

say, what less could have been done, than to vindicate the good name and reputation, and to perpetuate the sufferings of the deceased Sir George Ogilvie and his lady, by publishing to the world the true matter of fact, in the whole contrivance and procedure, from the evident instructions and documents left by the said Sir George, and the account of the transactions, and pregnant circumstances clearly by him narrated? which, it is presumed, will abundantly satisfy all unprejudiced and unbiassed persons, that the said Sir George and his lady were the only sufferers for, and preservers of, the honours; but particularly his lady, being of an heroic and masculine spirit, like the brave old Douglas, was eminently and mainly instrumental (by the divine aid) in preserving of the honours, as anon will more fully appear: For Sir George's lady not only conveyed the honours out of the said castle, by her special care and contrivance, without her husband's privity and knowledge, but gave out and maintained, both for concealing of the honours in a feasible way, and as a mean of her own and her husband's safety, and exemption from torture, that she had delivered the honours to the now Earl of Kintore, who had carried them abroad to the king: And to confirm the English that it was so, Sir George's lady (being of a ready and accurate wit) contrived a missive letter, as if from the now Earl of Kintore, giving her an account, That the crown, sword, and sceptre of Scotland were safely delivered by him to the king; which letter the English intercepting, she having so ordered the matter that it should fall into their hands, did thereafter almost believe it to be true; but before that was done, the English menaced and maltreated Sir George (and his lady in particular) to the highest degree of cruelty, in so far as Colonel Morgan was upon the point to expose her to an exquisite torment, by putting her in the boots; and he said, she was the most resolute and undaunted woman he ever spoke to: For she bid him do his utmost, she'd give him no further account of the honours. And that the English were intending to wreak their fury on Sir George and his lady, may be shrewdly guessed, by their causing a centinel to stand at the prison door, and another at the prisoner's bed-side all night, that they (Sir George and his lady) should not commune nor converse anent the securing and concealing of the honours. And because Sir George's lady bravely and constantly maintained, that she had delivered the honours to the now Earl of Kintore, as aforesaid, they, to disgrace and affront her the more, caused their provost-marshal to attend her, when she obtained the liberty and favour to take the air for some hours within the precincts of the castle, she being then almost stifled by a close and squalid imprisonment, which certainly hastened, if not procured, her death, being a woman of a high and fine spirit, that would rather (like a peice of true steel) break than yield; for in a little time after Sir Robert Grahame of Morphy's becoming bail for her and her said husband's rendering themselves prisoners again to the English governor of Dunnotor castle upon demand, she became hectic, being then almost worn out, both by her former long and streight imprisonment, and by the deep impressions the immoderate care of preserving the honours had made on her; to which being added the thoughts of her remaining still under restraint, and the continual damps of re-entering to close prison; no wonder that her high and noble spirit, being as unconquerable as she had then made the honours, broke the prison of her body by a happy and peaceable death, to enjoy, as there's good reason to hope, a crown of glory, being the promised reward of the righteous. And as this lady excelled in piety and virtue, so there is one very remarkable instance of her steady integrity (which should eternize her name) that: when she was on her death-bed, she then, and not till then, did impart to Sir George her husband, how, and where the honours were hid and repositied, and took his hand upon oath, that although he should be brought to the scaffold to be execute, he should never betray his trust, nor deliver up the honours to the English. So by what is above narrated, it will unquestionably appear, that neither the now Earl of Kintore, nor his mother, were either privy to, or had a hand in conveying the honours out of the said castle, nor in securing and hiding

of them; but after the thing was providentially and happily done, for Sir George's lady to make use of the now Earl of Kintore's name was a very lawful stratagem in her, and that which no generous man then abroad would have declined to own, but would not have reaped the fruits of Sir George and his lady's labours, nor taken the whole reward due for their sufferings. And that lady might have made use of Sir John Strachan's name (if providence had suggested it) who was wont to come from King Charles the Second, then in exile, to get account of the posture the castle and garrison of Dunnottar was in, and likewise to know how matters then stood in this kingdom: And for instance, that Sir John Strachan did so, he brought a letter writ with King Charles's own hand, under cover of one from the then Lieutenant-General Middleton, directed thus, "To the Governor and Gentlemen in the Castle of Dunnottar;" which letters are yet extant, packed up, and folded in the most secret and compendious manner. The tenor of the king's letter is verbatim as follows:

GENTLEMEN,

Assure yourselves I am very careful of you, and sensible of your affection to me; give credit to what this bearer shall say to you, and observe my directions you shall receive from Lieutenant-General Middleton; you shall shortly hear again from me, and I would have you find some way frequently to advertise me of your condition, which I will take all possible care to relieve.

Paris, March 20th, 1652.

CHARLES R.

The tenor of Middleton's letter to the governor is verbatim as follows:

My dear Friend,

I am so overjoyed to hear, that you, in this time, do behave yourself so gallantly, that I shall be most desirous to do you service; the particulars I remit to the bearer, my cousin and yours, to whom give trust, since he is particularly instructed from him, who shall rather perish than be wanting to his friend, and who, in all conditions, is, and shall be,

Yours,

J. M.

The bearer, as is said before, was Sir John Strachan.

By these letters it doth further appear, that Sir George Ogilvie (then governor of Dunnottar castle) could not have carried himself with more loyalty and gallantry than he did. And although it be acknowledged in one part of the now Earl of Kintore's account, given to Mr Nisbet, that there could be (then) no hopes of succour, nor the said castle able to hold out long, if once attacked; yet in another part of the earl's account, it is alledged, that after Colonel Morgan had laid siege to Dunnottar castle, and that the cannon had played against it two days, the governor capitulated for himself alone, and made the English masters of the place, by which they got all the furniture, plate, pictures, books, and ancient papers belonging to the family of Marischal. To which it is answered, that there being no relief given, and all hopes thereof being then cut off, and but thirty-six men in the garrison (a mere handful in comparison of the number then requisite to defend the place) and all of them day and night upon duty, were extremely fatigued and over-waked, yet they maintained their respective posts valorously for the space of ten days, during which time the said castle was bombarded and also battered by the cannon of the English; and when the governor found, that the garrison was not able to hold out longer, and all other forts within the king-

* Dunnottar castle incloses a very large circuit of ground, four acres at the very least; but great part being built upon a rock overhanging the sea, is scarcely accessible to assailants. To garrison it properly must have required at least a thousand men.

dom being then reduced, and under command of the English, and the main chance being secured, and preserved by his lady, viz. the honours and the king's papers, the said Sir George (the governor) made an honourable capitulation, the garrison being permitted to march out of the said castle with colours flying, drums beating, and kindled matches, for the space of a mile from the place; and the English were astonished to admiration, to see such a small force make so long and vigorous resistance against such a prevailing army: And the English expressly told, that if the castle had not been that day surrendered, they were resolved to have stormed it the very next day following, which easily they might have done, considering (as aforesaid) the bad posture the garrison was in. And that which did (some time before) mightily incommode and perplex Sir George the governor, was a mutiny raised and fomented by one David Lighton, who had been a colonel abroad, yet by the said governor's prudence, diligence, and conduct, the mutiny was suppressed and crushed in the bud, by causing train-out Colonel Lighton, and never allowed him to re-enter the castle, whereby the soldiers were quashed and composed, and the direful effects of that mutiny prevented, which was to have sacrificed the governor, and all under his charge, to the merciless cruelty of the English. And it was a signal act of providence the design was discovered: For there being several veteran soldiers in the garrison, who had served in France and other places, most of them strangers to the governor, and getting no pay from the public, made the governor's post uneasy, and also brought him to a deal of charges, he being necessitate to give pay to the said Colonel Lighton; and also to the surgeon, engineer, and cannoneer, all out of his own pocket, he having got no pay either to himself or them, from the public. The manner how the king's papers was conveyed out of the castle was thus: The governor's lady made a girdle of linen, and packed them up, and sewed them in so dexterously that no part of the girdle appeared more bulkish than t'other, and were happily carried out about a young gentlewoman's middle, whom the said governor's lady had kept in the said castle as a friend (for a while before) on that design. And after the castle was surrendered, as aforesaid, and that Sir George (the governor) and his lady were cast in prison by the English, their own private estate was not only mismanaged and neglected, but the generality of the country and neighbourhood looked upon Sir George and his lady as forlorn persons, and upon their fortune as ruined; in so much that those to whom they were indebted did instantly distress them; and the English did barass them, by seizing upon and taking away of the horses which laboured their own mains of Barras; and Sir George and his lady were not only enforced to suffer all this, but were also necessitate to be at great charges, during the time of their imprisonment, in complimenting and treating the officers and soldiers of the English garrison, out of their private estate, and the doing whereof was the great mean (under the divine protection) of Sir George and his lady's preservation from the extreme cruelty and torture they were threatened with by the English. And after Sir George's lady had, by her resolution and constancy, baffled all the threats and bad usage of the English, they (the English) proffered her and her said husband a vast sum of money for the honours; but that bait, though very prevalent with a great part of mankind, did not in the least stagger Sir George nor his lady's resolutions of integrity and loyalty, which were as firm as the rock on which they were then imprisoned, and remained untainted to the end, *et finis coronat opus*. So that bribes was not able to allure them, nor threats to frighten them into a discovery of these notable regalia, the ancient monuments of this kingdom. And the said Sir George was so cautious and circumspect, as to keep and leave to his posterity, as an evidence of his and his lady's loyalty, not only all the most material papers relative to the preservation of the honours, but also all the missive letters sent him thereant, with the doubles of his own returns and answers, and all the passes granted by the

English to him and his lady from time to time, during their restraint and confinement to the house of Barras. And the said Sir George did also leave to posterity memoirs of the most remarkable instances, and observable passages, that occurred and fell out ament his and his lady's sufferings and losses in preserving of the honours; without which adminicles, it was not possible to have writ truly on this subject: But there's as much sure evidence, fairly exhibited, for proving the truth of what's asserted, as can be reasonably expected, or the nature of the thing can bear or require; and doth so irrefragably convince all, as to leave them nothing to say against it, unless there be any who will obstinately say, We will not believe it, nor yet our own eyes, nor the verdict of our reason.

And that the now Earl of Kintore and his mother did ascribe to themselves the chief and sole preservation of the honours, and did so inform King Charles II. at his restoration (before Sir George Ogilvie was able to apply, having then the honours under his care) is evident, both by the narrative of the said earl's account given to Mr Nisbet, and also by the answer given by King Charles to the then Earl of Strafford, when the late Earl of Airly (then Lord Ogilvie) did solicit Strafford to represent to his majesty the eminent service done by the said Sir George Ogilvie and his lady, in preserving the honours of Scotland. 'By my Lord Ogilvie's good leave,' said the king, 'it must not be so; for my Lady Marischal wrote to me, that she and her son John had preserved the honours.' This the late Airly did aver to be the king's answer.

And that the said countess endeavoured to procure Mr James Granger, then minister of Kinneff, to deliver up the honours to her, is evident, by her sending of Robert Keith of Whiteriggs (then sheriff depute of the Mearns) to persuade him thereto; but Sir George getting a surmise of the design, did expostulate with the said minister thereanent, who the more to ascertain the said Sir George, wrote him a letter, wherein he expressly says, "I'll break my neck before I break to you." These are Mr Granger's own words; yet Sir George, to prevent such endeavours, went and took up the sceptre to the house of Barras; and at the same time got an obligation from the minister, to make the crown and sword forthcoming to him upon demand; and Sir George, after he had taken up the sceptre, said to the minister, "The piper plays the worse that wants the nether chafts" (being an old Scottish maxim) intimating thereby, that the said countess her design was rendered abortive. And although the said minister's wife got a pecunial reward for her and her husband's fidelity and secrecy (who were employed by Sir George's lady, as trustees for hiding of the honours) yet notwithstanding of all the good and loyal service, so well contrived, prudently managed, and faithfully performed by Sir George and his lady (who were, under God, the prime actors, the only sufferers for, and main preservers of the honours) neither he the said Sir George, nor his son Sir William, got either place, pension, or any pecunial reward; but when Sir George, after the king's restoration, and that he had delivered the honours to the Earl Marischal, and gotten the earl's receipt of them, went to London, and was kindly received by the king, and was made a knight baronet, and got the change of the holding of his lands, and the promise of a pension, how soon the king's revenues were settled. And some time thereafter, the present Sir William went up to court (a second time) in expectation of the pension promised his father Sir George: And although King Charles II. was graciously pleased to say, from his own mouth, to the present Sir William (upon his re-minding the king of Sir George and his lady's losses and sufferings in preserving of the honours) "Be you confident, I'll see to the standing of your family:" Yet the then Lauderdale, who was sole secretary, postponed and wearied out the said Sir William with dilators and shifts to the great loss of his money and time at court: And after Sir William had long waited, he was at last so slighted and neglected by Lauderdale (then become his enemy) that he was necessitate to

return home, without place or pension; although his father and he computed their losses to be then (*per lucrum cessans, et damnum emergens*) a thousand pounds sterling; the interest of which, by this time, would have amounted to a considerable sum. Now let the world judge, if it be not consonant to equity and reason, that the family of Barras (being the posterity of the said Sir George Ogilvie and his lady) should have a real reward, according to the merit of such an heroic and noble action, and a full recompence of the damage they sustained thereby. And by what is above narrated, truth doth appear in its naked colours, without fear or favour of any; for the God of truth will not suffer it to be smothered, nor pass without its due commendation and deserved reward.

And such a singular piece of loyalty, so prudently and faithfully performed, should be a motive to induce all honest-hearted Scotchmen, and good patriots in this and succeeding ages, not only to pay a grateful acknowledgment to the memory of those renowned persons Sir George Ogilvie of Barras, and dame Elizabeth Douglas his lady, but also to look upon their posterity as the representatives of those to whom Scotland owes its unconquered crown.

A Letter from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of Scotland, in the Year 1320, yet extant under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope John; wherein they declare their firm Resolutions to adhere to their King Robert the Bruce, as the Restorer of the Safety and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succession; but withal, they notwithstanding declare, that if the King should offer to subvert their civil Liberties, they will disown him as an Enemy, and chuse another to be King, for their own Defence.

Translated from the original, in Latin, as it is insert by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, in his Observations on Precedency, &c.

Edinburgh, reprinted in the Year 1703.

This Tract was published about the time of the Revolution, and again in Queen Anne's time. The manifesto was drawn up in the parliament at Aberbrothock. After a preamble, in which is enumerated every fable of early Scottish history, the Barons assume a more dignified and manly style.

SANCTISSIMO patri in Christo ac Domino, Domino Joanni, divina providentia sacrosanctæ Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ summo pontifici, filii sui humiles et devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ, et Vallis Annandæ, Patricius de Dumbar Comes Marchiæ, Malisius Comes de Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Levenox, Willielmus Comes de Ross, Magnus Comes de Cathaniæ et Orkadæ, et Willielmus Comes de Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules Buttellarius Scotiæ, Jacobus Dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David Dominus de Brechine, David de Grahame, Ingelarmus de Umfravile, Joannes de Monteith, Custos Comitatus de Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbertus de Haja, Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto claro, Joannes de Grahame, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de Grahame, Joannes de

Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weyms, Willielmus de Monte-fixo, Fergusius de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwel, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Montalto, Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbell, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chen, Alexander de Seton, Andrea de Lescelyne, et Alexander de Straton, cæterique barones et libere-tenentes, ac tota communitas Regni Scotiae, omnimodum reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime pater et domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras nationes egregias, nostra sciz. Scotorum natio, multis præconiis fuerit insignita: Quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tirenium et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter ferocissimos, per multa temporum curricula, residens a nullis quantumcunque barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; indeque veniens, post mille et ducentos annos a transitu populi Israelitici, sibi sedes in occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, et Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwegienses, Danos, et Anglos sæpius in impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis, et laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servilitate liberavit ut priscorum testantur historiæ semper tenuit. In quorum regno, centum et tresdecem reges de ipsorum regali prosapia, nulla alienigena interveniente regnaverant. Quorum nobilitates et merita, licet ex aliis non clarent, satis tamen patenter effulgent, ex eo quod rex regum Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem et resurrectionem suam, ipsos in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos, ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit: Nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta fide, confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum apostolum, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, sanctum Andreum meritissimum beati Petri germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut patronum. Hæc autem sanctissimi patres et predecessores vestri sollicita mente pensantes ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri germani peculium, multis favoribus et privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, libra hactenus deguit et quæta; donec ille princeps magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, pater istius qui nunc est, regnum nostrum acephalum, populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici et confederati specie, innumerabiliter infestavit: Cujus injurias, carnes et violentias, predationes, incendia, prelatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliaciones, et occisiones alia quoque enormia, quæ indicto populo exerevit, nulli parens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante qui post vulnera me detur et fanat, liberati sumus per serenissimum principem, regem et dominum nostrum, Dominum Robertum, qui pro populo et hereditati suis, de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Maccabeus, aut Josue laboris et tædia, inedias et pericula, læto sustinuit animo: Quem etiam divina dispositio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris successio, et debitus nostrorum consensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui tanquam illi per quem salus in populo facta est pro nostra libertate tuenda, tam jure quam meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adharere. Quem, si ab inceptis desistet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut regnum nostrum volens subicere tanquam inimicum nostrum et sui nostrique juris subversorem statim expellere niteremur; et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficeret, faciemus: Quia quamdiu in centum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. Hinc est, reverende pater ac domine, quod sanctitate vestram cum omni præcum instantia, genu flexis cordibus exoramus; quatenus sincero corde, menteque pia recensentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non sic pondus et pondus nec distinctio Judæi et Græci Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et ecclesiæ Dei illatis ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes; Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cum olim Angliæ septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere regibus, monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia

ultraquam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, sancte pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos favientem aspiciatis, et Christianorum terminos Arctari Indies: Quare ne quid vestrae sanctitatis memoriae deroget, et si quod absit, ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur eccleptia aut scandalum vos videritis, exortere igitur Christianos principes, qui, non casum ut casum ponentes, se fingunt in subsidium terra sanctae, propter generas quas habent cum proximis ire non posse. Cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas propior et resistentia debilior aestimantur. Sic quam lato corde dictus dominus rex noster, et nos, si rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui, nihil ignoret satis novit: Quod Christi vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus si sanctitas vestra Anglorum reatibus nimis credula fidem sinceram non adhibat, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat; corporum excidia, animarum exitia; et caetera quae sequuntur incommoda; quae ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus; vobis ab altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo sumus et erimus in hisque tenemur tanquam obedientiae filii vobis tanquam ipsius vicario in omnibus complacere; ipsique tanquam summo regi et iudici causam nostram tuendans committimus cogitatum nostrum iactantes in ipso; sperantesque linem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nihilum rediget hostes nostros. Serenitatem et sanctitatem vestram conservet altissimus ecclesiae suae sanctae per tempora diuturna. Datum apud monasterium de Aberbrothock in Scotia, sexto die Aprilis, anno gratiae millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo, anno vero regni regis nostri supradicti, quintodecimo.

The following is a Translation of the foregoing Letter.

To our most holy father in Christ, and our Lord John, by the divine Providence, chief bishop of the most holy Roman and universal church, your humble and devoted sons, Duncan Earl of Fyfe, Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray, Lord Mannia and Anandale, Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, Malisius Earl of Strathern, Malcolm Earl of Lenox, William Earl of Ross, Magnus Earl of Caithness and Orkney, William Earl of Sutherland, Walter Steward of Scotland, William de Soules, Buttelarius of Scotland, James Lord Douglas, Roger de Mowbray, David Lord Brechin, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umfravil, John de Monteith, warden of the county of Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbert de Hay, constable of Scotland, Robert de Keith, Marischal of Scotland, Henry de Sancto Claro, John de Graham, David de Lindsay, William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, John de Fenton, William de Abernethie, David de Weyms, William de Montefixo, Fergus de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwel, William de Ramsay, William de Mount-alto, Allan de Murray, Donald Campbell, John Camburr, Reginald le Cheene, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de Lescelyne and Alexander Straton, and the rest of the barons and freholders, and whole community, or commons, of the kingdom of Scotland, send all manner of filial reverence, with devout kisses of your blessed and happy feet.

