

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

AN ABRIDGEMENT OF CHARLES JOHNSTONE'S
CHRYSALE, OR THE ADVENTURES OF A GUINEA
WITH INTRODUCTION AND ANNOTATION
by
MICHAEL MANDELKERN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1996

UMI Number: 9630488

**Copyright 1996 by
Mandelkern, Michael Abraham**

All rights reserved.

**UMI Microform 9630488
Copyright 1996, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

(c) 1996

MICHAEL MANDELKERN

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

26 April 98

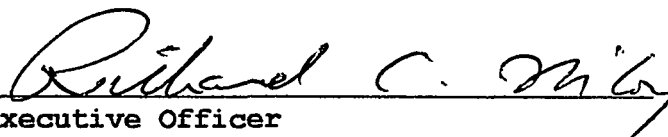
Date



Chair of Examining Committee

29 April 96

Date



Executive Officer

Betty Rizzo

Prof. Betty Rizzo

W. Speed Hill

Prof. W. Speed Hill
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

For Professor Robert Adams Day

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Robert Adams Day, who first suggested the idea of doing an edition of *Chrysal*, and unfortunately died before it was completed. The loss of a scholar and teacher of his stature to the academic community was obviously a great one, but his death also represented a personal loss to me which I cannot express.

I would also like to thank Professors David Greetham and Betty Rizzo for reading and correcting the manuscript. Ms. Jude Buglewicz provided me with help in understanding Johnstone's complicated references to alchemy. Mr. Matthew Jeremiah aided me in identifying and clarifying biblical allusions. Ms. Elizabeth Lynch-Woodside was instrumental in helping me to obtain materials available only in England without my having to go there.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Dr. Myrna Rasmussen, for her love and support.

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction	1
Notes to Introduction	46
Textual Commentary	60
Statement of Editorial Policy	64
Abbreviations	65
Part I: Preliminary Material	70
Preface	71
Chrysal Appears Before the Alchemist	82
Part II: Descriptions of Persons, Places and Events	84
Captain Harry Powlett	85
Lord Chesterfield	89
John Hill	91
Lord Ligonier	93
Countess of Yarmouth	98
George Whitefield	103
Samuel Foote	105
Countess of Huntingdon	107
William Pitt	109
King George II	113
James Wolfe	115
Frederick the Great	118
Sir William Johnson	124
David Garrick	128

John Wilkes	129
Lord Orford	131
Sir Francis Dashwood	138
Henry Fox	141
Charles Churchill	143
Description of Medmenham Abbey	153
Description of a Passover Feast	155
Sackville's Perfidy	158
The Tavora Plot	165
Description of Aminadab's Death	169
The Byng Debacle	171
Riot at Drury Lane	181
Wilkes, the Baboon, and the Hell-Fire Club	184
The Ayliffe Affair	187
"The Wilkes Imbroglia"	192
Part III: Interpolated Stories	206
"The History of Traffic"	207
"A Jesuit Joins the Order"	231
"The History of a Horned Cock"	241
"History of a Lady of Enterprise"	250
"Curious Anecdotes of a Great Man"	256
"The History of Pheron and Ilissa"	274
"The History of Don Alphonso Guzman"	279
"Adventures in a Wagon and at an Inn"	289
Part IV: Concluding Material	305

Chrysal Takes Leave of the Alchemist, and the Alchemist of the Reader	306
Notes to Part I	309
Notes to Part II	310
Notes to Part III	374
Notes to Part IV	397
Appendix I: <i>Tatler</i> No. 249: <i>The</i> <i>History of a Shilling</i> by Sir Richard Steele	398
Appendix II: A Key to <i>Chrysal</i> from An <i>Olio of Bibliographical and</i> <i>Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda</i> by William Davis	404
Select Bibliography	412

Introduction

I.

Johnstone's Life

On October 1, 1773, Samuel Johnson and James Boswell were talking during their famous Hebridean journey. Boswell records in his journal for that day: "[Johnson] told me he did not know who was the author of the *Adventures of a Guinea*, but that the bookseller had sent the first volume to him in manuscript, to have his opinion if it should be printed; and he thought it should."¹

The novel to which Johnson gave his blessing was the work of a writer named Charles Johnstone, about whom little is known. Even the exact date of his birth is not known: all we can say for certain is that he was born at Carrigogunnell, in Limerick County, Ireland, about 1719.² He attended Trinity College, Dublin, but left without taking a degree. He became a lawyer but, because he was deaf, was prevented from functioning as more than a "chamber lawyer"--that is, one who advised clients in chambers but could not argue cases before a court. In all likelihood, this infirmity limited his income; it probably also precipitated his decision to turn to writing.

In any case, having turned to it, Johnstone acquired a nobleman as his patron--Lord Mount-Edgumbe--and it was on a visit to his estate in Devonshire that he began writing *Chrysal*. In spite of its success, discussed later in this introduction, Johnstone was unable to earn a living at writing sufficient to meet his needs,³ as a result of which he sailed for India in

1782. Presumably, he was inspired to go there because Lord Macartney, governor of Madras, was a friend of his, and he hoped that his assistance would prove helpful.

In a ship called the *Brilliant*, Johnstone sailed with a Captain Mears. It sank near Joanna Island--between the coasts of Africa and Madagascar--and Johnstone's near escape from death was probably the most frightening experience of his life. Nevertheless, he reached his destination and became a journalist in Bengal, where he wrote under the name *Oneiropolos*. Eventually, he also became owner (or, according to some reports, co-owner) of his own newspaper. Through his success in this enterprise and land speculations he found the material prosperity which had heretofore eluded him. He never returned to his native land, and died, in about 1800, in Calcutta.

II.

Johnstone's Works Besides *Chrysal*

Although Johnstone's literary reputation rests entirely on *Chrysal*, he was the author of at least five other novels and a play. Of Johnstone's novels besides *Chrysal*, the one which most resembles it is *The Reverie: or, A Flight to the Paradise of Fools* (1763). This phenomenon is easily accounted for: Johnstone wrote *The Reverie* during the time when he was expanding *Chrysal*--that is, between the first edition of 1760 and the continuation, which appeared in 1765. Given this circumstance, and *Chrysal*'s success, it is hardly surprising that the resemblance would exist; still, one cannot help wishing that

Johnstone had exercised a bit more invention in writing *The Reverie*.

Like *Chrysal*, *The Reverie* has a framing device, and it serves as an excuse for the satirical episodes of which the bulk of the work consists. (The framing device in *The Reverie* is slightly different from that in *Chrysal*, but the difference is marginal.) The framing device of *The Reverie* is as follows: a recluse is reading *Paradise Lost* (1667) one evening when a spirit named Ariel⁴ appears before him, promising to instruct him in the truth about the universe. The device allows Johnstone free rein to comment on a wide range of topics, including the passion for patriotism which was raging at the moment.⁵

The high point of *The Reverie* is a well-written interpolated story, "The History of Sir Archibald and Zelide." In form, it is rather conventional--a medieval romance in the Arthurian tradition. Its hero and heroine are a knight and princess who meet in traditional fashion--she is a damsel in distress, whom he rescues. They are then separated by a series of trials which test their characters, only to be united.

The History of Arsaces, Prince of Betlis (1774) is an Oriental tale⁶ about a prince who wanders from home, leaving the man he thinks is his father. The prince is confused by the discrepancy between public virtue and private vice: he cannot understand why so many individuals profess to espouse virtue in public, while secretly they practice vice in private. He also cannot fathom why heaven seems to reward them as opposed to others who are more virtuous. The solution which Johnstone

proposes--resigning to the will of heaven, rather than trying to understand its mysterious ways--is solidly in keeping with his Christian theology, although interestingly, given the genre, none of the novel's characters are Christians.⁷

The Pilgrim: or, A Picture of Life (1775) is a "spy" novel in the tradition of Giovanni P. Marana's *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy* (1684-1694) and Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1724), although the work to which it is most highly indebted--one, in fact, which was inspired by the two works mentioned above--is Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (1762).⁸ Johnstone's novel incorporates elements of the spy novel--a genre with which *Chrysal* also has affinities, and which will be discussed later in this introduction.

Interestingly, Johnstone's protagonist, Choang, is not technically a spy; still, he functions much in the way of one. Choang is a Chinese traveler who has been forced to flee his native country because of the passion which the wife of one of his friends entertains for him. He describes English customs and manners in a series of letters to a friend back at home. The form serves Johnstone as a vehicle for satirizing English mores --a task at which he acquits himself fairly well; however, the plotting in the novel is episodical, a flaw from which many of Johnstone's works suffer.⁹

Buthred: A Tragedy (1779), Johnstone's one foray into writing for the stage of which we know, is surprisingly successful. Rather than trying to duplicate the kind of writing which he was doing in prose, Johnstone wisely chose to write a

historical drama in the manner of Shakespeare. The choice was felicitous: his writing reveals him to have a real feeling for the stage, and the play is surely not the only one he ever attempted.¹⁰

His protagonist is an English earl forced to choose between avenging himself upon his sovereign, who has attempted to ravish his wife, and defending him against the enemy. The plot is tightly constructed and allows Johnstone to explore many pertinent themes--including, as this brief summary implies, the notion of absolute sovereignty.

The History of John Juniper, Esq. Alias Juniper Jack (1781) suffers from too many conflicting authorial intentions. It is easy to discern the influence of Defoe, Fielding and Smollett in this story of an urchin who goes from being a mischievous youngster to a dissipated adult. Johnstone's problem is one of control in regard to his material: he is unable to manipulate the satire with the expertise of, say, Fielding, who, in *Tom Jones* (1749), is able to achieve a stasis between audience identification and parody. In other words, Fielding's irony extends to most of his characters, but never to the point where one ceases to be able to care about them. On the other hand, Johnstone seems uncertain as to exactly how he wants the reader to regard his protagonist, and the novel is likely to leave one feeling more confused than anything else.

The Adventures of Anthony Varnish (1786), Johnstone's last novel, is a picaresque novel which strongly shows the influence of Tobias Smollett's novel *Roderick Random* (1748). Like the

little boy in *Lazarillo des Tormes* (1554)--a seminal picaresque novel, by which Johnstone was presumably influenced, either directly or indirectly--Johnstone's protagonist is forced into serving a succession of masters, many of whom treat him miserably. Johnstone shows some interest in exploring the theme of public virtue versus private vice; however, he does not introduce it until it is too late for him to do so in any detail and, hence, effectively. The comedy is of a more physical nature --closer to slapstick--than in most of Johnstone's other work.¹¹ Moreover, the ending, in which the protagonist marries his employer, is a *deus ex machina*. It resembles the ending of *Roderick Random*, where it is more organic to the plot.

It is, however, *Chrysal* for which Johnstone is best remembered, to which we now turn our attention.

III.

Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea

A.

Reception/Genre/Sources

While figures on sales are lacking, there is no question that *Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea* was enormously popular when it appeared in 1760, and that it was this popularity which prompted Johnstone, at the publisher's request, to add a continuation in 1765. The story of a gold coin--a guinea--which narrates the adventures it has experienced as it went through a variety of hands to an alchemist, it rapidly went into many editions. It was also translated into French, which testifies

that it was successful not only in England, but on the Continent.¹²

It is easy to discern exactly what the audience saw in the novel: it was widely read as a supposedly truthful account of the personal lives of some of the most famous people of the era. The British have always had a relish for scandal, and the scandal is even more appealing when it is tied to famous persons. There is also little doubt that the audience had no trouble identifying many of the characters through whose hands *Chrysal* passes, as they were, indeed, highly recognizable. Set during the Seven Years' War, the work features King George II, William Pitt, and Frederick the Great, among others, in its cast of characters--some of the most famous men, in short, of the war and the period.

A good part of the explanation for the novel's success, then, lies in the fact that it is a *roman a clef*, or "novel with a key"--one of many genres to which it belongs, and one of which it is a significant member.¹³ The fact that *Chrysal* is a *roman a clef* is obvious, but it is worthwhile to note that a key to it does, in fact, exist--it is contained in *An Olio of Bibliographical and Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda* by William Davis (1814).¹⁴ Moreover, it is probable that this same key is the one which Johnstone presented to his patron, Lord Mount-Edgewcombe, as well as the Captain Mears with whom he sailed to India.¹⁵ However, the key in Davis's book is probably a corruption of the original, as it is full of the kind of errors which Johnstone would not have made.¹⁶ This key contains some

100 different identifications--most of which have to do with persons, but not all.¹⁷

The genre of *roman a clef*, particularly as it was practiced by Johnstone, performed a function for an eighteenth-century reader of a work such as *Chrysal* which was unique. It was similar to the function performed by many other literary works dealing with vice; it is also related to Johnstone's didacticism. A contemporary reader of *Chrysal* was allowed to read about and vicariously participate in the scandalous behavior of those from whom the reader normally was precluded from having contact. At the same time, the exhibition of the behavior was intended to be morally instructive--that is, a warning to the reader against engaging in it--thus enabling the reader to partake of it with a clear conscience. The fact that Johnstone occasionally presents figures he admires, from whose actions the reader was also expected to learn but in an emulative sense, further allows for the operation of this mechanism.¹⁸

Another genre, of course, to which *Chrysal* has affinities is satire--particularly the "Juvenalian" or caustic kind which flourished in the eighteenth century. The proliferation of this kind of satire provided Johnstone with a comfortable atmosphere in which to work;¹⁹ he was also suited to it because his temperament was acerbic, to say the least.²⁰

As has been mentioned previously, *Chrysal* also has affinities with the spy genre. This genre--in which "an alien of some sort reports secretly on the absurd beliefs and customs of

one's own country"²¹--includes Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* and Smollett's *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1768).

Obviously, *Chrysal* belongs to it because the guinea/narrator stands outside of the world which he describes and comments upon it in the guise of objectivity, although the approach Johnstone employs is actually highly didactic--not only because his work purports to mend the morals of his readers, as we have seen, but because of his political propagandizing, of which more shortly shall be said. Johnstone exploits the genre by making the alchemist to whom Chrysal relates his narrative a recluse whose ignorance provides the pretext for Chrysal's instruction.

In many ways, *Chrysal* is also a picaresque novel, and at least one critic refers to it as such.²² Unlike the romance archetype, which features protagonists of upper-class origins--although their backgrounds may be concealed from them, from which they may suffer in the course of a narrative, only to be restored to their rightful place by its conclusion--the hero or heroine of the picaresque generally is lower-class. Typically this person is bandied about by fate, seemingly with little control over his or her destiny. Furthermore, while the plot of the romance may be highly-structured, the narrative of the picaresque usually rambles, as both a commentary upon and manifestation of the life of the dislocated protagonist. Johnstone's conceit of having a coin tell a story--which he did not invent, as we shall see, although no one before him had developed it at such length--resembles the picaresque mode, one might say, in its ultimate sense as nothing could be traded about with a greater sense of

happenstance, and less concern for its immediate well-being, than a coin.²³

The similarity is rendered even more apparent when one considers that *Chrysal* refers to each of his owners as "my master"--a phrase which the heroes or heroines of picaresque novels often use when they are forced to work as servants. And because of the central place chance occupies in the novel, it is impossible for it to have the kind of plot we have come to expect in a novel such as the kind written by Fielding, in which each event is subordinate to a grand design.

What we are witnessing in *Chrysal*, then, is a breakdown of narrative, but one which is different from the kind that is encountered in a novel such as Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1760-67). While *Chrysal* has no over-arching story, it does contain a series of elaborately-developed narratives, none of which is extended beyond the length of time during which *Chrysal* happens to be possessed by one of his owners. And while each story is brought to a satisfactory conclusion, Johnstone carefully maintains the pretense that the moment at which each story ends is entirely determined by the one at which *Chrysal* passed out of the ownership of the person whose story he is telling.²⁴

Chrysal belongs to yet another genre: that of the novel with the inanimate protagonist. It was an extremely popular genre in the eighteenth century--so much so that at least sixty different novels which featured inanimate narrators were written during that period.²⁵ And, while Johnstone cannot be said to

have invented it, the success of *Chrysal* gave rise to a series of works which perpetuated it. In fact, so pervasive was Johnstone's influence that the anonymously-written *Adventures of a Hackney Coach* (1781) begins with a young woman remarking on *Chrysal* as the reason for what follows;²⁶ and at least one of these works--*The Adventures of a Rupee* (1782), which is also narrated by a coin--probably was directly inspired by him.²⁷

The most sophisticated example of the genre to appear after *Chrysal*, however--and one whose political position is in direct opposition--is Smollett's *Atom*.²⁸ In any case, the fad had become so widespread (and many of the works were considered to be so devoid of merit) that the *Critical Review* complained in 1781 that the genre was becoming a nuisance.²⁹

In most of these works the non-human "characters," as mentioned above, are inanimate narrators, but the genre was elastic enough to allow for variations. One of the most notable was *Pompey the Little* (1751) by Francis Coventry. The protagonist of Coventry's novel, which is narrated in the third-person, is a lap-dog. Coventry, who died shortly after it was written at the age of twenty-eight, juxtaposes narration which is facetiously elevated with trivial subject matter so as to create a mock-heroic effect.³⁰

The earliest important source of *Chrysal* is probably *The Golden Ass* by the Roman writer Apuleius. Apuleius can be said to have created the genre of the novel with a non-human protagonist. (His protagonist--a donkey, as the title implies--has actually been transformed from a human being, but the effect is the same.)

The manner in which Johnstone satirizes most of *Chrysal*'s owners also resembles the way in which Apuleius satirizes the ass's. *Chrysal* is able to describe the exploits of these owners--particularly those which, under normal circumstances, they would try to conceal--in detail because the owners have no reason to conceal their behavior from him, and Apuleius makes similar use of the ass.

A more contemporary source of *Chrysal* is *Le Diable Boiteux* (1707) by Alain Rene Le Sage. In Le Sage's work, Asmodeus, a devil, appears before a student, whom he seeks to educate in the perfidious ways of mankind. The concept in *Chrysal* is similar; indeed, the purpose for which *Chrysal* appears is almost identical.³¹ However, in Le Sage's version the listener is a sophisticated chevalier--someone hardly in need of instruction--whereas in Johnstone's he is a reclusive alchemist. And both writers use the device as a vehicle for satire, but the tone in each work is different. As Ernest A. Baker, editor of the 1907 edition of *Chrysal*, observes, Sir Walter Scott--one of the early editors of *Chrysal*--"rightly distinguishes between the Horatian spirit of *Asmodeus*, which is that of comedy, and the *saeva indignatio* of *Chrysal*, which is the temper of Juvenal."³² Le Sage is also a wittier and less ponderous writer than Johnstone--indeed, he is one of the marvels of the eighteenth century--although Johnstone shares some of Le Sage's peculiar narrative ability. Both writers were uninterested in creating over-arching plots (in Le Sage's two major works, *Gil Blas* (1714) and *Le Diable Boiteux*, the narratives are rambling; or, to put it

another way, the whole is no greater than the sum of the parts), but each was gifted at creating smaller narratives within a larger narrative framework. In any case, *Le Diable Boiteux* was famous in its own day (two Frenchmen, arriving at a Paris bookseller's, reportedly fought a duel over the last remaining copy),³³ and it is probable that Johnstone both knew and was influenced by it.

Another work by which Johnstone was presumably influenced was *Tatler* no. 249, *The History of a Shilling*, by Sir Richard Steele.³⁴ From this exercise, Johnstone probably derived the idea of having a coin relate its history, as well as the theme which is suggested by the idea--the evil influence of avarice. In any case, given the popularity the *Tatler* enjoyed and the striking similarity between *Chrysal* and no. 249, one can conclude that Johnstone was aware of it.

