

**INTRODUCTION A LA CIVILISATION DES PAYS ANGLOPHONES**

**BRITAIN  
IN THE LONG 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

**Rémy Bethmont**



**DÉPARTEMENT D'ETUDES DES PAYS ANGLOPHONES**

**UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 8**

## IMPORTANT INFORMATION

### English level

Classes at the DEPA are taught at B2 level. Work submitted that does not meet this language level will not receive a passing grade. All students should obtain a copy of the following English workbook (available in the library, online, or in bookshops), which should be studied throughout the year: **Sylvie Persec, *Grammaire raisonnée de l'anglais 1 (B1-B2 level)***.

### Absences

Students are obliged to attend every session in its entirety. Late arrivals may not be allowed entry to the class. There are no *absences justifiées* at the DEPA. Missed exams can only be re-sat at the *rattrapage* sessions in June.

### Plagiarism

Plagiarism at university level is a serious offence. The rule at the UFR Langues et Cultures Etrangères is as follows: “Par décision du Conseil d’UFR, toute fraude et/ou plagiat constatés par un.e enseignant.e entraînera la saisie de la mention « Défaillant » (« DEF ») à l’EC correspondant sur le relevé de notes, empêchant le calcul de la moyenne et la délivrance du diplôme. Le jury de diplôme sera saisi pour chaque session d’examens. En dernier lieu, le jury pourra décider de transmettre le dossier concernant la fraude et/ou le plagiat à la section disciplinaire de l’université Paris 8 Vincennes-Saint-Denis.”

### Course Website

A website complements this course: [www.bethmont.net](http://www.bethmont.net) – click on “18<sup>th</sup>-Century Britain” in the main menu. The password for protected pages for this course is hogarth

## EXAMS AND ASSIGNMENTS

This class is based on continuous assessment. You will have to sit for three exams in the course of the semester. Missed exams cannot be compensated by other work during the semester. Students who miss an exam will have a chance to take the re-sit exam in June.

### **Exam 1: Quizz (20% of your final mark)**

A mix of multiple-choice questions and open questions will check not only factual historical knowledge but also your *understanding* of the logic of the historical processes studied in class.

### **Exam 2: Analysis of a historical document (30% of your final mark)**

For your second evaluation, you will be given a historical document not studied in class, together with a few questions on this document. The questions will prompt you to explain the logic of one or several of the author's arguments, possible allusions to the historical context or/and what the author attempted to effect in his or her historical context.

### **Exam 3: Analysis of a historical document (40% of your final mark)**

Same principle as exam 2.

### **Assignment throughout the semester: Online Annotation of Historical Documents (10% of your final mark)**

You will do this at home several times in the semester, using the online annotation tool Hypothes.is (see below).

**Part 1**  
**METHODOLOGY**

# Advice to pass your exams

## Quiz

To pass the quiz, you must revise regularly. Between two sessions in class, read the notes you have taken and make a note of anything you do not understand. Make sure you ask your tutor for some more explanation at the next session. Learning by heart is not enough. You must aim to *understand* the logic of historical processes. It is this understanding that the quiz evaluates.

## Analysis of a historical document

Your mark will reflect acquired proficiency in several areas:

- Understanding both the literal meaning of British historical documents and the deeper meaning their authors aimed to convey.
- Understanding how the message conveyed by the author relates to the historical processes studied in class.
- Your ability to write in good English and in a style that is both concise and clear.

**Understanding historical documents** is something that you must learn by **practising at home**. In class, some of the documents of the brochure will be mentioned and/or studied. It is essential that you should take the time to read them afterwards at home, so that you **get acquainted with English historical prose**. Eighteenth-century prose has a different feel from modern English texts. Your success at the exams will therefore in part depend on how familiar you have made yourself with that prose. Observing the main differences (in syntax, especially) between 21<sup>st</sup>-century and 18<sup>th</sup>-century English and asking questions about grammatical oddities in class about the documents you read at home will prepare you to read a historical document on your own on the day of the exam.

## Online collaborative annotations of historical documents

Several times in the semester, you will be asked to study a document at home which will be discussed the week after in class. The aim will be to go beyond mere literal understanding of the prose and start to get a deeper understanding of the meaning of the text.

The documents for class discussions will be available in the brochure and online. You will be asked to annotate them using the online collaborative annotation tool Hypothes.is (see my website <http://www.bethmont.net/the-long-18th-century/> for a tutorial on how to get started with Hypothes.is). Annotations are the opportunity for you to react to the text in a personal way, to see how others in the group react and possible to react to other students' annotations. Take advantage of the annotation tool to ask questions about what you do not understand. The discussion in class will follow up from students' online annotations.

**Please note that Hypothesis does not work well with tablets (or smartphones, but even if it did their screens are too small to allow serious work).** You will need access to a computer.

If this is a major problem for you, please contact your tutor at [remy.bethmont@univ-paris8.fr](mailto:remy.bethmont@univ-paris8.fr) as soon as possible, so that a solution may be found.

## Quoting texts: some guidelines

- When you analyse a historical document, you will have to quote bits of it.
- Quotes can be **indirect**, for example: *The signatories claim at the beginning of the text that certain truths were self-evident.* **Or** you can use a **direct quote**, for example: *At the beginning of the text, the signatories claim that “we hold these truths to be self-evident”.*
- A **direct quote** should be between quotation marks: “like this”
- The quote should always function **logically** in the sentence, for instance:

~~The signatories of the declaration vindicated equality.~~

~~“All men are created equal”. ✘~~

The signatories of the declaration vindicated equality, **stating that** “all men are created equal”. ✓

- The best quoting practice is to avoid long quote. A few words inserted into your own sentences is the best way of quoting.
- You should always make clear **where the quotation comes from**: did the author say it? Was it someone else referenced in the text?
- If possible, provide information about where your reference or quote is located in the text by mentioning the line number. If your quote is taken from the 5<sup>th</sup> line in the text, for example, then write the following:

The signatories of the declaration vindicated equality, **stating that** “all men are created equal” (5). ✓

- Try the following useful terms: *according to (X)*; *(X) claims*; *(X) suggests*; *(X) writes*; *(X) asserts*; *(X) seems to think*; *(X) continues*; *(X) begins*; *(X) concludes*.

## What to do to write in better English?<sup>1</sup>

### Proof-read (*relisez*) your exam papers!

- *In almost every paper, students lose points from lazy grammar and syntax mistakes, many of which can be easily avoided. Most students know that verbs in the present simple in the third person singular ends with an -s, or that plural nouns also end with an -s. However, for lack of attentive proof-reading, these kinds of mistakes occur very frequently.*
- *After writing each sentence, read it again and ask yourself what the subject, verb, and object of the sentence is. Is it clear who or what you are referring to at all times in the sentence? If not, you should probably transform it into two shorter sentences.*
- *Check your paragraphs. Does each of them have a topic, logically follow from the previous paragraph and logically lead to the next?*
- *Does each of your paragraphs have one idea and one idea only? If not, maybe some of that information should be in a different paragraph.*
- *Each time you complete a sentence, check: does your sentence have a clear subject, object, and verb? Is it clear **who** or **what** you are referring to? Here's an example from one of your papers:*

~~Which was very difficult for the poor.~~



This law was very difficult for the poor.



### Use the past tense (please!)

- *In our history classes, we are usually discussing the past. Thus, we should almost always use the **simple past tense** (He went, she ate, they found etc.).*
- *Beware of the **present perfect tense** (he has gone, she has eaten, they have found). This tense informs us that the action **has consequences in the present**. Beware also the “**historic present**”, which is used a lot in French, but not in written English. Consider these examples from one of your papers:*

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<sup>1</sup> Authored by Tim McInerney for the L1 brochure.

Jack the Ripper ~~has killed~~ many people in London. ✘

Victoria ~~will become~~ queen in 1837. ✘

Women ~~gain~~ the right to vote in 1918. ✘

Because this student is using the present perfect tense, the reader will understand that Jack the Ripper is *still alive* and may *kill again* (!).