Most holy father and lord, we know and gather from ancient acts and records, that in every famous nation; this of Scotland hath been celebrated with many praises: this nation having come from Scythia the greater, through the Tuscan sea, and by Hercules's pillars, and having for many ages taken its residence in Spain, in the midst of a most fierce people, could never be brought in subjection by any people, how barbarous soever: And having removed from these parts, above twelve hundred years after the coming of the Israelites out of Egypt, did, by many victories and much toil, obtain these parts in the west, which they still possess, having expelled the Britons, and entirely rooted out the Picts, notwithstanding of the frequent assaults and invasions they met with from the Norwegians, Danes, and English; and these parts and possessions

they have always retained, free from all manner of servitude and subjection, as ancient historians do witness.

This kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of one hundred and thirteen kings, all of our own native and royal stock, without the intervening of any stranger.

The true nobility and merits of those princes and people are very remarkable, from this one consideration (though there were no other evidence for it) that the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, after his passion and resurrection, honoured them as it were the first (though living in the utmost ends of the earth) with a call to his most holy faith: Neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Christian faith, by any other instrument than his own first apostle (though in order the second or third) St Andrew, the most worthy brother of the blessed Peter, whom he would always have to be over us, as our patron or protector.

Upon the weighty consideration of these things, our most holy father, your predecessors did, with many great and singular favours and privileges, fence and secure this kingdom and people, as being the peculiar charge and care of the brother of St Peter; so that our nation hath hitherto lived in freedom and quietness, under their protection, till the magnificent King Edward, father to the present king of England, did, under the colour of friendship, and alliance or confederacy, with innumerable oppressions infect us, who minded no fraud or deceit, at a time when we were without a king or head, and when the people were unacquainted with wars and invasions. It is impossible for any whose own experience hath not informed him, to describe, or fully to understand, the injuries, blood, and violence, the depredations and fire, the imprisonments of prelates, the burning, slaughter, and robberies committed upon holy persons and religious houses, and a vast multitude of other barbarities which that king execute on this people, without sparing of any sex or age, religion or order of men whatsoever.

But at length it pleased God, who only can heal after wounds, to restore us to liberty from these innumerable calamities, by our most serene prince, King and Lord Robert, who, for the delivering of his people, and his own rightful inheritance, from the enemy's hand, did, like another Joshua or Maccabeus, most cheerfully undergo all manner of toil, fatigue, hardship, and hazard. The Divine Providence, the right succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend till death) and the due and lawful consent and assent of all the people, made him our king and prince. To him we are obliged, and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety, in defence of their liberties. But, after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we, or our kingdom, be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavour to expel him as our enemy, and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king, who will defend our liberties: For so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never subject ourselves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life.

For these reasons, most reverend father and lord, we do with most earnest prayers, from our bended knees and hearts, beg and entreat your holiness, that you may be pleased with a sincere and cordial piety to consider, that with him, whose vicar on earth you are, there is no respect nor distinction of Jew nor Greek, Scots nor English; and that with a tender and fatherly eye you may look upon the calamities and straits brought upon us and the church of God by the English; and that you may admonish and exhort the king of England (who may rest well satisfied with his own possessions, since that kingdom, of old, used to be sufficient for seven or more kings) to suffer us to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland, beyond which we have no habitation, since

we desire nothing but our own; and we on our part, as far as we are able, with respect to our own condition, shall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our quiet.

It is our concernment, most holy father, to interpose in this, when you see how far the violence and barbarity of the pagans is let loose against Christendom, for punishing of the sins of the Christians, and how much they daily encroach upon the Christian territories. And it is your interest to notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting on your memory, if you should suffer any part of the church to come under a scandal or eclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your time.

Let it therefore please your holiness to exhort the Christian princes, not to make the wars betwixt them and their neighbours a pretext for not going to the relief of the Holy Land, since that is not the true cause of the impediment: The true ground of it is, that they have a much nearer prospect of advantage, and far less opposition, in the subduing of their weaker neighbours. And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows with how much chearfulness, both our king and we would go thither, if the king of England would leave us in peace; and we do hereby testify and declare it to the vicar of Christ, and to all Christendom.

But, if your holiness shall be too credulous of the English misrepresentations, and not give firm credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the English to our destruction, we must believe that the Most High will lay to your charge, all the blood, loss of souls, and other calamities, that shall follow on either hand, betwixt us and them.

Your holiness, in granting our just desires, will oblige us in every case, where our duty shall require it, to endeavour your satisfaction, as becomes the obedient sons of the vicar of Christ.

We commit the defence of our case to him who is the sovereign King and Judge; we cast the burthen of our cares upon him, and hope for such an issue as may give strength and courage to us, and bring our enemies to nothing. The Most High God long preserve your serenity and holiness to his holy church.

Given at the monastery of Aberbrothock in Scotland, the sixth day of April, in the year of grace 1320, and of our said king's reign the fifteenth year.

A short Account how the Kingdom of Denmark became hereditary and absolute by a Difference betwixt the Lords and Commons.

Published as a Warning to other Nations.

Felix quem faciunt alieni pericula cautum.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace between the northern crowns, anno 1660, some considerable care and time was necessary to redress the disorders occasioned by so terrible a war. Denmark had been most violently shaken; and although the fury of the tempest was over, the agitation caused by it still continued: The army was not yet disbanded, nor could be for want of money to discharge its arrears; this caused frequent insolence in the soldiers, with a further oppression of the burghers and poor

country people, who had been in a manner already ruined by the miseries attending the war. The nobility, though lords and masters, were full of discontents, and the clergy not in the condition they wished.

To redress all which grievances, and reduce affairs into some order, by procuring money for the payment and disbanding of the army, the king thought fit to appoint a meeting of the three estates at Copenhagen, viz. the nobility, commonalty, and clergy; which accordingly followed about the beginning of October. After some few days session (during which the nobility, according to their usual practice, debated how the sums of money requisite might with the greatest ease and conveniency be levied upon the commons, without the least intention of bearing any proportionable share themselves) several disputes arose, and many sharp expressions passed between them and the commons; on the one hand, the nobility were for maintaining their antient prerogative of paying nothing by way of tax, but only by voluntary contribution; and shewed themselves too stiff at a time when the country was exhausted, and most of the remaining riches lodged in their hands: They seemed to make use of this occasion, not only to vindicate, but even to widen and enlarge their privileges above the other two estates, by laying impositions on them at pleasure, which weight they themselves would not touch with one of their fingers, any further than as they thought fitting. On the other hand, the clergy, for their late adherence to the interest of their country, and the burghers for the vigorous defence of their city, thought they might justly pretend to new merit, and be considered at least as good subjects in a state, which they themselves had so valiantly defended. They remembered the great promises made them when dangerous enterprises were to be taken in hand, and how successfully they had executed them; thereby saving from a foreign yoke, not only the city of Copenhagen, but the whole kingdom, the royal family, nay, those very nobles that dealt so hardly with them now. They judged it therefore reasonable, that the sums of money necessary should be levied proportionably, and that the nobility who enjoyed all the lands, should at least pay their share of the taxes, since they had suffered less in the common calamity, as well as done less to prevent the progress of it.

This manner of arguing was very displeasing to the nobles, and begat much heat and many bitter replies on both sides: At length a principal senator, called Otto Craeg, stood up, and in great anger told the president of the city, that the commons neither understood nor considered the privileges of the nobility, who at all times had been exempted from taxes, nor the true condition of themselves, who were no other than slaves, [the word in the Danish is unfree,] so that their best way was to keep within their own bounds, and acquiesce in such measures as antient practice had warranted, and which they were resolved to maintain. This word slaves put all the burghers and clergy in disorder, causing a loud murmur in the hall; which Nanson, the president of the city of Copenhagen, and speaker of the House of Commons, perceiving, and finding a fit occasion of putting in practice a design before concerted (though but weakly) between him and the bishop, in great choler rose out of his seat, and swore an oath, That the commons were no slaves, nor would from thenceforth be called so by the nobility, which they should soon prove to their cost: And thereupon breaking up the assembly in disorder, and departing out of the hall, was followed by all the clergy and burghers. The nobles being left alone to consult among themselves at their leisure, after a little while adjourned to a private house near the court. In the mean time the commons, being provoked to the highest degree, and resolving to put their threats in execution, marched processionally by couples, a clergyman and a commoner, from the great hall or parliament-house to the Brewers-Hall, which was the convenientest place they could pitch upon to sit apart from the nobles; the Bishop of Copenhagen and the president of the city leading them. It was there thought necessary to consider speedily of the

most effectual means to suppress the intolerable pride of the nobility, and how to mend their own condition : After many debates they concluded, that they should immediately wait upon the king, and offer him their votes and assistance to be absolute monarch of the realm ; as also that the crown should descend by inheritance to his family, which hitherto had gone by election. They promised themselves the king would have so great obligations to them for this piece of service, that he would grant and confirm such privileges as should put them above the degree of slaves. They knew he had hitherto been curbed by the nobility to a great measure ; and now saw their own force, being able (since they had arms in their hands, and the concurrence of the soldiers) to perform what they undertook : At the worst, they supposed they should only change many masters for one, and could better bear hardships from a king than from inferior persons : Or if their case were not bettered, at least they thought it some comfort to have more company in it ; besides the satisfaction of revenge on those that had hitherto not only used them ill, but insulted over them so lately. They knew the king, and had seen him bear with an admirable patience and constancy all his calamities ; were persuaded that he was a valiant prince, who had often exposed his person for the sake of the public, and therefore thought they could never do enough to shew their gratitude ; which is the usual temper of all the people upon any benefit received from their prince.

Scarce was this proposed but it was agreed to ; and nothing but the unseasonableness of the time (it being now near night) deferred the immediate execution of it ; but all the necessary measures were taken against next morning. The clergy had a further drift in this change of government ; for having been hitherto kept under by the nobility, they forecasted to have no other superior but the king, whose new authority they engaged to maintain by the influence they had on the consciences of the people ; expecting with reason the like favour and protection from the king, together with an increase of their power, since he was in a great measure obliged to them for his own ; and the benefits were likely to be mutual for the future, the one having the force, the other the tie of religion in their possession. Which contract subsists to this very day, to the great advantage of both sides.

The court all this while was not ignorant of what passed ; there wanted no spies nor messengers to give notice of the discontents of the commons. Hanibal Seestede, a cunning man, was prime minister ; and the bishop or superintendant Swan, with Nanson the speaker of the House of Commons, were his creatures : These had formerly in secret laid with him the design, which was now upon the point of disclosing, though their hopes were hardly raised so high, as to promise themselves such mighty success. The whole night passed in brigues and messages ; the commons anger was to be kept up to the requisite height, and the resolution they had taken the night before not to be suffered to cool, but persisted in betimes next morning. The queen, a woman of intrigue and high spirit, wrought strongly in it by all manner of ways, whilst the king, either through doubt of the event or sense of the dishonesty and crime of the action, in procuring after such a manner the absolute dominion of a free country, could hardly be brought to comply with it. He declared that indeed he should be pleased the sovereignty were entailed on his family, provided it were done by universal consent ; but to become absolute and arbitrary, was neither his desire, nor did he think it for the benefit of the kingdom ; that he was satisfied he should not make ill use of such an unlimited authority, but nobody knew what successors he might have ; that it was therefore dangerous both for them to give, and for him to receive, such a power as might be abused in future times to the utter ruin of the nation. But these reflections, whether they were real, or only pretences, whether caused by the piety or weakness of the king, were soon over-ruled by the more ambitious and masculine spirit of the queen, who desiring him to sit still, and see how she and her emis-

saries would work for him, told him, that the plot was well laid, and had begun to operate prosperously; that he must not obstruct his own and his family's good fortune; and in fine, so far prevailed on him, that he seemed with fear to consent to, and permitted that which most think he very much desired: Having, however, by this shew of unwillingness, left open to himself a door of reconciliation with his people, in case the business did not succeed.

All this while the nobles either had none, or but small intimation of the designs of the commons: They had been used so long to slight and tyrannize over them, that they were not now sensible of any impending danger from thence, contemning their threats as well as their persons, and imagining they would have repented next day, and complied with all that should be demanded of them. But the plot was deeper laid than they supposed; for not only the prime minister, but some other members of their own body, who had employments depending on the court, were engaged in it. This inadvertency, with the want of requisite courage upon occasion, brought upon them the mischief on a sudden; so that, except two or three, who were more than ordinary doubtful of what might happen, and slipped out of town that night, the rest were altogether fearless of danger, till the very instant that the evil was remediless.

Schack, the governor of the town, had been gained by the court to favour the design, which he performed effectually, though not with so servile an intention as others: For when the king, upon the first news of the resolution of the commons, did often openly promise that he would in gratitude and recompence declare them all free as soon as it lay in his power, by the gift they were about to make him; and the people were willing to trust the king's goodness, and to depend on the performance of this promise, encouraged thereunto by the clergy, who alleged it a thing unbecoming and dishonourable to require any other security from the king than his bare word, yet Schack urged vehemently that the commons should insist to have this promise under the king's hand, and make themselves sure of the reward for so considerable a present as they were going to make, whilst they had so fair an opportunity in their hands. But all his instances were in vain; they were in the giving humour, and resolved to do it generously, trusting the king for the performance of his word: A thing which they have since often, though too late, repented of.

Next morning the nobles met in the council-house, and the other two estates in the Brewers-Hall; the resolution of the commons could not be kept so secret, but by this time some warm rumours of it had reached the nobility; but scarce had they leisure to consider what was fittest to be done on that occasion, when they were informed that the commons were marching towards them: For the bishop and the president had so well performed their parts, and urged the necessity of speedily executing what had been resolved the day before, that all time was judged lost which was not employed in putting it in practice; they immediately agreed to go to the council-house, and there propound to the nobility their design, desiring their concurrence in such a necessary work for the welfare of the kingdom. They marched through the streets with great gravity and silence, by couples, as before, whilst the mob by repeated shouts applauded what they were going to do. And thus they came to the house where the nobles were assembled, who had scarce warning sufficient to receive them.

The president Nanson made a short harangue, setting forth that they had considered the state of the nation, and that they found the only remedy for the many disorders which afflicted it, was, to make the crown hereditary, and to give more power to the king than hitherto he had enjoyed; that this resolution was already taken by the commons and clergy, in which, if the nobility should think fit to concur, they were ready to accompany them to the king, and make him a tender of an hereditary and sovereign dominion; if not, that they were going themselves, and the matter should be done without them: That speedy resolution was necessary, for they had already sent word

to the court of their coming, and his majesty expected them in the hall of his palace; therefore desired to be informed in few words what they resolved to do.

The suddenness of such a proposition, and briskness in the manner of its delivery, caused a general astonishment in the nobles; one might have seen those who but the day before carried it so proudly, in an instant fall to an excess of complacency, and betray their fear by their speeches and countenances, as they formerly had done their arrogance. The mischief no sooner appeared to them, but they saw it was unavoidable; there was no leisure allowed them to consult; and to deny their compliance, or even to delay it, was dangerous. To give up at once their beloved power, and submit their necks to a heavy yoke, was an intolerable grievance: But they saw they were no longer the masters; the commons were armed, the army and clergy against them; and they found now too late, that that which the day before they had considered only as the effort of an unconstant giddy multitude, was guided by wiser heads, and supported by encouragement from court, nay possibly by some of their own body: They suspected each other, and no man knew whether his next neighbour was not in the plot against the public liberty. It is easy to imagine what distracted thoughts afflicted them on a sudden; they were altogether unprepared for such a dismal stroke: But some answer must be given, and that speedily. Such a one as they had a mind to give, they durst not; for they were assembled in a fortified town, remote from their several countries and interests (where they had governed like so many princes) in the power of those who could, and certainly would, be revenged in case they proved refractory. The best way, therefore, was to seem to approve of what they could not hinder. They answer, that the proposition made to them by the commons was not displeasing, but the manner of it wanted the requisite formalities; that previous deliberation was necessary to an affair of so great moment; and they could not but take it ill, a resolution of such consequence should be concluded on by the commons, without the least acquainting of the nobility with it, who were the chief estate of the realm: That they also aspired to the honour of bearing their part in bestowing such a material gift on the king and his posterity, but desired that the matter might be proceeded on with that gravity, and solemnity, which the nature of it required: That it was not fit such a weighty transaction should have the appearance of a tumult, and seem forced rather than a free choice. The conclusion of all was, that they hoped the commons would a little defer the putting in execution their design; and in the mean time consult with them, till the affair were done orderly, and with unanimous approbation, as well as to mutual advantage.

This was with great vehemency by the president denied. He replied, these were shifts only to gain time, that the nobles might be in a condition to frustrate the intention of the commons; that the point was already agreed, and the resolution taken; that they came not thither to consider, but to act; if the nobles would join with them, they were ready, if not, they would do what was to be done alone; and doubted not but his majesty would make his use of it.

During these disputes the nobility had privily sent some of their body to court to acquaint the king, that the commons were now at their house, and had made them sudden proposals out of form, but such as they should rather concur with, than be averse to; that they were ready to join with them in offering an hereditary crown to his majesty, and the heirs male of his family for ever; which they hoped his majesty would accept in good part: But desired to proceed in the usual methods, which such weighty affairs merited, viz. by conference and deliberations, that it might appear rather an effect of their just sentiments of his majesty's valour and conduct, than the sudden motions of a tumultuous assembly.

The king, with a great deal of mildness, as if he had been wholly unconcerned and passive on the case, replied, That he was obliged to them for their designs in favour

of him and the royal family; that he hoped what they were about would tend to the benefit of the nation; but that a crown intailed only on the heirs male could not be so acceptable to him, as if it were given without that limitation; that the government of females had neither been a new thing at home, nor unprosperous in neighbouring countries: That they might consider of it, and since it was their gift, he would not prescribe, but it could not be accepted by him unless it were more general.

In the mean time the commons grew impatient, the answer given them was not satisfactory, and the nobles had not yet resolved on an entire compliance, nor were ready to accompany them, because they had not yet an account of the success of their members sent to sound the mind of the court. The clergy and burghers therefore, led on by their bishop and president, proceed without them to the palace, and were met by the prime minister, and conducted by him to the Hall of Audience, whither after some short time the king came to them. The bishop makes a long speech, setting forth the praises of his majesty, and the cause of their waiting on him; concluding with an offer, in the name of themselves, the two most numerous, and, if he pleased, most powerful estates, of an hereditary and absolute dominion; together with the assistance of their hands and purses, in case any body should go about to obstruct so necessary and laudable a design for the good of the country. The king told them in short, that he thanked them; and in case an universal consent established this good desire of theirs, he would accept the present they made him; but that the concurrence of the nobles was necessary; which he doubted not of the least, when they had time to make the offer with the necessary formalities: That he assured the commons of his royal protection, and should not be unmindful of their kindness, by easing them of their grievances, and by encouraging subjects who had behaved themselves so valiantly, and deserved so well from him: Concluding with his advice to them to continue their session till such time as matters were brought to perfection, and he could receive their gift with the solemnity that was fitting. And thereupon dismissed them.

But the nobles were all this while in a grievous distraction; they saw the commons were gone to the king without them: Their messengers brought news back their proposition of intailing the crown on the heirs male was not pleasing, because a greater advantage was in prospect; that this offer was looked upon to proceed from persons that would not have bestowed any thing, if they could have helped it: That it was thought they pretended to merit in giving only a part, when it was not in their power to hinder the taking the whole. In this irresolution they broke up; and since they were to meet again at noon upon another solemn occasion, they resolved at that time to consider how to proceed in an affair so delicate.