B.

Historical Background

Chrysal mostly takes place against the backdrop of the Seven Years' War (1756-63), although, as Baker observes, "the story wanders in a random way, and pays small attention to chronological order."³⁵ The story of the war has, of course, been told at length elsewhere, but is worth sketching here to facilitate an understanding of what follows.³⁶

Because historians today tend to be less jingoistic than they have been in the past, it is possible for them to be more honest about the motives for it. Essentially, it was a contest for world domination between England and France, but it also

involved subsidiary conflicts in which their allies were engaged. These allies were chiefly Prussia and Hanover in the case of England, and Austria, Saxony, Russia, Sweden, and Spain in that of France.

The war began disastrously for the British, who had a series of border skirmishes with the French in North America, which culminated in the defeat and death of Major-General Braddock near Fort Duquesne in July, 1755. Another incident, which was even more humiliating than Braddock's defeat, involved the famous "Black Hole of Calcutta." Siraj-ud-daula, the "nawab" or governor of Bengal, imprisoned 146 British soldiers and others in a minuscule room, in which 123 of them died from asphyxia the first night alone. The most searing casualty of all, however, where England was concerned was the loss of the island of Minorca to France on June 28, 1756.

The fortunes of the nation changed significantly, however, when the war was entrusted to William Pitt.³⁷ A man of remarkable foresight in military matters, who desired money more for his country than himself,³⁸ Pitt was able, in spite of his personal torment,³⁹ to lay the groundwork for the British Empire. His great strategic successes--America, where General James Wolfe captured Quebec on September 18, 1759, and India, where Robert Clive (like Wolfe, Clive was one of the many men Pitt selected who proved successful)⁴⁰ established the hegemony of England--changed the war immeasurably.

Some of the most important victories on the British side of the war in Europe were achieved by Frederick the Great of

Prussia.⁴¹ Frederick had joined forces with England because he wanted to retain control of Silesia, which he had captured in the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-49) from Austria, and which the Austrians were bent on recapturing. (To facilitate this, Austria had aligned itself with France.) George II had sought the alliance because he wanted to protect his native Hanover, of which he was the "elector" --a German prince who, with others who were in the same category such as himself, chose the Holy Roman Emperor.

On October 25, 1760, George II died. He was succeeded by his grandson, George III, who was greatly under the influence of his tutor, Lord Bute.⁴² Pitt quarreled with the new king and Bute over the issue of attacking Spain. Pitt was in favor of it; they were not. Pitt resigned, and the war came. Among various significant events, it led to the fall of Havana, which is described at length in *Chrysal*.⁴³

In 1762, support for Frederick, whose "fortunes were low,"⁴⁴ was waning in England. This was particularly true for the large subsidies which England had been paying him. As secretary of state, Bute decided that he wanted to end the subsidies, a decision which caused the resignation of the important politician the Duke of Newcastle. Pitt and others thought Bute's decision wrong, as they did the Peace of Paris (1763), which concluded the war. These individuals thought the peace accord--which amounted to a *quid pro quo* with the French⁴⁵--unnecessary and shameful in light of what they regarded as a complete victory. Nevertheless,

the treaty consolidated England's position as the dominant force in North America and India.

Johnstone's position on the war is pro-Pitt; indeed, he heaps enormous amounts of praise on Pitt, George II and Frederick --the three most important figures in the war from England's point of view--although his admiration for Pitt, at least, to whom *Chrysal* is dedicated, was shared by his countrymen.⁴⁶ In fact, so completely does *Chrysal* have the appearance of being government propaganda--so utterly does it function in this way--that it is possible the government had a role in soliciting it, although this assertion cannot be proven.

While the Seven Years' War undoubtedly provides the most significant backdrop against which *Chrysal* is set, there are other historical events with which the novel is concerned. One of these is the so-called "Tavora Plot," an attempted assassination of the king of Portugal, in which several Jesuits were involved, in 1759. That a few Jesuits had a role in the attempt is probable,⁴⁷ but Johnstone, who generally takes a harsh tone towards the Jesuits--and, indeed, anyone whose religious beliefs differ from his⁴⁸--exaggerates the extent of their involvement.⁴⁹ Prejudice towards the Jesuits was common in the eighteenth century, and was shared by the Marquis of Pombal, the *de facto* ruler of the Portuguese government, who seized upon the assassination attempt as a pretext to expel the Jesuits from the country in an edict that was not reversed until the nineteenth century.⁵⁰

Another event which also involves religion and figures in *Chrysal* is the passage of the Jewish Naturalization Bill, or "Jew Bill."⁵¹ Initially, it met with no opposition; later, it caused tremendous protest and a backlash of anti-semitism amid charges that government officials had supported its passage in exchange for pecuniary considerations. Eventually, it was repealed.⁵² It is possible that this backlash can be seen in Johnstone's anti-semitic characterization of Aminadab,⁵³ and in a section of the novel in which Johnstone promulgates the myth that Jews sacrificed living Christian babies as part of the Passover ritual. There is no doubt that Johnstone was exceedingly anti-semitic. In fact, his anti-semitism is so strong, it seems clear that it did not require a bill in order to activate it. The bill might have exacerbated his sentiments, however, or given him a convenient context in which to express them. It is hard to see how in the furor surrounding the Jew Bill a countryman of Johnstone's could have responded to his anti-semitism with open disagreement.

C.

More Background/A Guide to this Abridgement/Conclusion

Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea is a long work; the complete four-volume edition of 1768 contains 1200 pages. I have selected the material in abridging it which I feel to be of most interest to a modern reader--from either a historical or literary perspective, or both. I have divided this material into four sections: Preliminary Material, Descriptions of Persons, Places and Events, Interpolated Stories,⁵⁴ and Concluding Material.

This abridgement and the novel itself begin with a facetious preface, in which an anonymous "editor" recounts the process by which the manuscript came into his hands. It may seem odd to us today, but such prefaces were actually common in the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Certainly, the one which Johnstone includes allows him to distance himself from the personal nature of the attacks which he makes (he declares that, given that the manuscript was "found" long ago, any charges that it might attack individuals who were then living therefore had to have been invalid). These considerations aside, the Preface is well-written and entertaining. Particularly enjoyable is the woman who narrates much of it, from whom the editor--and the reader--learn the circumstances of the work's "composition."

This abridgement and the novel proper then proceed with the introduction of an elaborate framing device, in which Chrysal, the spirit of gold, appears in front of an alchemist.⁵⁶ Logically enough, this appearance occurs when the alchemist has succeeded in transmuting base metals into gold, and has thereby brought about the spirit's presence. Much of this section of the novel is written with reference to alchemical terms with which most readers are not likely to be familiar; hence, in order to facilitate navigation of it, the editor has provided extensive footnotes. They reveal the extent to which Johnstone was well-versed in such terms, and in alchemy in general, which scientists of such repute as Robert Boyle and Sir Isaac Newton regarded seriously enough to experiment with barely a half-century or more before Johnstone.⁵⁷

According to the key in *An Olio of Bibliographical and Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda*, the first important figure of note to appear in *Chrysal* is the British naval captain Harry Powlett.⁵⁸ It is appropriate that this would be true, since Johnstone's characterization of him is typical of the negative portrayals of contemporary figures with which *Chrysal* abounds. According to Johnstone, while he was at sea Powlett allowed a Spanish ship to pass him unmolested--in spite of the fact that England and Spain were at war. In return, Johnstone maintains that Powlett was given a bribe, which accounts for how *Chrysal* came into his possession.

Johnstone also asserts that Powlett later deserted his post, pleading the fact that the stern-post of his ship was damaged for his excuse. The latter part of this account is substantiated by *The Dictionary of National Biography*; moreover, a perusal of that work indicates that, for this dereliction of duty, Powlett was given the notorious nickname "Captain Stern-post."⁵⁹ However, the *DNB* contains no reference to the charges which Johnstone makes about the Spanish ship--and they, after all, constitute the most serious allegations which Johnstone raises.

One of the most famous figures in *Chrysal* is Lord Chesterfield. Chesterfield was famous in his day as a wit and politician; in ours, he is remembered for two aspects of his life which would have surprised him: the masterly letter Samuel Johnson wrote to him when the former's *Dictionary* (1755) was on the eve of publication, in which Johnson rejected Chesterfield's belated offer of patronage;⁶⁰ and the letters which Chesterfield

wrote to his illegitimate son Philip. These letters were first published in book form in 1774, in a work which has since gone on to become one of the most famous books in world literature.⁶¹

Johnstone's depiction of Chesterfield is brief. After alluding to the early gifts which he displayed, as well as his success in politics, Johnstone contends that Chesterfield's gambling was the Achilles' heel which dogged him throughout his life. It was a charge which had considerable basis in fact; Chesterfield himself, in fact, was both aware of and embarrassed about it.⁶²

Johnstone also relates a story about Chesterfield in which he knew that a group of confidence men were out to swindle him, but allowed them to do so anyway. He argued that by giving them the money he was preventing them from obtaining it--whether from himself or someone else is not clear--by more unsavory means. Johnstone does not make it clear whether the method these men employed had to do with gambling, although given the problem that Chesterfield had with it, it is hard to see what else it could have involved. Johnstone adds that Chesterfield used the same excuse--that he was helping those who were fleecing him--to justify his gambling in general.⁶³ There is abundant evidence that Chesterfield was the dupe of these men, of whom he should have been wary, as he knew their intentions towards him;⁶⁴ however, whether he used the rationalizations to which Johnstone refers to justify his conduct is, of course, debatable. It is worth noting that Johnstone's presentation of Chesterfield is

characteristically didactic in that Johnstone intends it as a warning against gambling's deleterious influence.

One of the most amusing figures Johnstone presents is John Hill, the jack-of-all-trades writer. Johnstone's overall opinion of Hill--that he was man of talent, who, had he applied himself to any one thing, might have been successful, but whose diffusiveness was his undoing--was probably accurate. The most famous pronouncement on Hill, in the form of an epigram, came from David Garrick. Hill prided himself on his ability in medicine and writing farces; Garrick, who felt that he did not excel at either, and found the combination a trifle incongruous, wrote: "For physic and farces, his equal there scarce is,/His farces are physic, his physic a farce is."⁶⁵ The poet Christopher Smart also wrote a satire about Hill, which he called *The Hilliad*.⁶⁶ Given Garrick's epigram, it is interesting that Johnstone portrays Hill as having been involved in a riot at the Drury Lane Theater, of which Garrick was co-manager, but there is no external evidence to support this.

The figure of whom Johnstone's depiction varies from contemporary accounts more than any other is Lord Ligonier. Ligonier was the chief military advisor of George II during the Seven Years' War. This caused conflict between Ligonier and the king's favorite son, the Duke of Cumberland, the commander-in-chief of England's forces.⁶⁷ When Cumberland's reputation suffered as a result of the Convention of Klosterzeven,⁶⁸ Ligonier was assigned in his place.⁶⁹ At the time of *Chrysal*, Ligonier would have been elderly, as Johnstone portrays him.

However, there is nothing in *The Dictionary of National Biography* to suggest that he was a pedophile, as Johnstone does; rather, the entry on him concludes:

Ligonier was a man of the most chivalrous courage, with all the light-hearted daring of his race. He took part in twenty-three general actions and nineteen sieges without receiving a wound. By his contemporaries his military talents were held in the highest esteem. As with other veterans, a later generation inclined to regard him as obsolete....but he was nevertheless a popular hero, deservedly liked and trusted.⁷⁰

Johnstone relates an anecdote of Ligonier in which a servant manipulated him.

One of the significant female figures in *Chrysal* is the Countess of Yarmouth, George II's mistress. Johnstone presents her as having dealings with Aminadab, his character which is anti-semitic, in which her avarice--which Johnstone considers to have been her dominant characteristic--is on display.

Aminadab operates as her business manager, and he attempts to function in consultation with her under the whimsical financial climate that has been created by the Seven Years' War so as to turn it to their mutual advantage. The discussion between the two is presented in a manner which is caustic in the extreme, and it is clear that Johnstone views both of them as selfishly exploiting the situation.

In its final moments, the discussion contains a reference to the Jew Bill of 1753. Johnstone solidly charges the Countess with sponsoring the bill as part of the arrangement under which Aminadab is managing her affairs.

If Johnstone's portrayal of the Countess is unflattering, the same can be said of his description of George Whitefield, who, along with the brothers John and Charles Wesley, was a founder of the Methodist movement.⁷¹ He was a powerful preacher, whose oratorical flair helped to win many converts.⁷² Johnstone portrays Whitefield as a rampant opportunist of no personal convictions or, indeed, scruples. It is probable that Johnstone's dislike of him is rooted in his Methodism; as mentioned previously, Johnstone can evince considerable intolerance towards anyone whose religious beliefs do not coincide with his.⁷³

Whitefield had a dispute with Samuel Foote, the actor and playwright who is best remembered for his powers of mimicry.⁷⁴ Foote satirized Whitefield in his play *The Minor* (1760).⁷⁵ Foote attacked his most personal and vulnerable area: his squint, in the malicious character "Squintum."⁷⁶ Johnstone presents an argument between the two over an agreement they had made, under which Foote was to attack Whitefield in order to resurrect his flagging popularity. The allegation that the conflict between the two was staged for this reason cannot, of course, be verified. Furthermore, as a way to distance himself from the attacks which he makes, which are highly personal--as he does in the Preface--Johnstone refers to *The Minor* as a "ballad."

Johnstone describes Foote with considerable more accuracy than Whitefield, and, indeed, his is a memorable description of the powers which Foote--whom Johnstone refers to as "Momus," the Greek god of mockery--possessed. Another memorable description

of Foote came from Charles Churchill, who wrote of him in his poem *The Rosciad* (1761): "His strokes of humor, and his bursts of sport/Are all contained in this one word, *Distort*."⁷⁶

Johnstone suggests that Foote was acting at the Drury Lane Theater when the riot occurred. The idea is intriguing, but it is not documented anywhere else.

The other significant female figure in *Chrysal* is the Countess of Huntingdon, a notable sponsor of Methodism.⁷⁷ Johnstone regards her with sympathy, considering her to have been a dupe of Whitefield and her credulity.

He relates an anecdote of her in which she visited her nephew, Laurence Shirley, Earl Ferrers, in prison,⁷⁸ where Ferrers was awaiting execution.⁷⁹ By Johnstone's account, probably accurate, Ferrers regarded her attempts to convert him with indifference, especially after he learned that she had been unable to secure a pardon for him. According to Johnstone, she responded by burying her sorrows in religion, which she was wont to do, and in all likelihood did on that occasion.⁸⁰ Johnstone adds that in spite of her fondness for Methodism, which was considered odd, she spent considerable time among the members of her class, which was true.⁸¹

Johnstone's portrayal of Pitt is extremely idealized. Pitt, in a typical day in his life as war minister, by Johnstone's account, attended to some dispatches, rejected an offer from a subordinate to determine the outcome of an election, and pontificated as to why election-tampering hurt the national interest.

Johnstone's presentation of George II is equally inflated. Moreover, in a scene between the king and Pitt, Johnstone portrays their relationship as harmonious, when it was anything but.⁸²

Johnstone presents three scenes featuring James Wolfe,⁸³ the general entrusted by Pitt with the task of capturing Quebec at the age of 31. (Wolfe succeeded, but he died of wounds which he had received shortly afterward.)⁸⁴

In the first scene Pitt bestows Wolfe's command upon him; in the second and third scenes, Wolfe takes leave before going off to war from his mother and Katharine Lowther, a young woman to whom he was engaged. The scenes abound in bathos, especially the second and third. The second is also disingenuous because, in reality, Wolfe bade his mother goodbye in a letter.⁸⁵ Given that Johnstone admires Wolfe, and that he is one of the few persons of whom this can be said, it follows that Johnstone's portrayal of him is laudatory--and, as is usual in such cases where Johnstone is concerned, one-dimensional.⁸⁶

Johnstone's portrayal of Frederick the Great is longer than his depiction of Pitt or George II. Johnstone presents Frederick before, during and after the Battle of Rossbach,⁸⁷ a decision which is hardly surprising. Throughout *Chrysal*, one of Johnstone's goals is to advocate the English and Prussian side of the Seven Years' War, and Rossbach constituted one of Frederick's most notable victories.⁸⁸ As an example of Johnstone's inconsistency which he occasionally shows, Frederick is portrayed

as industrious (which he was)⁸⁹ and religious (which he was not).⁹⁰

One of the most interesting subjects Johnstone presents is Sir William Johnson, the British government official entrusted with the supervision of Indian affairs in North America during the French and Indian War.⁹¹ Aside from his military achievements,⁹² Johnson is remembered for his papers, which shed light on the colonial history of New York State.⁹³

Johnstone's portrayal of Johnson is idealized but not without considerable basis in fact. Johnson was a man of remarkable adaptability and tolerance. He was gifted at relating to the Indians,⁹⁴ a trait for which most of his countrymen were not distinguished, and Johnstone describes Johnson's Indian encampment as a utopia based upon unrestrained relations between the sexes, in which Johnson himself set the foremost example.⁹⁵ The description represents a notable about-face for Johnstone, who usually takes a dim view of fornication, and it endows his work with greater complexity.

Like his depiction of Chesterfield, Johnstone's depiction of David Garrick--the greatest English actor of his day, and arguably of all time--is brief. Johnstone introduces him as one of the managers of the Drury Lane Theater⁹⁶ after describing a famous riot which took place there on January 25, 1763. Ingeniously, Johnstone compares Garrick to a king, whose courtiers--in this case playwrights, who want him to produce their work--curry his favor. Johnstone turns the episode into a satire of playwrights,⁹⁷ and uses it as a transition into a

discussion of the theater in general,⁹⁸ but it is clear that Johnstone admires Garrick and agrees with his opinions--or rather, that he uses Garrick to voice his own.

A considerable amount of space in *Chrysal* is devoted to the exploits of John Wilkes, the journalist and politician who became a symbol for the English proletariat, and--ironically, given that he was British--for the American colonists of liberty.⁹⁹ Johnstone's depiction of Wilkes is essentially accurate: his Wilkes is a man of wit (perhaps because he was physically unattractive, Wilkes expended considerable effort on sharpening his social skills)¹⁰⁰ and abilities, who, out of a desire for approval, sacrificed these gifts to ignoble ends. Thus, Johnstone is both aware of Wilkes's positive attributes and, at the same time, censorious of him. In addition to what Johnstone sees as Wilkes's willingness to do anything so long as it was productive of laughter, it was Wilkes's profligacy and not his politics that offended Johnstone, who assumes the high moral tone with him that is his wont.

A figure with whom Wilkes was involved who is also depicted in *Chrysal* is Lord Orford. Apparently Orford was the victim of a practical joke that Wilkes played at one of the meetings of the Hell-Fire Club. In *Chrysal*, however, which contains a description of that incident, the victim is changed to Lord Sandwich.¹⁰¹

Orford was a man of limited intelligence¹⁰²--an interesting circumstance, given that he was the eldest son of Sir Robert Walpole and brother of Horace. And yet Johnstone--who rarely

passes up an opportunity for attack when one presents itself--does not portray him as being unintelligent.

According to Johnstone, Orford, while in the company of a prostitute who suffered from delusionary fits, and who believed, mistakenly, that she had poisoned him, took great pains to effect his cure. Under the circumstances, his behavior hardly seems out of the ordinary; indeed, Johnstone does not portray him as being especially foolish when he believes his life is threatened. The latter part of the segment is a satire not of Orford but of the medical profession, whose members go to exhaustive lengths to save Orford from a fate which, it turns out, he never had to fear.

