turn'd out of the Hospital, and so have their Bread taken from them upon every Caprice, or Prejudice of the Officers; a very hard Cafe, that after Twenty Years, or more, faithful Service of their Country, to be rob'd of that Reward to which they are so justly entitl'd, and which their own Brethren pay for; but this they wou'd not be in hazard of or liable to, if 't was put upon the Foot of a Pension; and indeed the true Intent of Hospitals was originally for those they call Invalids, diseas'd, or disabled Men, by great Age, loss of Sight, Limbs, or fuch Distempers as totally render them incapable of fo much as stirring Abroad; and so it becomes absolutely necessary some Places should be set apart either to Cure them, or Cherish them, under

under the Inspection of able Physicians, Chirurgeons, and Nurses; but most of the Persons put into this Hospital, are healthful, and hearty old Men, who yet, by their long Service, are entitl'd to this Charity; and many of them have some Art, or Trade that wou'd be a great help to them,

if at liberty to make use of it.

'Tis too long for this Place to enter into the Detail of all the Abuses and Corruptions of this Hospital, of which I cou'd muster many more; and 'twould be perfectly needless, if the above Method is taken, which wou'd effectually put an end to them. The Lame, the Blind or Bed-rid, might be remov'd to Chelsea, or where else the Governs ment pleas'd: The Revenue of this Hospital, paid into his Majesty's Exchequer, and the Pensions to the Men paid in what Method the Government thinks fit; or if the Receiver General of the King's Taxes in the Countries where the Men reside, were empower'd to pay them quarterly, 'twou'd be much for the Ease of the poor Men, and the Credit of the Government, which wou'd hardly feel it, confidering the King had the Incomes of the Hospital paid into his Exchequer, by which Means the Government might fave, or gain many Thousands of Pounds, or be enabled to cherish so many more Seamen. The Hospital converted in-

Observations on Greenwich Hospital. 147 to one of the Palaces for our Kings, which by its magnificent, and convenient Situation to receive Ambassadors; the Advantage of the Hill, and River, to make Cascades, Fountains, and other Water Works; and Nature having been lavish of all her rural Beauties to make the Park the pleasantest spot of Ground in England, with such a Prospect as the Earth does no where else afford; this, together with Whitehall when built, and Hampton Court already built, all upon the Banks of the noblest River in the World, wou'd be truly fuch a Glory to the Nation, as cou'd not be parallel'd throughout the Universe.

To Sum up what I have already faid, I shall only observe, that 'tis wonderful to consider the Power and Strength of this Kingdom by what it bears, like a tough well bred Horse that can hardly be rid to Death; half these Distempers, one wou'd think, were sufficient to ruin or debilitate the

greatest Monarchy on Earth.

'Tis not to be imagin'd, that I can think, Tis not or propose, that 'tis possible to remedy all thought, of these Evils at once, or of a sudden; no, to Remedy 'tis a Complication of Distempers, and some all the Eare Chronical, which are not to be cur'd with plain'd of a few Doses of Physick; Time, and con-in this stant Application to it must do the Work Book at by degrees; and some of the most notorious ance.

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Of a Publick Spirit.

of them may be easily remov'd, such as the Marshal's Court, Abuse of Goals, Relief of Poor Debtors, &c. But I will hasten to my concluding Discourse, of a Publick Spirit.

the Age.

The little Sense the Age has left of Hocerity of nour, Truth, and Sincerity, is a great Miffortune to Us; these are hardly counted necessary Qualifications of a Gentleman. Men effect to appear Popular, by having great Levies constantly attending them; this Policy they hope will induce the Government to court their Friendship, and fo consequently get good Places. But with humble Submission, if the Government makes this the only Rule to advance People to great Employments, it may very often chance to take in Persons who will do it a Pound of Mischief for an Ounce of Service; for generally these are a fort of Courtiers, who use a World of Compliments, are wonderful Civil, and liberal of Professions of Services to every body that applies to them, but do for none but those they get most by. They never suffer their Hearts and Tongues to agree together: They very rarely mean as they fay, but promise you one thing tho? they intend quite the contrary; make you constantly wait upon them; keep you on the Rack and Torture for Months and Years<sub>a</sub>

Of a Publick Spirit.

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Years, before they will grant you the Coup de Grace, to put you out of Pain, and kill

you quite.

This manner of Proceeding is very Custom of wide of the Notions of Honour they have the Courin China: There 'tis a Custom amongst tiers in the Courtiers and both advantage China. the Courtiers, and best educated Persons, that instead of oral Compliments, they give you a written Protestation of what they intend to do for you, that if they fail of their Promise, to remain as a Testimony against them, and a Mark of the greatest Infamy. If our Courtiers and Gentlemen did so, and there was a Law to sue them for breach of Promise, I doubt there wou'd be more Bankrupts amongst the Quality for Debts of Honour, than amongst the Tradefmen for Debts of Money.

How many have been ruin'd by this trick- Many ing and base Infincerity! Cannot a Man, ruin'd by if he has the least regard to true Honor. if he has the least regard to true Honour, cerity of and Honesty, tell a Person, after a small Courtiers. time of attending, whether he can, or will serve him. A Man of Quality shou'd be as much above, and despise the mean pitiful Arts, Shifts, and Vices of the vulgar, as he is above them in Birth, Fortune, or Station; but when he does that which an honest Porter wou'd blush at, his Quality then is as a dead Weight, which finks him as much in Contempt under the lowest de-

gree of the People, as before he feem'd to be above the common level of Mankind. If a drunken Linkman, or Carman, shou'd be guilty of some notorious Indecency in the Street, to the open view of the Mob, it wou'd not be so odious, or wonderful in them, as in a Gentleman well drest.

If to live easy and quiet, and sometimes to enjoy our own Company in a little Retirement, free from the noise and hurry of this World, be a great Happiness, I cannot see the Prudence of those Persons, who create to themselves this perpetual Teasing of numberless Followers, and Solicitors for Favours; by voluntarily and needlesly promising to one part of them to whom they cannot be as good as their Word; and the other, what they never intend to perform. If they wou'd use more Sincerity, they wou'd infallibly rid themselves of abundance of importunate Suitors, and get the valuable Reputation of Men of true Honour. No Man in his Senses can be angry, when he is deny'd that which the Person he solicits fairly shows him he has neither Reason or Obligation to do for him; or otherwise, that 'tis not in his Power: But to keep People in Hopes, make them loose their Time, expend their Money, disappoint them of other Opportunities, all with a Design to deceive them at last,

Of a Publick Spirit.

is so vile, that it wants a Name, and only ferves to entail Curfes, and lasting Infamy, instead of Blessings, and a good Character.

What the Policy, or Intent of fuch Proceedings is (which is, or have been so fashionable and common amongst our modern Courtiers) or what good Account it will turn to, let those experience who make a Merit by fuch dishonourable Ways. I do not charge all Men of Figure with this manner of Behaviour; I know fome worthy Persons that scorn it, who have more noble Souls; the other being the Marks of a Infincerity pitiful Spirit, and as I said before, does their the Mark Prince a great dif-service, by sowring, and of a means alienation the Harris China Color of the Spirit. alienating the Hearts of his Subjects from him; for if these great Men, by reason of their Posts, represent his Majesty, through whose Hands he conveys his Administration to his Subjects, they leave the Impression of a bad Prince on the Minds of the People for making choice of fuch ill Ministers.

This brings me still to affirm, that as a Publick Spirit is absolutely necessary in a Great Man, not only for the Service of the Prince, but good of the People, so Religion on is the essential Qualification of a Publick the Essenspirited Man. And here I humbly beg liftcation leave to diffent from the Opinion of an ex- of a Pubcellent Prelate, who has one Passage in an lick Spirit admirable Sermon of his, which is shock-

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ing to me; and either I cannot agree to it, or comprehend it. I wou'd not have Great-ness complimented at the Expence of Religion; this, I think, is carrying the Matter a little too far.

I remember an eminent Divine laid himfelf very open for just Censure, in a Sermon he preach'd at the Funeral of a great Duke, wherein he made many Panegyricks on his Grace's fuperior and exalted Understanding, and pav'd the Way easy for him, and those of like Quality and Gifts, to go to Heaven by a Death-bed Repentance; and though their whole Life, to a great Age, had been a continued Series of Lewdness and Debauchery, yet at the last they might repent with fuch a Grace, and in so Polite a manner, as wou'd in probability atone for all past Miscarriages, which a poor and vulgar Capacity was not capable of. This Doctrine makes the reverse of our Saviour's, for then 'ris easy for the Rich, who have good Education; and hard for the Poor, who have none, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven: No, the sighing of a contrite Heart is more eloquent with God, than all the fine Orations Man's Learning can invent.

But to return to the Passage out of this late Sermon (excepting which I admire every Word of the rest.)

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This great Prelate does allow, that wicked Men, especially great ones, endanger the Church; and I say the State too, though afterwards he feems to deny it. But he fays, Wicked Men, of good Abilities, will always be employ'd in all Governments. I fear 'twill be found too sad a Truth what my Lord says, that wicked Men of good Abilities will always be employ'd in all Governments; and he might have faid, have been always employ'd, for otherwise, how cou'd come all the Calamities that have fallen upon Mankind in all Ages? but from the Wickedness of the Men in Power. The Devil. our capital Enemy, the Destroyer of Men, makes use of no Fools for his principal Inftruments. The Apostle fays, from whence comes Wars and Fightings, &c. but from your Lusts or Vices. Sacred Writ shows us many Instances of, a wicked King, a wicked People; a good King, a good People; and our own Experience tells Us, an ungodly Court, an ungodly City: And the Contagion feldom fails to spread as far as the Country; a drunken Parson, a drunken Parish. This is only to show what is the natural Consequences, or can be expected from the Examples of those in Power; and that God has no where promifed Prosperity, Bleffings, or that any Good shall come from the Administration of such Ministers.