Monsieur Schele, a senator, and principal man of the country, was that afternoon to be buried in great pomp; his body had lain some months in state, and, according to the custom, was to be accompanied to its interment by all the nobility then in town; this being a parliament time, was chosen for the ceremony, because the nobles were all together, and a magnificent dinner was prepared, as is usual on the like occasions. In the height of their entertainment an officer comes into the room, and whispers some of the principal men that the city gates were shut, and the keys carried to court: For the king having been informed by the governor, that two or three had privily slipt out of town the night before, and being resolved that no more should escape out of the net, till he had done his business, had ordered the governor that morning to lock the gates, and to let no person in or out without special order. The governor sent one Bill, the town major, to put this in execution; who, as soon as he had done it, came to the house where they were met, and sat down at table among the senators. This dismal news of the officer was presently whispered round the company; who immediately applied themselves to him to know what the meaning was of such an unusual proceeding at the time of a general convention. They asked him what destiny was

appointed them, whether they were there to be massacred, or what else was to be done with them? The town major calmly answered, That he believed there was no danger towards them; that such violent measures would not be taken by so gracious a king, though he had indeed given the orders himself for the shutting of the gates; and that nobody was to stir out of the town without leave; but that this needed not disturb or hinder them from finishing the work of the day, and pursuing the publick as well as their private occasions. There wanted no more than this confirmation from the officer to overthrow all the resolutions and consultations of the nobles; the dread of losing their lives took away all thoughts of their liberty. They immediately dispatched messengers both to the court and the commons, to give notice of their disposition to comply with what was formerly proposed; assuring them likewise, that they were ready to agree to all that should be asked of them.

But the king, who had began and play'd his game so well hitherto, determined to pursue it to the utmost, and would not suffer the gates to be opened, till the whole ceremony of the inauguration was concluded; and the homage done in due form; and therefore ordered they should stay, till in the face of the people, and the army, they had sworn fealty, and divested themselves of all right, as well as power, to cause any disturbance or alteration for the future.

Three days time was requisite to prepare matters for that fatal hour, wherein they were to make a formal surrender of their liberty; the scaffolds were raised in the place before the castle, and adorned with tapestry; orders were given for the soldiery and burghers to appear in arms under their respective officers. And when all things were ready, on the 27th of October in the morning, the king, queen, and royal family, mounted on a theatre erected for that purpose, and being placed in chairs of state under canopies of velvet, received publicly the homage of all the senators, nobility, clergy, and commons, which was performed kneeling. The oath, which they were obliged to take, was in these words:

"I, A. B. do promise, and declare, that I will be true, and faithful to your majesty, as my most gracious king and lord, as also to your royal family; that I will endeavour, and promote your majesty's interest in all things, and to the best of my power defend you from all danger, and harm; and that I will faithfully serve your majesty as a man of honour and an hereditary subject ought to do. So help me God," &c.

This oath they were obliged to pronounce aloud; and some men of quality that were sick, or pretended to be so, were brought in chairs: Among others one Gersdorf, a principal senator, who was the only man that opened his mouth in the behalf of their expiring liberties, saying, That he hoped and trusted, that his majesty designed nothing but the good of his people, and not to govern them after the Turkish manner; but wished his majesty's successors might follow the example which his majesty would undoubtedly set them, and make use of that unlimited power for the good, and not the harm, of his subjects. Not one of the rest spoke a word, or seemed to murmur in the least at what was done; and it is observable, that among so many great men, who a few days before seemed to have spirits suitable to their birth and qualities, none had the courage during those three last days, either by remonstrance, or any other way, to oppose in any manner what was doing. And I have heard very intelligent persons, who were at that time near the king, affirm, that had the nobles shewed ever so little courage in asserting their privileges, the king would not have pursued his point so far as to desire an arbitrary dominion: For he was in continual doubt and dread of the event, and began to waver very much in his resolutions; so that their liberties seem purely lost for want of some to appear for them.

From the theatre, those that had done homage, went to the council-house, where

the nobles were called over by name, and ordered to subscribe the above-mentioned declaration, which they all did.

Thus this great affair was finished, and the kingdom of Denmark in four days time changed from an estate little differing from aristocracy, to as absolute monarchy as any is at present in the world.

The commons have since experienced, that the little finger of an absolute prince can be heavier than the loins of many nobles. The only comfort they have left them being to see their former oppressors in almost as miserable a condition as themselves; whilst all the citizens of Copenhagen have by it obtained the insignificant privilege of wearing swords: So that at this day not a cobbler or a barber stirs abroad without a titer at his side, let his purse be never so empty. The clergy, who always make sure bargains, were the only gainers in this point; and are still much encouraged by the court, as the instruments that first promoted, and now keep the people in a due temper of slavery; the passive obedience principle riding triumphant in this unhappy kingdom.

It was but justice, that the court should pay well the principal contrivers of this great resolution; and therefore, notwithstanding the general want of money, Hanibal Seestede had a present of 200,000 crowns; Swan, the superintendant or bishop, was made archbishop, and had 500,000 crowns; the president or speaker Nanson, 20,000 crowns. And to the people remained the glory of having forged their own chains, and the advantage of obeying without reserve,—a happiness which I suppose no Englishman will ever envy them.

London's great Jubilee restored and performed on Tuesday, October 29th, 1689, for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Pilkington, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing a Description of the several Pageants and Speeches, together with a Song for the Entertainment of their Majesties, who, with their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the whole Court, and both Houses of Parliament, honoured his Lordship this Year with their Presence. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Right Worshipful Company of Skinners. By M. T. 1689.

Sir Thomas Pilkington had been much concerned in the political struggles in the city of London during the reign of Charles II. and James II. He was sheriff with Mr Shute when the Earl of Shaftesbury was tried, and, assisted by his colleagues, he made such a return of staunch whigs for jurymen as insured the celebrated verdict of *Ignoramus*. In 1692, he was fined 100,000*l.* [See vol. VIII. p. 293.] for scandalous words against the Duke of York. This amounted, indeed, to perpetual imprisonment, to which he surrendered himself in discharge of his bail. He appears not to have been delivered till after the Revolution, when, in acknowledgment of his services, he was chosen lord mayor. His election was considered as an era among the whigs; at least Swift humorously represents it as such, when, in his "Dennis's Invitation to Steele," he makes the former promise such wine

— As the drawer will not fail to swear
Was drunk by Pilkington when third time mayor.

Swift also mentions his recollection of the pageants of Pilkington, in his correspondence with Mr Barber while Lord Mayor of London. The devices, &c. were perhaps the invention of Elkanah Settle, who was long poet to the city of London. Taubman, the dedicatior, wrote many poems and panegyrics about this period, and always in favour of the party which was uppermost for the time.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Pilkington, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London.

THOUGH there be several remarkable occurrences contributing to the solemnity of this day (as the presence of their majesties, the court, &c.) yet the general joy and satisfaction of the city is no less worthy of record, which is as universal as their preparations are public. Nor can it chuse but add a rubrick in the calendar of your life, that you were the first advanced to the pretorical chair of this great metropolis, after the year of redemption, the happy day of deliverance from Pagan and Egyptian bondage, by miracles and wonders. When idolatry, like a deluge, had overspread the land, and the church, like the ark, lay tottering upon the billows, then came the dove with the olive-branch of joy; he allayed the swelling of the waters, restoring us to our liberty and religion. When arbitrary force and lawless usurpation had unreasonably imposed on us new lords and new laws, contrary to the practice and known customs of this city, then did you, in defence of our just rights and liberties, stand in the gap, and bravely oppose the violence of the impetuous torrent. So great a champion was you, and so zealous an asserter of these rights, that you preferred our privileges before your liberty, and glorying in your chains, while you were yet a magistrate, became twice a prisoner. Like Daniel, you are taken out of the lion's den, to be a ruler over us: Nor had those ravenous beasts any power over you, although their malice was sufficiently exasperated against you; their jaws were stopped, till the delivering monarch ordered your enlargement, raising you higher by your fall, and a greater object of his favour by your sufferings. This royal bounty of the prince could not but beget in us a grateful emulation to prefer you in the city, for whose sake you had suffered such long and severe persecution. The chair being vacant by the death of Sir John Chapman, with one consent you are chosen for the remaining time; and then, with an unanimous heart and voice of the elective assembly, to continue for the ensuing year. My lord, we mention not this as a favour done, but as a debt due to your sufferings; and at last should think all this too little, were it in our power to do more. This must stop the mouth of envy, that all tongues must confess your own merits have most justly advanced you. You have asserted our rights, restored our customs and immunities. Every thing runs clear in its proper channel: That it may never again be disturbed by the violence of impetuous and arbitrary men, is the prayer of,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,

And most devoted humble servant,

M. TAUBMAN.

To the Right Worshipful the Company of Skinners.

Right Worshipful,

There is not a company in this famous city (though yet more antient) has arrived to the dignity you have done; you have had the honour to have six kings members of your society, and this year a king and queen for your royal guests, in the first year of their reign, and the first of your deliverance from arbitrary and tyrannical impositions.

There is yet another remarkable honour worthy to be recorded, the deserving patriot of his country, Sir Thomas Pilkington, lord mayor, whom (signalized for his sufferings) you have most deservedly exalted from a prison to the pretorial chair. This will be your applause for what is done, that his lordship's own merits have given him a title

thereunto. Your costly preparations, prudent contrivance, and bounteous contribution towards so glorious an entertainment, is not only a demonstration of your respect to his lordship, but of zeal to their majesties. That you have made me an humble instrument to contribute towards the preparations of this great day, requires the acknowledgment of

Your most humble servant,

M. TAUBMAN.

Sir John Chapman being deceased in the year of his mayoralty, the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Pilkington was chosen for the remaining term; this being expired, he is again chosen for the ensuing year. This time of election is on Michaelmas-day, there being a month allowed for the preparations of the festival, which falls on the 29th of October, the next day after Simon and Jude. During this time there is a committee chosen, of the most judicious and experienced citizens, to contrive, consult, order, and debate of all matters relating to the solemnity of this day; which, for the antiquity of its institution, the grandeur of its preparations, the splendour of the pageants, the concourse of nations, and the stateliness of their entertainments, may be called the greatest and most costly in all the universe. This year especially claims the pre-eminence, being honoured with the presence of their most sacred majesties, the prince and princess of Denmark, with all the principal officers of the court, and both houses of parliament; the Bishop of London, and all the chief prelates of the church; the lord commissioners of the privy-seal, the lords chief justices of both benches, the lord baron, and all the learned judges in the law; the four Dutch, and all foreign ambassadors, envoys, and residents; who stand more amazed at this day's entertainment, than any feast they had either seen or heard of in all the world before.

It is necessary, before we come to the description of the pageants, to make some remarks on the preparations of the morning.

Betwixt seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the whole company designed for the duty of the day met at Skinners-Hall at Dowgate.

1. The master, wardens, and assistants, in gowns faced with foins.
2. The livery, in gowns faced with budge, and their hoods.
3. Divers foins-bachelors, in gowns and hoods.
4. Thirty budge-bachelors, in gowns and scarlet hoods.
5. Thirty gentlemen-ushers, in velvet coats, each of them a chain of gold about his shoulder, and a white staff in his hand.
6. Thirty other gentlemen for bearing banners and colours, some in plush-coats, and some in buff, they also wearing scarfs about their shoulders of the company's colours. The motto in the banners, "To God only be the Glory."
7. Several drums and fifes with red scarfs, and the colours of the company in their hats, red and yellow.
8. The serjeant-trumpet, and thirty-six trumpets more, whereof sixteen are their majesties, the serjeant-trumpet wearing two scarfs, one of the lord mayor, another of the company's.
9. The drum-major to the king, wearing a shoulder-scarf of the company's colours, with other of his majesty's drums and fifes.
10. The two city-marshals, each of them mounted on horse-back, with rich furniture, housings, and crupper-cloth embroidered; six servitors likewise mounted to attend with scarfs, and colours of the company's.
11. The foot-marshal and six attendants with the like scarf and colours.
12. The master of defence with the same scarf and colours, having ten persons of the same science to attend him.

13. Threescore pensioners accommodated with gowns and caps, each of them employed in bearing of standards and banners.

14. Several other pensioners in blue gowns, white sleeves, and black caps, each of them carrying a javelin in one hand, and a target in the other, wherein is painted the coat-armour of their founders and benefactors of the company.

Thus ordered and accommodated, they are committed to the management of the foot-marshal, who distributes them into seven divisions, and ranks them out two by two, beginning with the inferior part of the standard-bearers. In the head of them are placed two drums, one fife, and one gentleman, bearing the company's arms.

In the rear of them, two gentlemen bearing banners, being the arms of deceased benefactors.

After them march the aged pensioners in gowns, and in the centre of them fall in two drums, beating the Dutch march, in token of their deliverance by the Prince of Orange, his present majesty.

In the rear of them fall in three drums, one fife, and two gentlemen in plush-coats, bearing two banners or ensigns, one of the king's, the other of the company's. After them fall in six gentlemen-ushers, and likewise the budge-bachelors.

The next two gentlemen bearing two other banners. After them fall in six gentlemen-ushers, and after them the foins-bachelors.

In the rear of them fall in two drums and a fife, then two gentlemen, the one bearing my lord mayor's, the other the city banners, after them twelve gentlemen-ushers, and after them the court of assistants, which makes the last division.

The right honourable the lord mayor, with the principal aldermen and sheriffs, while this is doing, take their usual repasts in Skinners-Hall, while the trumpets sound a levet, and the kettle-drums echo their harmonious sounds in the court. Having notice of the company's motion, his lordship mounts his horse, with the aldermen in their order, two by two, the sheriffs in the rear.

In this equipage of two and two, till taking in his lordship and his attendants, they march directly from Skinners-Hall through Queen-street into Cheapside, there being no lord mayor this year to join him from Guildhall.

In this order they march to the Three-Crane Wharf, where they enter into their several barges, which are gloriously adorned with banners, flags, and pendants. His lordship at the stairs next Westminster, for the priority of place, as admiral to this golden armada, the rest of the companies at another pair of stairs, yet so, as in order and seniority; for this peaceful navy moves not like men of war by couples, grappling in an engagement, but, like princes of the blood, one by one, that their state may be more discernable, and their grandeur the more remarkable. In the mean time the gentlemen-ushers, budge-bachelors, and foin-bachelors, have their opportunity to repair to their several places of defection.

His lordship being landed at Westminster-Stairs, and having performed the accustomed ceremony of taking the oaths, comes at last to the Exchequer-Bar, where the lord chief baron makes an elegant, but short speech; which being ended, the lord mayor, with his retinue, marching down Westminster-Hall, repair to their respective barges, which return in the same form and state they went. Nothing but gold and sapphire represent themselves unto your view: The pendants flying, drums beating, trumpets sounding, musick playing, which is echoed from the several pleasure-boats, and others that are playing from each side with pattararoes, and other small pieces, to compliment them as they pass; insomuch that the Thames is nothing but a continual flowing harmony, which never ebbs till his lordship is landed.

After this glorious object upon the water had afforded all that could be delightful to the eye or ear, his lordship hastens to Black-Friars-Stairs, where the bachelors are ready set in order by the foot-marshal, as in the morning, to attend him, and both

bodies joined, march up Ludgate-Hill, and so into Cheapside, till about the Half-Moon Tavern, where his lordship is entertained with the first pageant, which is thus adorned.

The First Pageant

Is a triumphant chariot, adorned with oriental pearl, topaz, and carbuncle. This stately structure is carried by a Panther and Sable, which are the supporters of the right worshipful the company of skinners. Their ensign, or bearing, is no less honourable than peculiar, being ermin in a field argent, three crowns on a chief, and gules with caps of the first; the crest a panther couchant, with a wreath and laurels about his neck, as hath the supporters; the motto, "To God only be Glory." They were formed a society in the first of King Edward III. who was the first founder of this ancient society. Since this time, in so high a value was this company with the court, that from the first founder no less than six kings have been founders and members of this corporation, Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV. besides nine dukes, two earls, and one lord. The crest and supporters of the said arms were obtained and granted by William Harvey, clarencieux, who was free of the same company, *anno Dom.* 1561. These arms, with the supporters and crest as blazoned, are painted on an imperial arch of the Dorick order in the frontispiece of the chariot. Honour, placed in a distance below, beats the kettle-drum, which is an emblem to the martial bands and artillery of the city, to be ready for their arms in case of defence.

On a distance above, under an imperial canopy of golden fringe, sits Augusta, representing the famous city of London. At her foot sit Peace and Concord before, behind Mercy and Innocency, as her attendants, which we will describe hereafter.

On the Panther is mounted a figure, representing Wisdom; for, besides its usefulness, it exceeds the lion in cunning, being that of subtilty, that he will decoy the lion from his den, who, in hopes to make him his prey, is caught himself in the snare; for this subtle creature, being of a slenderer shape, digs its den to his own dimension, wherein leaping to defend himself from the violence of the enraged lion, who leaps after, and sticks by the middle, becomes his prey.

On the sable is placed Government, because the sable is the distinction of Honour by their ermin, and those persons of honour so distinguished (not by their merits only) are the people to whom the government is generally committed.

Honour, in a purple robe wrought with gold, a mantle of white silk fringed with crimson, bearing in her left-hand a shield of the company's, in her right a banner of my lord mayor's. On a coronet of stars, or, this motto, *Honor solius Dei est.*

Wisdom, in a silver robe and blue mantle seeded with stars, and fringed with silver. In the one hand bearing a banner with this inscription, *Sapientia docet*; in the other, a banner of the city's.

Government, in armour of silver and an helmet; in the right-hand, a gold truncheon; in the left, a banner of the king's.

Peace, in a robe of white scattered with stars; in the left-hand, a branch of palms; in the other, a white flag.

Concord, in a crimson-coloured robe, a sky-coloured scarf, fringed with silver, and fair bright hair; about her head a garland of red and yellow flowers, representing the happy concord of king and people, court and city, in the honour this day conferred upon them, in their majesties presence; in her left-hand, a shield charged with a grove of myrtles; in her right-hand a banner of the company's.

Mercy, in a robe of crimson, and silver mantle; holding in one hand a spear; in the other, a banner of the city's.

Innocence, with an harmless, mild countenance

Augusta, or London, gloriously attired in a robe of crimson, and a mantle, Or, a cap of maintenance, representing the colours of the king and company, salutes his lordship in these words :

The First Speech.

Since first Augusta was my ancient name,
London has more than once been in a flame.
Our fierce elections, our domestick wars,
Our hot contentions, and our civil jars,
In a few years have prejudiced us more,
Than all the Jesuits powder did before.
But thanks (my lord) the cloud is now dispersed,
And we are of our former rights possess'd.
The sun, with you, resumes its course this year,
And shines again within our hemisphere.
All we enjoy we must acknowledge due
To England's great preserver, and to you.
You did assert our privileges. He
Timely redeem'd from pointed tyranny.
You, for our freedom, sacrificed your own,
What more cou'd Pompey for his Rome have done?
In some degree, to make you recompence,
Behold Peace, Concord, Mercy, Innocence!
These are the best supporters of a state,
My handmaids here assign'd on you to wait.

The Second Pageant.

An imperial throne, gloriously adorned with all manner of jewels, pearls, and topaz, mounted on a royal pedestal of the Compositive, Corinthian, and Roman order. On the top of this pedestal sits a masculine, warlike person, stiled Monarchy, dressed in the habit of a Cæsar, with a sceptre in his hand, and a laurel about his head, holding a globe in his hand, with this inscription, "Britannia." It seems to slip out of his hands, which he, timely recovering, kisses, and hugs it in his arms.

At a distance below, on the torus of the base, are placed the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, as the best support and foundation of monarchy; all these virtues being naturally inherent to our present monarch. On the lower square of the cornice are placed four figures, representing the four kingdoms, quartered in the royal arms, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, which are habited as follow :

Prudence, in a scarlet robe, and silver mantle fringed with gold, a chaplet of flowers, a shield vert, charged with a dove argent, bearing a banner of the city.

Justice, in a crimson robe, and a purple mantle fringed with gold and silver; in the right-hand bearing a shield, with a balance; in the left, a banner of the company's.

Fortitude, in a blue robe, a silver mantle, a golden corslet about her neck, a garland of orange-leaves, bearing a tower argent, and a banner of the king's.

Temperance, in a white robe, green mantle, and a chaplet of lilies and roses; in one hand bearing a shield, with a golden cup; in the other a banner of the city's.

England, or Britannia, in a scarlet-coloured robe, with a mantle of gold, and a crown imperial; a trident in her left-hand, and in her right a standard of England.

Scotland, in a blue robe, a silver mantle, and a scarf of gold; a chaplet of thistles, with their leaves about her head: In her left-hand a shield, bearing St Andrew's cross; in her right a banner of the king's.