The aspect of *Chrysal* for which it is most remembered is its depiction of the Hell-Fire Club, or "the Monks of Medmenham," and Johnstone includes a description of its founder, Sir Francis Dashwood. Given Johnstone's abhorrence of the Club--a fraternity which contained some of England's most notable men, who practiced devil-worship and Bacchanalian and Venusian revelry dressed in monk's garb¹⁰³--it follows that he describes Dashwood in a way which is negative. Johnstone describes how Dashwood corrupted his uncle, Lord Westmoreland; he also describes, in general terms, Dashwood's disastrous foray into politics¹⁰⁴ and his return to the world of libertinism, which Johnstone believes to have been his true element.

Johnstone's portrayal of Dashwood is obviously one-sided. It is typical of the portrait of him which has been promulgated throughout the centuries, and which has allowed his real

personality to remain submerged. As recent critics and biographers have demonstrated,¹⁰⁵ Dashwood was undoubtedly more than a dullard, blasphemer and libertine, and yet this is the manner in which he has consistently been portrayed. His very need to mock a religion by which he was obviously fascinated suggests a variegated personality; and other contradictions in his behavior have also been noted--for example, his defense of Admiral Byng, the British naval officer who was the scapegoat in the loss of Minorca. Another contradiction may have been his friendship with Benjamin Franklin, who, like Dashwood, served as postmaster general, and was possibly at meetings of the Hell-Fire Club.¹⁰⁶

According to Johnstone, the most reprehensible figure of his era was Henry Fox, the politician and rake. It was an opinion in which Johnstone had good company; the *DNB*, for example, which is rarely given to criticism of notable English figures, states: "Devoid of principle, and regardless of the good opinion of his fellow-men, [Fox] cared more for money than for power."¹⁰⁷ (Fox's avarice was indeed legendary; during his tenure as paymaster general from 1757 to 1762, he amassed a small fortune.)¹⁰⁸ Charles Churchill also detested Fox, and he castigated him in his poem *The Duellist* (1764).¹⁰⁹

Johnstone relates Fox's seduction of a widow named Mrs. Horner. This episode leads into the Ayliffe affair, which will be discussed later in this introduction.

One of Johnstone's favorite figures is Charles Churchill. Like his best friend John Wilkes,¹¹⁰ Churchill was a libertine;

but, interestingly, Johnstone does not condemn him for it, as he does Wilkes; or rather, Johnstone excuses it in light of what he perceives as the overall worthiness of Churchill's character. He relates a long episode intended to reveal Churchill's piety, of which the *DNB* states: "A story is told in 'Chrysal' (by Charles Johnson [sic]) of [Churchill's] generous rescue of a girl in distress and her family, which seems to rest upon some foundation of fact, and which at any rate gives the contemporary view of his character."¹¹¹ Johnstone also describes the process by which Churchill came to take orders. His description of Churchill ends with a panegyric on his character.

In light of Johnstone's favorable opinion of Churchill, there has been speculation that they may have been friends, and that Churchill was Johnstone's source for information about the Hell-Fire Club. Others, however, believe his source was his patron, Lord Mount-Edgumbe, who had Lord Sandwich, one of the members of the Hell-Fire Club, as his superior in the navy.¹¹²

The abridgement also contains a description of the home of the Hell-Fire Club, Medmenham Abbey. Of course, it is intended to be cautionary--that is, as a warning to the reader against engaging in such behavior as the abbey represents. After he describes the country where it was located, Johnstone explains how the Hell-Fire Club consisted of twelve members, each of whom represented one of the twelve apostles, with Dashwood, as the thirteenth member, representing Jesus. Johnstone further explains that twelve more members were granted temporary status. The passage then concludes with a description of the monastery.

It is fairly vivid but omits some details that are known to have existed--such as the legend "Fay ce que voudras" ("Do what you will") that was inscribed over the entrance. The legend was derived from the Abbey of Theleme in Francois Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532-34).¹¹³

One of the most disturbing passages in *Chrysal* is the depiction of a Passover feast alluded to earlier, in which Johnstone maintains that Jews sacrificed Christian children as part of Passover. While Johnstone did not invent the allegation--it dates back until at least the middle ages¹¹⁴--he makes it with a vehemence at once both conspicuous and alarming.

What is striking about the passage--alongside of which Johnstone's depiction of Aminadab, the other anti-semitic aspect of *Chrysal*, pales in comparison--is the manner in which Johnstone milks the scene for its entire dramatic, and hence anti-semitic, effect. Not only are the Jews planning to eat the children after they have slaughtered them;¹¹⁵ but among the soldiers who rescue the children, one of them recognizes his own child. Moreover, Johnstone's careful arrangement of the scene in order to maximize the effect of horror allows him to paint the punishment meted out to the Jews--they are slaughtered at the very spot where they planned to slay the children--as poetic justice and, at the same time, a penalty that is inadequate to their crimes.

Also contained in the abridgement is a description of the perfidy of the English general George Sackville. At the Battle of Minden,¹¹⁶ Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief, ordered Sackville five times to attack. Sackville

hesitated,¹¹⁷ not, according to Johnstone, because he was a coward, but because he was angry that the decision to do so had been made without him. To justify his conduct, he claimed that the orders which he had been given were not sufficiently clear. As a result, he prevented the English forces and their allies from obtaining the complete victory that otherwise would have been theirs.¹¹⁸ Johnstone also asserts that Sackville requested a military trial only ostensibly to clear his name; rather, he did so because he knew that he would be protected if the court should find against him, as he had already resigned his command.

The passage presents Johnstone with a dilemma: while he does not want to spare Sackville, he also does not want to appear to excessively berate his country. He acquits himself of the problem by exaggerating the extent to which Sackville's troops were able to compensate for the delay he caused once they were allowed to join the battle.¹¹⁹

A similar distortion is found in Johnstone's handling of the Tavora plot. This was the conspiracy in which members of the Portuguese nobility and the Jesuits tried to kill the king of Portugal. Johnstone dislikes the Jesuits, and he wants the reader to dislike them also, as a result of which he insinuates that the plot was fomented entirely at their instigation. The allegation was untrue.¹²⁰

He also describes, fairly vividly, the assassination attempt itself, along with the fury of the people which erupted after it had taken place. They vented their anger on the relatives of the Marchioness of Tavora, with whom a few Jesuits had concerted the

scheme. In keeping with his anti-Jesuitical stance, Johnstone absolves these relatives from blame.

Johnstone presents the plot as if it were only one in a series of activities which the Jesuits were planning in order to take over the world,¹²¹ a far-fetched notion, and one that reflects his prejudice towards them. The segment also reveals his contempt for the Portuguese, although Johnstone cannot help regarding them with a measure of sympathy after they cast off the Jesuits, which happened when the Marquis of Pombal learned that a small number of Jesuits--not nearly as many as Johnstone implies--had a role in the affair.¹²²

Another anti-semitic incident in *Chrysal* is Johnstone's description of Aminadab's death that is recounted by Aminadab's son to his uncle. While returning to his homeland, the Dutch ship on which Aminadab is traveling is pursued by a privateer. Rather than relinquish the material goods which he has acquired, Aminadab gathers them in his arms and jumps overboard. Abruptly, the lack of wind which has prevented the Dutch ship from escaping is replaced by a gale. As a virulent piece of anti-semitism, Aminadab's departure, where Johnstone is concerned, is fitting on two levels: Aminadab deserts the ship because of his greed, and it costs him his life; and his death effects a positive change in the heavens, as if his very existence were offensive to God.

A significant historical event in the Seven Years' War depicted in *Chrysal* is the debacle involving John Byng, the British admiral who was sent, too late and under-equipped, to

rescue Minorca. When the island was captured by the French, Byng was treated as a scapegoat and executed.¹²³

The radical aspect of Johnstone's presentation of the catastrophe is that he accuses Newcastle's administration of sacrificing Minorca to end the war, which was too perplexing for it to manage. There is nothing to support this fantastical assertion, and that Johnstone even suggests it speaks more to his detestation of that administration and his reverence for Pitt--who subsequently saved the nation--than anything else.

The pretext for the presentation is the inability of the British naval officer who narrates the debacle, through whom Johnstone expresses his views, to understand why the administration did not act sooner to save Minorca and equip Byng with forces that were equal to the task. From both of these factors he concludes that the island was lost deliberately. There are other explanations, however, for why the administration was slow to respond, other than sheer incompetence--the one realistic justification which Johnstone probably would have been willing to consider. For a time the administration heard rumors of the invasion of Minorca but thought they were a cover for a more decisive action--such as an invasion of England itself.¹²⁴ In any case, Johnstone's description of the debacle does not rival Voltaire's, whose *Candide* (1758) has the best pronouncement on it: "In this country [England] it is found requisite, now and then, to put one admiral to death, in order to spirit up the others."¹²⁵

Johnstone also describes a riot at the Drury Lane Theater which occurred because the managers, David Garrick and John Beard, had discontinued the practice of admitting customers at half-price at the end of the third act. Johnstone's description is essentially accurate but, as mentioned before, he adds several details which cannot be verified: he implies that John Hill was a participant in the riot, and that Samuel Foote was acting when it took place.

Johnstone also omits most of what happened after the riot; instead, he describes the reaction of the actors after the audience had left. In reality, this is what occurred.¹²⁶ An actor named James Moody requested that the rioters, led by a Thaddeus or "Thady" Fitzpatrick, desist from burning the scenery, to which they agreed. The next evening, however, Fitzpatrick and his followers demanded, rather illogically, that Moody apologize --in spite of the fact that Garrick had agreed to admit them at the end of the third act, to which he had refused to consent the evening before. Moody said that he was sorry for "displeasing them by saving their lives in putting out the fire."¹²⁷ They said that he had to get down on his knees; he refused. Garrick, who approved of Moody's actions, nevertheless had to promise not to employ him again--a promise which he did not keep. The final twist in the story is that a similar riot occurred at the theater at Covent Garden of which Garrick was co-manager a month later, in spite of, or perhaps because of, his capitulation.

The most famous aspect of Johnstone's depiction of the Hell-Fire Club is the incident involving Wilkes and the baboon.

Wilkes, through a carefully prearranged practical joke, convinced the fraternity, and one member in particular, that the devil had appeared during a ceremony that was designed to invoke his presence. In Johnstone's version, the member who was particularly humiliated was Lord Sandwich,¹²⁸ the nobleman who lent his name to posterity because he would not get up from the gaming table to eat, and so ordered that some meat be brought to him between two pieces of bread.¹²⁹ That Wilkes was Sandwich's particular nemesis appears certain,¹³⁰ but it is also apparent that, if the incident did, in fact, occur, it was Orford, not Sandwich, who bore its greatest brunt.¹³¹ The joke may have also led to the club's dissolution.¹³²

Johnstone's most scathing expose, with the possible exception of his depiction of Lord Ligonier, is the affair involving John Ayliffe. The outlines of the story, as Johnstone presents it, are as follows. Ayliffe was a servant who, because of his low rank, had been overlooked in a relation's will from which Mrs. Horner, a widow who had been having an affair with Henry Fox, benefitted. When Fox jilted Mrs. Horner for Lady Georgiana Caroline Lennox, the woman he eventually married,¹³³ Mrs. Horner chose Ayliffe as his replacement. As a result, Ayliffe earned Fox's undying resentment, in spite of the fact that Fox no longer bore Mrs. Horner any affection.

To avenge himself, Fox led Ayliffe into pecuniary difficulties, from which Ayliffe tried to extricate himself through forgery. He was arrested and sentenced to death, after which Fox refused to intercede for him, thinking of the secrets

that Ayliffe might reveal about him, which he thought were better off consigned to the grave.

How much of this story is true must forever remain conjectural. *The Dictionary of National Biography* and *The Newgate Calendar* do not confirm it.¹³⁴ There is evidence, however, that it was believed in Fox's lifetime. Charles Churchill, for example, thought it was true, and he accuses Fox in *The Duellist* of "hanging friends to save thyself."¹³⁵

The most curious aspect of Johnstone's account of the affair is the ending, in which he implies that Fox's exploitation of Ayliffe was detected and that he was punished. Presumably, Johnstone is referring to the fact that the story was widely circulated, but as Fox's reputation was not adversely affected by it, and he apparently was a man to whom the opinions of the world meant little, it is hard to see how he was any the worse for it. In fact, the most logical explanation for why Johnstone ended the the story this way is poetic license: he probably felt that Fox simply deserved to be brought to justice.

The imbroglio involving John Wilkes is the longest description of Johnstone's that is included in this abridgement.¹³⁶ While he was under the patronage of Lord Temple, Wilkes was attacking King George III and the Bute administration in a weekly news sheet entitled *The North Briton*, the title of which was a geographic jibe at *The Briton*, a pro-government publication which Bute had hired fellow Scotsman Tobias Smollett to write. After the famous no. 45, in which Wilkes insinuated that the king had lied when he had condoned the Peace of Paris,

many thought that Wilkes had exceeded his bounds. He was arrested on a general warrant (i.e., one in which his name was not given); his home was ransacked; he was vigorously questioned by Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, the two secretaries of state; and he was imprisoned in the Tower of London--during all of which he handled himself with considerable equanimity.

When brought before a magistrate, Chief Justice Pratt, Wilkes pleaded the unfairness of general warrants, and also "privilege of parliament"--that is, he claimed that because he was a member his arrest had been illegal.¹³⁷ Pratt found in his favor, and Wilkes, who by this time had become a *cause celebre*--primarily as a result of the unpopularity of general warrants, which symbolized capricious tyranny to a populace that was suffering from feelings of powerlessness--left for France. His daughter Polly, the only favorable outcome of his early marriage, other than his wife's money, most of which he had spent long ago, was studying there. A Scotsman named Forbes challenged Wilkes to a duel. He refused on the grounds that he first wanted to fight Lord Egremont, whose arrogance towards him he had resented.

Later, Wilkes fought a duel with another Scotsman, Samuel Martin, in which the former was wounded. Meanwhile, Parliament ruled that Wilkes's attack on the king had constituted an act of libel. As a result, Wilkes was not protected by immunity, and he was expelled.

Resentment against Wilkes was still running high, however, particularly among the former members of the Hell-Fire Club.¹³⁸ Anxious to find some way of further discrediting him, especially

with the populace, among whom he was greatly popular, Sandwich and others seized on *An Essay on Woman*, a parody of Pope's *An Essay on Man* (1733), which Wilkes and a friend of his, Thomas Potter,¹³⁹ had written. After he obtained a copy of it from a corrupt clergyman named John Kidgell--who in turn had obtained it from one of Wilkes's printers¹⁴⁰--Sandwich read from it in the House of Lords, then delivered a tirade on its indecency.

Even to the most uninitiated observer the hypocrisy he exhibited must have been striking, but the parody was still condemned for attacking Bishop Warburton. Warburton, who, as a bishop, was a member of the House of Lords, had edited the *Essay on Man*, and Wilkes and Potter had ascribed the notes in the *Essay on Woman* to him. At the time, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1729) was still popular. When the actor playing Macheath spoke the line, "That Jemmy Twitcher would peach me, I own surprised me,"¹⁴¹ at a performance of the play shortly afterwards, the audience erupted in laughter at what it took as a reference to Sandwich. The name "Jemmy Twitcher" was then affixed to Sandwich forever.

Of the interpolated stories in *Chrysal*, one of the strongest is "The History of Traffic," which contains some of Johnstone's best writing. Aileen Douglas sees this story as a metaphor for the history of trade,¹⁴² but it is possible, without sharing this view, to enjoy it on the level of sheer storytelling. Traffic is a promising young man who is destroyed by his own greed. The most interesting aspect of the narrative method Johnstone employs is his use of prolepsis: Traffic narrates the story with the

benefit of considerable hindsight, and is continually foreshadowing his own demise. In spite of this, the first-person point of view allows Johnstone to suspend his normal judgmental tone, and that he shows some ability to understand an individual prone to avarice--a trait towards which his tone is usually pejorative--renders his work more complex than one typically finds it.

The second story, "A Jesuit Joins the Order,"¹⁴³ might be described as propaganda of a high order. In telling it, Johnstone's goal, of course, is to satirize the Jesuits, and he acquits himself of it in a manner which is so skillful as to be almost dangerous. Indeed, the story reminds us just how nefarious literary talents can be when they are used for purposes of iniquity--that is, to slander a particular group of people. Certainly, Johnstone's gifts as a satirist are on complete display in this story. Johnstone describes the process by which a Jesuit priest comes to forgive a penitent for his crimes, and how the penitent and the priest come to profit from them.

One feels less guilty for admiring the third story, "The History of a Horned Cock." Not that it is any less caustic; indeed, it is just as savage as "A Jesuit." The object of Johnstone's satire, a virtuoso,¹⁴⁴ is less defensible, however, and one feels that Johnstone's castigation of him does not spring from prejudice. Rather, it is more than justified by the virtuoso's claims to scientific merit, and the story, as a result, is a just ridicule of human folly--satire at its best. Johnstone demonstrates how an enterprising scamp is able to

capitalize on the virtuoso's credulity by convincing him that he has discovered a rooster which has horns.

Another amusing story with a satirical bent is "History of a Lady of Enterprise." The heroine,¹⁴⁵ a beautiful but vain widow, attempts to obtain the social standing for which she so ardently longs by effecting a marriage with an elderly man who suffers from mental illness. This aim is defeated by one of his relatives. Johnstone views this relative with sympathy, not only because he is merciful to the heroine--who fails to appreciate his mercy--but also because Johnstone regards him as safeguarding his own interest.

The next story, "Curious Anecdotes of a Great Man," is less successful. Most of Johnstone's interpolated stories are imitations of stories that were popular at the time when he was writing, and "Anecdotes" is surely no exception. With its immoral--one could almost say psychopathic--protagonist and its breakneck pace, it more-than-a-little resembles the rogue narratives which flourished during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A genre that is derived from the picaresque¹⁴⁶ (of which it might be called a sub-genre), it is exemplified in *The English Rogue* (1665) by Richard Head.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps because he is ambivalent about his protagonist, Johnstone is unable to invest the story with the energy that it needs--in spite of its relentless pace--and indeed, it feels lifeless.

"The History of Pheron and Ilissa" is an Oriental tale,¹⁴⁸ like Johnstone's novel *The History of Arsaces, Prince of Betlis*. Pheron is an Abyssinian¹⁴⁹ who journeys to Rome, after being

converted to Christianity by a Jesuit.¹⁵⁰ Along the way, he is taken prisoner by the Inquisition and held, until an inquisitor falls in love with his daughter Ilissa.

With its Spanish setting and characters, "The History of Don Alphonso Guzman" is clearly recognizable as the type of interpolated story that was common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of course, such stories were found in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1604-14), and the works of Le Sage, with which Johnstone no doubt was familiar. What is interesting about Johnstone's presentation of the story is the manner in which he blends the narrative of the siege of Havana, which is grounded in fact, with the fictional story of Don Guzman, and it is clear that Johnstone uses the contest over Havana as a pretext for the story's inclusion.

The last story in this volume, "Adventures in a Wagon and at an Inn," is also recognizably derivative of interpolated stories that are found in fiction of the period. The story of an upper-class gentleman bent on seducing a young girl, and the great lengths to which he is willing to go in order to do so, it resembles the episodes that are found in picaresque works as well as even more general entertainments such as Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1741), particularly with its mistaken identities involving beds and bedrooms. What seems pedestrian about the story is the way that Johnstone portrays the majority of the characters in accordance with their professions, but it is vigorous and good-natured.