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nisters. Our Blessed Saviour says to his Apostles, Let your Light so shine before Men, that they seeing your good Works, may glorifie your Father which is in Heaven. Ministers of State stand in the highest Places, and strongest Lights, and 'tis of no small Consequence in what Colours they appear. Our Princes, Kings, and Queens, have frequently issued out Proclamations against Vice, Immorality and Prophaneness, take Notice of it in Speeches to their Parliaments; and many times declare, that only Virtuous and Religious Persons shall be best intitul'd to their Favours. I hope all People think they were in earnest.

My Lord further fays, The Saints did never yet govern the Earth, nor ever will. Whether the Saints have, we must examine; but when they shall have any share in governing the Earth, I cannot tell; there's not much Prospect of it now, the more's the pity; but if the Saints are not the Governors of the World, they shall be the Judges of it; yet in old, if not in later Times, Saints did govern part of the Earth, St. Abraham, St. Job, St. David, St. Hezekiah, St. Josiah; and many more in later Ages, Constantine the Great, and other good Christian Emperors; in our Nation, King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, and many more pious Princes, who had also religious MiniOf a Publick Spirit.

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sters, who we hope are Saints in Heaven. Besides, his Lordship, and the rest of the good Bishops, who have much better Title to be Saints, than many that have been Canoniz'd, are part of our Government, or Governors, as they are Peers of the

Realm. But to proceed, his Lordship fays, speaking of Ministers of State. "They are the " Men of Judgment, Languages, Dexteri-" ty and Skill, that know the World A-" broad, and all its Interests, and that throughly understand Mankind, that e-" ver were employ'd, and ever must be u-" fed by States and Princes, whether they " be Virtuous or Religious, or no; that " is their own Concern, and they must " look to it. Princes and States, if they " will be secure, must have regard to such " Abilities, and Qualities, as are proper for " their Service; and would, no question of " it, be very glad to have them also Virtuous " and Religious; but they must often be " content without the latter, if they find " the former. In Countries, where the " Clergy themselves are Ministers of State, " and execute all the great Offices of the " Country, why even there, there is little " or no Regard had in the choosing them, " to their superior Learning, Virtue, and Religion, Austere Behaviour, and a Ho" ly Life, but to other Qualities, menti" on'd before, even such, and the same as
" recommend Lay-men to States and Prin" ces for their Ministers: And they do not
" think the Church is any ways endanger'd
" by vicious Ministers, if they be otherwise
" qualify'd, by Faithfulness, by Diligence,
" and Application to their proper Business" see I do not mean hereby to yield so far

" ses. I do not mean hereby to yield so far to the reigning Calumny, as to suppose the present Ministry to be a Vicious one,

"beyond what has been before, for I am
"as fure of the contrary, as one can be of
"any fuch Matter. But I wou'd fay, that

" fupposing it were so, yet is the Church in no Danger by that.

My Lord was pleas'd to allow, a little before this Paragraph, that every National Church is, and always was in Danger from wicked Men of no Religion, from the Wickedness of many who profess the true Religion, and from all the evil Passions, Corruptions, and bad Principles of the Men that compose the Body of it. And yet afterwards his Lordship says, That Princes do not think the Church is any ways endanger'd by vicious Ministers, if they be otherwise qualified, by Faithfulness, by Diligence, and Application to their proper Businesses. Faithfulness, I humbly

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conceive, might have been left out, for Faithfulness, in a strict Sense, or good Cause, is a great part of Religion, which is rarely, or never found in a vicious Person. Diligence, and Application to the height of Perfection, may be found in the Devil and his Ministers, not often to be had in a debaucht Person; for his Vices, and sinful Pleasures, generally take up so much of his time, that he cannot attend much to Business, and so they are generally the unfittest Persons to be depended on in any Business whatever, especially Matters of moment; and tho they do not do the Devil fo universal a Service as the Atheift, who wou'd root up the very Foundation of all Religion, yet 'tis impossible they can do God, his Church and Peopleany good; they chiefly take care of one thing, that is to go to Hell themselves, and are bad Precedents for others to follow their pernicious Examples; but the Atheist wou'd perswade the whole World to accompany him to Perdition. The Hypocrite is the most tolerable of the Three, for in endeavouring to cheat God, he cheats himself, and so generally goes to the Devil alone, without carrying others with him.

I must confess, in Arts and Sciences, such as Musick, Painting, Architecture, Carving, &c. Religion is not so absolutely necessary to qualify Men, if you exclude

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the Bleffing that attends religious Men in all their Undertakings; but Ministers of State, who have the Care and Protection of the Church, as well as the other part of the Government committed to them, to expect Safety, or any Good from them, if they are Persons of no Religion, or live as if they had none, which is much at one, is past my Comprehension. Religion has the Promise of this Life as well as the next, or otherwise we mock God, when we pray both in Publick and Private for Prosperity and Success in our temporal Concerns as well as spiritual: We are not entitul'd to the daily Bread which fustains our Lives, till we ask it of that God which the Atheist or Irreligious Man denies. No doubt of it, I may be laugh'd at for the weakness of my Parts, and Reasoning, however, I cannot pass this Matter slightly over; make me but Religious, and I shall not envy the Man of the brightest Qualifications without it. A better, and wifer Man than we have now upon Earth, after he had ranfack'd all the Store-Houses, and Treasures of Nature for Wisdom, at last concluded, Behold the fear of the LORD, that is Wisdom, and to depart from Evil is Understanding. But to re-

I am very much puzled, rightly, to know what'tis most that endangers Christ's Church,

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and when it totters or shakes, which is in most danger, the Souls or Bodies of Men? Rightly to distinguish between the temporal Advantages of this Life, and what purely leads to the Happiness hereaster. Our Blessed Saviour says his King dom is not of this World. and his Kingdom and Church, I think, is much the same; then if it is of the Happiness hereafter, as undoubtedly he means, then nothing hurts the Church but what hurts the Soul of Man, which I'm fure wicked Men can be no good Guardians of. If it be the temporal Advantages here, viz. Power and Riches, I do not know but wicked Men may be thought, by some, as proper to secure that, as good Men, but in that they may chance to be mistaken. My Lord is pleas'd to fay, " That Ministers of State " must be Men of Judgment, Languages, 66 Dexterity and Skill, that know the World " Abroad, and all its Interests, and that " throughly understand Mankind, that e-" ver were employ'd, and ever must be u-" fed by States, and Princes, whether they 6 be Virtuous or Religious, or no, that is " their own Concern, and they must look " to it." But with humble Submission, I believe Princes ought to look to it, if they believe a God and Religion, for they cannot reasonably, or ought not to promise to themselves any Blessing and Success from the

the Negotiations or Administration of wicked Men: God feldom makes use of the Devils Tools to do his Work; or at least we ought not to prefume upon employing the Devil's Servants to carry on the Cause of God either in Church or State. But what I chiefly contend for is, that Virtue and Religion ought to be the first and greatest Qualification to be look'd out in a Person defign'd for a Minister of State, or indeed any other publick Employment; where this is found, there you may depend is Faithfulness, Diligence, and Application to discharge their Trust with a clear Conscience, void of Offence towards God, their Prince, and Fellow Subjects; there's no unlawful Ambition, Avarice, Corruption, By-ends, the Familiars that perpetually attend and haunt wicked Men. As to the other Qualifications, 'tis strange that no religious Men can be found that are of "Judgment, that " understand Languages, Dexterity and "Skill, that know the World Abroad, and " all its Interests, and that thoroughly un-" derstand Mankind." As to Languages, no doubt, there are religious Men who understand them as well as wicked Men; Judgment, Dexterity and Skill, are much the fame. Honesty, we say, is the best Policy. Now Honesty is a part of Religion. What this Right Reverend Prelate fays,

as to the Choice of Ministers beyond Sea. even Clergymen, if they have Languages, Dexterity and Skill, without regard to any other Qualifications, I hope is no Example for Us; We are not fond to Copy after any Roman Catholick Patterns of Policy, either in Religion or State. What I shall labour to show is, that Religion is not only the chief Qualification in Ministers, or Governours, both of Church and State, but without that Qualification all the rest will not answer the true Ends of the Happiness of Men here and hereafter, the only End that God design'd in all Government; and that on the Council and Endeavours of Vertuous and Religious Ministers, Success and Bleffings attend; to prove this by Fact, which is the best way of Proof, my little Reading and Memory will furnish but very few, but without question there are many more. Was there ever any Prince had an abler and better Minister of State than Sir Francis Walsingham in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and he was a very Religious and Pious Man? Was we ever bleft with a better Judge than the Lord Chief Justice Hales, and he was a Holy Man and great Divine? Our present two Lord Chief Justices are Religious Persons, and Divines: The Great Duke of MARLBOROUGH, to his utmost (in the Vice and Corruption, of a numerous

merous Army) kept up the Spirit of Religion by the many Days he appointed for Humiliation and Thanksgiving by his own excellent Example of Sobriety, Temperance and Command of his Passions. 'Tis drawing a bad Picture of the Age, that there can hardly now be found out a Man of Religion that is qualified for a great Post: The Uncharitable and Censorious give out so, but I believe 'tis far from my Lord's Thoughts, because the contrary is Fact; for if I have, among others, the true Character of some very Honourable Persons, in particular, who now fill the greatest Posts in the Kingdom, they are Persons of Vertue and Religion; but sometimes it may chance, that in the brightest Discourfes there may happen an unguarded Expreffion, which may want an Explanation. 'Tis not the Pride, or itch of Cavilling that tempts, or prompts me to find fault with this, or any Work of fo Excellent a Man, whom I ever did, and do greatly venerate. But my Lord, in his Goodness, will pardon me, when 'tis only my fincere Zeal for Religion that makes me presume to take this Freedom, which if I am in an Error, I believe my Lord himself will think it is on the right fide.