Jack the Ripper **killed** many people in London. ✔

Victoria **became** queen in 1837. ✔

Women **gained** the vote in 1918. ✔

Using the simple past communicates that this action is firmly in the past.

### **The W questions: being clear about WHO/WHAT you are talking about**

Describing people as “them” or “him” or “her” or things as “this” or “that” only makes sense when it is clear what exactly you are referring to. Remember, English has no masculine or feminine nouns so it can be very easy to lose track of what exactly a pronoun represents, unless you are very clear about it.

### **Bonus advice: Beware of Franglais**

Often, terms directly translated from French do not make sense in English. Here are some common examples:

1. ~~In a first time / In a second time~~ → Firstly, secondly,
2. At last (*en anglais, “at last” veut dire “enfin, après une longue attente”*) → Finally
3. ~~It permits to~~ → This would allow the author to; This would make it possible for the killer to; This demonstrates that
4. ~~A very important population~~ → a very big population
5. ~~Actually~~ → Currently (“actually” means “en fait”)

Note: many of the common phrases used in French compositions do not translate well to English. Here are some examples.

- ~~We can wonder~~
- ~~We can think~~
- ~~We can ask~~



- ~~— We can notice~~
- ~~— We can understand~~
- ~~— We can permit~~

- 

*This is French syntax and can be very confusing in English. In English, sentiments like this are usually expressed through the passive voice:*

e.g.

- **It can be noticed that**
- **It could be asked whether**
- **It might be wondered whether**
- **It could be understood that**
- **It might be accepted that**

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- *Note: Roman numerals are never used for dates or centuries in English:*

e.g. ~~The XIX century~~ → the 19<sup>th</sup> Century / The nineteenth century

## Using my website

My website [www.bethmont.net](http://www.bethmont.net) complements what we do in class. The historical documents to annotate will be posted on the page of the course. Click on “18<sup>th</sup>-Century Britain” in the main menu.

I recommend that you subscribe to the “18<sup>th</sup>-century Britain” category (type in your email address under “Subscribe” in the side menu, click on the arrow left of “Categories” and select “18<sup>th</sup>-century Britain”). If you are subscribed, you will get an email notification whenever something is added to the web section of the course and will not risk missing anything.

Some webpages are protected by a password. If you are asked for a password, please enter:  
hogarth

**Part 2**  
**HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS**

## **Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, December 11, 1688**

King James II and VII having left London with the intention of withdrawing to France, the following peers who were present in and about the Cities of London and Westminster assembled at Guildhall and made this declaration: Dr. William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury ; Dr. Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop of York ; Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery ; Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset ; John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave ; Thomas Tufton, Earl of Thanet ; Edward Howard, Earl of Carlisle ; William Craven, Earl of Craven ; Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury ; Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington ; Thomas Lennard, Earl of Sussex ; George Berkeley, Earl of Berkeley ; Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester ; Francis Newport, Viscount Newport of Bradfor ; Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth ; Dr. Peter Mews, Bishop of Winchester ; Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph ; Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely ; Dr. Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester ; Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough ; Philip Wharton, Lord Wharton ; Charles North, Lord North and Grey of Rolleston ; James Brydges, Lord Chandos of Sudeley ; Ralph Montagu, Lord Mountagu of Boughton ; Thomas Jermyn, Lord Jermyn of St. Edmundsbury ; John Vaughan, Lord Vaughan of Emlyn, Earl of Carbery (Ireland) ; Thomas Colepeper, Lord Colepeper of Thoresway ; Thomas Crew, Lord Crew of Stene ; John Bennet, Lord Ossulston.

We doubt not but the world believes that, in this great and dangerous conjuncture, we are heartily and zealously concerned for the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, and the liberties and properties of the subject; and we did reasonably hope that, the King having issued his proclamation and writs for a free parliament, we might have rested secure under the expectation of that meeting; but, His Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend, in order to his departure out of this Kingdom, by the pernicious counsels of persons ill-affected to our nation and religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our duty, be silent under these calamities, wherein the Popish counsels, which so long prevailed, have miserably involved these Realms.

We do, therefore, unanimously resolve to apply ourselves to His Highness, the Prince of Orange, who, with so great kindness to these Kingdoms, so vast experience, and so much hazard to his own person, hath undertaken by endeavouring to procure a free parliament to rescue us, with as little effusion of Christian blood as possible, from the imminent dangers of Popery and slavery.

And we do hereby declare that we will with our utmost endeavours assist His Highness in the obtaining such a parliament with all speed, wherein our laws, our liberties and properties may be secured, the Church of England in particular, with a due liberty to Protestant Dissenters, and in general the Protestant religion and interest over the whole world may be supported and encouraged to the glory of God, the happiness of the established government in these Kingdoms, and the advantage of all princes and states in Christendom, that may be herein concerned.

In the mean time we will endeavour to preserve, as much as in us lies, the peace and security of these great and populous Cities of London and Westminster, and the parts adjacent, by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and Romish priests, who are in or about the same.

And if there be anything more to be performed by us for promoting His Highness's generous intentions for the public good, we shall be ready to do it, as occasion shall require.

# BILL OF RIGHTS, 1689

## **An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown**

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the thirteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight [old style date] present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing made by the said Lords and Commons in the words following, viz.:

- Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;
- By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament; By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power;
- By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the great seal for erecting a court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes;
- By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament;
- By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law;
- By causing several good subjects being Protestants to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law;
- By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament;
- By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses;
- And whereas of late years partial corrupt and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason which were not freeholders;
- And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects;
- And excessive fines have been imposed;
- And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted;
- And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied;
- All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm;

And whereas the said late King James the Second having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight [old style date], in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which letters elections having been accordingly made;

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties declare:

- That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;
- That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal;
- That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious;
- That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;
- That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

- That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;
- That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;
- That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;
- That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;
- That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;
- That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;
- That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;
- And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand and insist upon all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties, and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; to which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the prince of Orange as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and be declared king and queen of England, France and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor to them, and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives, and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the same kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess, and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body, and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly.

And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths have allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

"I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God."

"I, A.B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the see of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

And thereupon their Majesties were pleased that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their Majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted, to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons did agree, and proceed to act accordingly.

Now in pursuance of the premises the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the said declaration and the articles, clauses, matters and things therein contained by the force of law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed as they are expressed in the said declaration, and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all time to come.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God in his marvellous providence and merciful goodness to this nation to provide and preserve their said

Majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly and in the sincerity of their hearts think, and do hereby recognize, acknowledge and declare, that King James the Second having abdicated the government, and their Majesties having accepted the crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are and of right ought to be by the laws of this realm our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen of England, France and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown and dignity of the said realms with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining are most fully, rightfully and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, tranquility and safety of this nation doth under God wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established and declared, that the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties and the survivor of them during their lives and the life of the survivor of them, and that the entire, perfect and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in and executed by his Majesty in the names of both their Majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty, and for default of such issue to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of the body of his said Majesty; and thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do in the name of all the people aforesaid most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever, and do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers with their lives and estates against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do further pray that it may be enacted, that all and every person and persons that is, are or shall be reconciled to or shall hold communion with the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging or any part of the same, or to have, use or exercise any regal power, authority or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said crown and government shall from time to time descend to and be enjoyed by such person or persons being Protestants as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion or professing or marrying as aforesaid were naturally dead; and that every king and queen of this realm who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom shall on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament next after his or her coming to the crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second entitled, *An Act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government by disabling papists from sitting in either House of Parliament*. But if it shall happen that such king or queen upon his or her succession to the crown of this realm shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such king or queen shall make, subscribe and audibly repeat the same declaration at his or her coronation or the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid which shall first happen after such king or queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

All which their Majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted and established by authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted and established accordingly.

II. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after this present session of Parliament no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute or any part thereof shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

III. Provided that no charter or grant or pardon granted before the three and twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-nine [old style date] shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law and no other than as if this Act had never been made.