In the ending of *Chrysal*'s narrative--which appears at the end of Volume II of the edition from which I am working, not Volume IV¹⁵¹--Johnstone returns to the framing device. Having concluded the history of his adventures, Chrysal is about to communicate the key to human existence to the alchemist, as he promised he would in the beginning. He mentions "ox-cheeks." The alchemist, who is hungry because he chose to sacrifice his remaining piece of gold for the alchemical experiment, breaks wind. Offended, Chrysal leaves without fulfilling his promise. The alchemist, distressed at this untoward turn of events, bids the reader farewell in a didactic but well-written summation of the novel's theme: that the pursuit of material things--which the reader has witnessed so much of throughout the novel--is not the secret to achieving human happiness; rather, it is to be contented with what one has.

A modern reader before whom *Chrysal* is placed might very well ask what the reasons were for its eventual decline into obscurity. The most obvious explanation is the one that Baker gives; he writes, "the book ceased to be reprinted only when the last of the objects of its ridicule were in their graves."¹⁵² In other words, just as *Chrysal* was popular because of its topicality,¹⁵³ its lack thereof as time passed caused that popularity to disintegrate.

While such an explanation may be partially true, it does not contain the whole picture. Ultimately, it does not account for the novel's remarkable popularity. The fact is that Johnstone was a writer of talent. That his work was highly relevant to the

age in which he wrote is beyond question; but, if it had had nothing else to recommend it, it would not have been popular to the extent that it was.

However, if *Chrysal* has merits which are independent of its period, the question remains as to why it was forgotten. The answer is obvious. Other writers of satire--including eighteenth-century figures such as Pope and Swift--have not been relegated to obscurity as Johnstone has, not because their satire was not topical, but because they were greater artists than he was.

Nor does Johnstone deserve to be entirely blamed for this phenomenon. First of all, as Pope reminds us, poetic genius is hardly common.¹⁵⁴ Secondly, Johnstone's flaws--his pedantry, his verbosity, his bigotry--are obvious, but major authors have suffered from them--some, perhaps, from all three.

Thirdly, it is important to remember that the eighteenth century in a certain sense expected more from novelists than we do today. A novelist then was not supposed merely to entertain, but to have a rationale for seeing the world. That is, an author was expected to provide a coherent explanation for a myriad of social phenomena, as well as how his or her characters related to them.

This fact is especially important to bear in mind in reading an eighteenth-century writer such as Johnstone. While other writers from the period, such as Defoe, might have been able to handle this awesome responsibility in their successful works, one often senses that Johnstone is sinking under the weight of it.

The fact is that just as when it first appeared, *Chrysal* can now be enjoyed on the level of entertainment. The novel is great fun to read. It is amply rewarding in this regard, while also significant from a literary and historical perspective.

Notes to Introduction

¹ James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 239. Johnstone's name did not appear on early editions of *Chrysal*, which accounts for why Johnson did not know who its author was.

² The sources which I have consulted concerning Johnstone's life are *DNB*, 10:961, and Baker, vi-vii.

³ According to Baker, Johnstone was cheated by his publisher out of his rightful share of the profits from *Chrysal*, which, had he received them, would have guaranteed him an independent income (viii).

⁴ Also a spirit's name in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and, closer to Johnstone's time, Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (1712-14).

⁵ See *TR*, 1:47-60, 152; see also *Chrysal*, 4:271-72. As used by Johnstone and others, the word "patriot" in the eighteenth century had a negative connotation. It referred to someone who agitates against a government in the hope of being bought off with a sinecure or pension.

⁶ See below, n. 165 to Part III.

⁷ In *APB*, Johnstone generally evinces more religious tolerance than he does elsewhere in his work; for example, see 1:143-50.

⁸ The similarity between *The Pilgrim* and *The Citizen of the World*--which would strike us in our modern age as plagiarism--indicates the extent to which Johnstone was willing to write in the genres of his day.

⁹ *Chrysal*, of course, could be accused of having the same flaw, although whether it is, in fact, a flaw--given that Johnstone did not aspire to write a linear narrative in it--is debatable.

¹⁰ *Chrysal* contains a long, and--for both Johnstone and the eighteenth century--typically didactic defense of the theater against the charges to which it was subjected; see *Chrysal*, 3:196-203, and below, n. 98 to Introduction.

¹¹ See below, n. 218 to Part III.

¹² The French edition is entitled *Chrysal ou Les Aventures d'une Guinee, Histoire Angloise* (Paris: Chez Dufour, 1768).

¹³ See Drujon, 199-200.

¹⁴ See Davis, 13-21; see also Appendix II. Another key to *Chrysal* is found in the manuscript of an edition that is in the British Library (4 vols.; London: G. Robinson, J.F. and C. Rivington, et al, 1783). I have chosen not to refer to it because the differences between it and Davis's key are so minor as to be almost non-existent, and because Baker links the latter key with Johnstone (see below, n. 15 to Introduction).

¹⁵ Baker and Davis both agree that Johnstone gave a key to Mount-Edgecumbe and Mears, but Baker states that it is the same key which appears in Davis, whereas Davis does not; see Baker, vii, and Davis, 21.

¹⁶ These errors have to do with spelling, but they are egregious nonetheless.

¹⁷ See, for example, below, n. 260 and n. 337 to Part II.

¹⁸ Some of the figures whom Johnstone admires are King George II, William Pitt, Frederick the Great, General James Wolfe, and Sir William Johnson. All of them figured significantly in the Seven Years' War, and the admiration which Johnstone professes for them hence advances his political position, which is pro-Pitt. Interestingly, when Johnstone expresses admiration for someone, he tends to do it as wholeheartedly as he expresses condemnation; in this way, his world is rather black-and-white. Generally speaking, the number of persons he criticizes in *Chrysal* far outweighs the number he admires, and one tends to forget them in light of the work's condemnatory nature.

¹⁹ For example, a writer such as Charles Churchill, who is depicted in *Chrysal* (see pp. 143-52 of the text), also wrote vigorous, caustic satire on major figures of the day. Johnstone admired Churchill, probably because of this affinity; see below, n. 233 to Part II. Another affinity which Johnstone and Churchill shared is that both were popular in their own day, but that this popularity has not survived. Boswell felt that Churchill's fame would decline because of the topicality of his writings (1:149), and the same, of course, could be said about Johnstone. However, it is more likely that this phenomenon can be attributed not merely to the topical nature of their writings, but to their lack of artistic staying power compared with writers such as Pope and Swift, who also wrote satire on contemporary subjects, but whose work still generates interest.

²⁰ Baker writes of Johnstone: "He had a bitter and sarcastic nature" (xii).

²¹ Robert Adams Day, Introduction to *The History and Adventures of an Atom* by Tobias Smollett (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1989), xl.

²² See Williamson, 30.

²³ Douglas, whose article "Britania's Rule and the It-Narrator" deals not only with *Chrysal* but with novels which are narrated by inanimate objects in general, sees in Johnstone's choice of a coin for his narrator a comment upon the commodification of individuals in eighteenth-century England (68-69, 73-74). She also argues that the use of inanimate narrators reflects the economic instability of the period, both because such objects were free to move in all strata of society in a manner which was threatening to a citizenry used to stratification (66), and because many of the works themselves show how immense sums of money could be made or lost at trade (72-73).

²⁴ See, for example, p. 230 of the text.

²⁵ Richard K. Meeker, "Bank Note, Corkscrew, Flea and Sedan: A Checklist of Eighteenth-Century Fiction." *Library Chronicle* 35 (1969): 52-57.

²⁶ See Douglas, 65.

²⁷ *Adventures of a Rupee* (Dublin, 1782); see Douglas, 74-75.

²⁸ Smollett, a Scotsman, was employed by the Bute administration to write a pro-government publication, *The Briton* (which was mocked by John Wilkes in his publication *The North Briton*). In

the *Atom*, Smollett ridicules many of the figures Johnstone praises. Nevertheless, another Smollett journal, the *Critical Review*, had many favorable things to say about *Chrysal*, although its initial review was unenthusiastic; see *Critical Review* 9 (May 1760): 419, 11 (April 1761): 336, and 20 (Aug. 1765): 120-24.

²⁹ *Critical Review* (Dec. 1781). Quoted in J.M.S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 49.

³⁰ See Robert Adams Day, Introduction to *Pompey the Little* by Francis Coventry (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), ix-xxiii.

³¹ Another interesting similarity between Asmodeus and *Chrysal* is that, while both are gifted with supernatural knowledge about the present and the past, they are unable to read the future.

³² Baker, xii; cf. above, n. 19 to Introduction. Scott, in fact, in what today can only be regarded as hyperbole, called Johnstone "a Juvenal in prose" (quoted in Drujon, 200).

³³ Josephine Grieder, Introduction to *Le Diable Boiteux* by Alain Rene Le Sage (New York and London: Garland, 1972), 5.

³⁴ See Appendix I.

³⁵ Baker, viii.

³⁶ The primary sources which I have consulted concerning the Seven Years' War are Ayling, *Georgian*, 159-188, and Rupert Furneaux, *The Seven Years War* (London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1973).

37 The coalition government which Pitt formed with the Duke of Newcastle in June 1757 was especially designed for that purpose. Pitt said, "I am sure I can save this country, and nobody else can" (quoted in Walpole, *George II*, 3:1).

38 Pitt's ambitions are often said to have derived from his grandfather, Thomas "Diamond" Pitt, who amassed an immense fortune in India.

39 Pitt suffered from bi-polar disorder, or manic-depression, although in his own day he was believed to suffer from "gout of the head"; see Ayling, *Georgian*, 168.

40 In selecting officers for command, Pitt proceeded on the basis of merit rather than other factors, such as seniority, an idea which led him into conflict with the crown; see Ayling, *Georgian*, 173.

41 These include the Battle of Rossbach, which is described in *Chrysal*; see pp. 122-23 of the text.

42 See below, n. 387 to Part II.

43 See *Chrysal*, 3:1-134.

44 Ayling, *Georgian*, 186. For example, Frederick had been defeated at Hochkirch in October, 1758 and Kunersdorf in August, 1759.

45 For the terms of the peace accord, see Ayling, *Georgian*, 187-88.

46 See Marie Peters, *Pitt and Popularity: The Patriot Minister and London Opinion during the Seven Years' War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 75-77.

47 See Nowell, 77.

48 See the discussion of *Chrysal*'s anti-semitic elements which follows; cf. also above, n. 7 to Introduction.

49 See below, n. 292 to Part II.

50 See Nowell, 77.

51 The Jew Bill was passed in June, 1753. It allowed Jews to become naturalized citizens, provided they could pass a "private bill" (i.e., one submitted by a private citizen, as opposed to a government official) through parliament. See Perry, 1.

52 The bill was repealed in November, 1753 under the leadership of the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham; see Perry, 2.

53 See below, n. 62 to Part II.

54 It may seem odd to use the phrase "interpolated stories" in relation to a novel like *Chrysal*, which has no primary story, but, as a number of the stories to which I am referring resemble those in novels such as *Don Quixote*, which have a principal story-line, I feel that it is appropriate.

55 One such archetypal preface (actually referred to as an "Introduction") is found in Henry Mackenzie's eighteenth-century novel *The Man of Feeling* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3-5.

56 As Olshin points out, of the many novels written in the eighteenth century that feature inanimate narrators, some contain an explanation as to how that narrator becomes endowed with speech, while some do not (44); obviously, *Chrysal* falls into the

former category. As to why Johnstone selected the name "Chrysal" for his narrator, "Chrys-," in fact, is the Greek prefix for "gold" (see below, n. 75 to Part I).

⁵⁷ See Gilchrist, 104-7. It appears, however, that by the latter half of the eighteenth century interest in alchemy was waning. For example, Edward Gibbon, in the first volume of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (6 vols.; New York and Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), published in 1776, wrote: "Philosophy, with the aid of experience, has at length banished the study of alchemy; and the present age, however desirous of riches, is content to seek them by the humbler means of commerce and industry" (1:402-3).

⁵⁸ See *DNB*, 15:533.

⁵⁹ *DNB*, 15:533.

⁶⁰ See Boswell, 1:260-65.

⁶¹ See David Roberts, ed., *Lord Chesterfield's Letters* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁶² See Shellabarger, 182-84.

⁶³ One of Johnstone's favorite subjects for attack in *Chrysal* is casuistry (see below, n. 86 to Part II and n. 69 to Part III)--specious arguing--and there is no doubt that Johnstone believes that the arguments which Chesterfield uses to rationalize his gambling are exactly that.

⁶⁴ See Shellabarger, 182-84.

⁶⁵ *DNB*, 9:848.

⁶⁶ *DNB*, 9:848.

⁶⁷ DNB, 8:1120.

⁶⁸ The disastrous agreement, in which Cumberland bargained away most of the advantages which he held while failing to protect Hanover, was a great embarrassment to him, not to mention his father the king, who said when Cumberland appeared before him: "Here is my son who has ruined me and disgraced himself" (quoted in Walpole, *George II*, 2:282).

⁶⁹ DNB, 11:1120.

⁷⁰ DNB, 11:1121.

⁷¹ DNB, 21:86.

⁷² DNB, 21:86 and 91.

⁷³ This statement generally holds true, but see above, n. 7 to Introduction.

⁷⁴ See Trefman, 110-11, Henry, 159-61, DNB, 7:371, and DNB, 21:90.

⁷⁵ See *The Dramatic Works of Samuel Foote* (2 vols.; New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968).

⁷⁶ *The Rosciad*, 399-400.

⁷⁷ Clergymen who were suspected Methodists could be subjected to harassment, but were protected if under the patronage of a peer or peeress, a prerogative which the Countess exercised on many an occasion; see DNB, 9:134.

⁷⁸ Johnstone refers to Ferrers as the Countess's "cousin," not her nephew; see below, n. 91 to Part II. His name is also omitted from the key; for a possible explanation as to why, see Appendix II.

- 79 See below, n. 92 to Part II.
- 80 See below, n. 96 to Part II.
- 81 See below, n. 99 to Part II.
- 82 See below, n. 124 to Part II.
- 83 Wright, Wolfe's biographer, explains Johnstone's knowledge of Wolfe this way: "Charles Johnstone, the author of this curious work [*Chrysal*], may have known Wolfe; if not, being a Limerick man, he probably gained an insight into his disposition through the hero's cousin, Captain Edward Goldsmith, a few of whose letters, still preserved, show how highly he appreciated his celebrated relation" (488).
- 84 *DNB*, 21:773-74.
- 85 See below, n. 132 to Part II.
- 86 See above, n. 18 to Introduction.
- 87 See below, n. 153 to Part II.
- 88 See below, n. 156 and n. 158 to Part II.
- 89 See below, n. 150 to Part II.
- 90 See below, n. 141 to Part II.
- 91 *DNB*, 10:938.
- 92 For example, Johnson was involved in British attempts to save Fort William Henry, the siege of which is described in James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).
- 93 See *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (13 vols.; Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921).
- 94 See below, n. 165 to Part II.
- 95 See below, n. 166 to Part II.

⁹⁶ Johnstone shows no interest in the other manager, James Beard (see below, n. 356 to Part II).

⁹⁷ See below, n. 179 to Part II.

⁹⁸ Johnstone defends the theater against accusations that it bred immoral behavior (cf. below, n. 239 to Part III). His portrayal of Garrick and this defense are interesting, in light of his pretensions as a playwright; obviously, the theater and playwriting were subjects to which he had given considerable thought.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the popularity Wilkes enjoyed among the English proletariat, see Postgate, 155-59; for a discussion of it among the colonialists, see Postgate, 202-11, and Williamson, 190-206.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. below, n. 186 to Part II.

¹⁰¹ See below, n. 357 to Part II.

¹⁰² See Postgate, 26, and Kronenberger, 12.

¹⁰³ The primary sources which I have consulted concerning the Hell-Fire Club are Jones, 116-44, Postgate, 18-41, and McCormick.

¹⁰⁴ See below, n. 212 to Part II.

¹⁰⁵ See Jones, 84-115.

¹⁰⁶ See Jones, 96-98 and 109-12.

¹⁰⁷ *DNB*, 7:564.

¹⁰⁸ See below, n. 374 to Part II.

¹⁰⁹ See below, n. 135 to Introduction.

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of the friendship between Wilkes and Churchill, see Postgate, 27-30.

- 111 *DNB*, 4:311.
- 112 See below, n. 239 to Part II.
- 113 See Postgate, 22, and Brown, 124. Both Postgate and Brown quote from a portion of Wilkes's papers, in which he describes Medmenham Abbey; see Postgate, 22-23, and Brown, 126.
- 114 See Felsenstein, 10, 32-33, 158. Felsenstein contends that the ritual murder, or blood sacrifice, had its origin in the belief that the Jews were trying to recreate the crucifixion (10), but see below, n. 251 to Part II.
- 115 See below, n. 256 to Part II.
- 116 See below, n. 260 to Part II.
- 117 *DNB*, 7:1112, Ayling, *Georgian*, 175, and Walpole, *George II*, 3:62-63.
- 118 *DNB*, 7:1112, and Walpole, *George II*, 3:62.
- 119 See below, n. 278 to Part II.
- 120 See Nowell, 77.
- 121 See *Chrysal*, 2:195-96.
- 122 See Nowell, 77.
- 123 See Ayling, *Georgian*, 162-63.
- 124 See Ayling, *Georgian*, 161.
- 125 Voltaire, *Candide* (translated by Tobias Smollett; London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1951), 181.
- 126 See Kendall, 89-92.
- 127 Quoted in Kendall, 91.
- 128 See Davis, 18; see also below, n. 357 to Part II.

129 According to some versions of the story, Sandwich was working, not gaming, when he made the request; see Brown, 92.

130 The nature of the relationship between Wilkes and Sandwich can be seen in a remark Wilkes made, which is his most famous quip; when Sandwich stated that Wilkes would either die of a venereal disease or be hanged, Wilkes responded: "That depends, my lord, on whether I embrace your mistress or your principles" (quoted in Williamson, 103).

131 See below, n. 357 to Part II.

132 See below, n. 357 to Part II.

133 See *DNB*, 7:564.

134 See below, n. 384 to Part II.

135 *The Duellist*, 66. Supposedly, Churchill also wrote a poem entitled *An Elegy, or Ayliffe's Ghost*, in which he took Fox to account for his behavior toward Ayliffe. Churchill never published the poem, possibly because his death prevented him from doing so, and no copy of it is known to exist. See Laver, xlvi.

136 The primary sources which I have consulted concerning the Wilkes imbroglio are Postgate, 18-49, Williamson, 60-98, Ayling, *Georgian*, 226-34, Quennell, 185-99, Kronenberger, 36-62, and *DNB*, 21:244-45.

137 See below, n. 403 to Part II.

138 See below, n. 429 to Part II.

139 Ironically, given the fact that Potter was a libertine, his father was the Archbishop of Canterbury; see *DNB*, 16:221.

140 See below, n. 427 to Part II.

- 141 John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, in Ricardo Quintana, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Plays* (New York: Modern Library, 1952), 234.
- 142 Douglas, 75.
- 143 The title is mine, unlike the titles of Johnstone's other interpolated stories, except for "Adventures in a Wagon and at an Inn."
- 144 See below, n. 85 to Part III.
- 145 Johnstone's heroine was based on Lady Fawkener, the widow of Sir Everard Fawkener; see Gray, 2:666-67; see also below, n. 118 and n. 133 to Part III. I am indebted to Professor Betty Rizzo for permission to use this identification.
- 146 "Picaro," a Spanish word, in English means "rogue."
- 147 Richard Head, *The English Rogue* (Boston: New Frontiers Press, 1961).
- 148 See below, n. 168 to Part III.
- 149 See below, n. 168 to Part III.
- 150 See below, n. 175 to Part III.
- 151 For an explanation of this phenomenon, see Textual Commentary.
- 152 Baker, viii.
- 153 McCormick, who is much more negative towards Johnstone than Baker, is especially of this opinion; see 70.
- 154 Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, 11.