In China State Employments are conferr'd on none but fuch as are capable of them.

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them, and endued with rare and excellent Qualities. That no Man be esteemed Noble, if he be not Vertuous: That the Children of great Personages cannot be admitted to the Employs of their Fathers, nor entitle themselves to their Glory, Honour and Reputa- In China tion, if they do not equal or furpass them in they fix Vertue, Fixing thus Nobility to the Person, to the and not to the Blood. No Man inherits Merits of Place, Estate, or Nobility in Turkey, but and not to all must rise by dint of Merit; and these the Blood. Peoples Words are generally kept more fa- Likewise in Turkey, cred than our Oaths. It is enough to raise an no other honest Man's Spleen, or utmost Indignation, Way to to think that Heathers and Infidels hourd Preferment to think that Heathens and Infidels shou'd but Merit. so much out-do Christians in Points of Honour, or rather Vertue: Certainly their false Religions teach not better Lessons, or so good as our true one. These are such melancholy Parallels, or Reflections, that I must go no further with them, but proceed to some more Instances of the Policy and Force of Religion in all Civil and Military Affairs; neither can I conceive how, or what need there is to separate either our Temporal or Spiritual Concerns from Religion. The Divine Wisdom that sends Us to Heaven, is the best Policy on Earth; especially in a Country where the true Religion is Establish'd as well as profest. In Military Affairs We see the Force of it in our  $M_2$ 

late Civil Wars between King and Parliament. The Round-heads, if they were not sincere in their Hearts, yet they reap'd mighty Advantages over the King's Forces, by keeping up the very out-fide of it; for at first they were beaten, till they took up the Spiritual Weapons of Religion and Sobriety to affift their Carnal Weapons; and whatever their Leaders were in their Hearts, most of their Followers were certainly sincere, and very zealous, for they believ'd their Cause was of God and Religion, and confirm'd themselves in it, by the Immorality of the King's Party and Army, concluding they who were most Religious must consequently have God on their side, and the Event all along feem'd to prove it. And I am afraid that even the Rebels of those Times will rife up in Judgment against the Saints of this Age.

As the Usurper Cromwel's Army was compos'd of Religious Officers and Soldiers, so was his Council: No openly Wicked Man cou'd be employ'd under him; open, scandalous, and flagrant Sins were severely punish'd, particularly Blasphemy, a Wickedness that now Reigns with Impunity, and without Controul, of which the Roman Catholicks justly upbraid Us; for they say, that tho' We have severe Laws, and punish Words against our Prince, there's very sew,

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or none call'd to Account for speaking Treafon against the Great Majesty of Heaven and Earth, which no Greatness, Quality, or Friends, can excuse or save from Punishment amongst them; and this is the chief Reason they give for setting up Courts of In-

quisition. 'Tis faid that King Charles the fecond asked Thurloe, Oliver Cromwell's Secretary. who liv'd after the Restoration, how could Cromwel and his Adherents, which were hardly a hundredth Part of the Nation, keep him out fo long? Which he thus anfwer'd, That they employ'd no one, especially in a Place of Trust, but what was a religious and fober Man, at least of their Religion, and fuch Men they courted to ferve them, by which they were fure to be faithfully ferv'd. They did not give these Men the Trouble to sollicite for Places, (far from buying) they having no manner of Regard to fuch fort of Applications, which with them was rather to hinder a Man from Preferment, than ever procure him a Place; and that they had fuch a Regard for a Zeal for their Cause, which was carry'd on under the Mask of Religion, however, it had the outward Signs of it, fuch as a fober and vertuous Life, that they did not much study any other Parts to recommend a Person to them for great M 3

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Employments. Thus the Fleet was commanded by Horse-Officers, and the Navy manag'd by Persons that had serv'd no Apprenticeship there, and had not early learn'd the Art of cheating. There was no bugbear Objections against a Man's Want of Abilities and Experience, if he had these more valuable ones, of a Publick Spirit, and a Zeal for his Country. By which Management in their short Administration, they struck a great Terror in the World, and made all Nations within their Reach submit to them.

If a Religious Zeal for a bad Cause, an Usurpation: If at worst an outside of Religion could be of fuch Force, and like a Torrent bear down all before it, what cou'd not the Power of true Religion in a legal Government do. Say what we please, 'tis the greatest Wisdom, and that is the best Policy in all Governments, and this Politick Part of Religion was the Motive that induc'd me to presume to show my Dissent from my Lord's Opinion, but for the Divinity part of it, we all agree.

I shall now go a little farther, and make some few Observations on Publick Writers, that have recommended Religion and Vertue to us; I do not mean Divines, I have a great Reverence for the Sacred Order, and if I have offended in what I have already

faid, I humbly beg Pardon.

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I shall publish no Books of the Rights of the Christian Church, of Free-Thinking, nor Letters to the Pope to make all Protestant Priests, in some Degree, and in the Case of Infallibility greater Cheats than the Popish Priests, much good may it do them, with their Wit this Way. 'Tis an Order essential to the true Religion as well as a false. Down with the Order, or bring it into the utmost Contempt, which is much at One, and then every Man may fet up what Religion pleases him best, or think away all Religion. The Cheats of some Priests, or false ones, is no Argument against the Institution, no more than the Abuse of Religion, is a Reason that we are to have no Religion at all. Notwithstanding what false colouring witty Men may put upon it, the Design to an ordinary Capacity, is plainly levell'd to discredit Religion, and this Use the prophane and corrupt Part of Mankind make of it, and give great Scandal to the Religious Part. As much as we defpise a Priest or Minister of the Gospel in our Health, and gay part of our Life; we cry out for his Help, when our Mind is distemper'd, under the Pangs of a guilty Conscience, under the Agonies of a wicked mif-spent Life on a sick Bed; Oh then the Physician of the Soul is thought necessary, but they are not often call'd for,

but when we are in a manner past Hopes and Cure. I am not fond of a Cafe-harden'd Conscience, which will rarely stand Proof on a dying Bed, and never in the Day of Judgment. 'Tis worth the while of the longest Liver here to secure some Cordials of Comfort in our last Moments: on the other Side, all the fenfual Pleasures that we strive to gratifie our unsatiable Lusts with, cannot in the least compensate for the Terrors and Torments of a despairing and dying Sinner.

Abuse of 'Tis abominable to see the licentious Li-3he Cler-berty that is taken, not in our innocent but rather wicked Diversions, at the Theatres, with such a daring Impudence to abuse so considerable an Order of Men as the Clergy, no inconsiderable a Part of our Constitution, by frequently exposing the Character upon an open Stage, to make Sport for Buffoons and Rakes, having a standing Rule amongst the Scum and Rotten Part of the Creation, never to bring a Parson to act any other Part than that of a Fool, Drunkard, or Knave, with vilanous Nick-names. Such Prophaneness, Folly, and Audaciousness, was never suffer'd, or so much as heard of, in any other Countreys of the World, Christian or Heathen; despise and scandalize the Artists, and the Arts or Science will have little Credit.

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I am not setting up as a Defender of the Clergy, in Order to court their Favour, as some may infinuate, they are Gentlemen of Learning and Parts, and stand in little need of me for an Advocate, neither am I a Bigot. I must keep to my Text, and answer, as well I can, the Title of my Book (a Publick Spirit) which I affirm, cannot be separated from, or subsist without Religion. A Man of no Religion will do good to no Body but himself, or only to them which fuit best with his Interest. Nothing teaches that excellent Grace or Vertue of Charity but Religion, and what is of so extensive a Good to Mankind as Charity. As long as there are some Passages in the Scripture, which need Expounding to a vulgar Capacity, and Ordinances annex'd to the Christian Religion, which must only be perform'd by the Order of Priests, so long they are of absolute Necesfity, and of infinite Use to Mankind, not only for our future Happiness, but well governing the World. If convincing Men of the Certainty of Rewards and Punishments hereafter, the Necessity of keeping a good Conscience void of Offence towards God and Man, be stronger Ties than all human Laws, which by cunning Men may be evaded, be needful to make Men good Subjects as well as good Christians, so long

they are necessary, notwithstanding all the Mischiefs evil Priests do, for which they are accountable not only to God but to Men. I do not design to compliment all forts of Priests, and so jumble good and bad together, but why should the Order be infulted or abus'd, for the Miscarriages of some? We do not so treat Professors of other Sciences, tho' every one of them has their Quacks and Mountebanks. Priests have their human Frailties as well as the Laity, tho' not so common, and if we are fcandalized at the loofe Behaviour of one Priest, God be thanked, we need not travel far to find out a better; many of them are furnish'd with Variety of good Qualities, Pious Lives, profound Learning, Wit, good Englishmen, and as great Lovers of their Country, as the heartiest Lay-man of us all.