## TOLERATION ACT, 1689

Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties Protestant subjects in interest and affection:

Be it enacted by the King's and Queen's most excellent majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same,

[...] That all and every person and persons that shall [...] take the [the oaths mentioned in a statute made this present Parliament, intituled, *An act for removing and preventing all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of this present Parliament*; and shall make and subscribe the declaration mentioned in a statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, *An act to prevent papists from sitting in either house of Parliament*], shall not be liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures, mentioned in an act made in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, intituled, *An act to retain the Queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience*; nor in an act made in the two and twentieth year of the reign of the late King Charles the Second, intituled, *An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*; nor shall any of the said persons be prosecuted in any ecclesiastical court, for or by reason of their non-conforming to the Church of England.

V. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any assembly of persons dissenting from the Church of England shall be had in any place for religious worship with the doors locked, barred, or bolted, during any time of such meeting together, all and every persons or persons, that shall come to and be at such meeting, shall not receive any benefit from this law, but be liable to all the pains and penalties of all the aforesaid laws recited in this act, for such their meeting, notwithstanding his taking the oaths and his making and subscribing the declaration aforesaid.

VI. Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes or other parochial duties, or any other duties to the church or minister, nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court or elsewhere, for the same. [...]

VIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no person dissenting from the Church of England in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting Protestants, that shall make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, and take the said oaths [...] shall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled *An act for restraining nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations*; nor the penalties mentioned in the aforesaid act made in the two and twentieth year of his said late Majesty's reign, for or by reason of such persons preaching at any meeting for the exercise of religion; nor to the penalty of one hundred pounds mentioned in an act made in the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles the Second, intituled, *An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies: and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church of England*, for officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion permitted and allowed by this act.

IX. Provided always, [...] that such person shall not at any time preach in any place, but with the doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforesaid.

XIII. And whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the Church of England, who scruple the taking of any oath; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also this declaration of fidelity following, viz.

I A. B. do sincerely promise and solemnly declare before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary; and I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, That princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm. And shall subscribe a profession of their Christian belief in these words:

I A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.

[...] And every such person that shall make and subscribe the two declarations and profession aforesaid, being thereunto required, shall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the aforementioned statutes made against popish recusants, or Protestant nonconformists [...]

## THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 1701

I. [...] And Your Majesty's said Subjects having Daily Experience of Your Royal Care and Concern for the present and future Welfare of these Kingdoms and particularly recommending from Your Throne a further Provision to be made for the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line for the Happiness of the Nation and the Security of our Religion; And it being absolutely necessary for the Safety Peace and Quiet of this Realm to obviate all Doubts and Contentions in the same by reason of any pretended Titles to the Crown and to maintain a Certainty in the Succession thereof to which Your Subjects may safely have Recourse for their Protection in case the Limitations in the said recited Act should determine; Therefore for a further Provision of the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line we, Your Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted and declared and be it enacted and declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That the most Excellent Princess Sophia Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hannover Daughter of the most Excellent Princess Elizabeth late Queen of Bohemia Daughter of our late Sovereign Lord King James the First of happy Memory be and is hereby declared to be the next in Succession in the Protestant Line to the Imperial Crown and Dignity of the said Realms of England, France and Ireland with the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging after His Majesty and the Princess Ann of Denmark and in Default of Issue of the said Princess Ann and of His Majesty respectively and that from and after the Deceases of His said Majesty, our now Sovereign Lord, and of Her Royal Highness the Princess Ann of Denmark and for Default of Issue of the said Princess Ann and of His Majesty respectively, the Crown and Regal Government of the said Kingdoms of England, France and Ireland and of the Dominions thereunto belonging with the Royal State and Dignity of the said Realms and all Honours, Styles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Powers, Jurisdictions and Authorities to the same belonging and appertaining shall be remain and continue to the said most Excellent Princess Sophia and the Heirs of Her Body being Protestants.

III. And whereas it is requisite and necessary that some further Provision be made for securing our Religion, Laws and Liberties from and after the Death of His Majesty and the Princess Ann of Denmark and in default of Issue of the Body of the said Princess and of His Majesty respectively, Be it enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same

- That whosoever shall hereafter come to the Possession of this Crown shall join in Communion with the Church of England as by Law established.

- That in case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come to any Person not being a Native of this Kingdom of England this Nation be not obliged to engage in any War for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories which do not belong to the Crown of England without the Consent of Parliament.

- That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the Crown shall go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland and Ireland without the consent of Parliament. [...]

- [That] no Person born out of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland or Ireland or the Dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized and made a Denizen) (except such as are born of English Parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Councill or a Member of either House of Parliament or to enjoy any Office or Place of Trust either Civil or Military or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments from the Crown to himself or to any other or others in Trust for him.



## Scotland after the Union

*Daniel Defoe (c. 1661-1731) was an English businessman, writer and journalist. He is still particularly well-known today for his novel, Robinson Crusoe. This text is taken from the account of his trip around Britain which he published in 1724.*

From hence, keeping the sea as close as we could on our left, we went on due West to Dumfries, a Sea-Port Town at the Mouth of the River Nid, or Nith, which gives Name to the third Division of the County call'd Nithdale; but the Town is justly the Capital of the whole Shire, and indeed, of all the South West Part of Scotland.

5 Here, indeed, as in some other Ports on this Side the Island, the Benefits of Commerce, obtain'd to Scotland by the Union, appear visible; and that much more than on the East Side, where they seem to be little, if anything mended, I mean in their Trade.

10 Dumfries was always a good Town, and full of Merchants. By Merchants, here I mean, in the Sense that Word is taken and understood in England (viz.) not Mercers and Drapers, Shopkeepers, etc. But Merchant-Adventurers, who trade to foreign Parts, and employ a considerable Number of Ships. But if this was so before, it is much more so now; and as they have (with Success) embark'd in Trade, as well to England as to the English Plantations, they apparently increase both in Shipping and People ; for as it almost everywhere appears, where Trade increases, People must and will increase; that is, they flock to the Place by the necessary  
15 Consequences of the Trade, and, in Return, where the People increase, the Trade will increase because the necessary Consumption of Provisions, Cloths, Furniture, etc. necessarily increases; and with them the Trade.

This is such a Chain of Trading Consequences, that they are not to be separated; and the Town of Dumfries, as well as Liverpool, Manchester, Whitehaven, and other Towns in England  
20 are Demonstrations of it.

This Town is situated also for an Increase of Commerce on the River Nid, for tho' it stands near two Leagues from the Sea, yet the Tide flows up to the Town, and Ships of Burden come close up to the Quay; but at about four Miles below the Town the largest Merchant-Ships in Britain might come up, and ride in Safety.

25 There is a very fine Stone Bridge here over the River Nid; as also a Castle, tho' of old Work, yet still good and strong enough; also an Exchange for the Merchants, and a Tolbooth, or Town-Hall for the Use of the Magistrates. They had formerly a Woollen Manufacture here. But as the Union has, in fame Manner, suppress'd those Things in Scotland, the English supplying them fully, both better and cheaper; so they have more than an Equivalent by an open Trade to all  
30 the English Plantations, and to England itself.

Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724)

## METHODISM AS A RELIGION OF THE HEART

The Apostle declares, both here and in many other places, that true religion does not consist in *meat* and *drink*, or in any ritual observances; nor, indeed in any outward thing whatever; in anything exterior to the heart; the whole substance thereof lying in “righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.”

5 Not in any *outward thing*; such as *forms*, or *ceremonies*, even of the most excellent kind. Supposing these to be ever so decent and significant, ever so expressive of inward things: supposing them ever so helpful, not only to the vulgar, whose thought reaches little farther than their sight; but even to men of understanding, men of strong capacities, as doubtless they may sometimes be: Yea, supposing them ...  
10 to be appointed by God himself; yet even [...then...] true religion does not principally consist therein; nay, strictly speaking, not at all. How much more must this hold concerning such rites and forms as are only of human appointment! The religion of Christ rises infinitely higher, and lies immensely deeper, than all these. These are good in their place; just so far as they are in fact subservient to true religion. And it were superstition to object against them, while they are applied only as occasional helps to human weakness. But let no man carry them farther. Let no man dream that they have any  
15 intrinsic worth; or that religion cannot subsist without them. This were to make them an abomination to the Lord.