Textual Commentary

Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea was first published in two volumes by T. Becket in 1760. In the next four years three more editions followed. Meanwhile, at the suggestion of the publisher, Johnstone expanded the work, writing two additional volumes which were published separately in 1765. In 1767, the first four-volume edition appeared, published by John Hill (no relation to the "John Hill" who is depicted in *Chrysal*). That same year, a second edition of the two-volume continuation also appeared. In combination with the sixth edition of the first two volumes of the work, it was published in the following year, 1768, by T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, to form a second complete edition. It is this edition upon which the text of the present abridgement is based.

There are several reasons why I have selected this particular edition. The work's popularity was at its apex when the edition appeared. Since the novel is a *roman a clef*, a good part of its interest lay in the fact that the audience was familiar with the persons it depicted, about whose scandalous secrets they enjoyed reading; therefore, this popularity is surely significant. As a result, it is worthy of being taken into account in choosing an edition from which to work.

A more important reason why I have chosen this edition is because it is the one upon which the key to *Chrysal* in *An Olio of Bibliographical and Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda* by William Davis is based. I was able to determine this fact by comparing

the page numbers in Davis's key to the numbers in the edition. Since I have had constant recourse to Davis's key in my work, the congruity between key and edition has rendered my task easier. Indeed, had it not been for this phenomenon I would have had no reason to prefer the text of the second complete edition to the first. The two versions appear to be the same, although the pagination is different.

The fact that the second complete edition is the one to which the key refers is reinforced by a notation which Davis makes: "4 vol. 1768." (While Davis refers to the date of the second edition as 1768, it is, as I have shown, only the sixth edition of the first two volumes which appeared that year, which, in conjunction with an edition of Volumes III and IV, published in the previous year by the same publisher, were used to form the second complete edition.)

Following a bevy of additional four-volume editions, *Chrysal* appeared in a three-volume edition, published by C. Cooke, in 1797. In this edition, the text was repositioned so that the ending of the narrative--i.e., the scene in which the alchemist offends Chrysal, who then takes leave of him, after which the alchemist takes leave of the reader--coincides with the ending of the novel. This had not been true of the earlier four-volume editions, the reason for which was simple: the two volumes which Johnstone had added constituted a true continuation, in that the reader was supposed to "insert" them into Volumes I and II.

Johnstone justifies this approach by claiming, in typical eighteenth-century fashion, that the work is not fictional; rather, he maintains, it consists of material that was derived from a manuscript which was "discovered" (a claim which he makes in the Preface to the first two-volume edition and the Advertisement to the continuation). Indeed, in the Preface and the Advertisement to the continuation, he styles himself, not as the author of the work, but as the "editor." This fiction was perpetuated by the title pages of early editions of the novel, wherein the author was referred to as "An Adept," or alchemist. Nor does the perpetuation end there; on the title pages of several of his subsequent novels, Johnstone is referred to as "The Editor of the Adventures of a Guinea." Furthermore, Johnstone justifies the continuation's existence by claiming that it is comprised of material which he had excised from the original edition to save space but is restoring, owing to the favorable reception with which the novel has been met.

A reprint of the Cooke edition appeared as late as 1810. It was also used as the basis for the annotated edition which was edited by Ernest A. Baker (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1907).

In the time since Baker's edition, two unannotated facsimile editions of *Chrysal* have appeared. One is the edition that was edited by Malcolm Bosse (4 vols.; New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979); the other was published by Arno Press (2 vols.; New York: 1976).

However, the present abridgement is the only edition to have appeared since Baker's in which the type has been reset. It is also the only one that has been annotated. In fact, one might say that it is the only annotated edition ever to appear, since, while Baker's edition is annotated, the annotation in it--consistent with other works of scholarship of the period--is scanty.

Statement of Editorial Policy

I have edited *Chrysal* while working from the assumption that my reader is a person with knowledge akin to that of a modern American graduate student. At the same time, I have tried to bear in mind that the work is likely to attract not only students of literature but other disciplines, such as history.

The text is exactly the same as that upon which it is based, except for the following: I have modernized and de-Anglicized the spelling, and have also removed or, in some cases, repositioned the commas which Johnstone uses rather excessively by our standards today. In addition, the long *s* and the use of quotation marks in the left margin have been eliminated. A few obvious textual errors have also been silently corrected.

Abbreviations

- APB Johnstone, Charles. *The History of Arsaces, Prince of Betlis* (2 vols; London: T. Becket, 1774).
- Asprey Asprey, Robert B. *Frederick the Great: The Magnificent Enigma* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1986).
- AV Johnstone, Charles. *The Adventures of Anthony Varnish* (3 vols.; London: William Lane, 1786).
- Ayling, Pitt Ayling, Stanley E. *The Elder Pitt: Earl of Chatham* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976).
- Ayling, Georgian Ayling, Stanley A. *The Georgian Century: 1714-1837* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1966).
- Baker Baker, Ernest A. *Introduction to Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea by Charles Johnstone* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1907), v-xxxi.
- Boswell Boswell, James. *Life of Johnson*, edited by George Birbeck Hill and L.F. Powell (6 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).
- Brown Brown, Wallace Cable. *Charles Churchill: Poet, Rake, and Rebel* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).
- Chrysal Johnstone, Charles. *Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea* (4 vols.; London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1768).

- Davis Davis, William. *An Olio of Bibliographical and Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda* (London: J. Rodwell, 1814).
- DNB *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963-65).
- Douglas Douglas, Aileen. "Britania's Rule and the It-Narrator." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 6.11 (Oct. 1993): 65-82.
- Drujon Drujon, Fernand. *Les Livres a Clef* (Paris: E. Rouveyre, 1888).
- Felsenstein Felsenstein, Frank. *Anti-semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- Flexner Flexner, James Thomas. *Lord of the Mohawks: A Biography of Sir William Johnson* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1979).
- Gilchrist Gilchrist, Cherry. *The Elements of Alchemy* (Rockport, Mass.: Element Books, 1991).
- Gray Gray, Thomas. *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, edited by Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
- Henry Henry, Stuart C. *George Whitefield: Wayfaring Witness* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957).

- Hobbes Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, edited by Michael Oakeshott (New York: Collier, 1962).
- Jones Jones, Louis C. *The Clubs of the Georgian Rakes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).
- Kendall Kendall, Allan. *David Garrick: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).
- Kemp Kemp, Betty. *Sir Francis Dashwood: An Eighteenth-Century Independent* (New York: St. Martin's, 1967).
- Kronenberger Kronenberger, Louis. *The Extraordinary Mr. Wilkes: His Life and Times* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1974).
- Laver Laver, James. Introduction to the *The Poems of Charles Churchill* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970), xiii-1.
- McCormick McCormick, Donald. *The Hell-Fire Club: The Story of the Amorous Knights of Wycombe* (London: Jarrolds, 1958).
- NC *The Complete Newgate Calendar* (5 vols.; London: The Navarre Society, 1926).
- Nowell Nowell, Charles E. *Portugal* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Perry Perry, Thomas W. *Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study*

- of the Jew Bill of 1753 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- Plumb Plumb, J.H. *Georgian Delights* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1980).
- Postgate Postgate, Raymond. *That Devil Wilkes* (London: Dobson Books, 1956).
- Quennell Quennell, Peter. *Four Portraits: Studies of the Eighteenth Century* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1965).
- Rude Rude, George. *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- Shellabarger Shellabarger, Samuel. *Lord Chesterfield and His World* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1951).
- TP Johnstone, Charles. *The Pilgrim: or, A Picture of Life* (2 vols.; London: T. Cadell, 1775).
- Trefman Trefman, Simon. *Sam. Foote, Comedian, 1720-1777* (New York: New York University Press, 1971).
- Walpole,
George II Walpole, Horace. *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second*, edited by John Brooke 3 vols.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- Walpole,
George III Walpole, Horace. *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*, edited by G.F.R. Barker (4 vols.; New York: Putnam, 1894).

- Williams Williams, Basil. *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (2 vols.; Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913).
- Williamson Williamson, Audrey. *Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty* (New York: Reader's Digest Press/E.P. Dutton & Co., 1974).
- Wright Wright, Robert. *The Life of Major-General James Wolfe* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864).

Part I: Preliminary Material

Preface

From Volume I

To acquit myself of the suspicion of presuming to aim at particular characters in the following work, should any fancied likeness be thought to direct an application;¹ as well as to do justice to the real author of it; I think it my duty to make known the manner by which it happened to come into my hands.

As I was walking one morning last summer along White Chapel,² I was obliged to take shelter from a shower of rain in a cottage near the turnpike.³ The family were at breakfast at their tea, and, as the rain continued, I had leisure to reflect on the advantages of commerce, which thus, in a manner, joins the opposite extremities of the earth by bringing their products together:⁴ at the same time that the variety in the equipage of the tea-table, or indeed, stool,⁵ on which "there was nothing of a piece,"⁶ suggested a just ridicule on the vanity of luxury.

This last reflection was extended to all the pursuits of man on the sight of a piece of written paper that served instead of a plate to hold their butter,--"Who knows," thought I, "but the writer of this bestowed time and care upon it, and promised himself both profit and fame in reward of his labor?"

This thought raised a curiosity to look at the paper, which, by this time, was scraped quite clean. I therefore, after a few words of conversation, to introduce my request, desired leave⁷ to see it, which was readily granted, when I was surprised to find my conjecture,⁸ as I imagined,⁹ by its appearing to be part of some regular work.¹⁰

Curiosity had now a stronger motive than idle gratification! I asked where they had got that paper; and on their telling me at the chandler's shop¹¹ next door, though this discouraged me a good deal, I resolved to pursue my inquiry and went to the shop as if for some snuff, which as I expected was given me on a piece of the same paper.

The rain still giving me a pretense for delaying there, I entered into discourse with the woman and, among other idle questions, asked her where he usually got paper to wrap her wares in, to which she answered, "Sometimes from the public offices, and sometimes from the booksellers and printers; and, when she was disappointed at those places, she was forced to buy brown paper, which was much dearer;¹² though, at present, she made use of some old stuff that had lain a great while lumbering¹³ her garret, having belonged to a lodger of her mother's, who died many years ago."

I then changed my discourse, for fear she should perceive my design; but presently seeing her going to tear more for somebody else that came in, I could not forbear any longer, but offered her brown paper for all the written paper she had, as that was most proper for some work I designed,¹⁴ which she readily agreed to, and sold me her whole stock for eighteen-pence.

This adventure put an end to my walk, so I took the first coach that went by and hurried home to examine my purchase, which I found to consist of a number of fragments upon various subjects, whether originally left unfinished, or torn thus in the chandler's shop, it was impossible to say; and, among the

rest, the following work, which seemed to have undergone a different, though not much better fate, being blotted in many places, often paragraphs, and sometimes whole pages being erased; and, what was worst, this havoc was made in the most curious¹⁵ and entertaining part of the whole, the philosophy of the nature and agency¹⁶ of spirits.

The oddity of this collection made me resolve to try if I could learn anything of the author from the woman of the shop where I had made my purchase; accordingly, I called upon her one evening as if merely by accident, and sending for a pint of wine to set her tongue a-going, I no sooner hinted my desire, than she directly gave me the following account, which I shall repeat as nearly as possible in her own words, shortening it only of expletive¹⁷ exclamations and repetitions.

"My father," said she, "dying young, and leaving his family but poorly, my mother took this shop to help her to bring up three children of whom I, the eldest, was but five years old. The times being hard, she was obliged to make every honest shift,¹⁸ and therefore took in lodgers, and, among the rest, an elderly man who rented the garret to sleep in, and a little turret in the garden, which he fitted up for himself for a work-shop: but what business he followed she never knew, as he let nobody see him at work; nor did she trouble herself to inquire, as he always paid her punctually: but she imagined he was a smith of some sort from the quantities of charcoal he burned, and the constant blowing of the bellows.

"In this place he spent all his time, often not quitting it for whole days and nights together, till hunger has forced him to crawl like a starved rat out of his hole to get a bit of victuals.

"At first my mother was uneasy at this, and imagining he must be out of his mind, or troubled in conscience, she spoke about him to a worthy gentleman, a clergyman, that lived in the neighborhood; but he coming to see him at a time when he had a clean shirt on, and had eaten his victuals, and slept regularly, for some time before, his discourse was so sensible and pleasant that the doctor could not help telling him the cause of his visit as a joke at my mother, to whom he said when he was going away, that, so far from being mad, he believed her lodger was the best scholar in the whole parish.

"My mother's good nature had like to have lost her her lodger, for, as soon as the doctor was gone, he gave her warning, but upon her promising never to be guilty of the like indiscretion again, nor to trouble herself any farther about him than just to give him what he should call for, he consented to stay.

"From that time he lived among us as unnoticed as he could desire, following his business without disturbance from anyone, nor appearing to give himself the least trouble about that of any other person living, except¹⁹ it was me, whom he taught to read, and said he would make his heir. An unhappy heirship, I am sure, for me; for it hindered my marrying Jack Twist the rope-maker,²⁰

who is now the toppingest²¹ man in all Radcliffe Highway,²² and then offered to take me in my shift.²³

"But there's no help for that now! Luck is all! to be sure we thought he must be some extraordinary man, for he never wanted²⁴ money, and then we used to hear him talking to himself sometimes, as if all the world was his own, of building colleges, and churches, and houses, and altering St. Paul's, and I do not know what great things; and, one day in particular, I remember she said, before us all, that before seven years, he would hire an army that should drive the Pope and the devil (lord bless us) out of Rome;²⁵ for to be sure, he would talk before us, as if we could not hear him, as freely also do anything before him, as we would as if he was a cat or a dog! Well, as I was saying, it was no wonder, to be sure, that such ignorant poor folks as we should think much of him, especially after what the doctor said, and accordingly built great hopes upon his promises.

"He went on thus for near twenty years, no soul ever coming near him, nor he going out above once or twice in a year, and then not staying above an hour or two at a time.

"At length his health began to break²⁶ very much, which made my mother often speak to him, not to work so hard, for he had been with us so long, and was so quiet, and paid so honestly, that we all loved him as if he was our father. But her advice was all to no purpose; he still went on, bidding her not trouble herself, nor be afraid about him. But this did not satisfy her; and one day, when he had been locked up, from the morning before,

without having any victuals, or going to bed, she resolved to break through²⁷ his orders, and call him to dinner.

"When she came to the turret, which he called his laboratory, she tapped gently at the door; but receiving no answer, nor hearing any noise within, she was so frightened that she called me to fetch the kitchen poker,²⁸ with which we made a shift to force it open, when we found the poor man stretched at his length upon the floor, to all appearance dead.

"This shocked us greatly; but we did not alarm the neighbors, as we imagined there were things of value there that might be misplaced or taken away in the confusion: we therefore raised him up ourselves and, after a little while, perceiving signs of life, carried him in, and laid him in our own bed, and, pouring some drops²⁹ into his mouth and nose, at length brought him to himself; when his first care was to inquire for the key of the turret, and whether anyone else had been there, or anything in it stirred: our answers satisfying him, he seemed quite easy, and in a little time recovered, to all appearance as well as ever.

"From this time, he changed his way of life a good deal; and though he was much in the turret, which was observed he ever after called his study, and not his laboratory, he never sat up whole nights in it as before, nor brought any more charcoal, nor even oil for his lamp, but went to bed orderly when we did.

"But this change came too late; for about six months after, we found him one morning dead in his bed; though he had been as cheery in the evening before as he had for a long time.

"This was a great surprise and concern to us! But what avails grief? We must all die, and he was a very old man. As soon as we were certain that he was dead, the first thing my mother and I did was to go to the turret, impatient enough to take possession of our heirship; where, lord help our poor heads! did we find only a few great old books, and those papers you got; the very bellows, and tools, and pots that we saw there before being all gone, and no more sign of a workshop to be seen, than if it was not the same place we had been in but six months before. What he could have done with his things we could not imagine, for we never observed him to carry them out, so that we concluded he must have burned them.

"This was a sore disappointment to me, not to mention the loss to my mother, to whom he owed a quarter's rent, besides an account of near twenty shillings in the shop; and seven shillings and two-pence half-penny was all the money in his pocket, nor did we ever find one penny more after him,³⁰ though we searched close³¹ enough!--Well! patience is a remedy for all things, but death; we were forced to submit; though I cannot help grieving when it think of it to this day, especially when I see Peg Sprout, the green-woman's daughter³² from Wapping,³³ that Jack Twist married out of despair when I refused him, ride by in her chaise like a lady; and it now thirty years ago!--No! let me see! it will be exactly twenty-nine years come next Michaelmas!³⁴ I am sure I have reason to remember it well, for my poor mother took it so to heart that she never held up her head after, till it finished her in about nine years; though I cannot say but

something else might have helped, for she took cruelly to drinking drams, though as she began it to comfort her for this misfortune, it was all owing to that; and poor sister Bett, too."--

I was obliged to interrupt her here by asking her what kind of a person he was, or she would have gone on to give me the history of her whole family, to which she answered thus, "What sort of a man? I'll tell you then; for I think I see him before my eyes this minute. He was a tall thin man, above six feet high, and no thicker than a watchman's staff,³⁵ as I may say; then this constant leaning over his work bent his long back like a bow, especially as he had no belly to keep it up, for he lived almost upon nothing, so that, when he walked, the length of his legs, and his great stoop, made him look as if he had no body at all. As for his face, it was as long as my arm, and not broader than the edge of my hand; his eyes were sunk half a foot into his head, and always covered with spectacles: his nose was hooked over his mouth, as his chin turned up a handful to meet that: and the constant toasting, over the charcoal, had shriveled up his skin, so that his whole face looked as if it was covered with scorched parchment.--His dress³⁶ (for I never knew him have but one) was a black coat with little buttons all over it; which being made for him while he stood upright, not that he stooped so much, hung down to his ankles: a broad leather belt, that kept his coat about him; a cloak, which he hung upon his shoulders, but was so worn that it showed his skeleton through every part of it; and an old high crowned hat. In short he had so little of

the appearance of a creature of this world, in his looks or dress, that whenever he went out in the daytime the mob all gathered about him and hooted him home, just as the little birds do an owl: and some of our wicked neighbors, when any accident has happened, have often threatened to take him up and dip him for a witch,³⁷ though I am persuaded that was nothing but wickedness and malice, and that he knew no more harm than a baby."

My curiosity being thus satisfied as to the author, there was but one thing more that I desired to know, and that was how those papers came to have so many blots made in them, which, by the difference of the ink, I could see was done long since the first writing? To which, she answered, that, sometime after the old man's death, her mother let his apartment to one that called himself a clergyman, and was a great scholar, and used to make almanacs, and other books; that he had looked over those papers, and, she believed, taken out such as he liked, and done what he pleased with the rest, for they set no regard on them; and particularly she remembered to have heard him say that he would make something of one of them; but she believed he found it would not do, for he soon after left their houses, and, joining with those Methodists that were just then come up,³⁸ went away with them, preaching about the country.³⁹

I thought it but reasonable to reward the good woman's expense of breath with half-a-crown, and so took my leave, though with a secret resolution to give her half the profit, if there arises any, from the sale of the books; not thinking that such a

purchase as I had made from an ignorant woman could give me a just title to the whole heirship, as she called it, that had cost her so dear as the loss of her old sweetheart Jack Twist.