Observatipublick Writers mended

But to return to fuch Lay-Men as have most excellently painted Religion and Vertue in the most beautiful Colours, and Vice that have in its true Deformities, but have only practis'd the latter, and deny'd the former in all the Actions and Conduct of their Lives. Methinks I see these Men after they have publish'd some admirable Work to perswade the World to tread in these Paths of Peace and Happiness, amongst their drunken, debauch'd, Atheistical Comrades, laugh at

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all they have done, to fee how much Money they have got by endeavouring to make others believe that, to which they give no Credit themselves. This would not pass in so bad Times as Oliver Cromwell's. Living vertuously was what he requir'd more than fine writing or prating of it. I must confess that denying Religion in our Lives, and defying or writing against it too, is a horrible Aggravation; but who dares do that, not the very Devil himself, for he could hardly deceive any one that way, because in the worst of Menthere is so much of the Divine Ray, or a fecret Impulse left, that they cannot help giving an Approbation to Religion and Vertue, or at least to confess so notorious a Truth, as that 'tis best calculated and most agreeable for the Happiness of Mankind here; therefore we do not much thank those Men who barely recommend Religion and Vertue by their Writings, and deny it in their Actions. Example, every one allows, is of greater Use and more prevalent than Precept; but I am of Opinion that these fine Orators for Vertue and Piety, that give the Lye by their Actions to all they fay in their Works, are the greatest Enemies, of all others, to Religion. How nauseous it is to see those bright Authors labour to convince us of the Necessity of Justice, Integrity, Tempe-

rance, Chastity, and all other moral Vertues, as most beneficial for our Happiness here, and well-being hereafter, and never pay their own Debts, notwithstanding they have great Incomes, ruin Families, have no Regard to their Word or Honour, overreach every one they can, live a luxurious, debauch'd and leud Life, spend that Money upon Strumpets, Treats and Gluttony, which belongs to their Creditors, shelter themselves under Protections from the Law, and all this while rendring those Fools and Villains who make the same Vices their Practise. This brings the greatest Discredit possible upon Honesty and Vertue: for if a Parson that is drunk all the Week with his Parishioners, preaches never so much for Sobriety on a Sunday, he creates only a great deal of Laughter and Ridicule, and makes no Converts; his Doctrine shall make few or no Saints, but infallibly harden Sinners, and propagate Vice, by his scandalous Way of living. Such Authors are wonderful Promoters of Atheism, for when their Lives are as conspicuous as their Writings, the staggering Sinner or prophane, will easily form these Arguments from it (especially having the Weight of his own Corruptions to throw in the Scale) If a Man of this fublime Sense and Genius, in his Life and Conversation, follows none Of a Publick Spirit.

of those Rules he prescribes to us, 'tis impossible he can believe, what he wou'd have us believe: Why should we think otherwise than he, who is so much superior to us in Wisdom, Learning and Parts: His Conduct is not a bit of a Piece with his Professions, therefore we think it the most rational Way to be guided by his Practise, which is so much more agreeable to our Inclinations than to mind his sine worded Harangues, which no doubt he made more for his own Prosit and Advantage, than for ours, as likely to get him a Reputation he has no just Title to, and bring him in most Money.

There can be no Communication between Christ and Belial, we cannot serve God and Mammon. Notwithstanding these sine Writers would fain keep a fair Correspondence with both, wou'd willingly deceive the World, and sometimes put on the Dress of an Angel of Light, yet for all that they cannot hide their cloven Foot, because they have such a Love and hankering after those favourite Vices, which in their Writings they declaim against, that to please themselves and their leud Companions, they

will fink from Heaven to Hell, fall from the Stars upon a Dunghill or into a Jakes, from a Paper writ one Day upon the most Heavenly and exalted Subject, to a Panegyrick

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the next on a vile Player, fally Buffoon, Atheist, finisht Rake, or profligate Rogue, with the most moving Expressions, that Wit and Eloquence can dictate, or invent; fo that if they have a Divine Pen, they have a polluted, groveling, and dirty Soul, a rottenness at Heart; and a down-right, plain honest Man of a common Capacity, is as much above them in the fight and efteem of God and all good Men, as they wou'd be thought superior to him in Learning, Oratory, and Poetry. They frequently betray themselves into a false, or degenerate fort of Wit, by pittifully condescending to treat of trifling, whiffling Subjects not worth mentioning, and fit only to make Prophane Debauchees, Fops, Beaus, Cocquets, Prudes, and fuch like Animals or rather Infects, Grin, and Laugh. Thus they often Sacrifice, or Prostitute those admirable Talents given them by God for the good of Mankind, to the Service of the Devil, and to the most vile and unworthy Subjects.

I foresee that amongst many others, one fault may be found with this Book, that in Matters of such Importance which are here treated of, there are told a great many little trifling Stories, which depreciate the Subject. I can only answer, that if there is any Weight, or Credit, in the

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rest, they may easily be left out; however if they were, then there wou'd arise another Objection (for 'tis very hard to please every one) that here is abundance of afferting, but nothing prov'd, and to gratifie these last Gentlemen without (as I think) hurting the Book, I have annex'd thefe few Facts, as Patterns, by which you may the better judge of whole Pieces. Another Objection may be, that my Book is like a Cart Wheel, that throws Dirt all round it; but how cou'd I answer my Title of a Publick Spirit, if I look'd only one way. The Stock-Jobber likes, and approves very well of what I have writ against the Lawyers; the Lawyer says the same of the Stock-Jobbers, and so of the rest; but I say all these Gentlemen are equally in my Favour; I am a Bigot in nothing, I hate not one Knave more than another, neither have I any Bias, because of their Difference in Religion or Profession; shake them all in a Bag, and 'tis not a Farthing Matter who comes out first: I love that fort of Greatness of Soul, which is daring to be honest without reserve. I own, I have acted but in low Scenes of Life, and those Things that occurr'd to my own Knowledge I speak of; but instead of aggravating Crimes, I fincerely protest to the Reader, that the two principal Actors

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in this Treatife, viz. the Stock-Jobber and Lawyer, have both of them assur'd me, or rather frankly confest, after they heard what I have writ against them: That as I was not Lett into all their Secrets, so I was but little qualified to write a History of their Rogueries, which was far beyond my Knowledge, or Capacity, and requir'd large Volumns upon each Head.

Perhaps all the Things contain'd in this Pamphlet may not be fit to be Publish'd, for some bold Truths are not convenient to be told at all Times, or any Time, especially in these later Ages of the World; but that, I humbly fubmit to better Judgments; yet if there is one Page in it, which may be of Service to my Prince and Country, 'tis worth the Pains I have taken to write this Book. 'Tis a strange Mercenary way of Writing, fit for a timerous narrow Soul, or rather for a Sicophant, to employ all his Talent to Court the Party uppermost, and scribble himself into a Place; with these Writers all are Saints that are in Power, and all Devils that are out: Let the Knave who is generally an Enemy to that which is call'd Good, notwithstanding his Pretences to the contrary, be told of his Faults without fear of his Power, or Greatness. I have taken this Course, for the principal Persons I point Of a Publick Spirit.

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at (if they are not now, and I hope they are not) have been in great Posts; and I affirm, 'tis not with any selfish ends I have done this, which I conceive every one will easily grant that reads this Treatise, it being in all likelihood fo far from bringing a Reward to the Author, that tis more than probable, 'twill make him a Mark of Vengeance to all the Villains in the Kingdom, who are no inconsiderable Party for Number and Power; and I must expect that they will raise all their Batteries against this Book, and pelt it with pretended Anfwers: Those Sons of Darkness cannot bear the Light; they hate all Advocates for the wrong'd and oppress'd, which destroy their Trade. However, I would have these Gentlemen know, that I do not write through any private Pique or Resentment, but in pure Zeal to my Country, and relate nothing but what I am throughly perswaded are Facts; and if People will not believe me, I cannot help it, tho' I have given no Occasion in any Action of my Life, that I know of, for Men to think that I will ever play the Hypocrite.

As to Parties, I thank God, I am a Protestant of the Church of England, a sincere Lover of King GEORGE because he is a Protestant, and our Second Deliverer, and neither know, or own any other King, and

have, and ever had a great Zeal for my Country, and the PROTESTANT SUCCESSI-ON in particular, as inseparable with its Happiness, and Charity for all honest Men of what Perswasion soever; and let other People think as they please, I believe no Party, or Name, sanctifies a Knave; and he that cheats, or ill ferves his Prince, or Country, which is all one, I take to be the worst of Men; for if all who serve the Government were of the wicked Principles before spoken of, the Nation must be infallibly ruin'd: 'Tis bad enough now, but 'tis not quite so bad, but there are a great many good and valuable Men in England; but what is most of all for our Comfort is, that We have an Excellent Prince given Us by God, whose Providence in placing him here, and the defeating all the Designs of His, and Our Enemies, has been so conspicuous, that a Man must renounce common Sense, and Reason, or at least Religion, or that there is such a Thing as a Providence that governs the World, who denies it. Together with this great Blessing of our King, and the Advantages that God and Nature has given Us, by the Scituation and Productions of our noble Island, let Us show Our Thankfulness to the Giver of all good Gifts, for giving Us the Best, by making a right Use of them; and every Subject of Of a Publick Spirit.