France, in an azure-coloured robe, spangled with gold flower-de-luces; a crown imperial dropping, which he supports in one hand, bearing in the other a banner of my lord mayor's arms.

Ireland, in a robe of white linen, a mantle of frize, fringed with silver, and an helmet of gold, with a laurel of shamrogs, or green leaves, round it; in the one hand a target, bearing the Irish harp; in the other a banner, with the company's arms.

His lordship having viewed the variety of these figures, pleased with the ornament of the pedestal, and the gloriousness of the workmanship, makes an halt; when Monarchy, rising in state, with a golden sceptre in his hand, descending three steps, addresses him in these words:

The Second Speech.

From foreign regions, and the toils of war,
I come to guard you to a peaceful chair:
When nought but chains proclaim'd the freeman's doom,
London almost a tributer to Rome,
'Gainst the intrigues of the most Christian Turk,
Then great Nassau was sent to do our work;
Sent by indulgent Heav'n, to set us free
From arbitrary force and slavery.
We now are happier than we were before;
The halcyons build their nests upon our shore.
Hearing the Royal Pair had graced your feast,
I come with Virtue to intrude a guest;
Such virtues as few other monarchs have,
Prudent, just, sober, resolute, and brave:
These virtues shall subdue the nations under,
And make their terror what is now their wonder.
England appears in triumph; all her tears
Are vanish'd with our jealousies and fears;
Scotland's united to the British crown,
Ireland subdued, proud France shall be our own;
The wither'd flower-de-luce's head shall droop,
His lofty neck shall to the Orange stoop.
These should be trophies of my victory,
The hieroglyphick of true monarchy;
But since (my lord) like Cæsar, you improve
A government divided with great Jove,
My laurel at your footstool I submit,
And lay my sceptre at his royal feet.

The Third Pageant.

The Ship Perseus and Andromeda, from the Levant, inward-bound.

As a further mark of their bounty, the company have this year added the ship Perseus and Andromeda, inward-bound, from the Levant, laden with spices, silks, furs,

sables, pathers, and all manner of beasts skins, hanging in the shrouds and rigging. This ship is peculiarly attributed to the lord mayor, as a proper emblem and characteristic of his way of traffick and adventure, being a Turkey merchant. Nor is the name of Perseus and Andromeda less properly applied, having analogy and respect as well to his lordship as the company: Perseus was the son of Jupiter and Danae; Mercury gave him wings, that is, sails, with which he mounts his Pegasus, that is, his ship, wherein he slew the Gorgons, Medusa, Sthenio, and Euryole. He cut off Medusa's head, whose hair were serpents, the emblem of envy, and placed it in his shield. This is peculiarly adapted to his lordship, who has overcome his malicious enemies, and this day rides in triumph over them. Minerva gives him a golden shield, covered with a goat's skin, called *Ægis*, which is an hieroglyphick of the company's. He rescues Andromeda from the sea-monster: The moral is, the Church, from the deluge that was ready to overflow it. How applicable this is to the present revolutions of this year will need no comment to explain.

This ship has on board it a jolly brave captain, mates, gunner and his mate, boatswain, pilot, besides the ship's crew, continually toping, bousing, and carousing; who, for joy of coming into England, having the pot or quarter-can continually at their noses, get merry with drinking their majesty's and his lordship's health, discharging a cannon at every round: The boatswain giving the signal with his whistle, three great huzzas are given, and the health is renewed with a cannon, as before, and a bowl of punch.

Boatswain—Sixty fathoms and an half; ho; *helm-a-lee*; starboard; hard a port; thus, keep her thus; there, there, fall not off, brave boy; well steer'd, pilot, and better con'd; *helm-a-lee*; this son of a whore, he will overset us; loof, loof, you dog; no near: What a way this lubberly land-crab has made us; steady, steady; larboard; there she scuds away.

The Mariner's Song.

Captain. Now, boys, our voyage is out,
And we are richly fraught,
While fools do stay
At home and play,
We trace the world about.

Pilot. Wou'd I were in close harbour,
From noise of port and harbor.

Boatswain. Thou'dst run a-head
With Jenny in bed,
And anchor in her harbour.

Pilot. But if she shou'd not come to it;
If she shou'd not come to it;

Boatswain. If she has a rudder,
As well as her mother,
I'll warrant thee, boy, she will do it.

Boatswain. Sixteen fathom and a quarter, master, port.

Captain. Haul in your main braces, down with your anchor, and lower your
topsail to the royal sovereign of London.

The Captain's Speech.

Through storms and tempests I am here arrived,
 Fierce as your foes against your life contrived.
 The seas, the winds, our ruin did conspire;
 Their tumults, torrents, their hot brains a-fire.
 A thirst of ruling over judge and bench,
 Which nothing but an Holland draught could quench.
 To trade to Turkey we in vain had sail'd,
 If Mahomet in England had prevail'd;
 Or the most christian sultan nearer home,
 By sly intrigue had made her slave to Rome.
 But, thanks to Providence, the storm is o'er,
 And we once more arrived on native shore:
 We boast not of the riches brought from far;
 Virtue, not riches, must support the chair;
 Justice and Peace your pilots be, to steer
 A steady course through the ensuing year.

The Fourth Pageant.

This is a scene of mirth and jollity, and called the Company's Pageant; in which are various strange figures and shapes, lively representing their mystery and occupation. It is a spacious wilderness, in which are planted all sorts of trees, bushes, shrubs, brambles, thickets, and groves. In the former part the orange-tree, with its fruit flourishing in their prime. This wilderness is haunted and inhabited with all manner of wild beasts and birds, of various shapes and colours, even to beasts of prey, as wolves, bears, panthers, leopards, sables, and beavers, even to dogs, cats, foxes, and rabbits: which, tossed up now and then into a balcony, fall oft upon the company's heads; and by them tossed again into the crowd, affords great diversion. With these, several oranges of the trees which are planted at every corner of the wilderness, which is no less divertive.

In the rear of this wilderness is erected a spacious triumphal arch, the banisters richly gilded, all the columns adorned with ensigns of their majesties, the city, his lordship, and the company. About the column, under the lord mayor's coat, is painted this inscription, in capital letters,

DEPRESSUS SURGO.

In the front of this triumphal arch, which is of the first and Tuscan order, sits Amphion, playing upon an hautboy, with two dryades, or wood-nymphs, one on each hand; these wood-nymphs seeming to be charmed with his musick, whose melodious harmony likewise allays the fury of the wild beasts, who are continually moving, dancing, curvetting, and tumbling to the musick, whilst the birds are chanting their wild notes amongst the trees in every grove and thicket.

These dryades are habited alike, of a brown and tawny complexion, hair thick and long, hanging loose over their shoulders, and their attire of a dark green.

Amphion, a young man of a ruddy complexion, in a robe of crimson velvet; on his head a coronet of red and white flowers, with his hautboy in his hand, making his obeisance, expresses the charms of his melodious harmony in this short speech;

Amphion's Speech.

In this wild haunted wilderness you see
The powerful effects of harmony ;
This harmony (my lord) doth represent
Union, which is the soul of government :
London's a den where savage beasts do lurk ;
Keep them in concord, and you do your work.

This being the last pageant, placed at the end of King-Street, his lordship moves to Guild-hall, where he is ready to receive their majesties, who come attended with the city's royal regiment of horse, the trumpeters coats of crimson velvet, laced down with silver and gold lace ; the trumpets made with silver, and several damask standards and banners, very richly embroidered, with kettle-drums. While their majesties are at dinner, they are entertained with the following song.

A Song to their Majesties in Guild-Hall.

I.

How great are the blessings of government made
By the excellent rule of our prince,
Who, while troubles and cares do his pleasures invade,
To his people all joys does dispense ;
And while he for us is still caring and thinking,
We have nothing to mind but our shops and our trade,
And then to divert us with drinking,
And then to divert us with feasting and drinking.

CHORUS.

From him we derive all our pleasures, our pleasures, and wealth ;
Then fill me a glass, nay, fill it up, fill it up higher ;
My soul is athirst for their majesties health,
And an ocean of drink cannot quench my desire :
Since all we enjoy to his bounty we owe,
'Tis fit all our bumpers like that should o'erflow,
'Tis fit all our bumpers, 'tis fit all our bumpers
Like that should o'er-flow.

II.

Then whilst in a concert the minstrels do play,
Let a health to great Caesar go round,
He who crowns with his presence the state of the day,
Whom all conquering laurels have crown'd.
And whilst we enjoy the inestimable blessing,
The extent of our freedom, each man his own way,
Let's shew it in thankful caressing,
Let's shew it in thankful, in thankful caressing.

CHORUS.

From him we derive all our pleasures, our pleasures, and wealth,
Then fill me a glass ——— &c.

A Song to the Lord Mayor and Company.

I.

Come, boys, drink an health to the chiefs of the city,
The loyal lord mayor, and the legal committee.
The imperial city this year that with you
Hath restored us our lives, and our liberties too.

II.

With justice, and peace, may it ever be floating,
May the heads that support it agree in their voting;
May a strong tide of union still flow in your hall,
And no sea of faction e'er beat down your wall.

III.

A health to the dons of the company's table,
Crown every bumper with ermin and sable,
If ermin's the emblem of honour, then you,
As well as their lordships, are dignify'd too.

IV.

From heats and contentions for ever be free,
Let city and court make one harmony.
May never more discord amongst you be found,
But one loyal bumper for ever go round.

About the middle of dinner their majesties health is begun, all the hall echoing with huzzas and loud acclamations. His majesty, in requital, begins his lordship's health, which is answered with as loud acclamations as before; the kettle-drums and trumpets, after the other music, beating and sounding in their turns.

The songs done, and dinner over, their majesties return back to Whitehall in the same state and order they came, having an entire regiment of foot-guards before the coach, led by the right honourable the Lord Sidney, the guards of horse behind, with a lane of the train-bands of the city on each side to Temple-bar, from thence by the liberties of Westminster to Charing-Cross, a lane on each side the streets. The lord mayor returns to Skinners-Hall, where all the silk-works, banners, and flags of the company are lodged; the rest of the companies to their respective habitations.

Also the famous artillery company, that this day attended on his lordship, marched off in order at the same time.

The painters and managers of the pageants, with the speakers and children, having performed their parts with satisfaction and applause, repair to refresh themselves, having sat all day in their appointed postures and attire.

I will conclude with the motto of the right worshipful company, who have so generously contributed, and unanimously gone through the cost and trouble of the day.

Soli Deo Gloria.

A Description of the most glorious and most magnificent Arches erected at the Hague, for the Reception of William the Third, King of Great Britain; with all the Mottoes and Latin Inscriptions that were written upon every one of the said Arches. Translated into English from the Dutch.

These rejoicings were made on King William's first journey to Holland after he had accomplished the Revolution.

His majesty William the Third of Great Britain, having made his voyage into Holland, and being arrived at the Hague, the most noble and most high the estates of Holland and West-Friesland, as well as the honourable magistrates of the Hague, gave orders to prepare for a reception correspondent to the majesty of so glorious and so excellent a monarch. To which purpose their high and mighty lordships, among other things, have erected one triumphal arch, and the magistrates two more, to be set, one in the piazza, called Buyton-Hoff, the other in the public piazza, and the third in the market place of the Hague; the figure and structure of which, together with the Latin inscriptions which adorn them, are as follow.

That which was set up at the Buyton-Hoff was a triumphal arch, of a most curious Italian architecture, the order compounded Dorick, having three open gates, that of the middle being the highest of all, supported backwards and forwards upon eight pillars, underneath upon large basements, separated from the body of the work.

Upon every one of those basements, stand two of the said pillars, with a cupolo of eight faces upon the said overture: In the middle of which cupolo appears a pedestal, upon which is represented his majesty on horseback, both figures costly gilded. To the horses, on each side are tied two slaves, or statues, of a brass colour, prostrate and grovelling, and the whole work is coloured, as if it were of free-stone; between the pillars, and upon each side, inward and outward, the spaces are filled with pictures, comprehending some historical representation, and hieroglyphical figure, relating to the life and glorious actions of his majesty. At the frontispiece of that stately arch, and upon the fore-mentioned pillars, as well backwards as forwards, and at each side, are placed in the same order, eight statues of both sexes together, to the height and bigness of the life. In that part of the arch, which faceth the end of the town, upon a very high pedestal, set above all, on both sides of the round pieces that cover the work, is erected a Neptune, lying down with his trident in his hand, with this motto underneath:

Triumphet in Undis. Let him triumph upon the seas.

At the other side of the arch that looks towards the street, commonly called Cingel, upon a like pedestal, a ploughman with a spade in his hand, with this motto underneath:

Attingat Solium Jovis. Let him reach to Jupiter's throne.

Round about the cupolo is written the following inscription :

"Pio, fellei, inclyto, Gulielmo tertio, triumphanti patriæ patri, gubernatori, P. C. I. P. restauratori Belgii foederati, liberatori Angliæ, servatori Scotiæ, pacificatori Hiberniæ, reduci."

To the pious, happy, renowned William the Third, the triumphant father of his country, governor, stadtholder, and restorer of the United Netherlands, England's liberator, Scotland's preserver, Ireland's pacificator, now returned.

Upon the frontispiece, underneath the statues above-mentioned on the side of the Buyton-Hoff, are these following inscriptions :

In the first place,

"Post maximas res domi forisque gestas, arctissimo cum principibus ioto fœdere, suorum vindex, defensor oppressorum."

After great things done at home and abroad, as having made a strict league with the princes, the revenger of his subjects' wrongs, and defender of the oppressed.

Underneath that, and upon a large picture, there is a little table upon which are represented several armed men, fighting a dragon, with this motto :

Uniti fortius obstant. Being united, they make a stronger opposition.

In the second hollow seat this motto :

"Mare transvectus liberat Britanniam, et late dominantibus ornatus sceptris in patriam publicâ cum lætitiâ receptus est."

Being passed beyond sea, he has rescued Great Britain, and being adorned with sceptres of a vast extended power, he has been received in his own country with all the demonstrations of public joy.

In the table underneath is represented a balance with two scales, in one of which are several crowns, and in the other a sword, the sword out-weighting the crowns, with these words :

Premia non æquant. Rewards are not answerable to merit.

In the third hollow seat this motto :

"Lugente patriâ mœrente Europâ, afflictâ antiquissimâ Nassoviorum stirpe, heroum, imperatorum, principum fœcundâ."

Our country mourning and bewailing, Europe in tears, the most ancient family of Nassau, fertile and producing heroes, emperors, and princes afflicted.

In a table underneath is represented a Phoenix burning, with this sentence :

Praelucet posthuma proles. Born after his father's death, shines so much the more

In the fourth hollow nich,

"Gulielmum posthumum, Britannorum Arausionensiumque tertium, patriæ spem, rei publicæ palladium."

William, born after his father's death, the third of Great Britain, and of Orange, the hope of his own country, and the support of the commonwealth.

In a table underneath is represented a sceptre and three crowns, with this motto :

Tenues ornant diademata cuna. Tender age an ornament to diadems.

On the backside of the said arch, towards the palace, are also four hollow niches in the frontispiece, with the following inscriptions :

In the first hollow nich,

"Fatum, Europæ favens, dedit de cœlo, futuram portendens majestatem admodum puerum exemplar constituit."

Fate, favourable to Europe, has bestowed him from Heaven, and portending his future majesty, fixed him for an example, when he was but very young.

As on the other side, above a large picture, there is a little table, upon which is represented a young eagle flying upwards against the rising of the sun, with this motto, *Tener adversis enititur alis*. Young and tender as he is, he strives with all the force of his wings against the wind.

In the second, "*Qui juventute strenuè transactâ, funestis jactatâ bellis ac dissidiis in tanto rerum discrimine.*" Who, having spent his youth in many hardships, tossed with funest wars and seditions, in so much hazard, vanquished all before him.

In the table underneath is represented a castle upon a hill, at the foot of which is a javelin planted, from which spring up two branches of laurel, with these words, *Contorta triumphos portendit*. Darted forth, it presages triumphs.

In the third, "*Nutantis Belgii, qua mari, qua terra admotus, in pristinum decus gubernaculi, gloriam, aras et focos asseruit.*" The Netherlands tottering, and he made chief commander by sea and land, has re-established the government in its first lustre, conserved our religion, and secured the people.

In the table underneath is a boat with some armed men in it, who row it forward, with this inscription, *Alter erit Tethys*. There will be another Tethys.

In the fourth hollow seat, "*Meritis famam superantibus trophæis, principi atavis regibus editæ, felicibus junctis hymenæis.*" His merited triumphs surmounting Fame itself, more glorious still by happy marriage with a princess born of royal ancestors.

In the table underneath, are an unicorn and a lion, going side by side, the unicorn thrusting with his horn a heap of serpents and vipers, with these words, *Virusque fugant viresque repellunt*. They drive away the venom and repel the force of it.

On the one side of the pedestal, where is the king on horseback, are these words written, *Populi salus*. The people's welfare. *Procerum decus*. The glory of the states.

Within the arch's ceiling are four different historical representations, in four tables separated one from another, and each of them has an inscription: That of the first table is, *Refert saturnia regna*. He reviveth the golden age.

In the second table, *Novos orbos nova sceptra paramus*. We are preparing for new worlds and new sceptres.

In the third, *Superare et parcere vestrum est*. Your part is to overcome and to forgive.

In the fourth, *Cætera transibunt*. All other things are transitory.

The arch itself is adorned both before and behind, and at the top of the afore-mentioned overtures, you see the arms of England, and the supporters withal; and of the large overture, both behind and before, the arms of Holland, and two flying Fames at each side of them, blowing their trumpets.

The Description of the Arch in the Publick Piazza.

This triumphal arch is, as the other, of a very fine and stately architecture, with pillars coloured like marble, red and white, and the rest of the body of the work of marble, black and white; the basis and the chapter gilded, with four great pictures, two behind, and two before, set between the fore-mentioned pillars, drawn in lively colours; the two that are foremost, representing a battle of the Romans by sea and land; and the two that are behind, one representing War, and the other Peace; War, with a flaming world, near which, several persons represented, some dead, and some alive, make Justice lie down in distress. Peace, with a world, upon which Justice and Peace standing, embrace one another, and by them is the god Pan, and his companions, making themselves merry with some fruits of the earth. At the upper part of the arch in the mid-

dle, is a pedestal, upon which is the king on horseback, as big as the life, brass-like, with this motto:

Regi triumphanti.

To the triumphant king.

Above the king on horseback are erected two wreaths, crossing and covering his head, adorned with green, and above it a royal crown, with the sceptres, and a cross underneath.

On each side of the arch are two squares, wherein are set, both behind and before, transparent pictures, wrought upon silk, which were lighted in the evening, and shewed on one side a cloud, and a pillar of fire on the other, the corners being adorned with green. At the gilded frieze of the arch, are written these words:

Soloque Saloque.

By Land and Sea.

In reprimenda tyrannide et restituenda sæculi felicitate.

In repressing tyranny, and restoring the felicity of the age.

And on each side of the aforesaid frieze are these inscriptions:

On the right, *Heroibus priori.* To him that excels the heroes.

And on the left side, *Antiquis Majori.* To him who is greater than any of the ancients.

On each side of the forementioned pedestal, upon which is the king on horseback, are two gilded armours, and two covered with silver, adorned with feathers, and some trophies besides; England's coat of arms before, and the king's cypher behind.

The said arch has, on every side, two wings, in which are represented the histories of Hercules, Perseus, Phaeton, and Andromeda's deliverance, with four escutcheons of the four kingdoms, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

Underneath, round about the said arch, are these words: *Scep̄tris exercitibus, classibus, votis.* Behind, *Augusto, armato, parato, recepto.* Which must be read thus: *Augusto sceptris, armato exercitibus, parato classibus, recepto votis.*

Honoured with sceptres, armed with armies, provided with fleets, and received with acclamations.

On each side of the arch are two pictures, one representing Europe distressed, and the other, Neptune ravishing, with the motto: *Eripe raptori miseram;* Snatch the wretched from the ravisher. The other, *Mea jura tueri,* Defend my right.