The nature of religion is so far from consisting in these, in forms of worship, or rites and ceremonies, that it does not properly consist in any outward actions, of what kind so ever. It is true, a man cannot have any religion who is guilty of vicious, immoral actions; or who does to others what he would not  
20 they should do to him, if he were in the same circumstance. And it is also true, that he can have no real religion who “knows to do good, and doth it not.” Yet may a man both abstain from outward evil, and do good, and still have no religion. Yea, two persons may do the same outward work; suppose, feeding the hungry, or clothing the naked; and, in the meantime, one of these may be truly religious, and the other have no religion at all: For the one may act from the love of God, and the other from the love of  
25 praise. So manifest it is, that although true religion naturally leads to every good word and work, yet the real nature thereof lies deeper still, even in “the hidden man of the heart.”

I say of *the heart*. For neither does religion consist in Orthodoxy, or right opinions; which, although they are not properly outward things, are not in the heart, but the understanding. A man may be  
30 orthodox in every point; he may not only espouse right opinions, but zealously defend them against all opposers; he may think justly concerning the incarnation of our Lord, concerning the ever-blessed Trinity, and every other doctrine contained in the oracles of God; he may assent to all the three creeds, — that called the Apostles’, the Nicene, and the Athanasian; and yet it is possible he may have no religion at all ... He may be almost as orthodox — as the devil, (though, indeed, not altogether; for every man errs in something; whereas we can’t well conceive him to hold any erroneous opinion,) and  
35 may, all the while be as great a stranger as he to the religion of the heart.

This alone is religion, truly so called: This alone is in the sight of God of great price. The Apostle sums it all up in three particulars, “righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.”

From John Wesley (1703-1791), Sermon on the Gospel of Mark, 1:15.

## ADAM SMITH ON THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM

That wealth consists in money, or in gold and silver, is a popular notion which naturally arises from the double function of money, as the instrument of commerce, and as the measure of value. In consequence of its being the instrument of commerce, when we have money we can more readily obtain whatever else we have occasion for, than by means of any other commodity. The great affair, we always find, is to get money. When that is obtained, there is no difficulty in making any subsequent purchase. In consequence of its being the measure of value, we estimate that of all other commodities by the quantity of money which they will exchange for. We say of a rich man, that he is worth a great deal, and of a poor man, that he is worth very little money. A frugal man, or a man eager to be rich, is said to love money; and a careless, a generous, or a profuse man, is said to be indifferent about it. To grow rich is to get money; and wealth and money, in short, are, in common language, considered as in every respect synonymous.

A rich country, in the same manner as a rich man, is supposed to be a country abounding in money; and to heap up gold and silver in any country is supposed to be the readiest way to enrich it. For some time after the discovery of America, the first inquiry of the Spaniards, when they arrived upon any unknown coast, used to be, if there was any gold or silver to be found in the neighbourhood? By the information which they received, they judged whether it was worth while to make a settlement there, or if the country was worth the conquering. Plano Carpino, a monk sent ambassador from the king of France to one of the sons of the famous Gengis Khan, says, that the Tartars used frequently to ask him, if there was plenty of sheep and oxen in the kingdom of France? Their inquiry had the same object with that of the Spaniards. They wanted to know if the country was rich enough to be worth the conquering. Among the Tartars, as among all other nations of shepherds, who are generally ignorant of the use of money, cattle are the instruments of commerce and the measures of value. Wealth, therefore, according to them, consisted in cattle, as, according to the Spaniards, it consisted in gold and silver. Of the two, the Tartar notion, perhaps, was the nearest to the truth. [...]

In consequence of those popular notions, all the different nations of Europe have studied, though to little purpose, every possible means of accumulating gold and silver in their respective countries. Spain and Portugal, the proprietors of the principal mines which supply Europe with those metals, have either prohibited their exportation under the severest penalties, or subjected it to a considerable duty. The like prohibition seems anciently to have made a part of the policy of most other European nations. It is even to be found, where we should least of all expect to find it, in some old Scotch acts of Parliament, which forbid, under heavy penalties, the carrying gold or silver forth of the kingdom. The like policy anciently took place both in France and England.

When those countries became commercial, the merchants found this prohibition, upon many occasions, extremely inconvenient. They could frequently buy more advantageously with gold and silver, than with any other commodity, the foreign goods which they wanted, either to import into their own, or to carry to some other foreign country. They remonstrated, therefore, against this prohibition as hurtful to trade.

They represented, first, that the exportation of gold and silver, in order to purchase foreign goods, did not always diminish the quantity of those metals in the kingdom; that, on the contrary, it might frequently increase the quantity; because, if the consumption of foreign goods was not thereby increased in the country, those goods might be re-exported to foreign countries, and being there sold for a large profit, might bring back much more treasure than was originally sent out to purchase them. [...]

They represented, secondly, that this prohibition could not hinder the exportation of gold and silver, which, on account of the smallness of their bulk in proportion to their value, could easily be smuggled abroad. That this exportation could only be prevented by a proper attention to what they called the balance of trade. That when the country exported to a greater value than it imported, a balance became due to it from foreign nations, which was necessarily paid to it in gold and silver, and thereby increased the quantity of those metals in the kingdom. But that when it imported to a greater value than it exported, a contrary balance became due to foreign nations, which was necessarily paid to them in the same manner, and thereby diminished that quantity: that in this case, to prohibit the exportation of those metals, could not prevent it, but only, by making it more dangerous, render it

55 more expensive: that the exchange was thereby turned more against the country which owed the balance, than it otherwise might have been; the merchant who purchased a bill upon the foreign country being obliged to pay the banker who sold it, not only for the natural risk, trouble, and expense of sending the money thither, but for the extraordinary risk arising from the prohibition; but that the more the exchange was against any country, the more the balance of trade became necessarily against it; the money of that country becoming necessarily of so much less value, in comparison with that of the country to which the balance was due. [...]

60 Those arguments were partly solid and partly sophistical. They were solid, so far as they asserted that the exportation of gold and silver in trade might frequently be advantageous to the country. They were solid, too, in asserting that no prohibition could prevent their exportation, when private people found any advantage in exporting them. But they were sophistical, in supposing, that either to preserve or to augment the quantity of those metals required more the attention of government, than to preserve or to augment the quantity of any other useful commodities, which the freedom of trade, without any such attention, never fails to supply in the proper quantity. [...]

65 Such as they were, however, those arguments convinced the people to whom they were addressed. They were addressed by merchants to parliaments and to the councils of princes, to nobles, and to country gentlemen; by those who were supposed to understand trade, to those who were conscious to them selves that they knew nothing about the matter. That foreign trade enriched the country, experience demonstrated to the nobles and country gentlemen, as well as to the merchants; but how, or in what manner, none of them well knew. The merchants knew perfectly in what manner it enriched themselves, it was their business to know it. But to know in what manner it enriched the country, was no part of their business. The subject never came into their consideration, but when they had occasion to apply to their country for some change in the laws relating to foreign trade. It then became necessary to say something about the beneficial effects of foreign trade, and the manner in which those effects were obstructed by the laws as they then stood. [...]

70 The inland or home trade, the most important of all, the trade in which an equal capital affords the greatest revenue, and creates the greatest employment to the people of the country, was considered as subsidiary only to foreign trade. It neither brought money into the country, it was said, nor carried any out of it. The country, therefore, could never become either richer or poorer by means of it, except so far as its prosperity or decay might indirectly influence the state of foreign trade.

Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776 (part 2, book IV, chapter 1)

## The Rise of the Press in the 18th Century: The Birth of *The Times*

On Jan. 1, 1785 John Walter founded *The Daily Universal Register*. The newspaper began as a 2 1/2-penny broadsheet. It became *The Times* on Jan. 1, 1788, publishing commercial news and notices, along with some scandal. The founder's son, John Walter II, took over the newspaper in 1803. He expanded it from 4 pages to 12 large pages, and, by the time control of the paper passed to his son, John Walter III, in 1848, the foundations of *The Times's* reputation as Britain's preeminent national journal and daily historical record had been laid.<sup>1</sup>

The following text is the (slightly shortened) article written by John Walter on 1st January 1785 on the front page of the first issue of *The Daily Universal Register*, the forerunner of *The Times*. Because the article is very long, it has been divided into two texts for the purpose of commenting. However in order to fully understand either text 1 or text 2 in context, you will need to read the whole article (including the final paragraph of the article and a selection of first issue advertisements on the third page) before starting the commentary of the particular section assigned to you.