King GEORGE contribute what he can to enable his Majesty, who is well enclin'd in his own Excellent Nature, to make all his People Happy, which can be done by no Ways but by God's; that is, by doing Justice, encouraging Religion, Vertue, and Merit, and particularly Publick Spirited Men, which generally includes all the other Qualifications, making Trade flourish, which employs the Poor; for Idleness is without question a great Cause of uneasiness between Subjects and their Princes. Then fee what discontented Traytor, let him be of never so great Quality, can find Tools to work with, if the meaner Sort of People were made Happy by honest Labour: When the Father shall say to his Children, I have lived in many Reigns, but never faw fo good Times; our Poor are employ'd, our Trade encreases, or Navy slourishes, which is the Glory and Safety of our Country; our Seamen's Groans, which pierc'd Heaven by reason of their Oppressions, are ceas'd; Wealth flows in upon Us; our Nation bears the greatest Figure of any Kingdom in the World; my Son, Learn to bless God and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change,

If all Persons, especially those who have Places, or Posts in the Government, wou'd make this their Rule, or Maxim to walk N 2 by,

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by, First for the Publick, then for my Self, instead of preferring, or putting Self before the Publick, which is of that tendency, that Self employs fo much of our Care and Thoughts, that We have generally very little to spare for the Publick. Most Men look only one Way, and few take care to look round them: I am confident that were our narrow Prospects a little more extended, it wou'd very much mend the Times, and reform the Age; but some People are so besotted, and blinded by Self-Interest, that they do not perceive the fatal Consequences that may attend the Publick, and at last themselves by this wretchedness of Spirit. What folid Satisfaction is there in this Life, if this is not so, to have a moderate Competency, honeftly and deservedly got, in the true Service of ones Country, with the Pleasure to behold our Relations, Fellow Creatures, Fellow Subjects, and Christians, Happy as well as We, and that We have contributed on our part to make them fo. To make our Country look as if We were distinguish'd from the rest of Mankind, and made the Peculiar, and Select People of God, Favourites of Heaven; but alas! when shall We see these Times? Undoubtedly with God's help, 'tis in our Power when We please, for there is nothing obstructs these Golden Days but want of a Of a Publick Spirit.

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Publick Spirit: 'Tis a strange Curse laid upon a Man, that when he has got Fifty Thousand Pound, he wants to make it up a Hundred Thousand, and then is not satisfied but must make that up Two, tho' 'tis ten to one, whether he enjoys the Comforts, or has a Soul to enjoy even the Necessaries of Life half so much as a Man that has but Five Hundred Pound a Year: 'Tis a cursed Pleasure (if any Pleasure at all) to look on great heaps of Gold, that one has no Power to do good with, or make use of, and this Wealth mostly got by the Ruin of our Neighbours, and our Country.

The Wise Hollanders have not so Exorbitant Rich Men as We, but have more, for their Wealth is more equally distributed. Our Noble Men and House of Commons, which represent Millions of People, the poorest as well as richest, are all Gentlemen of Estates. wall'd in with Plenty and Pleasures; they feldom give themselves Leisure, or the Trouble, to look into the Case of the Poor and Unfortunate, or can hardly have any Ideas of the Miseries of those many Thoufands who lie perishing in the Streets and Prisons; they are unacquainted with those Hardships, the gripes of Poverty and Want, and the Cries of starving Infants; tis true, God, and Man ordains there

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shall be Degrees amongst Men, for so Divine Writ tells us, the Angels are distinguish'd; but if Gentlemen of Fortunes wou'd reflect, that without the help of the Poor, or meaner Sort of People, they cou'd not be mounted fo much above the common Level. If their Tenants cou'd not pay their Rents, what wou'd they be more than other Men; and if they wou'd have Humility, they might confider, that perhaps, now they are of no more Account with God than the poorest Man, who they think so infinitely below them in this World: There is no Treasure or Title of any Esteem with God but Charity, Vertue, and Religion; but if God has given them so much a larger share of Temporal Blessings, 'tis imparted to them by the Hands of the Poor, fo that all the Care imaginable ought to be taken of these necessary Men; otherwise, instead of a Great Mans having a Coach and Six Horses, a splendid Equipage, many Dishes of Meat daily at his Table; He may chance at last go a Foot, be reduc'd to a Morfel of Bread, and in a worse Condition than the meanest Man, by Reason one can work, and the other not; fuch is, and have been the Viciflitudes of Humane Affairs, the Unstability and Uncertainty of Temporal Glory. Men

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Men generally mistake their true Interest here as well as hereafter; I cannot see in any Thing they are incompatible, they are certainly link'd together; a Man may enjoy all the true Pleasures of Life, without enfringing any Religious Duty; inno. cent Pleasures are the only substantial Ones; the Man of a little Soul, who prefers nothing but the Present, argues thus, I matter not what becomes of the Nation or any Body else but my Self, the Nation will hold out longer than I shall live; my Business is only to consider my Self, and please all my fensual Appetites, for I know, nor defire to know not greater Felicity. Such Men must first be wholly abandon'd to all Religion and Honour, have no concern for the Present or Posterity: And Secondly, to all Sense of the greatest and sublimest Pleasure, doing Good; 'tis an infallible Argument of a groveling Brute, an Enemy to Mankind, and shou'd accordingly be banish'd humane Society.

The better part of Man, the Soul, one wou'd think, shou'd not have these scanty Views; this World is too little to fill its Capaciousness, it looks, and covets Things beyond this Globe; and Ambition well regulated is the noblest Passion of the Mind, and feems to lift Men as much above their own Species, as they are above

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bove the other Creatures; 'tis a Divine Godlike Passion to endeavour to resemble that Infinite Being, whose Image was stampt upon Us to that end; and how can that be, except We imitate him in his Universal Beneficence. How truly great does that rich Man appear, whose constant Attendants are numberless Blesfings of the poor People, to whom he hath been a common Protector and Father; to have the Heavenly Satisfaction to think, that as the Divine Impulse, or Spirit has prompted him to serve the Publick in General, and do good to many Families in Particular, fo the Approbation of that bleffed Spirit by his Conscience bearing him Witness, that he has done the Work of God (which is every Man's Duty) is a continual Feast; This is the Peace of God that passes all Understanding, lasts to our Lives end, is the best Friend on a Death-bed, and follows Us to Eternity.

Righteeus Job was a very rich Man, the greatest Man in the East, but let us hear in his own Words, his Sentiments and Conduct in this Matter. "When the Ear heard me, then it blessed me, when the Eye saw me; it gave Witness to me: Because I delivered the Poor that cried, and the satherless and him that had none to help him. The Blessing of him that

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s was ready to perish came upon me, and "I caus'd the Widows Heart to fing for " Joy. I put on Righteousness and it clo-" thed me, my Judgment was as a Robe " and Diadem. I was Eyes to the blind, " and Feet was I to the lame. I was a Fa-" ther to the poor, and the Cause which I " knew not, I fearched out. And I brake " the Jaws of the wicked, and pluck'd the "Spoil out of his Teeth. Then I said, I " shall die in my Nest, and I shall multiply " my Days as the Sand. - If I have with-" held the poor from their Desire, or have " caused the Eyes of the Widow to fail: " or have eaten my Morsel my self alone, " and the fatherless hath not eaten thereof: " (for from my Youth he was brought up " with me as a Father, and I have guided "her from my Mother's Womb.) If I " have feen any perish for Want of clo-" thing, or any poor without a Covering; " If his Loyns have not bleffed me, and if " he were not warmed with the Fleece of " my Sheep; if I have lift up my Hand a-" gainst the fatherless, when I saw my "Help in the Gate: Then let mine Arm " fall from my Shoulder-blade, and mine " Arm be broken from the Bone. For " Destruction from God was a Terror to " me, and by reason of his Highness I could " not endure. If I have made Gold my " Hope,

" ger did not lodge in the Street, but I opened my Doors to the Traveller, &c.

I have made this long Quotation, because 'tis a glorious Picture of a truly great and Publick Spirited Rich Man, and as God is the God of Wisdom, as well as Goodness, Justice, and Mercy, so in the ordinary Way of Providence, he works by fecond Causes, and gives his Blessing, and Success to true Policy, I mean just Prudence, that is, for great Men to gain Love and Popularity amongst the common People, which cannot be obtain'd, but by Justness, Charity, and Liberality, doing what Good lies in their Power. Job found the Effect of this, for tho' God at the Instigation of the false Accuser, the grand Enemy of Mankind, suffer'd him to have such severe Trials as never Man had, to confound the Devil, who could not shake his Integrity, he afterwards rewarded him in this Life, and doubl'd all his former Bleffings, by the Means of those People who undoubtedly he had formerly oblig'd.

Instance of To illustrate this by one Instance aa Popular mongst us, of the Benefit, Safety, and Adgreat Man. vantage 'tis to a great Man to be popular, and belov'd.