Above the door of the arch these words are written: *Hæc posuit cons. decreto.* The town of the Hague has erected this arch by the decree of the magistrates.

The Description of the stately Arch erected at the great Market-Place.

This arch is the highest of all, without any pillars in relief. However, it is filled with very large pictures of a greyish colour, of which, two, that are upon the door, are drawn upon silk, to be transparent by torch-light in the evening. Upon that arch is a rainbow, with three crowns, seeming to hang in the air. There is besides upon that arch, a sphere, and upon it a flying Fame with her trumpet, and the horse Pegasus running by her, and some trophies on every corner of each side. On the backside of the said arch, is seen the imperial coat of arms of Nassau, that of the emperor Adolphus of the family of Nassau, with the eight quarters on every side. Round about the fore-mentioned arch are these following inscriptions:

Nobilium Primo, Ducum Maximo, posthumo Gulielmo tertio, Cætus dato. To the first of noble heroes, to the greatest of generals, William the Third, a posthumus, the gift

of heaven. Above the pictures, on the backside, *Victoriis, trophæis, fortissimo imperatori, cautissimo gubernatori, destinatis*. Erected to the victories and trophies designed for a most strenuous leader and prudent commander.

Underneath, at the bottom of the arch, upon one side, *Quatuor regnorum regi, fœderati Belgii gubernatori, Gulielmo tertio, virtute et triumphis fulgenti*. For William the Third, king of four kingdoms, governor of the United Provinces, shining with virtues and triumphs.

On the other side, *Grati animi et letitiæ publicæ signum hoc erexit Haga comitis*. The Hague has erected this as a testimony of public joy and gratitude.

On each side of the arch are two wings, composing together a half circle, and in each of those wings are seven pictures, representing the battles and victories of the precedent Princes of Orange, by sea and land, each picture having its motto: Upon the first of the right wing, *Patientia læsa furor fit*. Patience exasperated turns to fury.

Upon the second, *Res poscit opem et conspexit amicè*. The matter requires aid and friendly confederacy.

Upon the third, *Per tela, per undas*. Through darts and waves.

Upon the fourth, *Audentes Deus ipse juvat*. God himself assists the courageous.

Upon the fifth, *Tantas dedit unio vires*. Such is the force of union.

Upon the sixth, *Aquilas et mœnia cepit*. Nor walls nor armies can resist him.

Upon the seventh, *Celsas superas virtute carinas*. Your valour masters the tallest navies.

Upon the first of the left wing, *Repetenda quiescunt arma virum*. Armies laid aside are again to be taken in hand.

Upon the second, *Non uno virtus contenta triumpho*. Valour not satisfied with a single triumph.

Upon the third, *Crescunt numero, crescente trophæa*. Number increasing, the trophies increase.

Upon the fourth, *Cæsum replebant funera campos*. The funerals of the dead filled up the fields.

Upon the fifth, *Ultra Garamantas et Indos*. Farther than the Garamantes and the Indies.

Upon the sixth, *Fortis promissa juvenas*. The promises of a courageous youth.

Upon the seventh, *Deos in prælia confert*. He consults the gods before he goes to battle.

In the middle of every one of those wings are two pyramids, one at each side, upon their pedestals, which support a picture with this inscription: Upon that of the right hand, *Hanc accipe, magne, coronam*. Great hero, accept this crown. Upon that of the left hand, *Thure tuo redolent aræ*. Your incense perfumes the altar.

The same pyramids have each in the front three transparent pictures, comprehending either a hieroglyphical figure, or some trophy or cypher, being adorned on the sides with green. Upon one of those pyramids the king, and the queen upon the other, are set to the bigness of the life.

Upon that of the king is this inscription, *Quis gratior appulit oris?* Who e'er arrived more welcome to our shore?

Upon that of the queen, *Reprimit et refigit*. She represses and re-establishes.

Upon the border of the wings are, in their order, the first four Princes of Orange between two trophies.

Under the effigies of William the First, *Patriæ liberatori*. To his country's liberator.

Under that of Prince Maurice, *Gloriæ vindicæ*. To glory's vindicator.

Upon that of Prince Frederick Henry, *Libertatis assertori*. To our liberty's defender.

Under that of Prince William the Second, *Publicæ felicitatis statori*. To the conservator of our public felicity.

Above the opening of the arch before is the escutcheon of the Hague, with these words underneath, *Hic incunabula divum*. Behold the cradles of the gods!

Before the town house of the Hague are seven pictures transparent for a light. In the highest range are placed in the middle, the representations of the king and queen; and on each side two hieroglyphical figures, one representing a lion with this motto, *Placidum venerantur, et horrent infestum*. They venerate the moderate, and abhor the tyrant.

On the other an unicorn thrusting with his horn some serpents, with this inscription, *Nil passa veneni*. Enduring nothing venomous.

At the order underneath it contains three symbols more: The first representing a crane sitting upon her nest, and clapping her wings at the rising sun, with these words, *Recreatur ab ortu*. Revived by the rising sun.

The second represents Atlas upholding the world upon his shoulders, and stooping under the weight, and resting upon a mountain, with this inscription, *In te domus inclinata recumbit*. Upon thee the falling mansion leans.

The third represents a crane resting in her nest, and clapping her wings at the rising sun, with this motto, *Vidit et exultavit*. She saw and rejoiced.

By the town-house in the public place of execution, is a tree like a maypole, surrounded with arms in four rows one above another for torch-light.

The arch of the bridge, commonly called the Loosduyn, has been coloured with a representation of a man and a woman at an altar, upon which is the king's effigies with a staff in his hand, upon which staff his majesty's name is written, with a crown, and these words underneath, *Io triumphator!* All hail triumpher!

Upon the two pillars of the said arch of the bridge, are these following inscriptions, *Ob cives servatos, et hostes fugatos*. For citizens preserved, and enemies put to flight.

The other side of the arch, *Ob liberata regna et restitutas provincias*. For the kingdom rescued, and provinces restored.

Behind are two ovals besides, in one of which is represented a laurel, and underneath the word *Victoriæ*. To victory.

On the other an orange tree with the word *Clementiæ*. To clemency.

I add here, for the conclusion, that in the middle of the pond of the palace was erected a great scaffold, upon which was set the cypher of his majesty's name with a royal crown above, which was shewn by torch-light, without mentioning many other curious and artful lights in several other places; besides the firing of thirty great guns that were planted by the said pond, and frequently discharged, as occasion and the design required.

Reasons for passing a Bill in Parliament, to erect Three Courts of Conscience, in the Three several Divisions hereafter named, being within the Bills of Mortality, and without the City of London, and the Liberties thereof; for Relief of poor Debtors and Creditors, under the Value of Forty Shillings, to prevent vexatious and chargeable Arrests and Suits at Law.

[The two following papers are at least fifty years old, but were printed without dates.]

FIRST, The division of the borough of Southwark, with the parishes in the county of Surrey, mentioned in the bills of mortality.

Secondly, The division of the hamlets of the Tower Liberty, with the parishes in the bills of mortality, contained within the hamlets of the Tower Liberty.

Thirdly, The division called Holborn division, consisting of the remaining parishes, and part of parishes in Middlesex (not comprehending Westminster, nor the liberties thereof) likewise mentioned in the bills of mortality.

THE Court of Conscience for the city of London was first erected by an act of common council of the said city, in the nineteenth year of King Henry the Eighth.

The said court being found to be good and charitable, of great ease and benefit both to the poor debtors and creditors, as also much tending to the quiet and welfare of the city, and encouragement of trade, was, in the first and third years of King James the First, established by parliament; still limiting and confining the jurisdiction of the said court to the citizens and freemen of the city of London, and other persons that inhabit, or shall inhabit, within the said city, or the liberties thereof, being a tradesman, victualler, or labourer. Nor did the jurisdiction of the said Court of Conscience ever yet extend further than the city of London and the liberties thereof.

That the borough of Southwark, and the out-parishes within the bills of mortality, are of late years vastly increased in buildings and inhabitants; and abound in poor tradesmen, artificers, labourers, victuallers, and others, far exceeding the city of London and the liberties thereof; who, for want of the like good establishment of a court or courts of conscience amongst them, are exposed to many and great inconveniences, tending to the impoverishment and ruin of themselves and families. As,

Many vexatious suits are daily commenced for inconsiderable sums, and through extremity of poverty, usual exactions, the implacability of adversaries, frequent imprisonments, and costs of suit, &c. they are often put to six times more charges than the debt was; whereby many families are left to the parish, the prisons filled with poor helpless men and women, sicknesses contracted, and trade in a great measure hindered.

All which, a salutary act for the Courts of Conscience or Request abovementioned, might in a good part prevent, as hath been experienced in the city of London, and liberties thereof, during the long time the like court hath been there holden. Which is humbly submitted to the prudence of this present parliament.

Reasons against the Bill for erecting Courts of Conscience.

I. As to the matter of the act, it takes away (as to the causes mentioned in the act) the ancient trials by jury, and gives an arbitrary power to the commissioners to hear and determine finally, without any appeal from them to any judicature whatever; and great inconveniences must ensue by giving an absolute power to the commissioners to dispose of all debts under forty shillings, and all damages done to any, either in reputation by words, or in person by blows under the like sum, at their sole wills and pleasures, and takes from every man his birth-right to the ancient law of the lands.

II. Parliaments have been ever very careful to maintain the ancient law in its fundamentals (of which trials by jury is a chief one) and therefore it was once the answer of a parliament upon almost the like occasion, *Nolumus mutare leges Anglice*.

III. Causes under forty shillings are properly triable in inferior courts, as courts barons, &c. This act destroys all those courts, and takes the power out of persons of quality, that are lords of manors, and vests it in shop-keepers; so that if a lord of a manor (within his jurisdiction) have a contest for debt under forty shillings with another person, he must apply himself to a company of shop-keepers for relief, and make them his judges; who, by the common law, had a court belonging to his manor, where causes were properly triable.

IV. Justices shall not take assizes in their own country, prohibited by statute law, because of the favour they may use to their acquaintances; This law, just contrary to the reason of that statute, gives a jurisdiction to persons over their neighbours, and whether it be not likely that partiality may prevail.

V. Suppose some of the persons to be named commissioners, should be indebted to their neighbours in sums of money under forty shillings, those to whom they are debtors are absolutely without remedy; for either they must be judges in their own cases (which is not to be supposed the statute does intend) or else they are exempt from paying for the time they are judges, not suable elsewhere. Put likewise the case, that several persons should be indebted to the commissioners under forty shillings, they by being made commissioners are disabled to recover their debts for the reasons aforesaid. The same inconvenience will be in case of words or blows.

Now as to the design of the act, to hinder the expending of great costs and charges at law for small debts, 1. As to that, the law has provided already inferior courts, where the charges are but small, and the recovery quick and easy; and if the defendant (upon the first summons or notice of a suit against him) tenders to the plaintiff what is justly due to him; if the plaintiff refuses to accept of it, but will (notwithstanding such tender) wilfully proceed, it shall be at the plaintiff's own costs and charges by the course and practice of the said courts; and in case poor persons do either sue or be sued there, they are admitted *in forma pauperis*, and pay no fees at all.

VI. The common law of England was always extreme careful to preserve the king's peace, and therefore was very careful to give remedies against the breakers of it, which are all taken away by this act.

Equal difficulty in a cause of forty shillings or forty pounds, yet left to the decision of unlearned men.

If it be objected, that juries are always of the neighbourhood, which the common law appoints. For answer, 1. In case of a jury, either plaintiff or defendant has his lawful challenge. 2. If they go against their evidence or against the law, an attain lies against them, upon which the wronged party is restored. 3. New trials are given after ill verdicts by the court; but to these commissioners, no challenge lies beforehand, nor attain after, nor from their judgment is there any appeal.

Suppose two of the king's menial servants, (being inhabitants within the jurisdiction given by this act) should have a contest in contracts under forty shillings, they must be forced to submit to the judgment of tradesmen, and not have the liberty left them to sue in the king's particular court of his own household, appointed for his own servants; as ancient as any court in England.

In case of arbitrement, where shopkeepers are chosen judges, it is observable, how zealous each person is for his friend, particular acquaintance, and customer, even beyond equity and reason; and it is to be hoped, they will prove more moderate when they are nominated by any other means, than by the joint consent of the parties submitting.

How far forth special arguments bind, and upon what considerations promises for the payment of money are obliging, is a very nice point of the law. As also, how far forth, and in what particular cases a man may break the peace, either in defence of himself, his house, and goods, &c. is a matter of difficult judgment, even to those that are learned in the law, and therefore the judges constituted in this court of conscience, being for the most part ordinary tradesmen, cannot be supposed to be knowing in it, or able for it.

The like difficulties will arise in the determination of complaints for scandalous words; for what words are actionable, and what not, cannot be known, without being acquainted and versed, not only in the common law, or statute law, but also the ecclesiastical laws of this kingdom. Therefore,

From hence it must follow, that many errors must of necessity be in the decrees of this judicature, and yet from such decrees there is no appeal.

It seems to be no good answer to say, that the decrees of this judicature, are but for small debts, and trifling batteries and words, in as much as justice is equally abused and transgressed in great as small things, though the losses sustained vary.

This judicature is impowered to examine and determine upon the oaths of the parties themselves, as well as witnesses, (not allowable by our laws) which will cause frequent perjuries amongst poor people, who will be enticed to forswear themselves in batteries and words, not only to enrich their pockets, but also to gratify their revenge and anger.

This judicature will cause dissension in the neighbourhood where practised, for tradesmen being made judges over tradesmen, and every man thinking best of his own cause, will certainly blame their neighbours that give judgment against them, which will breed ill blood and heart-burnings amongst them.

Breaches of the public peace by assaulting others unjustly, or maliciously scandalizing others by false malicious words, are very great crimes, and wilful acts in those that are guilty of them, and therefore ought to be punished by most severe laws, and not encouraged by making their punishments light or easy, for that will introduce a more frequent practice of them both.

This arbitrary proceeding, contrary to the law, and Magna Charta, (being the subjects birthright) will bar the subject of the benefit of other good laws, and most especially of the statute of limitations, made 21 *Jacobi*, and revive old antiquated controversies, which that law hath buried in oblivion. Who knows where this will end, if once the fence be broken, and a breach made in this strong wall of safety, which guards our lives, good names, and estates, from the violence of the multitude. The breach is

easier widened, than it was at first made; and though it begins with actions under forty shillings, it may quickly increase to five pound or more, &c. The subjects right is not more or less, according to the *quantum* of the sum; but he hath the same right to any sum under forty shillings due to him, as to any above: And he is as much deprived of his right, when he is denied to sue at law for the one as for the other.

Some short Remarks upon Mr Locke's Book, in Answer to Mr Lounds, and several other Books and Pamphlets concerning Coin. By Sir Richard Temple, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet. 1696.

The celebrated Locke having been consulted by government upon the wretched state of the silver coinage in England, he took the opportunity of publishing two tracts, the first entitled, "*Some Observations upon a printed Paper, entitled, A Proposal for encouraging the Coining of Silver Money in England, and after for keeping it there*", and the second, "*Farther Observations concerning raising the Value of Money, wherein Mr Lounds' Arguments for it in his late Report concerning an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin are particularly examined*". In both these treatises, Locke combats any advance in the denomination of the coin, and recommends adhering to the old standard. The subject has always been a feverish one in a mercantile country, and Locke's tracts gave rise to so many answers as well as to so much correspondence, as almost exhausted the patience of the great philosopher, and made him half rejoice in the discovery of the plot against government, which happened opportunely to divert the public attention. See a Letter to M. Molyneux in his *Familiar Letters*, p. 142.

ALTHOUGH Mr Locke, by all his writings, hath justly acquired the character of a very ingenious person, yet, without detracting from his merit, in this late discourse of his, he hath fallen into the error which often attends those who write upon subjects of which they have no practical knowledge or experience, to frame notions, and lay down suppositions, which are either false or fallacious, of which my present design is only to give a short specimen, having not the leisure, as yet, to pursue so large a discourse.

First, That an ounce of silver is of equal value to an ounce of silver of the same weight and fineness, admits of no dispute; but that an ounce of silver will buy an ounce of silver of the like fineness, is an absurd proposition, since there is no occasion for any barter or exchange.

Secondly, That the intrinsick value of silver is the true instrument and measure of commerce, is partly true and partly false; for the money of every country, and not the ounce of silver, or the intrinsick value, is the instrument and measure of commerce there, according to its denomination, and the standard of the coin of each nation is very different, and does often vary, according to time, place, and circumstances: Nor are the commodities of any country bought by foreign coin or bullion, of the makers, or first venders, but by the coin of the country, and is therefore bought by commodities; they are first invested into the money of the country; or if by foreign coin or bullion, it must be also converted into the coin of the place, before it can be useful for barter; and the merchant or goldsmith will gain something to reduce it to the coin of the country, unless the matter be transacted by bills of exchange, in which they

endeavour, as much as may be, to make a par between the money of each country, according to the intrinsick value; and hence comes the necessity and use of exchange. Nevertheless, that intrinsick value is governed by the value of bullion in each country at that time, which varies, as other commodities do, and other circumstances.

Thirdly, Bullion is a commodity, and has no certain universal stated price or value agreed upon by mankind, as he supposes, but varies in every age or nation, according to the scarcity, plenty, or use of it: Notwithstanding it must be allowed, that the silver coming wholly from the West-Indies, the price of it does govern the value in all Europe; nor does it vary so much as other commodities do, unless there be some extraordinary accident of interrupting the trade to those parts, by reason of war, &c. or by the increase of the demand of it in Europe, or in some particular nations thereof, and therefore is the fittest to be the material for the instrument and measure of commerce, viz. money.

Fourthly, Against his assertion, that advancing the denomination, or lessening the weight or fineness of our coin, would be a loss of so much to the landed men in their rents, and the creditors in their debts, at least as to all bargains already made, I offer to consideration, That nothing is more evident, than that such a change can have no such effect or consequence upon any thing at home, but only exchange and commerce abroad; for proof whereof, I shall appeal to the historical part of Mr Lounds' book, as to the frequent alteration of the standard in weight, fineness, and denomination here; which is yet much more practised in other neighbouring nations, as I could easily demonstrate, the standard of whose coin is much below ours, and who have also great quantities of coin of base alloy current among them, which they have never thought fit to change, even in the times of the greatest wealth or plenty among them, for the ease of commerce at home, and augmenting the species of money.

Fifthly, In the next place, it is as evident, that whatever the value of the coin be, more or less, it will have the same effect according to the price current of it, as to our home commerce; for instance, if our shilling be above the standard of all other nations, and worth thirteen-pence abroad, as it has been for many years, yet without melting or exporting, or by way of exchange, it will purchase no more than a clipped shilling, or twelve-pence in halfpence or farthings; and while our clipped money passed, and no discountenance put upon it, we found no such rise of commodities, or fall of our rents, or damage to the subject in taking it; nor has it the same influence now, as to any commodities that are not for foreign consumption; since corn, flesh, &c. have risen or fallen according to the scarcity, plenty, or vent, and not according to the value, but denomination of money, for these three years last past, before the project of re-coining our money was set on foot, which possibly hath of late made some alteration in these commodities also. This indeed must be allowed, that when the standard of coin was by public authority, for perpetuity, altered from twenty-pence to sixty-two in point of denomination, but not in weight or fineness, between the time of Edward III. and Queen Elizabeth, by degrees the price of commodities and rents did advance; but the ounce of silver being generally raised through all the world accordingly, and rather more abroad, by reason of the frequent wars upon the continent; as also that of their being then the principal seats of trade and manufacture, which required greater supplies of silver, there was no loss as to the old rent.

Sixthly, To keep up an old standard under an old denomination, below the value of bullion, is the greatest folly imaginable, and what is not practised in any other nation, for which we have paid dear, and yet are not grown wiser; for it first carried away all our gold, which was very plentiful here in the time of King Charles I. then all our old and broad money, and, lastly, all our milled money, which was as plentiful in King Charles II.'s time; notwithstanding the balance of trade was much on our side, and has put an absolute stop to our mint, as to silver, for many years past, and brought such a

want of the species, that our money was clipt down to above half, and yet not sufficient to keep out a vast quantity of false money to supply the defect. And whereas it has been alledged, that the rise of guineas to thirty shillings hath been by a trick of the goldsmiths, their rise has been naturally necessary, and would have produced no ill effect, could foreign guineas have been kept out; for at highest they were advanced not to a full third, and our other coin, by reason of its clipping, was not indeed worth a moiety in its intrinsic value, and the counterfeit part much less, taken together.