**Your commentary of either text should focus on what the article shows about the state of the British press in the late 18th century and on the kind of novelty that *The Daily Universal Register* represents.**

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph adapted from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 'The Times'.



# To the Public.

To bring out a New Paper at the present day; when so many others are already established and confirmed in the public opinion, is certainly an arduous undertaking; and no one can be more fully aware of its difficulties than I am: I, nevertheless, entertain very sanguine hopes, that the nature of the plan on which this paper will be conducted, will ensure it a moderate share at least of public favour [...]

It is very far from my intention to detract from the acknowledged merit of the Daily Papers now in existence; it is sufficient that they please the class of readers whose approbation their conductors are ambitious to deserve; nevertheless it is certain some of the best, some of the most respectable, and some of the most useful members of the community, have frequently complained (and the causes of their complaints still exist) that by radical defects in the plans of the present established papers, they were deprived of many advantages, which ought naturally to result from daily publications. Of these some build their fame on the length and accuracy of parliamentary reports, which unquestionably are given with great ability, and with a laudable zeal to please those, who can spare time to read ten or twelve columns of debates. Others are principally attentive to the politics of the day, and make it their study to give satisfaction to the numerous class of politicians, who, blessed with easy circumstances, have nothing better to do, than to amuse themselves with watching the motions of ministers both at home and abroad; and endeavouring to find out the secret springs that set in motion the great machine of government in every state and empire in the world. There is one paper which [...] deals almost solely in advertisements; and consequently, though a very useful, it is by no means an entertaining paper. Thus it would seem that every News-Paper published in London is calculated for a particular set of readers only [...]

A News-Paper, conducted on the true and natural principles of such a publication, ought to be the Register of the times, and faithful recorder of every species of intelligence; it ought not to be engrossed by any particular object; but, like a well covered table, it should contain something suited to every palate: observations on the dispositions of our own and of foreign courts should be provided for the political reader; debates should be reported for the amusements of those who may be particularly fond of them; and a due attention should be paid to the interests of trade, which are so greatly promoted by advertisements.—A paper that should blend all these advantages, and by steering clear of extremes, hit the happy medium, has long been expected by the public.—Such, it is intended, shall be the UNIVERSAL REGISTER, the great objects of which will be to facilitate the commercial intercourse between the different parts of the community, through the channel of *Advertisements*; to record the principal occurrences of the times; and to abridge the account of debates during the sitting of Parliament.

It is no less the interest of the proprietors of News-Papers, than of the public, that every encouragement should be given to advertising correspondents; yet this private interest of the proprietors is frequently sacrificed to the rage for parliamentary debates, to the great injury of trade; for the extreme length of these debates so greatly retards the publication of the News-Papers which are noted for detailed accounts of them, that the advantages arising from this species of intelligence, though highly acceptable in itself, are frequently over-balanced by the inconveniences occasioned to people in business by the delay. These inconveniences are great and many; it generally happens, that when either House of

Parliament has been engaged in the discussion of an important question till after midnight, the papers in which the speeches of the Members are reported at large, cannot be published before noon; nay, they sometimes are not even sent to press so soon; consequently parties interested in *sales* are essentially injured, as the advertisements, inviting the public to attend them at *ten or twelve o'clock*, do not appear, on account of a late publication, till some hours after.—From the same source flows another inconvenience; it is sometimes found necessary to *defer sales*, after they have been advertised for a particular day; but the notice of putting them off nor appearing early enough, on account of the late hour at which the papers containing it are published, numbers of people, acting under the impression of former advertisements, are unnecessarily put to the trouble of attending.—It will be the object of the *Universal Register* to guard against these great inconveniences, without depriving its readers of the pleasure of seeing what passes in Parliament.—It is intended, then, that the debates shall be regularly reported in it; but on the other hand, that the publication may not be delayed to the prejudice of people in trade, the speeches will not be given on a large scale; the *substance* shall be faithfully preserved; but all the uninteresting parts will be omitted. I shall thus be enabled to publish this paper at an early hour; and I propose to bring it out *regularly* every morning at *six o'clock*. The *Universal Register* will therefore have this advantage over the *Daily Advertiser*, that, though published as early, it will contain a substantial account of the proceedings in Parliament the preceding night, which is never to be found in that paper; and compared with the other morning papers it will be found to have the merit of containing in substance, what they give in long detail (which men in business cannot well spare time to read) and, nevertheless, of being published much sooner. These circumstances, it is hoped, will give the *Universal Register* at least an *equal claim* to public favour with the parliamentary papers, and the *trading part* of the metropolis, it is presumed, will find it their advantage to give it the preference.

An essential part of the plan of this new paper is, that, for the convenience of advertising correspondents, their favours shall, to a certainty, be inserted on the very day that they shall direct; provided they deliver them at the office in due time. For the *strict* observance of this rule, the credit of the paper shall stand pledged; and its pretensions to public countenance will be renounced, if this fundamental principle in its institution shall ever be violated, except in cases of absolute necessity, which human prudence cannot prevent.—And here I beg it may be understood that I do not make use of the word *necessity* as a reserve, under colour of which, I may, whenever I think fit, be released from my engagements; I mean by that word a necessity arising from accidents that sometimes happen in the printing business, and from which, the most careful man cannot, at all times, be secure. But so far from wishing to shrink from my engagements, I intend, whenever the length of the Gazette, Parliamentary Debates, &c. shall render it impossible for me to insert all the advertisements promised for the day, in *one* sheet, to print an additional half sheet, and publish it with the ordinary paper without any additional charge to my customers.—From the difficulty that people experience in procuring the insertion of their advertisements even in the *Daily Advertiser*; and particularly from the impossibility of obtaining an *early* insertion at some periods of the year, it may be presumed that this regulation will greatly recommend the UNIVERSAL REGISTER to public notice, and procure it support. [...]

In bringing this work to perfection, I had not my own advantage solely in view; I wished to be useful to the community; and it is with pleasure I see that the public will derive considerable benefit from my industry; for I have resolved to sell the REGISTER *One halfpenny* under the price paid for seven out of eight of the morning

papers; however I indulge a hope that this sacrifice which I make of the usual profits of printing, will be felt by a generous public; and that they will so far favour me with advertisements, as to enable me to defray the heavy expences attending the literary departments in the paper, and to make a livelihood for myself and my family.—The favour that I now earnestly solicit, I shall diligently labour to preserve, without entertaining a presumptuous wish that I may enjoy it one moment longer, than I shall be found to deserve it.

The *Register*, in its politics, will be of no party; weakened as the country is by a long and expensive war, and rent by intestine divisions, nothing but the union of all parties can save it from destruction. Moderate men, therefore, I trust, will countenance a paper, which has for one of its objects to cool the animosities, still the resentments, manage the personal honour, and reconcile the principals of contending parties: while the favours of those who will be courted, who support principles, by fair *argument*, and think that a good cause may be injured by personalities, and low invective; the correspondence of such as defend to illiberal abuse, and attack the *man* rather than the *measures*, will always be disregarded. The *Register*, instead of dealing in scurrilities and abusing the great men in power, or the great men out of power; or, instead of deifying the one or the other, will reserve to itself a right of censuring or applauding either, as their conduct may occasionally appear proper or improper.

If censure should be thought necessary, it shall be conveyed in language suited to the respect that is due to the public, before whose tribunal the individual is arraigned; and no provocation shall be deemed an excuse for illiberal abuse, or personality.

Nothing shall ever find a place in the *Universal Register*, that can tend to wound the ear of decency, or corrupt the heart: vice shall never be suffered there to wear the garb of virtue: To hold out the former in alluring colours, would strike at the very root of morality; and, con-

centing the native deformity of vice, might seduce unsuspecting innocence from the paths of virtue.