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There was an antient Family in Yorkshire, the Paternal Estate was near an hundred Years ago Eight Thousand Pound per Annum, which according to the rife and improvement of Lands since, might have been doubled; the Gentleman who enjoy'd it was a very good and hospitable Man, and on his Death-bed gave in Charge to his Son, when-ever his Tenants Leafes were expir'd, neither to raise their Rents. or take any Fines, for he faid Eight Thousand a Year was sufficient for the necessary Grandeur and Pleasures of Life; and to let his Tenants thrive, and grow rich under him, would entail better Bleffings and Advantages on him, than to grind them to Death, for the Folly and Vanity of adding fomething more to his Pomp and Equipage. His Son exactly perform'd his Father's Will, and so bequeath'd it to his Child, who prov'd one of the greatest Men of the Age, but still kept strictly to his Father's and Grand-father's Instructions. Quickly after the Restoration of King Charles the second, some hungry Courtiers, who long'd for so fine an Estate, which they thought they cou'd make a better Penny of, endeavour'd to pick such Holes in his Coat, as might forfeit his Estate, if not his Life; which if done, they had great Hopes of begging it. Therefore they pre-

vail'd with the King fo far, as to have an Order of him and the Council, to bring him up to London, for some Capital Crimes in the late Rebellion. Accordingly Messengers were fent down with the Warrant; but knowing how well he was belov'd in the Country, 'twas thought necessary that a Party of Guards should be sent down to assist the Messengers in Case of any Disturbance. When they came to his House they took him, and he very quietly went with them, but before he got two Miles from his Dwelling, the Country took the Alarm, and they were overtook by at least Five Hundred Horse, who beat the Guards, and rescu'd him: this made him very uneasy, and instead of thanking his Tenants and Friends, he told them they had ruin'd him; for if they had let him have gone, he hop'd that he might have defended himself against any Charge that cou'd be brought against him, but now he should be proclaim'd a Rebel. But they answer'd, that they would all die to a Man, rather than he should be facrific'd to any Courtier's Malice or Avarice, which was the Defign of apprehending him. When this Matter came to be debated before the Council, almost all the Council was for the King immediately to Protestants by the Irish Papists, yet he was issue out his Proclamation, and proclaim so universally belov'd, that whatever they him a Rebel, and all his Adherents, as he

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foretold, and to fend down a sufficient Force to reduce them, and bring him up. But a noble Lord of the Council rose up, and humbly beg'd leave to diffent from that Advice, telling his Majesty, that he was but newly settled in his Throne, and had many Enemies of the Old Leaven in the Kingdom: That he knew the Man perfectly well, and his great Interest in the Country: That if his Majesty went this Way to work, that instead of Five Hundred Men, which then resisted his Guards, they would find Five Thousand, it may be Ten Thoufand: That it might be the Occasion of kindling a new Flame and Rebellion in the Kingdom, which might have as dismal Consequences as the late. The Council maturely consider'd it, never troubled the Gentleman further, and so he died in Peace.

This Story I have been credibly inform'd is Fact, but being before my Time, is not

to my own Knowledge.

I know a Gentleman in Ireland, a zealous Protestant, but of so extensive Goodness and Charity, that in the late Rebellion there, when all the Butcheries and Barbarities imaginable were us'd against the took of his Effects, they always spar'd his

Person, and 't was believed, that if any Man in that Kingdom would be sav'd in a general Massacre, he would be the Man. 'T was certain, his good Character more than once sav'd him from being murder'd.

We have a very bad Proverb amongst us, or at least a very ill Use is made of it, That is, Every Man for himself, and God for us all. So that when a Ship is in Danger at Sea, he that has the chiefest Charge of her, is commonly the first that jumps into the Boat with his Treasure, and leaves the rest to shift as they can for themselves, when perhaps the Ship and Company might have been preserv'd, had the Master, and the Crew he carry'd away with him, stay'd aboard. St. Paul saw this, for when the Sailors had let down the Boat, and were about to flee out of the Ship, he told the Centurion and the Soldiers, except these abide in the Ship, ye cannot be saved.

A generous Commander is at the Head of his Men when they charge, and in the Rear if they are oblig'd to retreat; his greatest Care is for his People, and least for himself. If the State, or Ship, is in Danger of sinking by the many Leaks it hath, let there be a noble Emulation who shall first discover them, tho' we run a great Danger in searching; and when found, to stop them; and if the Waters in-

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crease upon us, yet we are to struggle to the last Gasp, and share the Danger with our Fellows; and if we cannot all, or the better Part be saved, perish together, and not cowardly, and treacherously be so careful of our own Preservation as to expose great Numbers to inevitable Ruin, as long as there is the least Glimpse of Hopes. If by striking at the Root of our Corruptions, and Cause of our Missortunes, I brought Ruin on my felf, yet if I did Service to my Country, I should think it the highest Pitch of Honour, and be infinitely better fatisfied, than to gain and enjoy a great Estate, with the cursed Reslection, that 'twas got by contributing my Part to the Loss and Destruction of Millions of other People.

This will all be call'd Romantick Flights, for few if any will believe me, it being incredible in this Blessed Age, that there are such self-denying Men in being: For, say they, this is some poor Fellow who never was try'd, that makes these sine Professions; who never knew, or never tasted the Sweets of Riches, Power, and Voluptuous Living, but if he was once tempted with these delicious Baits, 'tis Ten to One but he would prove as great a Rogue as any of us; I do believe there are many such, who, like Sick-bed Sinners, make large Promises, till

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they recover their Healths, and then immediately forget them. But who can fay, that the Author of this has not been tried with these Temptations, and yet kept his Integrity. 'Tis a hopeful Opinion we have of our own Times, that there is not now a truly honest Man in Nature. The Fall of Adam corrupted the Race of Mankind, yet there were in all Ages of the World, except ours, (as fome Men will have it) many excellent Persons: Abraham the Father of the faithful and Friend of God; David a Man after God's own Heart; Two Saints were fo holy that they were excepted out of the general Rule or Sentence, once to die, for they were never to fee Death; and infinite others, Jews, Heathens (especially among the antient Greeks and Romans) and Christians. But I am afraid that we have had Fall upon Fall, for if you will credit some modern Gentlemen, there's nothing now left but a Race of Devils incarnate, who inhabit the Earth; fo that at this Rate, 'tis high Time for the general Conflagration. Moses and St. Paul went so far in their Zeal, as to wish themselves accurst for the Sake of their Brethren; and I am fully perswaded that there's many Men alive, who would facrifice all Temporal Interest for the good of their Country and Fellow-Creatures. But those who Of a Publick Spirit.

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are in a State of Damnation, and doing the Devil's Drudgery daily, wou'd perswade you out of this Belief; 'tis not for their Reputation and Interest any one shou'd be better, or at least thought better than themselves, or that this Doctrine shou'd ever be preach'd,

practis'd, or believ'd.

History gives Us many sad Examples History of flourishing Kingdoms, and Common-gives us wealths, by their Corruptions brought to amples of Destruction. And Sacred History is more sourishing particular and full of these Exercises in Kingdoms particular and full of these Examples; and and Comour own Memories might inform Us of mon-great Judgments inflicted upon Us for our brought to Crimes; and it wou'd be very deplorable, Deflrudiif We shou'd still remain so stupid, neither on by their corruptito take Warning at the Punishments of o-ons. thers, nor our own Corrections. We ought We ought not to tempt God's Patience and Forbear-not to ance, by delaying to fet about so good a God's Pas Work as Reforming our Corruptions, and tience by lying no longer under the Slavery of our fet about de Vices and Oppressions, that We may not Reformaonly become Happy our Selves, but leave a tion. Bleffing to our Posterity, and give good Examples to the rest of Mankind, and show the World that We are truly the Nation that may be term'd Libera Gens.

Whoever hath made Observations of the general Transactions and Affairs of the World, must of necessity be sensible that

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all the Revolutions of Empires, Kingdoms and States, that have degenerated from better to worse, have derived their Missortunes from the Decay of Religion, Vertue, and Permanent Common Justice, God having made nothing is just and to remain Permanent but what is just and boneli.

For 'tis certain, Prophaneness, Immorality, and Incorrigibleness by Reproof, confounds the Councils of the greatest Commonwealths, and retards the Progress and Greatness that might be expected from their Power.

Evils, like Weeds, will grow in every Soil; they spring up and slourish in every Government; for Government is like a dement like licate Garden, which if not daily weeded, a delicate will be over-run. Physicians of State not daily ought to be skilful, to foresee the Seeds of State-Distempers time enough to prevent the Death of the Patient, and not let the whole Nation lye longer at the Mercy of those Men, who have committed a Rape upon the Liberties and Properties of the People, by their ill Examples, Bribery, and unjust Exactions.

The Chinese Oath when they are admit-Outhwhen ted into any Publick Employ, is, That they shall faithfully and carefully serve the King inio any and the Publick in the Charges wherewith Publick they are honour'd. That they shall not in the Employ.

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Exercise thereof take any Present from any Person what soever, but shall content themselves with the Pension or Salary the King shall give them, sufficient to serve their Necessities, and the splendor of their Dignities.

There can be no distinction in Interest No Distinbetwixt Prince and People, without De- dion in Interest struction on one side or other, nay possi-betwint bly it may prove fatal to both, notwith-Prince and standing whatever Chimerical Notions of without Grandeur and Authority such Caterpillars fatal Conin Office may fill their Royal Minds with.

I have all along blended this Discourse No Man with Divinity, at least with such Divinity ly a Pubas I am capable of; for 'tis my Opinion no lick Spiri-Man can truly be a Publick-Spirited Man, ted Man that is not a Religious one; downright is a Religious of Rel Morality will not do in this Age, whatever gious one. it did in former Times; but the best, and most noted of the Heathers were Men of Religion, tho' not the true or purest Religion; but the only moral Man now, as understood, to be an Atheist, or Deist, notwithstanding all Pretences to the contrary, cannot be any longer honest or just, than as it fuits with his present Conveniency.

Alas! what is this short span of Life? substract the Miseries of it from the little Comforts it affords, and fee what remains to the most Happy of Us. Sleep, the elder Brother of Death, Pain, Diseases, Disap-

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pointments, Vexations at Home and A. broad, taken out of the Sum, the Remainder is a poor Recompence for the trouble We give our selves, and the World; and yet some are so be-devil'd, as to endeavour to overturn Kingdoms, and destroy Millions of better Men than themselves; form Plots and Conspiracies at the unequal Hazard, and too often the Loss of their Lives, Estates, and total Ruin of their Families, foolishly venturing Fortune, Honour, and Life in a Lottery, where there are a hundred Blanks to one Prize; which if got, adds little or nothing, except it be in Fancy, or Imagination, to what they had before. What Damnation here and hereafter do Men heap on themselves to gratifie the sordid and cursed Passions of wild Ambition, Avarice, Envy, and Revenge; Furies, that the more they are glutted, the more they prey on the Intrails of those who nourish them; and when all is done, if they cou'd grasp in their Arms this earthly Globe, nothing but Vertue, that Summum Bonum, does, or can give any folid and lasting Peace.