Lastly, Although it were desirable, were we in better circumstances as to the balance of our trade, that our silver money should be kept up in weight and fineness, near the intrinsic value of bullion, or at least the standard of our neighbours coin, yet it ought always to be below, rather than above it, to prevent the exportation of money, instead of commodities, and to bring bullion into the mint; especially since the plenty of the species of money is the only thing that can advance trade, and the value of lands; but as our present circumstances are, there is an absolute necessity that we raise the denomination of our silver, both in respect of gold, and the overbalance of our dealings abroad, if you will have any money at home to support commerce; nor can such an advance hurt us in the least, since at worst abroad they will only take their measures according to the intrinsic value, or rather the standard of their own coin; and if they raise their commodities proportionably, it will bring us a double benefit, to discourage the consumption (whereof we are too prodigal) and encourage the advance and consumption of our own commodities, and keep our money at home, which will be the least thing carried out, when it will pass for more here than there.

As for guineas, the fall of them was not only unnecessary, but highly prejudicial to the kingdom; first, because guineas have bought up all the silver money that was left in the country, and consequently left us no other coin to carry on trade and subsistence; and, after the raising of seven millions, will be a tax of eight shillings and six-pence upon the subjects, and the plenty of silver money is the only thing that will reduce them gradually.

To conclude, as to our foreign commerce, the price of our commodities were raised accordingly, and therefore could not hurt us; now if guineas fall, all commodities must fall, and the want of fixing them at a certain price will cause a mighty loss, and interruption in our traffick; and this is certain, that nothing but care of our trade at home, and lessening the expence of our army abroad, by having a free port, altering the quotas of our allies, or capitulating with the Dutch for the payment of the subsistence of our forces in Flanders, can possibly enable us to carry on our war, trade, and home commerce.

Sir Josiah Child's Proposals for the Relief and Employment of the Poor.

Sir Josiah Child, who wrote many essays upon trade and commerce, has here touched upon a subject, which has been always considered as requiring regulation in England. It is, I believe, pretty generally allowed, that those who manage for the poor in England, acquire by their office a sort of importance and patronage, not altogether favourable to the regular and unbiassed discharge of their duty. Whether this inconvenience would be removed by the establishment of such a society as Sir Josiah Child proposes is at least problematical. Of such a body, some

would be idle, some fastidious, and the business would devolve, as at present, upon their clerks and officers. In Scotland, where the heritors of a parish tax themselves for the management of their poor, and are led, for their own sakes, to look closely into the administration of the poor's rates, there are no complaints of the funds being either inadequate or mismanaged, and it has been said that the same beneficial results have followed in consequence of persons of consequence and distinction taking the trouble to enquire personally into the distribution of the poor's rates. It would appear, that the great cause of complaint is to be traced to the system of management, by overseers and other persons of an inferior description, who use the power vested in them for their own selfish purposes.

THIS is a calm subject, and thwarts no common or private interest amongst us, except that of the common enemy of mankind (the Devil) so I hope that what shall be offered towards the effecting of so universally acceptable a work as this, and the removal of the innumerable inconveniences that do now and have in all ages attended this kingdom through defect of such provision for the poor, will not be ill taken, although the plaster at first essay do not exactly fix the sore.

In the discourse of this subject, I shall first assert some particulars, which I think are agreed by common consent, and from thence take occasion to proceed to what is more doubtful.

1. That our poor in England have always been in a most sad and wretched condition, some famished for want of bread, others starved with cold and nakedness, and many whole families in all the out-parts of cities and great towns, commonly remain in a languishing, nasty, and useless condition; uncomfortable to themselves, and unprofitable to the kingdom: this is confessed and lamented by all men.

2. That very many of our poor, bred up in beggary and laziness, do by that means become not only of unhealthy bodies, and more distempered qualities, but breed many loathsome diseases, whereof very many die in their tender age; and if any of them do arrive to years and strength, they are, by their idle habits contracted in their youth, rendered for ever after indisposed to labour, and serve only to stock the kingdom with thieves and beggars.

3. That if all our impotent poor were provided for, and those of both sexes and all ages, that can do work of any kind, employed, it would redound some hundreds of thousands of pounds per annum to the public advantage.

4. That it is our duty to God and nature so to provide for and employ the poor.

5. That by so doing, one of the great sins (for which this land ought to mourn) would be removed.

6. That our forefathers had pious intentions towards this work, as appears by the many statutes made by them to this purpose.

7. That there are places in the world, wherein the poor are so provided for, and employed, as in Holland, Hamburgh, New England, and others, and, as I am informed, now in the city of Paris.

Thus far we all agree: The first question then that naturally occurs is,

Question, How comes it to pass that in England we do not, nor ever did, comfortably maintain and employ our poor?

The common answers to this question are two:

1. That our laws to this purpose are as good as any in the world, but we fail in the execution.

2. That formerly, in the days of our pious ancestors, the work was done, but now charity is decreased, and that is the reason we see the poor so neglected as now they are.

In both which answers (I humbly conceive) the effect is mistaken for the cause:

For though it cannot be denied, but there hath been, and is a great failure in the execution of those statutes which relate to the poor, yet I say, the cause of that failure hath been occasioned by defect of the laws themselves.

For otherwise, what is the reason that in our late times of confusion and alteration, wherein almost every party in the nation, at one time or other, took their turn at the helm, and all had that compass (those laws) to steer by, and yet none of them could, or ever did, conduct the poor into a harbour of security to them, and profit to the kingdom, *i. e.* none sufficiently maintained the impotent, and employed the indigent amongst us? And if this was never done in any age, nor by any sort of men whatsoever in this kingdom, who had the use of those laws now in force, it seems to me a very strong argument that it never could, nor ever will be done by those laws, and that consequently the defect lies in the laws themselves, not in the men, *i. e.* those that should put them in execution.

As to the second answer to the aforesaid question, wherein want of charity is assigned for another cause why the poor are now so much neglected, I think it is a scandalous, ungrounded accusation of our contemporaries (except in relation to building of churches, which I confess this generation is not so propense to as former have been) for most that I converse with are not so much troubled to part with their money, as how to place it, that it may do good, and not hurt, to the kingdom: For, if they give to the beggars in the streets, or at their doors, they fear they may do hurt by encouraging that lazy unprofitable kind of life; and if they give more than their proportions in their respective parishes, that (they say) is but giving to the rich, for the poor are not set on work thereby, nor have they more given them; but only their rich neighbours pay the less. And for what was given in churches to the visited poor, and to such as were impoverished by the fire, we have heard of so many and great abuses of that kind of charity, that most men are under sad discouragements in relation thereunto.

I write not this to divert any man from works of charity of any kind: He that gives to any in want does well, but he that gives to employ and educate the poor, so as to render them useful to the kingdom, in my judgement, doth better.

And here by the way, not to leave men at a loss how to dispose of what God shall incline their hearts to give for the benefit of the poor, I think it not impertinent to propose the hospitals of this city, and poor labouring people that have many children, and make a hard shift to sustain them by their industry, whereof there are multitudes in the out parts of this city, as the best objects of charity at present.

But to return to my purpose, *viz.* To prove that the want of charity likewise that is now, and always hath been, in relation to the poor, proceeds from a defect in our laws. Ask any charitable-minded man, as he goes along the streets of London, viewing the poor, *viz.* boys, girls, men and women of all ages, and many in good health, &c. why he and others do not take care for the setting those poor creatures to work? will he not readily answer, that he wisheth heartily it could be done, though it cost him a great part of his estate, but he is but one man, and can do nothing towards it, giving them money, as hath been said, being but to bring them into a liking and continuance in that way.

The second question then is,

Question 2. Wherein lies the defect of our present laws relating to the poor?

I answer, that there may be many; but I shall here take notice of one only, which I think to be fundamental, and which, until altered, the poor in England can never be well provided for, or employed; and that when the said fundamental error is well amended, it is almost impossible they should lack either work or maintenance.

The said radical error I esteem to be the leaving it to the care of every parish to maintain their own poor only: Upon which follows the shifting off, sending or whip-

ping back the poor wanderers to the place of their birth, or last abode: The practice whereof I have seen many years in London, to signify as much as ever it will, which is just nothing of good to the kingdom in general, or the poor thereof, though it be sometimes by accident to some of them a punishment without effect; I say without effect, because it reforms not the party, nor disposeth the minds of others to obedience, which are the true ends of all punishment.

As for instance; a poor idle person, that will not work, or that nobody will employ in the country, comes up to London to set up a trade of begging; such a person probably may beg up and down the streets seven years, it may be seven and twenty, before any body asketh why she doth so; and if at length she hath the ill hap in some parish to meet with a more vigilant beadle, than one of twenty of them are, all he does is but to lead her the length of five or six houses into another parish; and then concludes, as his masters the parishioners do, that he hath done the part of a most diligent officer: But suppose he should yet go further to the end of his line, which is the end of the law, and the perfect execution of his office; that is, suppose he should carry this poor wretch to a justice of the peace, and he should order the delinquent to be whipt, and sent from parish to parish, to the place of her birth or her first abode, which not one justice of twenty (through pity or other cause) will do, even this is a great charge upon the country, and yet the business of the nation itself wholly undone: For no sooner doth the delinquent arrive at the place assigned, but for shame or idleness she presently deserts it, and wanders directly back, or some other way, hoping for better fortune, whilst the parish to which she is sent, knowing her a lazy, and perhaps a worse qualified person, is as willing to be rid of her as she is to be gone from hence.

If it be here retorted upon me, that by my own confession, much of this mischief happens by the non, or ill execution of the laws, I say better execution than you have seen you must not expect; and there was never a good law made that was not well executed, the fault of the law causing a failure of execution, it being natural to all men to use the remedy next at hand, and rest satisfied with shifting the evil from their own doors; which in regard they can so easily do, by threatening or thrusting a poor body out of the verge of their own parish, it is unreasonable and vain to hope that ever it will be otherwise.

For the laws against inmates, and impowering the parishioners to take a security before they suffer any poor persons to inhabit amongst them, it may be they were prudent constitutions at the time they were made (and before England was a place of trade) and may be so still in some countries, but I am sure in cities and great towns of trade they are altogether improper, and contrary to the practice of other cities and trading towns abroad. The riches of a city, as of a nation, consisting of the multitude of inhabitants; and if so, you must allow inmates, or have a city of cottages. And if a right course be taken for the sustentation of the poor, and setting them on work, you need invent no stratagems to keep them out, but rather to bring them in. For the resort of poor to a city or nation well managed, is in effect, the conflux of riches to that city or nation; and therefore the subtle Dutch receive and relieve, or employ all that come to them, not enquiring what nation, much less what parish, they are of.

Question 3. The third question: If the defect be in our laws, how shall we find a remedy that shall be rational and consistent?

This I confess is a hard and difficult question; it is one of the *ardua regni*, and may very well deserve the most deliberate consideration of our wisest counsellors. And if a whole session of parliament were employed on this singular concern, I think it would be time spent as much to the glory of God and good of this nation, as in any thing that noble and worthy patriots of their country can be engaged in. But seeing I have adventured thus far, I shall humbly proceed to offer some general proposals that have

a tendency towards the effecting this great work; which, being seriously thought of and debated by wiser men, may be capable of such melioration as may render them in a great measure effectual to the kingdom in general, although at present, to prevent that common objection, that great mutations are dangerous, I shall only propose them to be experimented in these parts of the kingdom, which are the vitals of our body politick, which being once made sound, the cure of the rest will not be difficult.

Proposition 1. First then I propose, That the city of London and Westminster, borough of Southwark, and all other places within the usual lines of communication, described in the weekly bills of mortality, may by act of parliament be associated into one province, or line of communication, for relief of the poor.

2. That there be one assembly of men (and such as they shall from time to time appoint or deputize) entrusted with the care, for, and treasure of all the poor within the said pale or line of communication.

3. That the said assembly be incorporated by act of parliament, with perpetual succession, by the name of Fathers of the Poor, or some other honourable and significant title.

4. That all constables, churchwardens, overseers, or other officers in all parishes, within the said line, be subordinate and accountable to the said fathers of the poor, and their deputies, for and in all things relating to the poor.

5. That the said fathers of the poor may have liberty to assess and receive into their common treasury, for relief of the poor, so much money from every parish as they yearly paid to that purpose any of the three years preceding this constitution, and to compel the payment thereof, but not of more.

6. That the said fathers of the poor, and their deputies, may have very large and sufficient power in all things relating to the poor, and particularly to have and receive the charitable benevolence of all persons, once every Lord's day, in every parish church, and in any other meeting of pious Christians, and at any other time or times which they shall think fit.

7. That the said fathers of the poor, and such as they shall authorize, may have power to purchase lands, erect and endow work-houses, hospitals, and houses of correction, and to exercise all other powers relating to the poor, that any number of justices of the peace now may do, in their quarter-sessions, or otherwise.

8. That the said fathers of the poor may have power to send such poor beyond the seas as they shall think fit into his majesty's plantations, taking security for their comfortable maintenance during their service, and for their freedom afterwards.

9. That the said fathers of the poor may have power to erect petty banks, and lombards, for the benefit of the poor, if they shall find it convenient, and also to receive the one half of what is paid at all the doors of play-houses, and have the patent for farthings, and to do whatever else his majesty and the parliament shall think fit to recommend to them, or leave to their discretion.

10. That the treasure that shall be collected for this purpose, shall be accounted sacred, and that it be felony to misapply, conceal, lend, or convert it to any other use or purpose whatsoever.

11. That there be no oaths, or other tests, imposed upon the said fathers of the poor, at their admission, to bar our nonconformists, amongst whom there will be found some excellent instruments for this good work, and such as will constantly attend it (for if they be kept out, the people will be cold in their charity, and in the hopes of their success).

12. That the said fathers of the poor may constantly wear some honourable medal, such as the king and parliament shall devise, besides the green staff which is now used in London to such like purpose (but upon extraordinary days only) to denote their authority and office at all times, and in all places, after the manner of the habits in Spain,

or rather as have all the familiars of the inquisition in most Romish countries, with admirable effect, though to a wicked purpose: the consequence whereof will be, that the said fathers of the poor, being numerous, and dispersed, by their habitations and business, into most parts of their province, will readily see any neglects of officers, and as easily redress them; the medal which they wear about them, being a sufficient warrant to command obedience from all parish officers wherever they come, although their persons be not known there.

13. That the said fathers of the poor may have liberty to admit into their society, and all powers and privileges equal with them, any persons that are willing to serve God, their king and country, in this pious and publick work, the persons desiring to be so admitted, paying at their admission 100*l.* or more into the poor's treasury, as a demonstration of the sincerity of their intentions to labour in and cultivate this most religious vineyard. This I only offer, because the number of the said fathers of the poor hereafter mentioned, may be thought rather too few than too many.

14. That the said fathers of the poor, besides the authority now exercised by the justices of the peace, may have some less limited powers given them, in relation to the punishment of their own, and parish officers, by pecuniary mulcts for the poor's benefit in case of neglect, and otherwise, as his majesty and the parliament shall think fit.

15. That the said fathers of the poor may have freedom to set the poor on work about whatsoever manufacture they think fit, with a *non obstante* to all patents that have been or shall be granted to any private person or persons for the sole manufacture of any commodity; the want of which privilege, I have been told, was a prejudice to the workhouse at Clerkenwell, in their late design of setting their poor children about making of hangings.

16. That all vacancies, by reason of death of any of the said fathers of the poor, be perpetually supplied by election of the survivors.

Quest. 4. The fourth question is, Who shall be the persons entrusted with so great a work and such excess of power?

This is a question likewise of some difficulty, and the more in regard of our present differences in religion, but I shall answer it as well as I can.

In general I say, they must be such as the people must have ample satisfaction in, or else the whole design will be lost: For if the universality of the people be not satisfied with the persons, they will never part with their money; but if they be well satisfied therein, they will be miraculously charitable.

Quest. 5. This begets a fifth question, What sort of men the people will be most satisfied in?

I answer, I think in none so well as such only as a common hall of the liverymen of London shall make choice of; it being evident, by the experience of many ages, that the several corporations in London are the best administrators of what is left to charitable uses, that have ever been in this kingdom, which is manifest in the regular, just, and prudent management of the hospitals of London, and was wisely observed by Dr Collet, Dean of St Paul's, that prudent ecclesiastick, when he left the government of that school, and other great revenues assigned by him for charitable uses, unto the disposition of the mercers company.

Objection. But here it may be objected, That country gentlemen, who have power in places of their residence, and pay out of their large estates considerable sums towards the maintenance of the poor within the afore-limited precincts, may be justly offended if they likewise have not a share in the distribution of what shall be raised to that purpose.

Answer. I answer, the force of this objection may be much taken off, if the city be obliged to chuse out a certain number out of the city, as, suppose, seventy for London;

ten out of Southwark for that borough, twenty for Westminster; this would best satisfy the people; and I think do the work: But if it be thought too much for the city to have the choice of any more than their own seventy, the justices of peace in their quarter sessions, may nominate and appoint their own number of persons to assist for their respective jurisdictions, and so to supply the vacancy in case of death, &c. But all must be conjunctive, but one body politick, or the work will never be done.

Question 6. The sixth question is, What will be the advantage to the kingdom in general, and to the poor in particular, that will accrue by such a society of men, more than is enjoyed by the laws at present?

I answer, innumerable and unspeakable are the benefits of this kingdom that will arise from the consultations and debates of such a wise and honest council, who being men so elected as aforesaid, will certainly conscionably study and labour to discharge their trust in this service of God, their king, and country.

1st. The poor, of what quality soever, as soon as they are met with, will be immediately relieved or set on work where they are found, without hurrying them from place to place, and torturing their bodies to no purpose.

2dly. Charitable-minded men will know certainly where to dispose of their charity, so as it may be employed to right purposes.

3dly. Housekeepers will be freed from the intolerable incumbrance of beggars at their doors.

4thly. The plantations will be regularly supplied with servants, and those that are sent thither well provided for.

5thly. The said assembly will doubtless appoint some of their own members to visit and relieve such as are sick, as often as there shall be occasion, together with poor labouring families both in city and suburbs.

6thly. Poor children will be instructed in learning and arts, and thereby rendered serviceable to their country, and many other worthy acts done for public good by the joint deliberation of so many prudent and pious men, assisted with such a power and purse, more than can be foreseen or expressed by a private person.

Question 7. The seventh question may be, What shall all the poor of these cities and countries, being very numerous, be employed about?

This question will be answered best by the said assembly themselves when they have met and consulted together, who cannot be presumed deficient of invention to set all the poor on work, especially since they may easily have admirable precedents from the practice of Holland in this particular, and have already very good ones of their own, in the orders of their hospitals of Christ-Church and Bridewell in London; the girls may be employed in mending the cloaths of the aged, in spinning, carding, and other linen manufactures, and many in sowing linen for the exchange, or any housekeepers that will put out linen to the matrons that have the government of them.

The boys in picking oakum, making pins, rasping wood, making hangings, or any other manufactures of any kind, which whether it turns to present profit or not, is not much material, the great business of the nation being first but to keep the poor from begging and starving, and inuring such as are able to labour and discipline, that they may be hereafter useful members to the kingdom: But to conclude, I say the wisest man, living solitarily, cannot propose or imagine such excellent ways and methods as will be invented by the united wisdom of so grave an assembly.