This good woman's account explained to me, in some measure, the nature of this work from the circumstances of the author, who, I could see, had been a schemer⁴⁰ who had wasted his whole fortune in the search after the philosopher's stone,⁴¹ and having his eyes at length opened to his folly, though too late to remedy it, yet was able to divert the grief of his disappointment by writing these papers in ridicule of such notions, and from the sale of which he might also expect some relief to his wants.

How just this expectation might have been then, it is now very hard to say, in their present mutilated condition; or what could have moved any man to make such havoc in them; without⁴² it was, that the orthodoxy of the clergyman was offended at the author's notions, which, he wanted judgment to see, were only a delicate ridicule of those wild, idle dreams which some men, who call themselves philosophers, have thought proper gravely to obtrude upon the world as learning and knowledge.⁴³

But, whatever the motive was, the loss is now irreparable, and has reduced the work to the appearance of a novel or romance, almost the whole philosophical part having been erased; for, as to the personal application of anything in it to the present times, the least attention to this account of the author will show the absurdity and injustice of such an attempt; as it was written so long ago, and by a person so little acquainted with

the world, that all the stories in it must necessarily be the mere creatures of imagination.

For the manner in which they are published, I shall only say, that it is strictly agreeable to the faith of the text; not one of the many alterations and interpolations, which were in another hand, being given; but, wherever I could not clearly make out the very words of the author I honestly omitted the whole, not thinking it allowable, or just, to palm my own words or sentiments upon the world on the credit of another.⁴⁴

How scrupulous I have been in this point will appear to anyone who shall take the pains of consulting the original manuscript, which shall be deposited in the public library of one of the universities as soon as the work is printed: the only liberty I have taken, being in a few notes in the margin, and supplying a connection, where it was broken by any of the above-mentioned accidents.

Chrysal Appears Before the Alchemist

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 1

On a day when long and strict abstinence⁴⁵ had purified my body from every terrene⁴⁶ encumbrance, and intense contemplation wound up my mind to an enthusiasm⁴⁷ fit for imperial conversation,⁴⁸ as I stood with my eyes riveted on the obstetric⁴⁹ flame, in strong expectation of the birth of the mystic child,⁵⁰ the first-born of the morning,⁵¹ ready to seize the happy moment, when the earth sufficiently impregnated with the water,⁵² ascendeth white and resplendent,⁵³ that I might compound⁵⁴ the pure elements,⁵⁵ before they fly from the fire,⁵⁶ and so perfect the great work;⁵⁷ my eyes began to dazzle, and the power of imagination overwhelmed my soul.⁵⁸ --I saw a blue effulgence break from the liquid gold,⁵⁹ and play about the genial⁶⁰ vase!⁶¹ I was astonished! I thought it the substantial⁶² form of the son of the sun!⁶³ I thought the happy moment was come when the rose of the east should bloom in the desert,⁶⁴ and mine the favored hand to cultivate its growth! I indulged the pleasing thought! I melted in the virtuous joy!⁶⁵ and, in obedience to the divine impulse, I kneeled to receive the reward of all my labors, the radiant crown of wisdom and glory, from the hand of nature, with every sense and faculty suspended, for fear of interrupting the mysterious process.⁶⁶

As my soul hung in this ecstasy,⁶⁷ the flame which wrapped the sacred birth in the bed of purification⁶⁸ arose with the glory⁶⁹ too strong for mortal sense⁷⁰ and filled the room. My senses sunk under the pressure, and I was dissolved into a

trance,⁷¹ when a voice, celestially harmonious, encouraged me to raise my eyes, and I beheld the body of the effulgence condense into an incorporeal substance in the form of a spirit, while a placid⁷² shade softened the fierceness of the radiance, and made it tolerable to human sense.⁷³

A holy horror curdled all my blood; but the melody of the same voice, which had before emboldened me to look up, reassured my fainting heart with these words: "Son of pains and votary of science! thy unwearied perseverance has prevailed, and I am sent to crown thee with the virgin rose!⁷⁴ I am Chrysal,⁷⁵ the spirit of that incorruptible mass now glowing in that vase before thee, who in reward of thy noble constancy in offering this, thy last mite, on the shrine of knowledge,⁷⁶ am come to reveal to thee the mysteries⁷⁷ of nature, and satisfy that raging thirst for wisdom, which has so long excruciated⁷⁸ thy soul, and thus emaciated thy body! And, that thou mayest the better comprehend the greatness of this honor vouchsafed thee, I shall trace the operations of nature through her most secret recesses, and illustrate the truth of what I saw, by a detail of the various incidents of my being,⁷⁹ in my present state,⁸⁰ to prepare thee for the reception and proper use of the grand secret, which I shall afterwards communicate!⁸¹

* * *

Part II: Descriptions of Persons, Places and Events

Captain Harry Powlett

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 10

* * *There being a war between Spain and England at that time about the liberty of cutting sticks upon a desert shore,¹ it was necessary to secure a safe passage for the treasure² by establishing a right understanding with the commander of an English man of war³ which was cruising in those seas. It fell to my lot to go on this errand in the shape of a doubloon, into which I was cast to save the profanation which a crucifix might suffer in the hands of heretics.⁴

There was some little address⁵ requisite to conduct this affair with the captain in such a manner as to keep it secret from his officers, to gain all of whom would have been too expensive; besides that he would never trust his sacred honor to the fidelity of so many. But this was readily adjusted. The refinements of modern politeness having softened the natural ferocity of a state of war,⁶ and admitting an intercourse of courtesy between parties who profess to seek each other's destruction, the Spanish governor sent out a boat with his compliments to the English captain with a large supply of fresh provisions, fruits, wines, etc.

This necessarily produced a return of civility from the well-bred captain; and in this intercourse were the terms of his connivance settled, as the seal of which I was delivered to him, among a very large number of my fellows, who honorably punctual to his promise at the appointed time sailed away from that station in quest of some ships of the enemy's which he expected

to meet elsewhere, and did not return till the Spanish treasure was beyond his reach.

As this was a compliment of great consequence to the Spaniards, the captain had been so handsomely considered for it that his desires were satisfied, and he only wished to be safe at home to enjoy the wealth he had so happily acquired.⁷

* * *

Captain Harry Powlett (cont'd)

From Volume III, Book I, Chapter 1

However impatient though he might be to return, it was necessary for him to find some pretense to justify a conduct so contrary to his duty, the time appointed for his continuing on that station not being near expired.

But a proper knowledge of the world is never at a loss for expedients. He immediately came to a right understanding⁸ with the master of the ship who, alarming him suddenly at midnight with an account that her stern-post was loose,⁹ and the rest of the officers between sleeping and waking formally signing his report without examining, he bore away directly for home with a happy heart, anticipating in imagination the enjoyment of all those pleasures which he had looked at with a longing eye from a distance.

When man, confiding in his own wisdom, quits the straight path to strike out a nearer¹⁰ to his wishes, he generally blunders into that which leads directly to their disappointment. My master had not proceeded many days on his voyage when he fell in one morning just at the dawn with a mighty fleet,¹¹ from which

it was impossible for him to escape. His anxiety made him instantly conclude them enemies. He cursed his fate in the bitterness of his soul and, leaving the care of the ship to his officers, pretended to be sick and threw himself on his bed in agonies little short of despair. "Was it for this?" exclaimed he wringing his hands, and gnashing his teeth, "was it for this I betrayed my trust, and favored the enemies whom I was sent to distress?--For this did I put my honor in the power of a venal wretch, and desert my station, in direct disobedience to my orders? But I am justly rewarded! I have stopped at nothing to gather wealth, and now I have lost that and my liberty together. May every villain meet the same fate!"

But the severity of his distress lasted not long. As soon as it was clear day, the fleet which caused his fears was found to be English; the moment he was informed of which he recovered from his sickness and, putting the best face he could upon the matter, went to wait upon the admiral.

Though the fleet which the admiral commanded was irresistibly¹² superior to any that could possibly be opposed to it, he was so desirous of every addition of strength that he received my master with evident pleasure; and never inquiring what had been the cause of his quitting his station, informed him whither they were going, and congratulated him on the opportunity he should have of making his fortune.

But this opportunity, promising as it might appear, had no temptations for my master, whose thoughts were turning another way. However, to carry off the chagrin which he could not

conceal, he expressed his concern in the strongest terms at not being able to bear a part in so glorious an enterprise and produced the report of the condition of his ship, by which she was represented to be incapable of service, the reason, as he alleged, for his having quitted his proper station. This instantly changed the whole scene. The admiral, assuming all the consequence of his unbounded authority, answered with a supercilious look that he would order the ship to be surveyed by the proper officers, and then turned away without deigning to take any farther notice of him.

As this was no more than my master had expected, his knowledge of the world, which brought him into the scrape, soon suggested the proper means for preventing any disagreeable consequences from it. Accordingly, when the survey was regularly made next morning, he was honorably acquitted; but the master of the ship was broke¹³ for his error, and the other officers severely rebuked, for not having examined his report before they signed it.

* * *

Lord Chesterfield

From Volume I, Book, I, Chapter 17

(Chrysal is describing the various personages present at a rout¹⁴ for the edification of the alchemist.)

* * *

Observe that person¹⁵ who seems to be absorbed in thought, in the midst of the hurricane around him. Reason takes the advantage of his being for a moment disengaged, and forces him to behold, in a proper light, a scene so contrary to THE ECONOMY OF HUMAN LIFE¹⁶ as that in which he is involved; but wait till the dice-box comes round to him, and you will see all his philosophy vanish, and his passion for gaming hurry him as destructive lengths as the most thoughtless of them all.

Every ability, every virtue that could adorn and exalt the human mind conspired to throw the brightest lustre around his youth, and mark him as a blessing to society. Nor did he disappoint the general hope, but filled, with dignity and honor, the high employments to which his merits raised him,¹⁷ till this pernicious passion insensibly¹⁸ unbent his mind, and turned his thoughts from every nobler pursuit.¹⁹ The falling off was most unhappy: his time, every moment of which is precious to the public, is wasted in idle dissipation or devoted to pleasures, destructive to his fortune, which thus falls a prey to sharpers,²⁰ while the industrious, honest tradesman calls in vain for payment at his door.

Yet, even in this improvidence, the natural virtue of his heart sometimes appears in a manner that softens the severity of

censure. Some years ago, when he filled one of the most important places of the state in a neighboring nation,²¹ he had notice given him that a set of sharpers, dignified with²² the most delicate²³ and specious art,²⁴ had entered into a combination against him; but instead of profiting by the friendly caution and avoiding them, he seemed to throw himself, on purpose, into the snares laid for him, till they pillaged him of sums of money sufficient to distress the greatest fortune.

As it was known that he had been forewarned of their schemes, his conduct was astonishing to all: but he vindicated it by saying that the wretches had put themselves to a considerable expense, and traveled a great way to accomplish their design; if he had disappointed which, they must either have starved or robbed, perhaps from those who might not be able to bear the loss, and then have been hanged: so that he looked upon it as charity, in a double sense, to submit to be cheated by them,²⁵ and in the same manner does he still vindicate his gaming, with persons so notorious for their villainies, that it is almost infamous to speak to them.

* * *

John Hill

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 19

(Chrysal is in the possession of John Hill.)

* * *

My new master was a votary of Apollo in the double capacity of physic²⁶ and letters: for, the former not affording scope enough for his genius, he usually dedicated his leisure hours to the gentler entertainment of the latter, through the extensive circle of which he had occasionally run; there not being a branch in the wide world of science which had not felt his pruning:²⁷ the lowest rudiments of the most vulgar arts being, in his opinion, no more beneath the philosophic pen than the most abstruse heights of speculation.²⁸

It must be owned that, in such a latitude of study, he often was obliged²⁹ to prostitute his labors; but for this he had the solid consolation that his gain generally rose in proportion as his subject sank, the caprice of the world paying best, that is, buying most eagerly, what it affected to decry most. Nor is this to be wondered at, a loose tale or a receipt³⁰ for cooking a new dish being better adapted to general taste than a moral essay or metaphysical speculation.

* * *

John Hill (*cont'd*)

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 20

(Chrysal is still in the possession of John Hill.)

* * *

Extensive as these scenes were,³¹ they showed not my master in his proper light. His peculiar³² sphere was his study, where the inconsistency of his work showed the chaos in his brain from whence they sprung. Chaos, did I say! Chaos is order to the confusion there. For surely the discordant seeds of such ill-matched things were never jumbled together before. An auctioneer's library is a regular system in comparison to his head. Such a heap has neither beginning nor end. No fixed point to commence a description from. I shall therefore waive such an attempt, and only strive to convey some idea of it from its effects.³³--At five the next morning he arose to his labors, the first of which was to consider what he should begin the day with, such was the multitude he had in hand. But what reason could not determine, chance must, and he took them as they happened to lie, panegyric, libel, physic, cookery, criticism,³⁴ politics, ballads,³⁵ botany, etc. etc. etc. In all of which he indefatigably worked the task of the day, changing his subject with as little concern as he did his paper: and though such rambling prevented his ever getting deeper than the surface of any subject, yet it showed the extent and volubility of his capacity, and that it wanted³⁶ only regular application to any science to be eminent in it.

* * *

Lord Ligonier

From Volume I, Book II, Chapter 1

(Chrysal is in the possession of a gentleman's gentleman, William, who is employed by Lord Ligonier.)

* * *

As soon as the general had slept off the fumes³⁷ of the wine and awoke next morning, my master's hour of influence arrived, which he never failed to improve.³⁸ After a prelude of coughing and spitting, the scene opened thus, "Who's there? William!"-- "Sir."--"William, was not I very drunk last night! my head aches most confoundedly."--"Your excellency was a little cut,³⁹ but you broke up⁴⁰ much the strongest of the company."--"Aye, I wonder at that, I spend myself with talking when I begin to go, and that helps a man on damnably: that story of the battle where I was taken prisoner is a bottle in my way always."⁴¹--"That foreign gentleman, who never speaks a word, has a great advantage then."--"Aye, so he has; but he is a damned honest fellow, and a very good companion; he always fills a bumper,⁴² and never speaks a word.--But my head."--"Perhaps your excellency had better take something."--"No, I have taken too much already; though that's right;⁴³ give me a glass of the old geneva;⁴⁴ I am to go to council⁴⁵ today, and must settle my head--Aye, that will do, I am much better now; there is nothing like a hair of the old dog."

This conversation continued till he was seated to breakfast, when my master turned to a new topic. "I was very sorry," said he, "that your excellency happened to sit in last night, as Mrs. Motherly was to call."--"Why, that's true, William, I did not

think of one engagement when I made the other; and, when she called me out, I was not in cue;⁴⁶ I was too far gone. We old fellows are not sparrows;⁴⁷ the spirit is often willing, when the flesh is weak;⁴⁸ ha, ha, ha."--"Your excellency is pleased to be merry, but, to my thinking, the youngest fellow of the age has not more vigor."--"Aye, William, do you think so indeed? But why do you think so, William?"--"Because your excellency always chooses such green things: now I should think a ripe woman would be better; I am sure she would give less trouble."--"Ha, ha, ha, why that's your taste; but youth is mine, and while I have powers (and I do not think mine quite gone yet) I will please my taste. But what had Mrs. Motherly last night?"--"A very fine girl as your excellency could wish to see."--"How old?"--"About sixteen."--"Psha, mellow pears; I loathe such trash."--"But Mrs. Motherly said she could swear she was untouched. She came from the country but yesterday, a relation of her own: the poor thing knew nothing of the matter, and thought she came to be hired for a laundry maid."--"Why, that is something, but I wish she were younger."--"If your excellency pleases but to wait a little, I have one in my eye that will suit your taste exactly; a sweeter child is not in all England."--"Aye, good William," spitting once or twice, and wiggling in his chair, "aye, that is something, but how old?"--"Just ten, and finely grown."--"Right, the old age.⁴⁹ That's true!⁵⁰ I'll speak this very day for that place⁵¹ for your brother. Tell him to come tomorrow: I will not be refused."--"We are both obliged to your excellency for your favors."--"But when shall I see this girl? Give Motherly some

excuse with her ripe fruit. Sixteen! sixty! psha!"--"Sir, I shall go about it this very evening. A letter from Captain Standard;⁵² will your excellency please to read it?"--"Damn him and his letter: throw it into the fire! What would the unreasonable scoundrel have? Did I not give him his dinner yesterday? Has he not been introduced to good company at my table? If he had any industry or spirit, with these advantages he would have learned to play,⁵³ and made his fortunes as others do. Since he grows troublesome on encouragement, I'll starve him into better manners. Bid the porter strike him off the dinner list."--"I beg your excellency's pardon for mentioning him; but the manner I have heard you talk to him made me imagine you really did design to provide for him; and he says there is a vacancy in the regiment just now."--"Damn his impudence! a vacancy indeed! I shall never think there is a good one till he makes it at Tyburn."⁵⁴--"I beg your excellency's pardon: I shall never mention him more. Would you have me go about the child this evening? it is a little angel to be sure."--"This moment, if you think you can succeed."--"I shall try at any rate: but there is one obstacle."--"What is that? you know I never grudge money on these occasions. How much will do!"--"That is not the difficulty here; money will not do, and I hardly know what will."--"Money not do? What the devil can it be, that money will not do?"--"I scarce know how to mention it to your excellency, but the little cherub is niece to Captain Standard, his sister's daughter, and, while he is in the way, there will be no possibility of getting at her."--"Is that all? Then he shall

join the regiment tomorrow."--"But then he will leave such an impression of your unkindness upon his sister if there is nothing done for him, after waiting so long, that it will be impossible for any person belonging to you to gain access."--"What would you have me do? I never will bear to have the fellow get a company in my regiment; that would be acknowledging the obligations he has the impudence to say I received from his father; I will never bear it."--"I beg your excellency's pardon; I did not presume to point out any such thing, and indeed the possession of such a baby (though my eyes never beheld her fellow)⁵⁵ is not worth your giving yourself so much trouble about; she is quite too young, though so well grown."--"You say she is but just ten! and such a beauty!"--"I wish your excellency could see her, for I am unable to describe her."--"But cannot some way be found out, besides fixing this fellow under my nose?"--"That was just what I was going to take the liberty of hinting to your excellency. There are several gentlemen of fortune in the troops just ordered to America who have no liking to the voyage. Now I think, with submission, that you would oblige one of them with an exchange into your regiment, and let Captain Standard go in his place. And this will oblige him too; for I have often heard him wish to go there, in hopes of rising,⁵⁶ when they come into action."--"A good thought, and so I will. Let the fellow go to America and get scalped; his hot head wants to be cooled: such poor wretches as he are just fit to be transported there.⁵⁷ Tell him to prepare directly!⁵⁸ I long to be rid of him. But when shall I see the dear little creature?"--"In twenty-four hours after he is

gone, I'll undertake to have her eating sugar-plumbs, and sobbing in your bosom. It cannot possibly be sooner, for you know the captain's spirit, and that he would cut the throat of a prince who should dishonor his family, as he calls it."--"Aye, damn his spirit, that is true; that is what has kept me civil to the fellow so long: I know he has all the romantic madness about honor, and such stuff, that made his fool of a father live and die a beggar."

By this time his excellency was dressed to go to council, for which another dram settled his head.

I see your surprise at the brutal behavior of the master, and the infamous designs of the man. The former is beyond aggravation;⁵⁹ but the latter were only an honest artifice in favor of his friend, who had no such niece in the world.