The ancion shame to Englishmen! that Pagan
ent Heacheece, and Rome, and other Heathen Nathens a
great
tions, who had not the Advantage of those
spame to us Lights We have, shou'd so infinitely out-do
ChristiUs in Zeal and Love for their Country;
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they despised Wealth, Pleasures, and even

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Life it self for the sake of the Publick, bounding their Ambition to a Glorious Emulation of who shou'd serve the Commonwealth best; and yet these honest Heathens had but very imperfect Ideas of Rewards for Vertuous Actions after this Life; they did good Actions for their own fakes, and We will not do them for that, and Heavens fake. Blush Englishmen, when the The Turks Turks have brought it into a Proverb, that much more if you question their Honesty, they ask you observers if you take them for Christians. How of Justice much the Unbelievers of this, and past A-than the ges, furpass Us in Morality? So that our ans. pure Religion ferves only for our greater Condemnation, when these more Vertuous Heathens will rife up in Judgment against Us; but if We shou'd set all Considerations of Religion aside, I do not see what true Policy there is in fuffering Corruptions to get such a head, till they poison the whole Mass.

I remember We were brought to the brink of Ruin by the Abuse of our Coin, before 'twas regulated; now false Trade, Bribery, Selling and Buying of Places in the Government, Corruptions of the Law, Oppressions of Goalers, and all the aforemention'd Cheats, are like false Coin, or false Dice, put upon the People; and if this diabolical Traffick is carry'd on till the Nation

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is undone, what signifies your Misers Hundred Thousand Pound, your Companies, Banks, Funds, to an abus'd Desperate, and enrag'd Populace. I don't say, or believe, 'twill ever come to any dangerous Experiment, especially while We are blest with our present Gracious Sovereign (whose Wisdom I question not will prevent it) but to show every Rogue who is an Enemy to his Country, how much he contributes, by bringing in Poverty and Oppressions, to bring Us to this pass, and to mark him to all Lovers of the general Good, that they may shun him as they wou'd the Plague.

By the Laws of Foreign Nations, he that makes false Money is boil'd in Oil; by the Laws of our own Country, Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd. Now the Question is, whether he that Abuses, or Coins false Trade, is not as pernicious, and don't deserve the same Punishment as Coiners of false Money; but this is lest to the serious Consideration of the Worthy Projectors, Stock-jobbers, and their Fraternity.

All the tolerable Pretence our late Ministry had for giving away the Fruits of our Victories, and making so Fatal, and Dishonourable a Peace, was, that the Nation was so exhausted of Treasure, and so far in Debt, that 'twas not in a Capacity to

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continue the War any longer; by which Excuse they hope to bring themselves off; tho' these good Patriots put the Nation to more cost, squander'd away, or cheated the Publick of greater Sums in time of Peace, than was expended in the time of War; now, if it be a Maxim, that he who has the heaviest Purse, has the longest Sword, and that Money is the Sinew of War, then those who emptied our Purse shortn'd our Sword, and are consequently our greatest Enemies.

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I have often heard the most judicious Men, of the following Opinion, That this Nation by the Advantage it has to Trade, and its Naval Force, cannot be reduc'd or impoverish'd by any War whatever, but must rather be Gainers, if both these were rightly manag'd; but the Vipers in our Bofom do us more Mischief than any Foreign Enemy; 'twas these Serpents distress'd, and disabled our late Great Deli-VERER King WILLIAM, of truly Glorious and Immortal Memory, from making Us the most Victorious and Happy People in the World, and loaded the Nation with those heavy Burthen of Debts it now groans under, for I never heard it deny'd, but that the Nation was annually, during the War, cheated of vast Sums of Money; which, together with the help of Banks, Projectors, Stock-jobbers, Lawyers, Goalers,

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late and deficient Funds, extravagant Interest, and other clandestine Ways and Means at home, have weakn'd the Kingdom more than the War, and have been the true Cause of entailing upon Us and

Our Posterity the present Debts.

The Parliament has enlarg'd the Time of their Sitting, and so effectually disappointed the Designs of our inveterate Enemies at home and abroad, to Divide and Embarrass Us. But those worthy Patriots, with humble Submission, may please to consider, that the of two Evils they have chose the least; yet by the many Petitions against the Bill, and many more that wou'd have been given, if there had been time, shows what Heart-burnings this Bill has occasion'd, tho' the Honourable House does not design to enlarge the Time for them. selves, or for their own Benefit, but only for the good of the People, that they may have sufficient Time to allay the Ferment in the Nation, and eafe those whose Depu. ties, or Representatives they are, of some intollerable Grievances they groan under, which now they have Opportunity to do, and nothing can obstruct them. And to this End the Eyes of Three mighty Kingdoms are upon them, and great Matters are expected from their Wisdom and Publick Spirit; and notwithstanding the DifficulOf a Publick Spirit.

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bout it, God that has done so much for Us already, will enable them to conquer it; which if they do, all suture Generations will have cause to bless them; the worst of their Enemies be for ever put to silence, and all other mistaken Persons, or Malecontents throughly convinc'd, contrary to their former Opinions, and Endeavours, that they have been made Happy against their Wills, and show their Electors that they have gone beyond their Expectation, and give just Reason to choose them again, and even render themselves perpetual.

I am exceeding glad to hear, and I believe it to be very true, that fince the Happy Accession of King GEORGE to the Crown, the Trade of the Nation, which before had receiv'd some very desperate Wounds, is beyond all Expectation recover'd and retriev'd, and that great Wealth flows in upon Us, with a fair Prospect of its encreafing; and which, if possible, is better than all this, the moral Certainty of the Security of our Religion and Liberties, together with the ancient Glory of the Nation, of holding the Ballance of Europe; therefore fome may fay, to what purpose is this Book writ, when, if We are not altogether at present, We are very near, and shall be soon the most wealthy and powerful People

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in the World. I must confess I think every Thing looks very well Abroad, in Relation to the Interest of Great Britain. But notwithstanding this vast Affluence of Riches to the Nation, who is generally the better for it? Why, the Rich is still richer. What poor Prisoner that is Starving in a Goal, and his Wife and Children out of it, is the better for it? Tradesmen break every Day, Bankrupts in abundance, every Hour some or other are thrown into Goal, who have nothing to pay, nor perhaps owe nothing; besides Millions of other poor and distressed People. Can We imagine, that God who loves all his Creatures, gave these Blessings to be monopoliz'd by a few Men, in respect of the whole Body of the People. A poor Man has a Soul and Body as well as a rich; and God ordains none to be Miferable, tho' others make them fo. Our Excellent Prince wou'd not, if he cou'd help it, have one wretched in his Dominions, except by their own Faults they make themselves Unhappy. If he has been the Instrument under God to do fo much for Us, let Us deferve these Mercies and Favours of God and him, by doing our Parts also; by shewing more of a Publick Spirit, bestowing not all our Care and Fondness on our Selves, but have a little Love for other People; and if tis in our Power, help them in their Distresses.

Of a Publick Spirit.

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stresses, which wou'd foon be done univerfally, if we first subdued our own Corruptions, and remedied the Evils and Oppressions spoke of in this Book. This is the chief Thing wanting, and still remains to be done; this wou'd entitle Us to the Favour of Heaven and our good King; make Us acceptable to God and Man, and truly compleat our Happiness, by making this Nation the Terror and Admiration of the Universe.

To conclude, I love my Country, and hate its Oppressors; and if We must be put to fuch a fatal Necessity, I had rather have my Prince Tyrannize over me than my Fellow Subject. But if I have done wrong to any Man, or Body of Men, and mistook the Stock-jobbers, Projectors, and Marshal's Court Lawyers, for Knaves, when they are all honest Men, fair Dealers, and contribute to the Publick Good; I fay, if I have made any Mistake in part, or in the whole, I humbly beg Pardon, and will retract my Error, when I am show'd it; for I freely own that I have studied their Arts and Mysteries very little, my Talent lying quite another Way, and have writ this Piece at a very short Warning. But the Things I have here treated of, appear very obvious to a common Capacity, for no higher I pretend to; yet if these plain

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Of a Publick Spirit.

Hints rouse some other Genius (who loves his King and Country as well as I do, but has larger Abilities to serve them) to pursue with Advantage what I have begun, 'twill be an infinite Satisfaction to me, that I struck one spark of Light this Way in King GEORGE's Reign, in whom, next the Trust We have in God, the Ruler of the World, our greatest Considence ought to be in this Excellent Prince, sam'd for his Wisdom and Justice, a faithful Ministry, and a Worthy Parliament now assembled.



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# APPENDIX.