The sitting of the said assembly, I humbly conceive, ought to be, *de die in diem*; the quorum not more than thirteen; whether they shall yearly, monthly, or weekly chuse a president, how they shall distribute themselves into the several quarters of the communication; what treasurers and other officers to employ, and where, and how many, will best be determined by themselves, and that without difficulty, because many that will probably be members of the said assembly, have already had large experience of

the government of the hospitals of London: The manner of election of the said fathers of the poor, I humbly suppose, cannot possibly be better contrived than after the same way the East India Company chuse their committee, which will prevent the confusion, irregularity, and incertitude, that may attend the election of voices, or holding up of hands, especially because the persons to be elected at one time will be very many; the said manner proposed is, every elector, *viz.* every liveryman, to bring to Guildhall, at the appointed day for elections, a list of the whole number of persons, such as he thinks fit that are to be elected, and deliver the same openly unto such persons as the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council-men shall appoint to make the scrutiny; which persons so entrusted with the said scrutiny, seven or ten days after, as shall be thought fit, at another common hall, may declare who are the persons elected by the majority of votes.

If it be here objected to the whole purpose of this treatise, that this work may as well be done in distinct parishes, if all parishes were obliged to build workhouses, and employ their poor therein, as Dorchester and some others have done with good success.

I answer, that such attempts have been made in many places to my knowledge, with very good intents and strenuous endeavours, but all that ever I heard of proved vain and ineffectual, as I fear will that of Clerkenwell, except that single instance of the town of Dorchester, which yet signifies nothing in relation to the kingdom in general, because all other places cannot do the like; nor doth the town of Dorchester entertain any but their own poor only, and whip away all others; whereas that which I design, is to propose such a foundation as shall be large, wise, honest, and rich enough to maintain and employ all poor that come within the pale of their communication, without enquiring where they were born, or last inhabited: Which I dare affirm with humility, that nothing but a national, or at least such a provincial purse can so well do, nor any persons in this kingdom, but such only as shall be picked out by popular election, for the reason before alledged, *viz.* That, in my opinion, three-fourths at least of the stock must issue from the charity of the people; as I doubt not but it will to a greater proportion, if they be satisfied in the managers thereof; but if otherwise, not the fortieth, I might say not the hundredth part.

I propose the majority of the said fathers of the poor to be citizens (though I am none myself) because I think a great share of the money to be employed, must and will come from them, if ever the work be well done, as also, because their habitations are nearest the centre of their business, and they best acquainted with all affairs of this nature by their experience in the government of the hospitals.

Earnestly to desire and endeavour, that the poor of England should be better provided for and employed, is a work that was much studied by my deceased father, and therefore, though I be as ready to confess as any shall be to charge me with disability to propose a model of laws for this great affair, yet I hope the more ingenuous will pardon me for endeavouring to give aim towards it, since it is so much my duty, which in this particular I shall be careful to perform (though I may be too remiss in others) as shall appear by more visible and apparent demonstrations, if ever this design, or any other (that is like to effect what is desired) succeed.

A Letter written to a Member of Parliament, relating to Trade.

I am unable to ascertain the rank or condition of Mr John Eggleton, the author of this Tract, which contains some very sensible hints on commercial subjects.

To his much respected Friend, Mr John Eggleton.

SIR,

TURNING over some papers that lay in my desk, I happened on the following letter of yours, writ some years past; it presently came into my thoughts to expose it unto publick view at this time (wherein I found your name in the list of candidates for no inconsiderable post in this city) to shew how active your thoughts have been to promote trade, and thereby the honour and interest of the nation: It met with the approbation of such as did at that time peruse it. I have only to beg your pardon for sending it to the press without your consent, for which I shall make no other excuse, than that calling once at your house, your absence prevented the having it granted or denied to,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

January 1st, 1702.

S. R.

SIR,

Having never had the opportunity to observe the course of trade in foreign parts, or leisure to be acquainted with the entries of the custom-house at home, matters so requisite to form perfect ideas of trade, I had not in this way adventured to give you my thoughts thereof, if these just excuses had not been silenced by your repeated commands; I shall therefore, without further preface, give you my opinion in several particulars, as they occur to my thoughts.

I. Persons ought to be made easy in reference to the management of trade; the pride, moroseness, delays, and exactions of inferior officers at the places where the affairs of trade are transacted, have done an unspeakable mischief.

II. There ought to be a review of the book of rates, and variations therein made, as the nature of things require, respect being had, not so much what commodities will raise the greatest revenue to the crown, as what is the true interest of the nation, and an estimate may be made by considering,

First, What nations over-balance us in trade, and their commodities (especially if superfluous) we may more freely lay a duty on such nations as we gain by more sparingly.

Secondly, The laying high duties on such commodities as are capable of a further manufacture here, or such as are necessary for the carrying on our own manufactures,

as oil, and materials for dying, &c. is very prejudicial, because it augments the cost, and thereby lessens exportation.

Thirdly, Great care ought to be taken of whatsoever relates to the building and rigging of ships; for a foreign trade being that which enriches a kingdom, it is certainly our interest to do it on the cheapest terms.

Fourthly, For the same reason we should lay very small (if any) duties on our own manufactures, especially if wholly the produce of our own nation.

Fifthly, I conceive there ought to be as few articles to pay *ad valorem*, as is possible, for multiplying articles of this kind puts it within the power of corrupt officers to cheat the king, and hinder merchants from trading on equal terms; for it is not unknown what fraudulent practices have been used on this account, and what different values and rates are put on the same sort of commodities of equal goodness, belonging to different persons.

III. Great encouragement ought to be given to new manufactures, especially such as we fetch from abroad with bullion, as lustrings, alamodes, paper, and the like.

IV. It will be of great advantage to have the poor generally set on work (not to insist on the charity and civil prudence thereof) hereby a great deal may not only be saved of, but added to, the nation's stock, if they be employed.

First, In making such goods as we now fetch from foreign parts, especially where the balance of trade is against us.

Secondly, In making such goods as we may export to foreign markets, that are now furnished from distant parts, and not by us: I have great expectation from the corporation lately erected in this city, under the management of Sir R. C.

V. Care ought to be taken that our manufactures be kept up to their ancient goodness; this hath for a long tract of time maintained the reputation of our English bayes abroad: And here I cannot but remark what a great declension in goodness I have observed in Norwich cheneyes, Colchester perrets, and Exon long ells, of which we used to export vast quantities: Cheneyes now in great part disused; and as to the other, if not a stop put to their further debasing, I fear we shall lose our trade also; for prevention whereof I humbly conceive it would be necessary,

—That a certain town seal be affixed on those pieces as are made of such a stated goodness, length, and breadth, as may be a common warrant for them all the world over.

That on inferior sorts all makers be obliged to put their particular seals, names, or marks (which shall be penal for any to counterfeit) with the length thereof; for by this means, observation and experience will make those distinguishments, that commissions will be given particularly for such maker's goods as will raise emulation amongst them who shall have the best reputation, or create a necessity for them to keep up to a goodness to invite a chapman.

VI. Trade ought not to be restrained by multiplying and needless prohibitions; it is owing to this, that our manufactures have been set up in many distant places; had not Irish cattle been prohibited, I conceive there would not have wanted an act of parliament to discourage the woollen manufacture in that kingdom; and I humbly submit it to consideration, whether the taking of most (if not all) the prohibitions and impositions that now interrupt the commerce of the two nations, would not stop the growing mischief you have been providing against.

Here two things ought to be considered;

First, That prohibitions, in reference to exportation, be principally confined to such things as are necessary to set up our manufacture in foreign parts, as wool, fullers-earth, &c.

Secondly, In reference to importation, that they are such things as are either the product of our own plantations, superfluous or prejudicial to our own manufactures,

and brought us from those places that overbalance us in trade; for in these cases, unless care be taken, either our plantations (from which England hath reaped vast advantage) will be impoverished, our bullion exhausted, and our poor multiplied.

VII. I conceive it prejudicial to trade to have it burthened with duties, for no other purpose but the duty's sake; as the aulnager's seal, which is no check upon the ill making of woollen goods; for I may purchase seals (as I am informed) and put them on my own stuffs, without any further inspection: Likewise those restraints that are put upon manufacturers, which confine them to a certain number of looms, apprentices, &c. For whatsoever tends to enhance the price of our manufactures (as hath been observed) will lessen their consumption, and in a degree prevent exportation.

VIII. It is the interest of England that some further provision be made by law, to secure the trade of its plantations, that they be solely furnished from hence, and that encouragement be given to our manufactures, whereas now a draw-back is allowed on some sort of goods sent thither, and thereby they supplied cheaper than ourselves, which is a loss to the king in his customs, and a great prejudice to the manufactures of this kingdom.

IX. It is of great importance to encourage the fishing trade; for what vast advantage do the Dutch make of the white-herring trade? And yet fish on our coast: And why might not we equal our neighbours: Having our coast replenished with great variety of fish, our shores and harbours convenient, besides many other advantages above them; this deserves a particular treatise.

X. Care ought to be taken for the better packing of our red herrings and pilchards; for the Exchange was lately full of complaints, of great quantities of fish carried abroad, that stank for not being well cured, occasioned by the draw-back allowed on salt, by act of parliament, the good intention whereof is eluded, the king cheated, and the nation abused by the bad practices of avaritious persons, whereby merchants sustained great losses abroad, and several law-suits created at home.

XI. It will conduce to the benefit of trade, that some further provision be made by law, for the better securing persons properties and estates, and that in several respects.

First, For the better and more equal distribution of bankrupts estates, by enacting new penalties for fraudulent bankrupts, and providing for a more speedy and exact discovery of the estates of other insolvent persons; for which purpose a law might easily be so framed, as might be for the advantage both of creditors and debtors, by preventing the vast charges that now attend the execution of commissions of bankruptcy, and by procuring a more speedy liberty to all honest bankrupts.

Secondly, For preventing creditors being cheated by latent judgments, and securities given at marriage, which I conceive ought not to be valid for greater sums than was *bonâ fide* received as a marriage portion, if there shall not be estate enough besides to satisfy just debts.

Thirdly, That all estates purchased by persons trading, be accounted assets to pay debts.

Fourthly, By enabling persons more easily to recover debts due from corporate and politick bodies; the difficulty and charge of suing such hath encouraged such actions in aggregate societies, as any single person of honour and honesty would blush at.

Fifthly, By compelling executors and administrators to pay debts (respect being had to that priority the law gives to different kinds of securities) in a proportion.

XII. It would greatly conduce to the flourishing of trade, if a more speedy and cheaper way were established for the recovery of debts contracted by trade, deciding of controversies relating to merchants' accompts, bills of exchange, tradesmen, masters and freighters of ships, &c. For hereby vast charges and expences of time lavished and consumed by tedious suits in law would be avoided, a check given to the negligence and injustice of commanders, navigation encouraged. I do therefore humbly offer,

whether there might not be erected a court merchant in the city of London, that may be so constituted as may answer the ends desired; and it would be a lasting monument of honour to those gentlemen of the long robe in your house, if they would be assisting herein.

13. The free admission of Jews amongst us, and giving them equal privileges with natives, is very prejudicial to trade; for being a crafty, subtle, and parsimonious and oppressive people, who think themselves under no obligation from the precepts of the gospel, do by indirect practices, and the clemency of our government, deprive our merchants of that profit which would redound to them; and by insinuating and settling themselves in great trading ports, and in our American plantations, corresponding chiefly with one another, do thereby raise great estates, insomuch, as they are now become the great remitters of money on the exchange, to the great detriment of our English merchants: It is also commonly, and not without ground, reported, that they constantly give information, whensoever any English are taken and carried captive into Algier, Sally, &c. of their persons, quality, friends, and relations, whereby greater ransoms are demanded; for redress of these mischiefs, if true, I humbly offer,

First, That an additional duty be imposed on whatsoever shall be exported and imported by Jews, with severe penalties on such as shall any way cover or conceal their goods and merchandizes, or be aiding and assisting therein.

Secondly, That they draw no foreign bill of exchange, but on paper stampd with a stamp.

Thirdly, That a committee, annually to be chosen by the common-council of London, do once in every year give in writing to the heads of them, a list of persons for them at their own charge, to ransom out of slavery; and for every one of those persons, that shall be continued in slavery months after the delivery thereof, to pay pounds to the chamberlain of London, to be employed for the redemption of persons from captivity, as the said committee shall direct.

XIII. I further offer it as my opinion, that hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen, be prohibited travelling and trading up and down the nation: For,

First, They impoverish most of the corporations and market-towns in England, by depriving them of their trade; and thereby sink the value of lands, which must rise or fall as trade flourishes or decays.

Secondly, Those people encourage the debasing the manufacture of England; they readily buying all sorts of ware, defective in length, breadth, and goodness.

Thirdly, They defraud the king by often concealing and disposing uncustomed goods, and evade the laws made for prohibiting French silks, &c. usually sold by them.

Fourthly, They exhaust the treasure of the nation, multitudes of them being Scotchmen, and more we may expect (since Darien is abandoned) who come beggars hither, and enrich themselves, and return into their own country.

Fifthly, They neither pay taxes to his majesty, scot or lot in any settled places, being continually roving up and down, living upon provision they usually get at gentlemen's houses, by the gift of a row of pins, a lace, or the like to the servant maid.

XIV. It is very necessary, that the pernicious and villainous trade of stock-jobbing be suppressed; a trade which hath much obtained of late years, and hath been fatally successful, not only in diverting persons from the ordinary methods of trade, but also in debauching their morals to a strange degree; ruining many families, who have been blown up by the secret trains and infernal practices of stock-jobbing brokers, and others; for the prevention whereof for the future, it is proposed,

First, That all contracts for stock or credits, in either of the East-India or African

companies, Bank of England, &c. be registered by some officer to be appointed by the chamberlain of London; the seller to pay pence for registering thereof, and this to be within days after the contract made, the person neglecting to pay for each default; if a broker, to forfeit his place besides.

Secondly, That all such contracts made shall be transferred within days, on penalty of forfeiting shillings for each hundred pounds and under; and proportionably for any greater sum.

Thirdly, That all persons purchasing any stock in either of the said companies, be obliged to keep it months, or else to pay per cent. for so much as shall be disposed sooner.

Fourthly, That all persons lending stock to another, to elude the penalties of such act, shall forfeit per cent. and so proportionably for a greater or lesser sum.

Fifthly, That all notes given to transfer stock or declaration of trust relating thereunto, shall be registered within days after made, under the penalty of

Sixthly, All persons selling by himself or broker more stock than he hath credit for, in either of the said companies books, shall forfeit per cent. and under, and so proportionably for any greater sum.

Seventhly, That the governor in each company do cause a list of the names of every person interested therein, and how much, to be transmitted every months to the said chamberlain; and an account of all the transfers made within the said time, and the time when, to whom, and by whom made.

Eighthly, All the forfeitures and penalties to be sued for in any of the courts of records within the city of London, by action, bill, &c. brought in the name of the chamberlain, for the use of the said city; and treble costs given.

XV. It would advance trade to make more of our rivers navigable: This may be detrimental to some particular places and persons, but beneficial to the nation in general: For whatsoever tends to the making of our manufactures cheap, as this undoubtedly doth, by reason of cheaper conveyance, increases their consumption, and opens a way for greater exportations, which is the inlet of riches into a kingdom.

XVI. I submit to consideration, whether it would not promote trade, to reduce the interest of money from six to four per cent. This hath been so largely insisted on by several persons, that I shall only answer one objection which may be made, that I have not found answered by any, viz. Upon the calling in of the old money to be new coined, every man is sensible that a vast sum lay as a dead stock hoarded up, as appears by the great quantity of broad money brought to light, which six per cent. and a greater interest could not allure from its retirement; will not then the lowering of interest add to that sum, and thereby instead of enlarging, contract trade?

I answer, First, it cannot be expected, that any inducement will be prevalent enough to unlock all persons chests, and draw forth the whole cash of the nation.

Secondly, I conceive the great reasons that kept so much cash immured, was not only the great and daily diminution of its intrinsick value, by clipping and counterfeiting observed, and the fear what would be the consequence thereof, but also a dissatisfaction in the securities offered; the former is now over, and as to the latter, if the interest of money were abated, there would not only be better real, but also personal security offered, for this would undoubtedly advance the value of land, which hath been observed in all places to be the consequence: So that that land, which was before a security for a thousand pounds, will now be a security for a greater sum: There would also be better personal security, for this would prevail with very considerable merchants and traders, to continue and enlarge their dealings, by reason they might afford to trade for less per cent. advance, and with less hazard and risk in case returns should not presently answer expectation: Besides persons would be encouraged to engage in new and various designs and undertakings, which will cause a free circulation

of money throughout the nation: But I conceive, if due encouragement were by all other ways given to trade, it would reduce interest, which would be much better than by a law made for that purpose.

XVII. I humbly propose it, whether it would not advance trade, that once in eight or ten years a publick lottery were erected by act of parliament, like that of the million lottery, which was observed to bring forth great quantities of hoarded money, both gold and silver, and gave a general satisfaction; and probably such another would have the like effect.

XVIII. I propose it, whether it would not be advantageous to the nation, to forbid all bullion to be exported, and give liberty to all coined money, both foreign and English; for this would make our own coin of equal value with foreign, and prevent the melting it down, as also its private exportation to be re-coined into foreign dollars; and again imported at 4d. 5d. and sometimes at a higher value per ounce than it went out: That both these ways are practised, is rational to suppose, if we consider,

First, The vast quantity of bullion that appears at Guildhall, whenever there is occasion for exportation thereof.

Secondly, The great quantity of silver sent to Holland by the Jews, and other great traders in gold, when guineas were at an advanced value with us.

Thirdly, The very large quantities of dollars, I have lately observed the coins of very many and very distant places, and the great variety of them that appeared fresh from the Mint, though much more ancient by their inscriptions: I know some things may plausibly be urged against this opinion; but whatsoever hath been urged by others, or suggested by my own thoughts, hath not been able to alter my sentiments herein.

XIX. The advancing of eminent merchants, and traders of known abilities and integrity to places of honour and profit, relating to the management of trade, would tend to its encouragement, for such would be best capacitated to discharge those trusts, by reason of their knowledge and experience, and be a greater check upon all inferior officers, acting in a lower station, to keep them within bounds.

XX. The more general suppressing of vice and immorality would have a great tendency to promote the honour and prosperity of the nation, for vice not only emasculates men's minds, renders them unactive, obstructs that application that is absolutely necessary for business, but also deprives a nation of the blessing of Almighty God, without which it is impossible for any city or kingdom to arrive to any considerable pitch of glory, or long continue the enjoyment thereof.

XXI. The continuance of that indulgence, whereby all persuasions of protestants are made easy as to religion, gives a mighty encouragement to trade; for this being of most valuable importance to the most serious and considerable part of mankind, is absolutely necessary to produce that steady application which trade and traffick require.

I might also multiply many more particulars, as the sending yearly ships abroad for discovery; the promoting regular enclosures; improving wide commons and waste places; the encouraging sowing hemp and flax, the endeavouring to plant nutmegs into our West-India plantations, erecting committees of merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers, that might annually meet and consult the interest of trade in the various parts of the kingdom, all which I leave to better judgments to enlarge on.

Sir, it is possible I may be mistaken in some particulars, but shall be ready upon better information to retract my errors, aiming only at the publick interest, and (as far as I am able) your satisfaction; I am not insensible that the necessary engagements, which a long and expensive war hath caused, may render it difficult to put in practice several of the particulars mentioned; I shall not presume to offer any methods for the obviating thereof, not doubting but that so many worthy gentlemen of such ample fortunes and equal wisdom that compose your august assembly, will find out a way to

preserve sacred the honour of parliaments, secure the interest of the nation, and settle the trade thereof upon a rational and honest basis, which is desired by,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,
J. EGLETON.

A Problem concerning the Gout; in a Letter to Sir John Gordon, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and of the Royal Society in London. By G. P. Esq., with a Reply, and Censure thereupon.

Mr George Philips and Sir John Gordon, the latter of whom was a Scottish physician of some eminence, have here busied themselves in the cure of a disorder which, since the days of Lucian, has put the skill of the faculty at defiance.

SIR,

You have, by the very magic of your most ingenious discourse (with which you honoured me the other day) wrought a cure very foreign to your profession; you have rectified the habit of my mind, and expelled a noxious error from my judgment. But give me leave to tell you, if you accustom yourself to such methods, if you are at such expence of learning and rhetoric, to undermine a sandy notion, to break a brittle fancy in pieces, you will make the number of your opponents exceed that of your converts; either by stirring up some fumes of pride in such as I am, to observe our crude conceits worthy of your censure; or, by raising an itch of contradiction, only to enjoy the pleasure of your confutation. And now, to make my submission complete, I will present you with the scheme of my conceptions on that subject, that so having rid my thoughts of the burthen of them, they may creditably expire under the honour of your correction.