As a News-Paper ought to be at the service of the Public, by whom it is supported, I shall not hold myself excusable, through the example of others, in opening the *Register* to one kind of advertisers, and partially shutting it against others: I hold that I have a right to consider only whether the advertisements offered for insertion contain any thing contrary to law or morality; and that, if they do not, I should violate my duty to the public, in refusing to insert them when paid for. A News-Paper in this particular ought to resemble an *inn*, where the proprietor is *obliged* to give the use of his house to all travellers, who are ready to pay for it, and against whose persons there is no legal or moral objection.

The miscellaneous articles of intelligence will be regularly arranged under the heads of *Theatres, Trials, Ship News, Market Prices, Bills of Entry, Prices Current, Stocks, Promotions, Marriages, Deaths, &c.* Though it is intended that faithful accounts shall be given of all remarkable trials at law, still those will be more particularly attended to, in which the mercantile world may be most interested. In a word, no gains or expence will be spared, that can render the *Universal Register* of utility to the public.

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Such is the plan that Mr. WALTER has laid down for the conduct of his paper: he now sends it forth into the world, in hopes that it will appear to the public deserving of their encouragement. For his own part, he will no longer expect their countenance and favour, than he shall be found fitly to adhere to the engagements into which he now enters, in this branch that he humbly begs leave to lay before them.

J. WALTER.

Advertisements, Essays, real Articles of Intelligence, &c. to which great attention will be paid, will be taken in at the Office in *Printing-house Square*; and for the greater convenience of the distant parts of the town, at Mr. SEARLE'S, Grocer, No. 55, *Oxford-street*; Mr. THRALE'S, Pastry Cook, opposite the Admiralty; Mr. WILSON'S LIBRARY, No. 45, *Lombard-street*; Mr. PRATT'S, Green Grocer, No. 84, *Whapping*; and Mr. STERNEY, No. 156, opposite *St. George's Church, Borough*.

† The Ladies and Gentlemen who may be pleased to take in this Paper, may be supplied with it by any of the NEWSMEN.

SHIP-PING



ADVERTISEMENTS

For NICE, GENOA, and LEGHORN, (With Liberty to touch at One Port in the Channel.)  
The N A N C Y,  
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By His Majesty's Company  
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To conclude with the Kettle of the Spaniards before  
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By a Society of Faculties;  
Friends to the Public and Enemies to Impostion.  
"Cum tu non ades, capis mea carmina, Lach,  
"Carp re velandi nodos, etc. &c."

Mrs. Epie.  
This pamphlet has been hitherto distributed gratuitously. The repeated applications for them, particularly from the country, have become so numerous, that the Society feel themselves under the necessity of putting them into the hands of a publisher.

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Nondum lingua flet doctus, petrigit opus.  
Mars.

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It would exceed the limits of Short-hand hitherto made public, or to point out the peculiarities and excellencies of the present; Mr. L. therefore only begs leave to observe, that the approbation of many gentlemen well known in the literary world, and well versed in the Theory and Practice of Short-hand, expressed in stronger terms than delicacy will permit him to repeat, warrants him in saying that he will be found a system of short and swift writing; more easy to acquire and retain, more expeditiously more regular than any ever yet offered to the Public.

The terms of teaching are Guinea, the graduation of learning, &c.  
The terms of teaching are Guinea, the graduation of learning, &c.



# THE CHARACTER OF A COFFEE-HOUSE

(first published in London, 1673)

A coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade, whither people come, after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions: A Rota,<sup>1</sup> that, like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of  
5 virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling<sup>2</sup> critics that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his pennyworth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion: he, that comes often, saves twopence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge, as at a threepenny ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is  
10 an exchange, where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories, and heedless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloak takes upon him to transpose affairs both in church and state, to show reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils. It is impossible to describe it better than the most ingenious of the Latin poets has done it to our hand, and that so excellently [:]  
15 [...]

Here all that's done, though far remote, appears,  
.And in close whispers penetrates our ears;  
As built of brass, the house throughout resounds,  
Reports things heard, and every word rebounds.  
20 No rest within, nor silence, yet the noise  
Not loud, but like a hollow murmuring voice;  
Such as from far by rolling waves is sent,  
Or like Jove's fainting thunder almost spent:  
Hither the idle vulgar come and go,  
25 Carrying a thousand rumours to and fro;  
With stale reports some list'ning ears do fill,  
Some coin fresh tales in words that vary still;  
Lyes mixt with truth, all in the telling grows,  
And each relator adds to what he knows:  
30 Here dwells rash error, light credulity,  
Sad panick fears, joys built on vanity;  
New rais'd sedition, secret whisperings  
Of unknown authors, and of doubtful things:  
All acts of heav'n and earth it boldly views,  
35 And, through the spacious world, enquires for news.

The room stinks of tobacco worse than hell of brimstone, and is as full of smoke as their heads that frequent it, whose humours are as various as those of Bedlam, and their discourse oftentimes as  
40 heathenish and dull as their liquor; that liquor, which, by its looks and taste, you may reasonably guess to be Pluto's diet drink, that witches tipple out of dead men's skulls, when they ratify to Belzebug their sacramental vows. [...]

As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company, for each man seems a leveler, and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant  
45 pickpocket, a reverend non-conformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose a medley of impertinence.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., club room.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., carping.

If any pragmatic, to show himself witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, presently the further tables are abandoned, and all the rest flock round [...]. They listen to him awhile with their mouths, and let their pipes go out, and coffee grow cold, for pure zeal of attention, but on the sudden fall all a yelping at once with more noise, but not half so much harmony, as a pack of beagles on the full cry. To still this bawling, up starts Captain All-man-sir, the man of mouth, with [...] a voice louder than the speaking trumpet, he begins you the story of a sea-fight; and though he never were further, by water, than the Bear-garden<sup>3</sup> [...] yet, having pirated the names of ships and captains, he persuades you himself was present, and performed miracles; that he waded knee-deep in blood on the upper-deck, and never thought to serenade his mistress so pleasant as the bullets whistling; how he stopped a vice-admiral of the enemy's under full sail; till she was boarded, with his single arm, instead of grappling-irons, and puffed out with his breath a fire-ship that fell foul on them. All this he relates, sitting in a cloud of smoke, and belching so many common oaths to vouch it, you can scarce guess whether the real engagement, or his romancing account of it, be the more dreadful: however, he concludes with railing at the conduct of some eminent officers (that, perhaps, he never saw), and protests, had they taken his advice at the council of war, not a sail had escaped us.

He is no sooner out of breath, but another begins a lecture on the Gazette<sup>4</sup>, where, finding several prizes taken, he gravely observes, if this trade hold, we shall quickly rout the Dutch<sup>5</sup>, horse and foot, by sea [...]; he takes words by the sound, without examining their sense: Morea<sup>6</sup> he believes to be the country of the Moors, and Hungary a place where famine always keeps her court<sup>7</sup>, nor is there anything more certain, than that he made a whole room full of fops, as wise as himself, spend above two hours in searching the map for Aristocracy and Democracy, not doubting but to have found them there, as well as Dalmatia and Croatia. [...]

A coffee-house is a phanatick theatre, a hot house to flux in for a clapped understanding, a sympathetical cure for the gonorrhœa of the tongue, or a refined bawdy-house, where illegitimate reports are got in close adultery, between lying lips and itching ears.

(From *The Harleian miscellany: a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print*, Vol. 8, London, 1810, p. 7-15)

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<sup>3</sup> Bear-Garden is across the Thames, on Bankside.

<sup>4</sup> The London Gazette, created in 1666, was one of the first English newspapers. It was published by the government and besides giving news of government appointments and decisions, it reported current events both in England and abroad. The London Gazette is to this day the most important official journal.

<sup>5</sup> In 1673, England is allied to Louis XIV's France and at war with Holland.

<sup>6</sup> Morea was the usual 17th century name for the Peloponnese (in Greece).

<sup>7</sup> The author plays on the homonymy between hunger and Hungary.