No. 1. Page 39. IS very unequal the Distribution of Prize Prize Mo-Money; the Disproportion between the ney. Captain's Share and an Able Sailors is prodigious and unreasonable, considering the Captain's Post and Pay is fo large and advantagious. The Captains get vast Estates; and let the Bravery and good Conduct of the Sailors be never so Conspicuous, or the Number of Prizes never fo great, when did any of these poor Wretches, if they had their due, which is very rare, get a moderate Competency out of it? But besides the Wrong done them Aboard, the Tediousness of their waiting, and Tricks play'd, with them Ashoar, they seldom have a Moiety of the small Morfel that belongs to them; but the Fruits of the Sweat of their Brows, Hardships, and Hazard of their Lives, are generally swallow'd up between Agents, Doctors-Commons-Men, and other Land Sharks, that never stept one Foot, or ventur'd the least Mite in Desence of their Country. However, tho' this is not a Grievance now, because 'tis a Time of Peace, yet 'twas a Hardship, and a great Discouragement of the Sailors in the Time of the late War; and We being not certain how long We may continue in Peace, this Wrong to the Brave Sailors (whose Usefulness and Service to the Nation cannot be

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too much encourag'd) ought to be taken Notice of to prevent it, shou'd another War break out. Turn back to Page 39.

No. 2. Page 92.

Observatithe Commillion of Bankrupcy.

When a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded a. gainst a Man who must be a Trader, there are several Commissioners appointed to execute the Commission. These Meet many Times, having Twenty Shillings a Man allow'd for every Day they fit. This excessive Charge, together with the Cost of the Commission, and other Fees which must be first paid out of the Bankrupt's Effects, has swallow'd up many poor Bankrupt's whole Estates, stripp'd and starv'd the Bankrupt and his Family, and the Creditors, after paying their Contribution Money, have not got a Shilling.

In very late Times there were certain Clans, as they call'd them, of these Commissioners, compos'd mostly of knavish Attornies, who purchas'd this Employment, and whose chief Business was, if the Bankrupt had any Effects of confiderable Value, to put him in the Way, for a good Confideration, fafely to Forswear himself, and cheat all his Creditors; or otherwife, if he was a poor Fellow, to take to themselves what he had, and let the Creditors shift as they cou'd.

Turn back to Page 92.

No. 3. Page 101.

The Keeper of Newgate gives for his Place 3500 l. This cannot be for the Reputation of the City, and Publick Authority. This must be given upon his being permitted to Exact on the Unhappy Prisoners; to Rob the very Robbers;

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and what Complaints will be heard, or redress'd, fince he has paid so large a Purchase for his Employment? And what is more Notorious, this Place is made an Assylum, or rather a Garrison for Thieves, from whence they fally forth, being let out at certain Seasons to make Depredations, and bring in the Plunder to this Goal, as the Store, or Warehouse, to be dispos'd off to the best Advantage; and where shall a Man that has his Pocket pickt, or robb'd, repair to hear of his Goods? but to an Officer they have among them, call'd a Thief-Catcher, where for such a Compofition he may have his Goods again. This is all by the Connivance of the Goaler, who has his Profit out of it; so that this Prison, instead of being a Punishment, is a Sanctuary, and great Encouragement to Felons. These Enormities have been so often prov'd, that I believe few questions them, with abundance of more cursed Villanies practis'd there, which might eafily be redress'd, if this, and all other Prisons were at the Charge of the State; the Keepers of them paid their Salaries by the Government, and fevere Penalties upon them if they exacted any Thing from the Prisoners, or made any Profit more than was allow'd them; for 'tis against Law, Justice, and Reason, for the Goaler to have any other Power over the Prisoner, let him be the greatest Malefactor, than to keep him in safe Custody till he is deliver'd by due Course of Law; for the Law has annex'd the Punishment to the Crime; it being a Maxim in the Law, that a Goal is only intended as a Place of safe Durance, and not for any other Punishment; and if it was in the Case of Breaking Prison, or attempt-

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ing it, (the common Pretence, whether true or false, of Fettering Debtors) yet according to Law or Reason they cannot, nor ought not to put Irons upon a Debtor, for the Prison ought to be made strong, or secure enough to detain a naked Man; and yet these Goalers have been so Impudent, especially at the Counters in the City, in the Face of the Sun, and all the City, if they wou'd give themselves the Trouble to see it, have bound, and set poor miserable Debtors before the Goal Doors as long as they thought sit, with great wooden Russ about their Necks, spiked Irons under their Cheeks, and Chins, and have made themselves Diversion with torturing the unfortunate Wretches.

Turn back to Page 101?

No. 4. Page 113.

Our
Churches
no Protedion
fur poor
Debtors,
tho' the
Roman
Catholick
Churches
are for
Traytors
and Murderers.

The Roman Catholick Churches beyond Sea are made so Sacred, as to be Sanctuaries for Traytors, Murderers, and the worst of Criminals; but those Immunities, or Privileges of Churches, is showing Mercy to a great fault; yet our Churches are not fo much as Places of Protection for poor unfortunate Debtors, who may be hal'd out on the Sabbath Day, even in the Time of Divine Service (no Law to the contrary) with an Escape Warrant, which may be obtain'd on the fingle Oath of a hir'd profligate Rogue, by Devils in the shape of Men, to such a Goal as is the lively Emblem of Hell, and there confin'd and punish'd without Redemption. This favours so much of Barbarity, and wicked Prophanation of that Holy Place, that for any Thing We know, 'tis an Extreme more abominable in the

fight of God than the other. And tho' it may be said, that the two Prisons, of the Fleet and King's Bench, have Churches in their Rules, and so there is no danger of a Prisoners being there; yet this is according to the Interpretation the Judges will please to put on the Act; for till this present Excellent Lord Chief Justice, who is as much an Enemy to Cruelty and Oppression, as some of his Predecessors were Favourers of it, Prisoners have been taken out of these very Prisons, or their Rules, upon Escape Warrants, and carry'd to Newgate, Marshalsea, Counters, &c. 'Tis very hard that a Conscientious, and Religious Diffenter, who may be a very good Man, and Christian, notwithstanding all Uncharitableness, and bigotted Opinions to the contrary, cannot, through a pious Zeal, go to his own Congregation, where he believes he can worship God Best, but must in the very Act of Devotion, on a Sunday, be hurried to a worse Goal than his own, tho' he really intended after the Service was over to return to his former Prison, 'Tis a great Blot on the Name and Memory of that Avaricious Judge (notwithstanding all the fine Encomiums given him) who was the first Occasion of the Infringement of the Sabbath Day Act, who because he was over-reacht by one Man, tho' he feverely punish'd him for it; yet, Haman like, wou'd carry his Resentment so far, as to ruin great Part of the rest of Mankind.

Turn back to Page 113.

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No. 50

Formerly

No. 5. Page 124. By what has been already faid, it does sufficithe Plain- ently appear, that by our ancient Laws, and tiff was o- Magna Charta, that no Man's Person was to be give Secu- imprison'd or detain'd purely for Debt; but afrity, if he ter this Encroachment upon the Liberty of a Free fued any People, yet the Law obliged the Plaintiff who one, to pay brought his Action for Debt, or Damages against any Man, to give Security to pay all Costs mages if he and Damages to the Person so sued, if he did not prove his Debt. For is any thing more equal prove his and just, that if I will bring an Action against another Person, for a real or pretended Debt, and so hold him to Bail, or else he must go to Prison, that I shou'd give likewise equal Security to the Defendant, either to make good my Demands, or pay all his Costs; not only the Money he has been out of Pocket, but Loss of Time, Damage of his Imprisonment, and his Reputation; or upon Default of such sufficient Security, no Person, tho' the Action was laid never so high, shou'd be held to any more than an Appearance? The shadow of this Substance once appear'd, by the Plaintiff's Declaration upon an Action of Debt, by naming John Doe, and Richard Roe, imaginary Persons, to be his Security to make good his Charge; and therefore 'tis but very equal, and reasonable, that the Defendant shou'd give Johna-Nokes, and Tom-a-Stiles for his Bail. But are We to be Rhym'd out of our Liberties? The true Reason of this last Oppression, and Corruption of our Law, is, because it promotes the Lawyers Trade; for if Men were oblig'd to give Security to fland to the Damage they did any Per-

Person by wrongfully suing him, 'twould spoil all Fob Actions, and most vexatious Suits, which are the principal Gain of the Lawyers, and a pro-

digious Profit to Bailiffs and Goalers. When any one complains of the Hardship of the Law, for perpetually Confining the Bodies of poor Debtors, who have little or nothing left to fatisfie their Creditors; and when any Application is made to the House of Commons for a Bill for their Relief, 'tis very often faid, the King and Parliament cannot, or ought not to give away any Man's Debts. Those Persons who make An Objecthis Objection, may confider, That what they tion that call their Right, or Debt, 'twas the King and away a Parliament gave them this Power over their Deb- Man's tors to throw them into a Prison, and continue Debt to them there; and if they see a great Cruelty Release an and Inconvenience in it, they have as much Debtor Power and Right to take it away as they had to answer'd. give it: 'Tis not giving away a Man's Debt where nothing is to be had; but keeping them in Prifon is nothing but empowering and gratifying hard hearted and cruel Men to wreck their Revenge on their Fellow Christians and Fellow Subjects, tho' they loofe by it, instead of getting any Thing. No one, as I ever heard of, pretended that any Debtor should be discharg'd from his Confinement but upon giving up all he had, so that most Creditors had a Prospect of getting fomething, which otherwise must be spent in the Goal, of which the Goaler is the only Gainer: and 'tis these Sort of hard hearted Creditors that are the greatest Friends to the Goalers, tho' worst of Enemies to their Neighbours and themselves. far from the Christian Doctrine of loving our

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Neighbour as ones Self, or doing as we wou'd be done unto: So that to release Debtors upon these Conditions, is so far from giving away any Thing that belongs to the Creditor, that 'tis giving most Creditors (tho' against their Wills) what they have not of themselves the Goodness or Policy to take.

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