Countess of Yarmouth

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 5

(Chrysal is in the possession of the Countess of Yarmouth.)

* * *

I was now at the summit of human grandeur, the favorite of the favorite of a mighty monarch. For curiosity tempting me to take a view of my new mistress's heart, as she sat at her toilet,⁶⁰ I found myself established there without a rival, in the most absolute authority, every passion being subservient to my rule; even the love of power, which had, in every other instance, disputed the empire with me, being here my most abject slave, and encouraged for no other reason than solely to promote my interest; the mighty spirit of the immense mass of gold, which my mistress had accumulated, having taken entire possession of her soul.

Countess of Yarmouth (*cont'd*)

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 7

By this time the mysteries of the toilet were over, and my mistress's face finished for the day, when a person entered to her whose appearance was far from promising such an intimacy with a lady of her rank.

The most shabby, squalid dress covered a distorted carcass not much above four feet high, but so gross⁶¹ that, laid upon his back, he would have cast a shadow nearly as long as when he stood upright. A deep olive complexion, an aquiline nose, and a mouth from ear to ear, fringed round with a greasy, curled beard, made

the beauty of his face correspond with the elegance of his figure.

This extraordinary person approached her Grace, without introduction or ceremony, and entering immediately upon business, told her, "that he came to know if she meant to buy in that day, for the report raised in the Alley, by their express from abroad, had given such a stroke to the funds, that they had tumbled to the ground; but would most certainly rise again the next day, as soon as the news which had arrived that morning should be known; which could be kept a secret, as the people wanted something to keep up their spirits among so many miscarriages, and divert them from making too close inquiries into the conduct of affairs."

"Why, my honest friend Aminadab,"⁶² replied her Grace, "I must be directed in these matters by you. If you think there is anything to be got by buying in today, with all my heart: though I must own I cannot conceive why you should sell out the very last week, to buy in in this."

"Ah! my lady," returned Aminadab, "there is a mystery in all business, and in none greater than ours. The Bulgarian king's⁶³ success last week raised people's spirits so high, that they thought the world was to be all their own, and therefore bought at any price. Now that was the time for a prudent person to sell, as I advised your Grace; which we had no sooner done, than instantly comes an express, of our own, with an account that the enemy had turned upon him in their retreat, and entirely vanquished the vanquishers.

"This news quite overthrew the spirits raised by the former, and made everyone eager to sell out at any loss, for fear the enemy should get wings and fly over, to take all they had. Now as this was but a terror raised by ourselves, we take the advantage of it, and so buy in when others are selling out 20 percent cheaper than we ourselves sold out last week, when the madness bent the other way,⁶⁴ and may perhaps sell again the next, when another packet⁶⁵ shall set things right, and bring the people back to their senses. For the senses of the people of this country are as inconstant as the sea, depending entirely upon the winds that blow them news."

"But is it really possible that any people can be such fools?" "O, please your Grace, they are only too rich! they have more money than they know what to do with; that is all."--"Then Aminadab, we will ease them of some of the burden. And would it not be better to conceal this news for another day; might not that make them fall still lower?"--"But, my lady, the people want the good news."--"The people may hang themselves in despair, I care not, so I get money."--"The government though."--"What is the government to me? I will get all I can, and then leave them to themselves, to sink or swim as they will; it is all one⁶⁶ to me!"--"That is true, your Grace says right. A people who do not know, or, at least, will not follow their own interest, are not worth any person's care, longer than while he can make something of them. But we must reserve that stroke for another time. This news has got into the offices, and nothing there is a secret, you know. Besides, the panic was too violent to last; it begins to

wear off already: in another day they would recover their senses of themselves.⁶⁷ I think, therefore, with your Grace's approbation, to buy in all I can today; without⁶⁸ you had rather lay out your money in the supplies for the protestants in Germany."⁶⁹--"With all my heart, if you can make as much of it that way as in the funds: but not otherwise. I would not lose one shilling for any people under heaven!"

"Your Grace has a just notion of the world, and of the value of money that governs it. Indeed, I must say that the terms for these supplies are very unreasonable, considering how such things have been done for some time past. It is expected that people should bring in their money,⁷⁰ without any premium or other advantage than what was publicly calculated for, at the granting them.⁷¹ But these economists⁷² will find themselves mistaken. The world is wiser nowadays, than to give up advantages which they have once gotten possession of. As to that affair, therefore, I should think it better to let it stand a little longer, till the necessity becomes more urgent, and then they will be glad to come into our terms, if it were not that the poor people may be ruined in the meantime; so that indeed I am at a loss what to advise your Grace to do, in so nice⁷³ an affair."

"Why, let them be ruined then: it is not my fault; nor is it my business to save them; nor will part with a shilling to do it. Besides, if they do suffer by the delay, those who gave them this supply to prevent their ruin may give them another to repair it."--"I cannot but admire your Grace's judgment in all things. You are above the foolish weakness of nature,⁷⁴ and have the

noble resolution to see your own family perish, rather than injure your own interest to relieve them. I shall obey your Grace in all things. I go now to the alley,⁷⁵ where business will soon begin."--"Do, honest Aminadab, and fear not, though I could not procure an establishment for your whole nation,⁷⁶ as I would have done, I certainly will for your family, and that is enough for you. Your son shall be made a baronet at least; you have riches enough to support the title."

"Your Grace is very good; our people are all satisfied of your kind intentions: but, alas, that was a severe disappoint to us after costing us so much money. The children of the lord weep it over in their synagogues, and the daughters of Zion⁷⁷ lament it in their songs; but my household shall rejoice in thy favor, and the labors of my life prove my gratitude for it."

* * *

George Whitefield

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 8

(Chrysal is in the possession of a brothel-keeper.)

* * *

The evening after I came into his possession, the high priest of the conventicle⁷⁸ called upon him to spend an hour in spiritual conversation. After examining into his progress in grace, and the increase of his faith, and assurance of election⁷⁹ (for such is the power of custom, and the pleasure of cheating the world, that they practice the art, even upon each other) he told him that he had a most particular occasion for his most private room this evening. "For," said he, shaking him by the hand, "my friend, as I have found by experience that the only way to foil the devil is at his own weapons, I have appointed Momus⁸⁰ the ballad singer, whose attack upon me has made such a noise, to meet me here this evening, and make up the affair over a glass of wine."--"In truth," answered my master, a good deal surprised, "your reverence's meekness, and patience, must needs be very great; or you could not bear ever to mention him in any degree of Christian charity and benevolence, after so outrageous⁸¹ and gross⁸² an attack as he has made upon you, without the least personal provocation; for what was it to him what you said or did to the rest of the world, his morals or religion were in no danger! But you were born to be an example to the age, and a shining light, to guide the steps of the faithful."

"A truce with this canting⁸³ now, my friend," replied the doctor, "and let us talk a few words like men of the world. Your

proved fidelity and prudence making me not scruple to reveal the whole mystery of the ministry to you, I will let you into the secret of this affair. You must know then that I have, for some time, perceived the humor of the people begin to waver greatly, and the fervency of their devotion to cool, in spite of all I could do to keep it up, by preaching, fasting, prayer, and lamentation, by crying up my own piety, and the wonderful⁸⁴ effect of my spiritual labors; it was necessary, therefore, to have recourse to some expedient, to prevent their falling off entirely, and accordingly I pitched upon this, which has exceeded my expectations; for instead of making my people ashamed of coming to me, it has piqued their pride, and now they resolve to show that they scorn as much to be laughed, as preached, out of their own way.⁸⁵ This, my friend, is the way of the world, which, since we cannot in reality mend, we must only strive to make the best of. If I could carry on my business without this assistance I most certainly would never have entered into such a confederacy, any more than you would keep a brothel, and entertain whores and rogues, if you could make equal profit by any other company."⁸⁶

* * *

Samuel Foote

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 9

(Chrysal is still in the possession of the brothel-keeper.)

The person my master was sent to meet had something so uncommon in his appearance, as instantly struck my attention. Every passion of the human heart was printed in his face so strongly, that he could at pleasure display it in all its force, while his every look and gesture turned some vice, or folly, into ridicule. "You inquire for number one, sir!" said my master bowing with the profoundest respect. "I do, sir," answered the other, returning his bow, assuming his look, and imitating his voice, in a manner that would have extorted laughter from despair, "inquire for number one."

Though my master was no stranger to his talents, which he had often seen him display at the expense of others, this personal application of them to himself threw him into such confusion, that in spite of his long-practiced assurance, a blush broke feebly through his unimpassioned lifeless face, and he had scarce power to show him into the room. The ballad singer seeing that he had him at command⁸⁷ would not pursue his advantage any farther at that time for fear of frightening him away, but putting on the exact countenance, and mimicking the voice and manner of the doctor,⁸⁸ "I am come, my friend and brother in the lord," said he, "to inquire into thy spiritual estate,⁸⁹ to give thee ghostly⁹⁰ advice, and commune with thee, for a short space, for our mutual edification."--The surprise and manner of this address had such an effect upon my master, that he could not

restrain bursting into laughter; and immediately recovered from the confusion into which the ridicule of himself had thrown him.

* * *

Countess of Huntingdon

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 12

(Chrysal is in the possession of the Countess of Huntingdon.)

* * *

My new mistress went directly to the prison, to her cousin,⁹¹ where she had a sufficient opportunity for the exertion of her charity among his unhappy fellow prisoners, while she waited for his rising, which was not till very late, as he had sat up the whole night before at his beloved diversion of card-playing. When at length she got admittance to him, her reception was far from being worthy of the trouble she had taken, and the piety of her intentions. He asked her if she had procured him a pardon,⁹² and when she answered in the negative, and assured him that all such hopes were vain, he then told her, that he would dispense with the continuance of her visit, and the repetition of any more, and in a manner forced her away, scarce permitting her to mention the motive of her coming, or to enforce the exhortation⁹³ of my late master,⁹⁴ which she with difficulty persuaded him to take, though, from the manner of his receiving it, there was little probability of his ever taking the trouble to read it.

My mistress, for I had the good fortune to remain in her possession, was so shocked at this insensibility,⁹⁵ that she went directly home, and sought relief from the solid comforts of religion,⁹⁶ pouring out her heart, in unfeigned prayer, for the conversion of him, and every other object of the divine displeasure; for though a misguided fervency of devotion had made

her, in some measure, a dupe to the hypocritical zeal of my late master, nothing could lead her from the purest paths of true piety and virtue; nor did she suffer⁹⁷ the extravagance⁹⁸ of his pretended enthusiasm so far to blind her better judgment, as to make her avoid the entertainments frequented by persons of her sex and rank.⁹⁹

William Pitt

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 14

(Chrysal is in the possession of William Pitt.)

* * *

The notion I had hitherto entertained of human politics made me enter into this service with reluctance; but my prejudice was soon removed. My new master¹⁰⁰ was just coming from his closet¹⁰¹ when I was delivered to him: he stopped to count the money, then putting it into his purse, and turning to a clerk, who followed him with a huge bag of papers in his hand, "I must have all these finished against¹⁰² morning," said he, "that I may be able to read them over, before they are signed. I know they are a great many, but the business requires dispatch; and diligence and method overcome the greatest difficulties."--Saying this, he went into his drawing room, which was filled with several of the most eminent members of the community who came, some to consult, some to advise (for he refused not the advice of the meanest),¹⁰³ and all to congratulate him on the success of his measures.¹⁰⁴--When the business and formality of this scene were over, the company withdrew all but¹⁰⁵ one gentleman, who desired some private conversation with my master. As soon as they were alone, "I have done myself the honor to wait upon you this morning," said the gentleman, "to inform you, that there is a vacancy in my borough, and to know whom you would have me return; for, as I see that all your measures are evidently calculated for the good of your country, I am determined to support you."

"I am much obliged to your good opinion," answered my master, "but I am resolved never to interfere in matters of this nature, nor to attempt influencing the election or vote of any person, by any other means than reason: all therefore that I have to ask is, that you will return an honest man; while he approves of my conduct he will certainly support me, and no longer do I wish to be supported."

"What, sir!" replied the gentleman in astonishment, "not desire to have your friends returned! Why, sir, is it possible that you can be a stranger to the intrigues that are forming against you, by a faction,¹⁰⁶ who, when they had reduced the state to a mere wreck, like a cowardly, mutinous crew, flew in the face of their master, took the boat and made their escape to shore; and now, when you have not only brought her safe into harbor, but also fitted her out for another voyage, with every prospect of success, are caballing¹⁰⁷ to undermine and turn you away from the helm: not that they even pretend to arraign your conduct or skill, but just that they may have the pillaging the fruits of your labors. As this, sir, is notoriously¹⁰⁸ the case, you must excuse the warmth of my honest zeal when I tell you, that I think you must be guilty of very strange, very blameable remissness, if you neglect any possible method of disappointing their pernicious designs."

"My friend," returned my master, "I am too sensible of the truth of all you say, but hope there is no necessity for my having recourse to methods which my soul disapproves. Without the assistance of any such did I (to pursue your mode of speech)

first point out to our master,¹⁰⁹ and the rest of the ship's company, the errors in their steering, the rocks they were ready to run upon, and the way to avoid them. Without any such did I take the helm in that dangerous time,¹¹⁰ when they fled from the wreck, and worked her out of the breakers they left her among, and without any such will I support my place at the helm, or resign it, for, in my opinion, no end can justify improper means.

"Shall I own to you, my friend, that your offer gives me pain. Do not mistake me: I am sincerely obliged to you for that good opinion which dictated it to your honest heart; but the truth is, that any member of the community's having the power of making such an offer proves such a degeneracy in our constitution,¹¹¹ as threatens its overthrow in the end. A parliament should be a representative of the people; but how can it be said to be that, if the people are not at liberty to choose whom they please to represent them; besides, such a manner of nominating disappoints the end, as well as it destroys the essence of a parliament, as it is too probable that the nominator shall stipulate conditions with his member,¹¹² that may not only take away the power of his voting according to the dictates of his judgment and conscience, but also enjoin¹¹³ such as may be directly opposite to both, and injurious, if not destructive, to that country which he thus nominally¹¹⁴ represents. A parliament therefore to be free should be freely chosen, no man having it in his power to do more than give his own vote; and such a parliament, to keep up to the excellence of its nature in its first institution, should not continue longer than one session,

but a new one be called as often as the occasions of the state should require it, once in every year at least, for so often does the interest of a nation demand that its guardians should meet. Such a parliament, sensible of the shortness of the duration and nature of the tenure of their power, would take care never to act against the interest of their constituents; or, if human frailty should err, their time would be too short to establish the evil, and, as it would be impossible for them to be chosen again, the next parliament would remedy the mischief.¹¹⁵--Such should a British parliament be! such I hope it will be! It is every honest Briton's duty to hope so! and not only that, but to endeavor to make it so; nor shall any act of mine ever seem to countenance a practice that contradicts this principle. By speaking and acting in strict conformity to the dictates of my judgment and conscience have I hitherto succeeded, contrary to the expectations of many, beyond the expectations of all; and the same means and none other will I ever pursue."--"Heaven bless your pious intentions," said the gentleman, taking his hand and kissing it in a rapture, tears running down his face, "heaven will bless them: happy sovereign in such a servant; happy Britain in such a guardian."--Saying this, he took his leave of my master, who went directly to wait upon his.

King George II

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 15

(Chrysal is still in the possession of William Pitt.)

The first view of this august person¹¹⁶ struck me with a reverence which I had never felt for man before. Man may be deceived in the looks of man; but we¹¹⁷ see through all disguise, and read the real character in the heart. Honest, benevolent, and humane, the social virtues brightened the royal in his breast.--"Sire," said my master, addressing him, with the most respectful sincerity, "here are the dispatches which you ordered me to draw up yesterday: since I had the honor of your commands then, I have received some farther intelligence, that confirms the justice of your resolutions. Disappointed, but not deterred by the repulse which they justly met with from you, those people¹¹⁸ have the confidence to make a new attempt, and think to obtain by menaces what was refused to their entreaties; but the event¹¹⁹ will convince them, that it is more difficult to a generous mind to deny the suppliant, than repulse the insolent. Strong in the natural strength of your dominions, and stronger in the love of your people, you are able to assert your own cause, against all the powers of the world, on that element which nature has pointed out for the scene of your triumphs;¹²⁰ nor will you permit any other to interfere with you on it. All you require is a neutrality where you are entitled to assistance.¹²¹ This shows your confidence in your own strength, and your contempt of them. But even this contempt will not overlook any disrespect to yourself, any partiality to your enemies. Let them either behave

themselves as friends, or profess themselves foes.--This choice is indifferent to you. As to their complaints,¹²² their own unjust actions are the cause of them, and, when this is removed, they will cease of course.¹²³ Till then to seek a remission of the punishment and still persist in the crime is an insult upon justice and mercy; and for their menaces, they are beneath the notice of an answer."

"Be it so," replied the reverend monarch, the indignation of his honest heart flashing from his eyes; "be it so: you speak the sentiments of my soul."--Then turning to a favored subject who stood near him, "It is a pleasure to me to transact business with this man,"¹²⁴ continued he; "he makes me understand him, and does not perplex my soul with a vain maze of timorous wiles,¹²⁵ but speaks and acts with open honesty and boldness."* * *

James Wolfe

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 15

(Chrysal is still in the possession of William Pitt, who is addressing James Wolfe.)

* * * "I have sent for you, my friend," said my master, "on an occasion which, I am sensible, will give joy to your heart. You are to command a separate body of troops which have been sent to prosecute this necessary and just war in America. I need not put myself nor you to the pain of repeating the causes of the shameful inactivity, to give it no severer name, by which this war has been drawn into such a length;¹²⁶ you know, and will avoid them. You will not wear out opportunity in making unnecessary preparations for improbable occasions; you will not damp the ardor of your soldiers by delay, nor prolong a burdensome war to enrich yourself with the spoils of your country. You are young, active, and brave: such a commander only do British soldiers want to lead them to victory. You have no senior, no superior here, to restrain the efforts of your spirit by timid caution: at the same time that your judgment will supply the place of experience,¹²⁷ and prevent your falling into the misfortunes, which self-sufficient,¹²⁸ brutal rashness has made so fatal to others.¹²⁹ Your instructions are comprised in a few words,--make the best use your judgment shall direct you, of the forces entrusted to your command, to defend the property, and avenge the wrongs of your fellow subjects; and to vindicate the honor of this abused nation.--I know whom I speak to, and therefore I say no more: proceed, my friend, my soldier,

answer my expectations, and you will fulfill the wishes of your country."¹³⁰ * *

(Chrysal is in the possession of James Wolfe.)

The honor of his new command, and the confidence with which it was entrusted to him, warmed his heart with the most exalted joy. He executed his charitable commission,¹³¹ and then went directly home, where, bending his knee to his beloved mother, and kissing her hand in rapture, "O, madam," said he, "congratulate your happy son. My prayers at length are heard, and I am blessed with an opportunity of proving to the world my attachment to the service, my ardor for the glory, of my country: I am honored with a separate command in America, where heaven fires my soul with an assurance that I shall have the happiness of crushing the injurious power of our enemies in the very place where it first attacked my country; where it has too long triumphed in its wrongs."¹³² * *

Mutual merit had improved the instinctive liking of youth, between my master and a young lady,¹³³ whose elevated rank and large fortune¹³⁴ were her least recommendations, into the strongest attachment of real love. As reason could make no objection on either side, parental approbation gave its sanction to their happy choice, and had encouraged virgin timidity to appoint the day, that was to seal their bliss.¹³⁵ Hard task upon a favored lover to communicate to the chosen of his soul the order which was to dampen rising expectation by this delay; and tear him from the instant¹³⁶ hope of that happiness, which he had so long been suing for. But honor, and the service of his

country, demanded this fiery trial, to prepare him for that height of glory, to which his soul aspired.