## Daniel Defoe

### *The Education of Women, 1719*

*Daniel Defoe (c. 1661-1731) was a Dissenter who early gave up the idea of becoming a dissenting minister, and went into business. His Shortest-Way with Dissenters brought down on him the wrath of the Tories; he was fined, imprisoned, and exposed in the pillory, with the result that he became for the time a popular hero. While in prison he started a newspaper, the "Review" (1704-1713). From this time for about fourteen years he was chiefly engaged in political journalism; and in 1719 he published the first volume of Robinson Crusoe, his greatest triumph.*

\*\*\*

I have often thought of it as one of the most barbarous customs in the world, considering us as a civilized and a Christian country, that we deny the advantages of learning to women. We reproach the sex every day with folly and impertinence; while I am confident, had they the advantages of education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than ourselves.

5        One would wonder, indeed, how it should happen that women are conversible at all; since they are only beholden to natural parts, for all their knowledge. Their youth is spent to teach them to stitch and sew or make baubles. They are taught to read, indeed, and perhaps to write their names, or so; and that is the height of a woman's education. And I would but ask any who slight the sex for their understanding, what is a man (a gentleman, I mean) good for, that is taught no more? I need not give  
10 instances, or examine the character of a gentleman, with a good estate, or a good family, and with tolerable parts; and examine what figure he makes for want of education.

The soul is placed in the body like a rough diamond; and must be polished, or the lustre of it will never appear. And 'tis manifest, that as the rational soul distinguishes us from brutes; so education carries on the distinction, and makes some less brutish than others. This is too evident to need any  
15 demonstration. But why then should women be denied the benefit of instruction? If knowledge and understanding had been useless additions to the sex, God Almighty would never have given them capacities; for he made nothing needless. Besides, I would ask such, What they can see in ignorance, that they should think it a necessary ornament to a woman? or how much worse is a wise woman than a fool? or what has the woman done to forfeit the privilege of being taught? Does she plague us with  
20 her pride and impertinence? Why did we not let her learn, that she might have had more wit? Shall we upbraid women with folly, when 'tis only the error of this inhuman custom, that hindered them from being made wiser?

The capacities of women are supposed to be greater, and their senses quicker than those of the men; and what they might be capable of being bred to, is plain from some instances of female wit, which this age is not without. Which upbraids us with Injustice, and looks as if we denied women the  
25 advantages of education, for fear they should vie with the men in their improvements. . . .

[They] should be taught all sorts of breeding suitable both to their genius and quality. And in particular, Music and Dancing; which it would be cruelty to bar the sex of, because they are their darlings. But besides this, they should be taught languages, as particularly French and Italian: and I  
30 would venture the injury of giving a woman more tongues than one. They should, as a particular study, be taught all the graces of speech, and all the necessary air of conversation; which our common education is so defective in, that I need not expose it. They should be brought to read books, and especially history; and so to read as to make them understand the world, and be able to know and judge of things when they hear of them.

35        To such whose genius would lead them to it, I would deny no sort of learning; but the chief thing, in general, is to cultivate the understandings of the sex, that they may be capable of all sorts of conversation; that their parts and judgements being improved, they may be as profitable in their conversation as they are pleasant.

40        Women, in my observation, have little or no difference in them, but as they are or are not distinguished by education. Tempers, indeed, may in some degree influence them, but the main distinguishing part is their Breeding.

The whole sex are generally quick and sharp. I believe, I may be allowed to say, generally so: for you rarely see them lumpish and heavy, when they are children; as boys will often be. If a woman be

45 well bred, and taught the proper management of her natural wit, she proves generally very sensible and retentive.

And, without partiality, a woman of sense and manners is the finest and most delicate part of God's Creation, the glory of Her Maker, and the great instance of His singular regard to man, His darling creature: to whom He gave the best gift either God could bestow or man receive. And 'tis the sordidest piece of folly and ingratitude in the world, to withhold from the sex the due lustre which the advantages of education gives to the natural beauty of their minds.

50 A woman well bred and well taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature without comparison. Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments, her person is angelic, and her conversation heavenly. She is all softness and sweetness, peace, love, wit, and delight. She is every way suitable to the sublimest wish, and the man that has such a one to his portion, has nothing to do but to rejoice in her, and be thankful.

55 On the other hand, Suppose her to be the very same woman, and rob her of the benefit of education, and it follows

If her temper be good, want of education makes her soft and easy.

Her wit, for want of teaching, makes her impertinent and talkative.

60 Her knowledge, for want of judgement and experience, makes her fanciful and whimsical.

If her temper be bad, want of breeding makes her worse; and she grows haughty, insolent, and loud.

If she be passionate, want of manners makes her a termagant and a scold, which is much at one with Lunatic.

65 If she be proud, want of discretion (which still is breeding) makes her conceited, fantastic, and ridiculous.

And from these she degenerates to be turbulent, clamorous, noisy, nasty, the devil! . . .

70 The great distinguishing difference, which is seen in the world between men and women, is in their education; and this is manifested by comparing it with the difference between one man or woman, and another.

And herein it is that I take upon me to make such a bold assertion, That all the world are mistaken in their practice about women. For I cannot think that God Almighty ever made them so delicate, so glorious creatures; and furnished them with such charms, so agreeable and so delightful to mankind; with souls capable of the same accomplishments with men: and all, to be only Stewards of our Houses, Cooks, and Slaves.

75 Not that I am for exalting the female government in the least: but, in short, I would have men take women for companions, and educate them to be fit for it. A woman of sense and breeding will scorn as much to encroach upon the prerogative of man, as a man of sense will scorn to oppress the weakness of the woman. But if the women's souls were refined and improved by teaching, that word would be lost. To say, the weakness of the sex, as to judgment, would be nonsense; for ignorance and folly would be no more to be found among women than men.

80 I remember a passage, which I heard from a very fine woman. She had wit and capacity enough, an extraordinary shape and face, and a great fortune: but had been cloistered up all her time; and for fear of being stolen, had not had the liberty of being taught the common necessary knowledge of women's affairs. And when she came to converse in the world, her natural wit made her so sensible of the want of education, that she gave this short reflection on herself: "I am ashamed to talk with my very maids," says she, "for I don't know when they do right or wrong. I had more need go to school, than be married."

85 I need not enlarge on the loss the defect of education is to the sex; nor argue the benefit of the contrary practice. 'Tis a thing will be more easily granted than remedied. This chapter is but an Essay at the thing: and I refer the Practice to those Happy Days (if ever they shall be) when men shall be wise enough to mend it.

*English essays from Sir Philip Sidney to Macaulay. With introductions and notes. The Harvard classics v. 27. New York: Collier [c. 1910].*

**MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT :**  
***A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN, 1792***

**From chapter 12: On National Education**

... the national education of women is of the utmost consequence, for what a number of human sacrifices are made to that moloch prejudice! And in how many ways are children destroyed by the lasciviousness of man? The want of natural affection, in many women, who are drawn from their duty by the admiration of men, and the ignorance of others, render the infancy of man a much more perilous state than that of brutes; yet men are unwilling to place women in situations proper to enable them to acquire sufficient understanding to know how even to nurse their babes.

So forcibly does this truth strike me, that I would rest the whole tendency of my reasoning upon it, for whatever tends to incapacitate the maternal character, takes woman out of her sphere.

But it is vain to expect the present race of weak mothers either to take that reasonable care of a child's body, which is necessary to lay the foundation of a good constitution, supposing that it do not suffer for the sins of its fathers; or, to manage its temper so judiciously that the child will not have, as it grows up, to throw off all that its mother, its first instructor, directly or indirectly taught; and unless the mind have uncommon vigour, womanish follies will stick to the character throughout life. The weakness of the mother will be visited on the children! And whilst women are educated to rely on their husbands for judgment, this must ever be the consequence, for there is no improving an understanding by halves, nor can any being act wisely from imitation, because in every circumstance of life there is a kind of individuality, which requires an exertion of judgment to modify general rules. The being who can think justly in one track, will soon extend its intellectual empire; and she who has sufficient judgment to manage her children, will not submit, right or wrong, to her husband, or patiently to the social laws which make a nonentity of a wife.