I have been acquainted with the gout near twenty years, during which time the troublesome (but, as I have used to treat him, not very chargeable) guest hath constantly paid me a visit once in the year, and sometimes twice; therefore I may be allowed to give an account of it more than notionally and theoretically. And though I do not in the least pretend to any knowledge or judgment in the noble science of physic, yet having in my younger years been conversant in the most delightful study of anatomy, I came to understand the inside of myself, and a little to know, and with some astonishment to admire, that orderly and stupendous contexture of all parts of the body, which no hand, but that of an omnipotent Creator, could effect; which every man carries about him, but few know, and none can understand, but such as have been accustomed to dissection, and especially of living bodies; and is in some measure represented by a clock, the order and office of which is very admirable; but when you open the doors, and behold the motions (so like to animal) the harmony and subserviency of each wheel and part to the other, all wonder of the outside ceaseth and is disregarded. Besides, my age warrants me to claim the title of a physician in

my own defence, that I may avoid the epithet of a fool ; and I am obliged to pretend to some proficiency, that I may escape the censure of talking like an apothecary.

Upon the whole, I do observe, that the causes of that distemper are as much mistaken, and as little understood, as the cure. Wherefore I am in my opinion very heterodox, and do think, that whosoever is so fortunate as to be affected with the gout (especially if the indications of it do commence in his declining age,) he ought to use no means to repel it, or be rid of it, but patiently to endure the fit, as a lucky, though sharp composition for more fatal maladies ; as I have heard or read of a custom used in the Low Countries, that when a man after fifty falls into the gout, his friends come about him, they make a feast, and rejoice at this hopeful prolongation of his life, and a probable addition of twenty or thirty years to it. And by the way, I cannot but observe to you, that when Asa, King of Judah, was diseased in his feet (which is by all interpreted to be the gout) it is noted of him, that he did not seek to the Lord, but to his physicians ; he did not patiently endure the fit, but tampered with plaisters and poultices.

In some persons the gout is hereditary, and in some it is original ; and though it be ordinary to impute the assaults of it to excess in diet, and other inordinate pleasures, yet having in my observations remarked how many men and women of the strictest temperance, and singularly abstemious, have been in the most miserable manner afflicted with it, while others, setting no limits to their appetite, have for many years indulged themselves in excess, yet never suffered in any symptoms of it, I cannot be persuaded that it proceeds naturally, or necessarily, from such causes.

It may justly and reasonably be called, *malæ causæ bonus effectus* ; and though possibly it were good for a man not to have that disorder in the humours, which doth occasion that distemper, yet it is better to have that irregularity dispelled by a fit of the gout, than to be fixed by a disease in any of the noble parts, or transformed into an acute fever ; it may be well for a man to be of so athletic a constitution, as to have no disposition to the gout ; but it is certainly better for him that once hath had it, not to miss the annual return of it ; nay I am almost induced to say, that the gout is as far from being a disease, that it is rather a cure, a cure administered by nature, without the aid of a physician, and infallibly effectual, if not interrupted by cross and churlish applications.

I am of opinion, that this may be a proper definition of the gout, *arthritis est purgatio nervorum*. And I am inclined to suppose so, by reasons drawn from my own observation and experience. First, because a dulness of the brain, and heaviness in the head (which is the root of the nerves) is a certain, if not a constant, precedaneous symptom of an approaching fit ; and then when the gout is fixed in the hand, or foot, or other joint, immediately that cloud which darkened the brain is dispelled ; and the understanding, memory, and fancy, are sensibly cleared and quickened. Secondly, another symptom is *motio formicans*, a little stirring in the back, like the crawling of emmets or pismires ; which seem to be a goutish humour passing along the spinal marrow, from whence the nerves are disseminated. Thirdly, because the operation, or affliction of the gout, is not exercised on the fleshy and musculous parts of the body, but is suddenly darted and conveyed through the channels of the nerves into some joint, and yet doth not remain in the nerves ; which I conceive to be performed thus ; a nerve being composed of many filaments covered with a membrane, is the proper vehicle and instrument both of motion and sensation, the latter whereof is performed by the object being carried by a tremulous motion up to the common sense (as a stretched lute-string trembles at the top when touched at the bottom ;) the other by conveying the animal spirits between the cavities of those threads or filaments, which compose the nerve (as a bundle of quills clapt together must leave spaces and vacuities, because they are round, and can touch one another but in *lined*, by reason of their

convexity;) now through these cavities, I suppose, the malignant ferment which nature throws off, (and is the very elixir of contagious humours) channels along, and passes to the joints, where, if undisturbed by violent and unnecessary applications, it gently evaporates by insensible perspiration, after its due crisis and periods.

Fourthly, Because the gout, like other acute distempers, hath its gradual and regular procession, its increment, state, and declension; and having gone through the extremities of the body, passes off (if not checked and controuled by plaisters, salves, and poultices) leaving the joint or member free from all pain, but weak, and disabled from motion, which is the proper employment of the nerves and muscles.

Fifthly, Because the cramp (which is a convulsive motion, and distortion of the nerves and muscles) is constantly an usher, or an attendant, of the gout.

In the tenets of religion, I desire to be always orthodox; in the disquisitions of natural philosophy, I take a pleasure to be heretical: I subscribe to the dictates of the church; but I am not ashamed to be a non-conformist to the theorems of Aristotle and Galen. So being once got out of the common road, give me leave to ramble a little, and to present you with some other notions, (which without arrogance I may call my own, since no other man (to the best of my knowledge) ever published the same; so peradventure no man else will applaud or abet: but for that I am no way concerned; what I write is for my own pleasure and your diversion, and I am not at all ambitious to be the leader of a sect or party.

I am of opinion, that the gout and stone are one and the same, conceived and begot by the same causes, fostered and cherished by the same accidents, and only differing in their seat and position; the one ravaging among the joints and external parts of the body; the other making its residence in the inward recesses of the veins, and urinary passages. I take the stomach to be the *primum mobile*, and principal agent in these occurrences, to whose indisposition and mal-administration the dolorous consequences both of the one and the other are primarily to be attributed; so that the errors in the first concoction (whether arising from the natural debility of that vessel, or fomented by the inordinate use and the irregularities of diet) are the embryo, or seed-plot, from whence the maladies and disorders which infest the body are derived. Hence agues and fevers receive the first rudiments of their formation, from the crude relics of indigestion. Here, by precipitated concoction, the pure and genuine chyle is perverted into acrimonious humours, and cholar adust, which become the original of catarrhs, consumptions, and hydropic distempers. But if by the strength of nature, and the pancreatic constitution of the party, the malignity be removed from the vitals, and the venom precluded from channelling in the arteries, then the ferment, or morbid salt, is forced away, and either ejaculated into the nerves, which causeth the paroxysms of the gout, or transmitted into the kidneys, and causeth the condensing of gravel, which carrieth the contagion off with it, if seasonably expelled; but if fixed, engendereth the stone, and the fatal torments that attend it. Nay, the very end and utmost effort, both of stone and gout, conclude in a sandy and calculous accretion; the one visible in the bladder, the other apparent in chalky, topaceous stones in the joints of the hand and feet. To which, let me add the observation of Dr Willis, (which I have read in his works) that having by powerful physic driven away the gravel from a patient, he became presently afflicted with gout; and having forced that to depart, the stone immediately returned, and became his bane.

But what if I should strain a point higher, and entertain you with a fancy just now come into my head? Because every man (who is not taken away by a violent death) is said to die of a fever, why may it not be rationally conjectured, that the most notorious, ordinary, and epidemical distempers and diseases, are but so many diversified kinds, or species of fevers? And if so, then I may be allowed to coin a new distinction, and divide that universal minister of death into these several classes, *febris venalis*, *febris ar-*

terialis, febris stomachica, febris nephritica, and febris nervea. Under the first, I place pleurisies, and other distempers arising from redundancy, or an ill habit of the blood. In the second, are comprehended agues, violent and malignant fevers, proceeding from inflammations, and corruption of the fountain of blood and animal spirits, the heart. The third shews itself in cholics, iliac passions, griping of the guts, and other torments caused by wind, and fetching their original from the stomach. The sharp twinges of the gravel, and excruciating miseries of the stone, are exercised on the kidneys, ureters and bladder, and may fairly pass under the denomination of *febris nephritica*. And doubtless the pains and afflictions of the gout may properly be termed *febris nervea*, since its swing and operation is wholly in the nerves, and is indicated and determined by periodical and feverish fits; a true fit of the gout being always attended by a *febricula*, or short fever. Thus the body of man is assaulted by enemies of its own generation; one sort of fever storms it, another blows it up, another undermines it; this batters it, and that pulls it to the ground; every man desires to live long, but no man would be old; and even the gout, which generally is the concomitant of old age, helps to increase the miseries of it. I will conclude with a fable of the Gout and the Spider, which was told me by a country gardener. "The Gout and the Spider, having been old acquaintance, met in a summer's evening; and after ordinary salutations, began to congratulate each other's felicity. The Gout extolled his good fortune, that was so luckily placed in a stately house near adjoining, where the owner of it caressed him with all manner of kindness, comforting him with plaisters, refreshing him with oil and frictions, covering him with scarlet and flannel, and treating him with so much civility, that he was not put to the toil of walking, but rested day and night in a warm room. The Spider said, I have taken up my quarters in a poor man's cottage, where though my entertainment be but mean, yet I enjoy safety and tranquillity; I spread my nets through the house, I have as many webs in the loom as would serve all my generation, and nobody disturbs me. Thus having mutually descanted on their happiness, a curiosity pricked them to change quarters for one night, that each might be a witness of the other's good condition; so they parted, appointing to meet in the same place, and recount their adventures. Accordingly the Gout marcheth to the cottage, attacks the owner, and fixeth his residence in his great toe. The Spider ascends the gentleman's parlour, falls presently to work, and before day he had extended his manufacture through all the spaces of the room. The next night they met again, but in a most deplorable condition; the Gout looked as if he were half-drowned and half-dead. The Spider as if he were frightened out of his wits. But wondering awhile at one another's fate, and recollecting themselves, the Gout told his friend, that when he came to the cottage, he, according to his custom, seized on the good man's toe, expecting to rest quietly there; but to his astonishment, the man started up, run about with his naked feet, and plunged himself into a pond, and had almost drowned or choaked him, so that he had hardly escaped with life. My fortune has been little better (replies the Spider) for having finished my work, and spread my nets up and down the room, I betook me to rest; but early in the morning the chamber-maid comes, and with her broom and whisk unmercifully destroys and tears down what I had wrought; I, upon the alarm, retreated into a hole, and with much difficulty made my escape hither. So, after a little pausing, they took leave: The Gout returning to the rich man, and the Spider to the poor."

But lest the flat repetition of such frivolous and incoherent stuff may prove as troublesome as the disease it treats of, or the wanton excursions of my pen prove equally vexatious to the very twinges of the gout, in pure pity, and good manners, I desist, after I have with all possible respect and sincerity avowed myself,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

Nov. 3d, 1690.

G. PHILLIPS.

The Reply.

SIR,

Though by your letter you do me the honour to represent me as moulded in that of the most extensive friendship; and submit to my reflections your very ingenious and well-contrived thoughts of the cause, previous and subsequent phenomena of your old and intimate friend, the Gout; yet I will not be guilty of so much vanity as to endeavour any alteration in that scheme which you have so neatly and ingeniously framed: especially your sentiments on that head being espoused and very well defended, not only by Juncken, and those learned physicians, who will have the nutritious juices to be conveyed to all the parts of the body by the nerves, but also by that ornament of learning Dr Charleton,¹ present president of the Royal College of Physicians; for whose learning and acute reasonings I have that veneration, that I judge it almost a crime to entertain different sentiments from his in such speculations. But I must add, without the least flattery, That if any inducements could oblige me to become a proselyte to the speculative part of your opinions on this subject, you yourself furnish me with stronger inducements than all my books or converse in the world could do. For when I consider the height of your fancy, the clearness of your reasonings, the solidity of your judgment, the great connection I find betwixt all the links of the chain of your various and pleasing thoughts on all subjects; the charmingness and peculiar neatness of your pen, I am almost persuaded to believe, that the gout must be a critical evacuation of the brain and animal spirits, by which heterogeneous, acid, acrid, austere, and other troublesome particles are thrown off from the brain and nerves, on the articulations of the limbs, which clouds the fancy, and lames the reasonings of most men who are strangers to that troublesome, though advantageous crisis; and I must tell you, that, were I confident your old friend would procure me those advantages I admire in you, I would almost court his intimate familiarity; but, *ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*.

Those who will have the cause of the gout to be lodged immediately in the blood and circulating liquors, and not in the brain, and *genus nervosum*, and will have the crisis performed by the mediation of the mucilaginous and oleaginous glands of the joints, seem to plead fairer, and are exposed to fewer intricacies and less difficulties than the patrons of the other hypothesis are; and give a clear and very intelligible account of the genealogies of all the antecedent, concomitant, and consequent phenomena of that troublesome companion; and lest a man of your universal knowledge should be a stranger to so useful a part of anatomy, I presume to recommend to your perusal a little tract, called *Osteologia Nova*, lately wrote by Dr Havers, from whose ingenious pen the commonwealth of learning may expect what may be useful to that republic.

But not to trouble you further with speculations of this kind (for in framing, extending, and improving of fine thoughts, I willingly and justly resign in your favour the right hand of fellowship) I find, not only by thoroughly considering the animal œconomy, but by many years practice and experience, that those different hypotheses force very little alteration on the rational method of cure. And you must pardon me, if I take you to task as to what concerns the practical part of your letter, if in good Scotch (I pretend not to write English) I may so term it; that being a province to which I am not altogether a stranger.

¹ Walter Charleton, M. D. was eminent for an elegant defence of Harvey's system of the circulation of the blood, and for other learned works. He was born in 1619, was president of the Royal College of Physicians from 1689 to 1691, and died in distressed circumstances about 1707.

In the first place, I must tell you, it is my opinion, had a man of your head made it his business to be so much conversant in the practical part of medicine, as you are in the theoretic, you might have easily, not only promoted yourself to the dignity and title of a second *Æsculapius*, but also, I am confident, you had altogether altered your sentiments as to the cure or removal of your old friend. I could, were it necessary, adduce many instances, and possibly of your countrymen, of whom some are in this place, others returned to Ireland, whom in a little time, by the use of internals and topics, I freed from that troublesome distemper, which is not returned as yet.

But in the next place, you may consider (not to discourse now of the various particles and alterations the circulating liquors receive from the air, by inspiration and otherwise; for the nature of a letter will not allow of such excursions) that whether the cause, or *minera morbi*, lodge in the blood, &c. or *genus nervosum*, mostly, the stomach and guts, and the various alterations the materials of our diet undergo in these digestory cavities, cannot vindicate themselves to us, for performing their duty so faintly; nor can we, to ourselves, for oppressing and burthening them so much. So that if the chyle be acrid, acid, austere, or of other qualities, the blood must participate of the nature of the materials of which it is made. Besides, if a great deal of crudities, humours, or call them as you will, nestle and stagnate in the guts, stomach, or other parts of the abdomen, which vitiate the chylication and chyle, and rivulets it ill to the circulating humours, by the lactic veins (and if not carried off by vomitters and purgers according to the present circumstances of the patient) *in limine*, must give new matter to new returning paroxysms, till a long abstinence, and oft recurring fits, emaciate the patient, and consume the *fomes morbi* in the first region; which a rational physician can remove very soon, without the least, or very little trouble to the patient; if imposition or byass (the brats of authority) oblige the physician to be a spectator, the patient is like to have a pleasant time of it.

In my practice, wherever I find the *minera morbi*, I tamper not with it, but turn it off how soon I can; and if I occasion thereby any troublesome disorder in the fluids, I force them to their proper stations by suitable paragogics; by which methods I never had any disreputation, but my patients great advantage. When indications oblige, I open a vein, I give sweaters and diuretics, by which I divert the designed course of those troublesome fluid salts; and seeing the animal spirits are but the product of the blood, and cannot be expected to be of a more mild temper than their progenitor, I alter the circulating fluids as soon and much as I can, by removing out of them what is hostile and troublesome, and lodging in them such principles and particles as I judge them to want. And I judge, by such a method, (supposing still the patient to be rational and tractable) the gout is not altogether so stubborn and rebellious as he is discoursed to be; at least, I found him, in such circumstances, obsequious enough to my commands; so that I will not be so unjust to the poor criminal as many are. For should I not procure a tractable and rational patient what he expects, I would rather complain of my timorousness, my being imposed on by the bugbears of great authority, and negligence of suitable administrations, than on the stubbornness of a few viscid, saline humours, which may be cut off as to their *minera*, and thrown off by suitable medicines in a very short time.

Sir, I find you are irreconcilable to topical applications, whether poultices, plaisters, or all others of that kind; but when I have discoursed you a little as to the nature of those kind applications, I hope I may moderate your passion against them; and do some of them the honour as to procure them your most serene and obliging countenance.

I must confess to you, and acknowledge, that such of them as are emplastic, astringent, and so contract the pores, and stop the insensible transpiration, deservedly merit very much your displeasure, on the grounds and reasons you intimate in your letter.

But such internal applications as open the pores, dissolve coagulations, (by blunting the acid coagulating salts) in the cutaneous glands, and possibly alter very much the texture of the circulating liquors, without any previous trouble to the stomach, I hope I may presume to usher those to your acquaintance; and I have that very great esteem for your merit, that I would not make you uneasy, by giving your esteem and friendship to any, but those I can venture my reputation for what I promise in their name. And if you command me to disclose to you the very secrets of my cabinet, your commands will be obsequiously obeyed.

I do not much admire the custom of Holland; nor do I believe a rational and sedulous physician (if the patient be tractable) will suffer the gout to run all these stages; for I know by many experiences, it may be strangled when in embryo, or may be destroyed in the bud, before it can blossom; or if it do, may be made fall before it ripen, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*; but if we suffer our digestions to be weakened, vitiated, and oppressed, the circulating liquors to be loaded with troublesome salts, or other particles; if we lodge and continue in the center and digesting cavities of our body, such a mass of incommoding humours, which must of necessity produce many distempers, according to the texture of the fluids and particular mechanisms of the solids of those concerned; then the Holland custom takes place, and not only the gout, but other distempers, both acute and chronic, run their particular stages in great triumph, which we owe to our own inadvertency, or our physician's neglect; for our health and sicknesses are mechanical, depend on mechanical principles; and he who understands this mechanism well, and adverts attentively to all its motions, measures, and stops, can order the bodily machine so, that opinions handed down to us from antiquity, as to the nature of diseases, and methods of cure, will very soon and easily be antiquated with the serious observers of what concerns health and sickness.

I do not question, persons of both sexes, who lived very temperately, as to the solids and liquids of their diet, are originally (if I may so term it) obnoxious and pre-disposed for several particular distempers, from which many (who are absolute slaves to their palates, and venture on all irregularities of that nature, and are intimate to all sorts of debauches) are exempted; but this depends mostly on the primitive configurations, and mechanisms of the *glans, tubulae*, and other secretory organs of the body, which are not framed at the same rate in all individuals; whether this difference of particular mechanisms, or organizations, proceed from hereditary (if the word may pass) principles, or from other superior or concurrent causes, I will not give you or myself the trouble to determine.

This letter will not allow me to give you my reflections on your ingenious speculations about the nature of fevers, and your placing them in their several ranks and classes, lest I should give you the trouble to read a pamphlet instead of a letter, which by its length is become too bulcous already, and may rob you of too much of your time, which you always employ to better purpose; but if this please, that may be the subject of a second entertainment. You did me the kindness to read me some essays you have yet kept in their retirement; but in my opinion they very much deserve a better fate; and I am confident, you will very much oblige the learned part of mankind, if you give them that dress in which they may be in their hands. Sir, believe me, that none esteems yourself, or the products of your pen, more than

Your very humble servant,

J. GORDON.

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