In public schools women, to guard against the errors of ignorance, should be taught the elements of anatomy and medicine, not only to enable them to take proper care of their own health, but to make them rational nurses of their infants, parents, and husbands; for the bills of mortality are swelled by the blunders of self-willed old women, who give nostrums of their own without knowing any thing of the human frame. It is likewise proper, only in a domestic view, to make women acquainted with the anatomy of the mind, by allowing the sexes to associate together in every pursuit; and by leading them to observe the progress of the human understanding in the improvement of the sciences and arts; never forgetting the science of morality, nor the study of the political history of mankind. ...

Besides, by the exercise of their bodies and minds women would acquire that mental activity so necessary in the maternal character, united with the fortitude that distinguishes steadiness of conduct from the obstinate perverseness of weakness. For it is dangerous to advise the indolent to be steady, because they instantly become rigorous, and to save themselves trouble, punish with severity faults that the patient fortitude of reason might have prevented.

But fortitude presupposes strength of mind; and is strength of mind to be acquired by indolent acquiescence? by asking advice instead of exerting the judgment? by obeying through fear, instead of practising the forbearance, which we all stand in need of ourselves?—The conclusion which I wish to draw, is obvious; make women rational creatures, and free citizens, and they will quickly become good wives, and mothers; that is—if men do not neglect the duties of husbands and fathers.

## RICHARD PRICE ON THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

**From his sermon *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789 to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain.**

I would farther direct you to remember, that though the Revolution [of 1688] was a great work, it was by no means a perfect work; and that all was not then gained which was necessary to put the kingdom in the secure and complete possession of the blessings of liberty.—In particular, you should recollect, that the toleration then obtained was imperfect. It included only those who could declare their faith in the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It has, indeed, been since extended, but not sufficiently; for there still exist penal laws on account of religious opinions, which (were they carried into execution) would shut up many of our places of worship, and silence and imprison some of our ablest and best men.—The TEST LAWS are also still in force; and deprive of eligibility to civil and military offices, all who cannot conform to the established worship. It is with great pleasure I find that the body of Protestant Dissenters, though defeated in two late attempts to deliver their country from this disgrace to it, have determined to persevere. Should they at last succeed, they will have the satisfaction, not only of removing from themselves a proscription they do not deserve, but of contributing to lessen the number of our public iniquities. For I cannot call by a gentler name, laws which convert an ordinance appointed by our Saviour to commemorate his death, into an instrument of oppressive policy, and a qualification of rakes and atheists for civil posts. [...]

But the most important instance of the imperfect state in which the Revolution left our constitution, is the inequality of our representation. I think, indeed, this defect in our constitution so gross and so palpable, as to make it excellent chiefly in form and theory. You should remember that a representation in the legislature of a kingdom is the basis of constitutional liberty in it, and of all legitimate government; and that without it a government is nothing but an usurpation. When the representation is fair and equal, and at the same time vested with such powers as our House of Commons possesses, a kingdom may be said to govern itself, and consequently to possess true liberty. When the representation is partial, a kingdom possesses liberty only partially; and if extremely partial, it only gives a semblance of liberty; but if not only extremely partial, but corruptly chosen, and under corrupt influence after being chosen, it becomes a nuisance, and produces the worst of all forms of government—a government by corruption—a government carried on and supported by spreading venality and profligacy through a kingdom. May heaven preserve this kingdom from a calamity so dreadful! It is the point of depravity to which abuses under such a government as ours naturally tend, and the last stage of national unhappiness. We are, at present, I hope, at a great distance from it. But it cannot be pretended that there are no advances towards it, or that there is no reason for apprehension and alarm.

The inadequateness of our representation has been long a subject of complaint. This is, in truth, our fundamental grievance; and I do not think that any thing is much more our duty, as men who love their country, and are grateful for the Revolution, than to unite our zeal in endeavouring to get it redressed. At the time of the American war, associations were formed for this purpose in London, and other parts of the kingdom [...]. But all attention to it seems now lost, and the probability is, that this inattention will continue, and that nothing will be done towards gaining for us this essential blessing, till some great calamity again alarms our fears, or till some great abuse of power again provokes our resentment; or, perhaps, till the acquisition of a pure and equal representation by other countries (while we are mocked with the shadow\*) kindles our shame. [...]

What an eventful period is this! [...] I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge, which has undermined superstition and error—I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever; and nations panting for liberty, which seemed to have lost the idea of it.—I have lived to see Thirty Millions of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects\*\*.—After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious.—And now, methinks, I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading; a general amendment beginning in human affairs; the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience.

Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe!

\*Note by the author: “A representation chosen principally by the Treasury, and a few thousands of the dregs of the people, who are generally paid for their votes.”

\*\*In a later edition of his sermon, Price explained that “the events to which I referred in these words were those only of the 14th of July and the subsequent days, when, after the conquest of the Bastille, the King of France sought the protection of the National Assembly and, by his own desire, was conducted amidst acclamations never before heard in France to Paris, there to show himself to his people as the restorer of their liberty.”

## **Edmund Burke : *Reflections On The Revolution In France In A Letter Intended To Have Been Sent To A Gentleman In Paris, 1790.***

YOU MIGHT, IF YOU PLEASED, have profited of our example and have given to your recovered freedom a correspondent dignity. Your privileges, though discontinued, were not lost to memory. Your constitution<sup>1</sup>, it is true [...] suffered waste and dilapidation; but you possessed in some parts the walls and in all the foundations of a noble and venerable castle.

5 You might have repaired those walls; you might have built on those old foundations. Your constitution was suspended before it was perfected, but you had the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished. In your old states<sup>2</sup> you possessed that variety of parts corresponding with the various descriptions of which your community was happily composed; you had all that combination and all that opposition of interests; you had that

10 action and counteraction which, in the natural and in the political world, from the reciprocal struggle of discordant powers, draws out the harmony of the universe. These opposed and conflicting interests which you considered as so great a blemish in your old and in our present constitution interpose a salutary check to all precipitate resolutions. They render deliberation a matter, not of choice, but of necessity; they make all change a subject of compromise, which

15 naturally begets moderation; they produce temperaments preventing the sore evil of harsh, crude, unqualified reformations, and rendering all the headlong exertions of arbitrary power, in the few or in the many, for ever impracticable. [...]

You had all these advantages in your ancient states, but you chose to act as if you had never been molded into civil society and had everything to begin anew. You began ill,

20 because you began by despising everything that belonged to you. You set up your trade without a capital. If the last generations of your country appeared without much luster in your eyes, you might have passed them by and derived your claims from a more early race of ancestors. Under a pious predilection for those ancestors, your imaginations would have realized in them a standard of virtue and wisdom beyond the vulgar practice of the hour; and

25 you would have risen with the example to whose imitation you aspired. Respecting your forefathers, you would have been taught to respect yourselves [...] or if, diffident of yourselves and not clearly discerning the almost obliterated constitution of your ancestors, you had looked to your neighbors in this land who had kept alive the ancient principles and models of the old common law of Europe meliorated and adapted to its present state—by following wise

30 examples, you would have given new examples of wisdom to the world. [...]

[...] All other nations have begun the fabric of a new government, or the reformation of an old, by establishing originally or by enforcing with greater exactness some rites or other of religion. All other people have laid the foundations of civil freedom in severer manners and a system of a more austere and masculine morality. France, when she let loose the reins of regal

35 authority, doubled the license of a ferocious dissoluteness in manners and of an insolent irreligion in opinions and practice, and has extended through all ranks of life, as if she were communicating some privilege or laying open some secluded benefit, all the unhappy corruptions that usually were the disease of wealth and power. This is one of the new principles of equality in France.

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<sup>1</sup> Burke parle de la « Constitution » implicite de l'Ancien Régime avant que la monarchie absolue des Bourbons ne la dévoie.

<sup>2</sup> Il s'agit des trois états du clergé, de la noblesse et du Tiers-Etat que le monarque pouvait réunir dans les Etats Généraux.