Frederick the Great

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 2

(Chrysal is in the possession of Frederick the Great.)

* * *

The many great things which I had heard of this prince had long made me wish for such an opportunity of seeing him, and of having a knowledge of his heart,¹³⁷ that I might be able to judge whether he really was the great man he appeared to the world, by all his actions, to be. How my expectations were answered cannot be explained justly without a particular account of everything I saw while I was with him; but, as that would be too much for my time, which begins to grow short,¹³⁸ I shall only give you a few of the most remarkable particulars, by which you may form a judgment of the rest.

The king was walking in his camp before the entrance of his tent after having finished the business of the morning, conversing with the most engaging affability with his officers and even the private sentinels of his guard, redressing their complaints and relieving their wants, when the magistrates of the city I had just left arrived to pay their contributions and make submission for their misbehavior;¹³⁹ for, to humble them the more effectually, he had ordered that they should attend himself.¹⁴⁰

As soon as they approached him they fell on their knees and, delivering the money to his treasurer, implored his pardon in the most abject terms of submission. "Arise," said the monarch, "and cease your supplications; the posture and address are both improper to be offered to a man;¹⁴¹ but the passions of the

foolish are ever in extremes; and your fear sinks you now as low, as your vain insolence raised you high before. Depart in peace and safety; and let this teach you not to mistake moderation for fear another time. But beware that you offend not so again. Mercy that is amiable in the first instance degenerates to folly if extended to a second."

The magistrates, unable to speak before him, retired in confusion from his presence, when turning to his treasurer, "Take," said he, "so much of that money as will repair the losses sustained by the innocent inhabitants of the country around their city, and see that it is given to sufferers to be applied to that use, and none other, for I war not with the poor, nor would I have my steps marked by desolation when it can possibly be avoided. And of the remainder leave the usual sum upon my table for my private occasions."¹⁴²

Then addressing himself to the officers around him in general, "How abject," said he, "is the submission of the proud! how does guilt humble the conscious¹⁴³ heart! These unhappy men, who dared not now to meet our eyes but hastened with downcast looks from the flash of just indignation, when last we saw them looked us in the face with the assurance of friendly respect and seemed happy in the marks of our regard. Let this teach us to preserve the adamant shield of a clear conscience, and terror can never strike a dart through it to our hearts."

* * *

The many things I had heard of this prince's greatness had, I own, deceived me into expectations of pomp and grandeur in his

court, and particularly about his person. This made me surprised to find everything in a plainness far greater than what I had in many instances observed in private life. But I instantly perceived my error, that his greatness was his own, established on the virtues of his soul, and independent of and superior to every adventitious circumstance.

I had not long lain upon his table when he entered alone and, walking a meditative turn or two across the tent, kneeled down, and offered up his soul in the most ardent devotion to heaven.¹⁴⁴

He then arose with a serenely cheerful countenance and, coming to the table, poured out the money, and viewing it earnestly for a moment, "O thou source of every evil which distracts this wretched world," said he, "let me not be infected by thy poison; let not my heart conceive a fondness for thee farther than what thy native value of enabling it to do good justly entitles thee to; I am yet free from thine infatuation; nor have ever suffered avarice to tempt me to desire thee by improper means, nor vain luxury or pride, to abuse by profusion. This pittance only do I call my own, which I devote to the divine author of all the benefits and mercies of my life, ungrateful return,¹⁴⁵ by supplying with it the necessities of my distressed fellow creatures."

Then taking a handful of it to put into his pocket and happening to observe my shape, he took me up and looking attentively at me, "is there no corner of the earth," said he, "where the wealth of Britain is not dispersed? If its commerce

collects the produce of¹⁴⁶ every climate under heaven, its munificence does also diffuse its riches as far. Great and happy nation! wert thou but sensible of the blessings of thy condition; but the time is come when thou openest thine eyes to thine own interest and feelest the mightiness of thy strength. How great is the power of true wisdom! how happy the people who have a good man for their guide."¹⁴⁷

Saying this he put us into his pocket and, as soon as it was dark, wrapped himself in a cloak; and went out privately to take a view of his camp in a disguise, that secured him from misinformation or deceit.

Frederick the Great (*cont'd*)

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 3

(Chrysal is still in the possession of Frederick the Great.)

* * *

His tour was now finished¹⁴⁸ and he returned to his tent to take his necessary rest, having distributed, on the various occasions that had occurred in his walk, all the money he had taken with him except me, who happened to stick in the corner of his pocket.¹⁴⁹

Temperance, exercise and serenity of conscience insured his repose; he fell asleep the moment his head touched the pillow, nor awoke till his usual time of rising next morning,¹⁵⁰ when he returned to the fatigue and perplexity of such a multiplicity of affairs with a clear head and undismayed heart, and soon reduced¹⁵¹ the confusion of them into such an order as made their execution easy.

As the soldier had judged,¹⁵² the hour of battle was at hand. The king had scarce finished the business of the morning when an officer brought him an account that the forces of the enemy were in motion.¹⁵³ "I expected it," said the king coolly, "I knew they could not remain long in the situation they were in. But let us observe their motions, that we may regulate ours by them."

Then ordering some of his generals to follow him, he went to the top of a neighboring house, from whence he could view them distinctly,¹⁵⁴ where having observed them attentively for some considerable time, "It is done, my friends!" said he, with a smile of joy that enlightened all his face, "it is done! that last motion is what we wanted. Let us hasten and embrace the opportunity which heaven has put into our hands."--Then descending with an alacrity that inspired every beholder, he made his dispositions for the battle and, putting himself at the head of his forces, marched directly against the enemy.

Descriptions of battles are never satisfactory; the confusion is too great, and the business of the scene too complex to be brought into the regularity of any one design.¹⁵⁵ I shall therefore only say that my master was completely victorious;¹⁵⁶ and, to raise his own glory the higher, the victory was entirely gained by that part of his forces which he commanded in person; the excellent disposition he had made of the rest rendering it unnecessary for them to do more than stand spectators of the action from the situation in which he placed them, while they prevented him from being surrounded by the enemy.¹⁵⁷

The victory was not gained without resistance: the field was long and obstinately disputed, and my master often obliged to lead his men to the charge: but numbers were at length forced to submit to superior valor;¹⁵⁸ and the evening sun saw his banners wave in triumph, where those of his enemies had menaced¹⁵⁹ his destruction in the morning.--If the intrepidity with which he flew from rank to rank and exposed himself to every shape of death in the action had struck me with astonishment, I was not less affected by his conduct after it was over; when, cooling instantly from that enthusiasm of courage, he gave his orders for securing the glorious advantage he had gained, for taking immediate care of the unhappy sufferers, both friends and enemies without distinction, and for refreshing his own labored soldiers with all the serenity of peace.

Sir William Johnson

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 1

(Chrysal is in the possession of Lord Howe,¹⁶⁰ a general in the British army, before whom Sir William Johnson appears.)

* * *

There was something in the whole appearance of this person that struck me with the strongest curiosity the moment I saw him. His stature, above the common size of man, was formed with the justest proportion,¹⁶¹ and denoted ability to execute the most difficult attempts which the determined and enterprising spirit that animated his looks could urge him to. His open countenance, in which humanity and reason attempered¹⁶² resolution, showed the genuine workings of his soul; and his whole deportment was in the unaffected ease of natural liberty, above the hypocritical formality of studied rules of behavior devised only to deceive.¹⁶³

* * *

Sir William Johnson (*cont'd*)

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 2

(Chrysal is in the possession of Sir William Johnson.)

As soon as everything was ready my master set out for home, where he arrived without meeting anything remarkable in his journey, as you may suppose, through uninhabited deserts.¹⁶⁴

The reception he met with from his people was the very reverse of what sovereigns usually meet. They welcomed him with sincere joy and respect, which they expressed in the overflowing of their hearts, without ceremony or parade: I say "sovereigns,"

as he really enjoyed that power in its most rational sense, his will being a law to all around him, because they always found it just, and advantageous to them.

Though the account which he gave my late master of his manner of treating his people showed a just foundation of his power over them,¹⁶⁵ I found that it depended not on that alone. His authority, like of the first rulers of the earth, was founded also on the relations of nature, and supported by its strongest ties, he being literally the father of his subjects, the king of his own family.¹⁶⁶

To explain this it is necessary to inform you that on his fixing his residence among these uncivilized nations, in order to gain an influence over them the more readily, he had laid aside all such rules of conduct as seemed to him to be contradictory to natural reason and the public good, however forcibly enjoined for particular convenience.¹⁶⁷

Among these the chief was the custom of restraining the commerce¹⁶⁸ between the sexes, and confining individuals to each other after the desire which first brought them together had ceased: as he saw that the strongest passion which governs the human heart is that desire (for his philosophy was not refined enough to suggest one thought of governing the passions),¹⁶⁹ and as the continuation of the species depends entirely on the gratification of it, he held every opposition to it to be most criminal in itself and detrimental to the public good (properly the first object of every civil institution, and which can be promoted no way so effectually as by promoting population), and

therefore exerted all his influence to encourage that commerce, under such restrictions only, as were evidently necessary to procure the great end of it, the propagation of the species. He gave liberty to every man to converse¹⁷⁰ with as many females as he pleased; and to quit them whenever he thought proper, provided they were not pregnant. To the women the former liberty could not be extended, as the use of it would defeat the design;¹⁷¹ or, where it had not immediately that effect, cause confusion, and prevent both paternal care and filial duty, by the uncertainty of descent: but the latter instance they enjoyed equally with the men, being allowed to choose whom they liked, and if not pregnant quit them at pleasure for others, without reproach or shame, the offspring of all which connections were to remain with the fathers.

I shall not say whether reason originally suggested this system to him; or (as is often the case) whether he sought for reasons to support the dictates of inclination.¹⁷² Be it which it would, the effect was the same. His subjects increased in an uncommon degree; and he founded, like the patriarchs of old, an authority on the justest of all principles, voluntary consent, over a people inseparably linked to him and to each other by the strongest ties of nature, as being by this complicated¹⁷³ commerce in the strictest sense one family; for disdaining to make laws for others which he would not observe himself (like too many of his brother legislators), he had enforced his precepts so powerfully by his example, that there was scarce a house in any

of the tribes around him from which he had not taken a temporary mate, and added a child of his to their number.

* * *

David Garrick

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 12

The day after this great affair was thus equitably settled,¹⁷⁴ on the treasurer's making up his week's account I came into the possession of the manager, who having some occasion for money, put me into his pocket.

The measures¹⁷⁵ of my new master's government in his little empire were the strongest burlesque on the policy of the world, the greatest sovereign in which had not more intrigues of state to manage, than were continually carrying on about him, from the ambition, envy, and jealousy of the several¹⁷⁶ candidates for his royal favor.

But all this bustle did not embarrass¹⁷⁷ him in the least. He had the address to play off one party against another; and by never engaging himself particularly to any, was able to manage all. A method, by the bye,¹⁷⁸ that might suggest a hint not unuseful to politicians in a higher sphere.

But the part of his conduct that was most curious, and gave me the greatest pleasure, was his manner of parrying the attacks of the authors who were continually bringing him their works for representation on the stage, of which I had an opportunity of seeing many striking instances.¹⁷⁹

* * *

John Wilkes

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 18

* * *He had such a flow of spirits, that it was impossible ever to be a moment dull in his company. His wit gave charms to every subject he spoke upon; and his humor displayed the foibles of mankind in such colors as to put folly even out of countenance.¹⁸⁰

But the same vanity, which had first made him ambitious of entering into this society,¹⁸¹ only because it was composed of persons of a rank superior to his own in life, and still kept him in it, though upon acquaintance he despised themselves,¹⁸² sullied all these advantages. His spirits were often stretched to extravagance to overpower competition. His humor was debased into buffoonery; and his wit was so prostituted to the lust of applause, that he would sacrifice his best friend for a scurvy¹⁸³ jest; and wound the heart of him, whom he would at that very moment hazard his life and fortune to serve, only to raise a laugh; in which he was also assisted by a peculiar archness of disposition, and an unlucky expertness at carrying his jests into practice, as he proved upon this occasion.¹⁸⁴

* * *

John Wilkes (*cont'd*)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 3

(Chrysal is in the possession of John Wilkes.)

* * *

I have given you a sketch of the character of my new master upon a former occasion;¹⁸⁵ to which I have only to add here, that

a wanton abuse of uncommon abilities inverted the end for which they were given, making them disgraceful to himself and dangerous to his country, a licentious pursuit of everything called pleasure having wasted his fortune,¹⁸⁶ and driven him to the despicable necessity of prostituting them to any purpose¹⁸⁷ that might promise to retrieve his affairs.¹⁸⁸

* * *

Lord Orford

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 15

* * *

As it was late in the evening when my master¹⁸⁹ arrived in London, he resolved to indulge himself for that night, in the embraces of a tender-hearted female whom he picked up in the street (for he was no way nice in his amours), as he walked from the inn, where he alighted,¹⁹⁰ to his own house, in order to stretch his legs.

Nothing more than common occurrences passed upon this occasion. When his lordship had made his mistress nobly drunk, by the way of refining his pleasure, the delicate pair went lovingly to bed together, where awaking about midnight, he was surprised to find her cold and lifeless in his arms. After some fruitless efforts to move her, he started¹⁹¹ out of bed in a fright, and called up all his servants; who perceiving that she was not actually dead, took such pains to recover her, that she at length opened her eyes, and starting wildly around her for some moments, "Where am I?" said she. "Are these the regions of the damned? For thither only can such self-murdering wretches, as I am, go."--Then seeing his lordship, whose curiosity had brought him to the bedside, "And are you dead too?" continued she, wringing her hands, and weeping most passionately. "O why did I not confine my rage to myself? Why did I add your murder to my own, to plunge my soul still deeper in perdition?"--

This surprised all present. The servants who were indifferent whether it was true or false, imagined she only

raved, and doubled their efforts to bring her to herself, soothing her with expressions of tenderness, and telling her she was not dead, but would soon be very well: but my master was too nearly concerned to think so coolly of the matter.

"What is that you say?" said he, trembling in horror. "What is it you say about murder? There is no one murdered here."

"How!" answered she, fixing her eyes eagerly upon him. "Is it possible that I am still alive? And that you also live? It cannot be! the poison which I swallowed this night, and in which you shared too largely cannot have missed of its effect. But soft!¹⁹² its operations now begins! that pang!--oh!--that pang bespeaks the near approach of death!--Oh mercy!--O cry for mercy on your sins!" --

"What poison?" interrupted he, terrified almost to distraction. "What poison have I shared in? Speak! tell me directly, or"--

"Spare your threats my lord," said she, with a composure in her looks and manner that persuaded everyone present she was in her senses, "spare your threats to a wretch, whom death will soon deliver from your power; and forgive a crime, that proceeded from despair. Wearied of the miseries of this life, I this night resolved to put an end to it, and for that purpose, though on another pretense, procured a dose of poison from a chemist's¹⁹³ apprentice, who on giving it to me, said it was sufficient to kill twenty of the strongest men alive: and this poison did I take an opportunity to put into the last bottle of wine, when you went out of the room, determined to sacrifice one man to my

revenge for the injuries I had received from the sex: though after I had done it, my heart relented; but you insisted on my drinking, and fear of your resentment prevented me from making a discovery,¹⁹⁴ that would have saved us both from this unhappy" --At these words, she fell into convulsions so strong that everyone who saw her thought she was really in the agonies of death.

The situation of my master at this sight may be easily conceived. He instantly felt every pain that poison could produce; and falling on the floor roared aloud in anguish of mind and body, lamenting his untimely fate, and confessing all the sins of his life to servants who stood around him.¹⁹⁵

As soon as they had raised him up and carried him into another room, a dawn of hope arose at his finding he did not immediately die. "What!" exclaimed he, "is everyone combined against me? Am I to perish for want of assistance? Will nobody even call me a physician? Perhaps I might yet be saved, were proper means applied! will nobody call me a physician?"--

On his saying this everyone was running to obey him, the sight of which threw him into new distress. "O wretch that I am!" exclaimed he, "and so I am to be left alone! to perish for want even of a drop of water! is it not enough for some of you to go; and not all to desert me in this base, this barbarous manner?"--This seemed to restore them to their senses; and accordingly while some went to call the doctors, the rest stayed to take care of him.

Where the carrion is, the crows will soon be gathered together. He was immediately surrounded by half the meager¹⁹⁶ faces of the faculty¹⁹⁷ (for as he had not named anyone in particular, his servant to show their care had summoned all they knew of) who, taking the account he gave them of his being poisoned for truth, proceeded instantly to practice upon him every method they had ever heard of being used in such a case, in hope that some of them might take effect. He was cupped,¹⁹⁸ bled, and blistered;¹⁹⁹ vomited,²⁰⁰ clystered,²⁰¹ and purged²⁰² in the space of two hours; the doctors sagaciously discovering new symptoms of the poison, every new remedy they tried.

When they found that beyond their expectations he had strength enough to outlive all this, they put him into bed, and covering him up warm to take a sweat, comforted him with hopes of his recovery in consequence of their skill and care.

While they waited patiently for this important crisis,²⁰³ some of them happened to think of the poor murderess who had been neglected all this time, and now lay in a swoon, the convulsions having gone off, as her strength failed.

On hearing her name mentioned, his lordship, to show his Christian charity, and prove the sincerity of the repentance and amendment which he vowed in case his life should be mercifully spared, desired that they would do something for the unhappy creature, if she was still alive. This was sufficient to attach²⁰⁴ their compassion and care. They answered with one voice, that it was a pity to let her perish without even attempting to save her and, praising his lordship's goodness,

prepared to try some experiments upon her also if only to do something for their fee.

Lord Orford (*cont'd*)

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 16

Their practice upon this new subject however was cut short by a success more speedy than they desired; their first operation of bleeding bringing her directly to herself.

As soon as she perceived what had been done and recovered strength to speak, "Good God," said she, "what is the meaning of this? Who can have been so inhuman as to bleed me, when it is known to be ruin in my disorder?"--

"In your disorder!" said one of the doctors, with a contemptuous frown, "what disorder? Have you not poisoned yourself? And what is till worse, his lordship also, who now lies in the same desperate condition with you, and has from his unmerited goodness directed us to take this care of you; though if we can save you from this death, it must be to suffer one more ignominious."

"I poison myself!" interrupted she, raising herself up in the bed, "I poison his lordship! What can you mean by this? I understand you not; and am innocent, even in thought, of any such crimes. Explain yourself therefore; and do not sport with the misery of a wretched creature who has more real distresses than she is able to bear, without the addition of imaginary guilt."--

This amazed them all. They stood looking at each other for some moments, wrapped in reflections, not of the most pleasing, on the consequences which might attend their precipitation in

treating his lordship in the manner they had done, in case what she said should prove true. At length on her repeating her entreaties, one of them condescended to inform her of everything that had passed, dwelling particularly on the desperate condition his lordship had been in, and the various methods they had used to relieve him.

Weak and dispirited as you must suppose her to have been, she was scarce able to refrain from laughter at this account. "A desperate condition he must be in now indeed"; said she, "whatever he was in before! but if you will give me leave to slip on my gown and go to him, I'll soon complete his cure."

This was a step so contrary to all rules of practice, that they could not permit it. On the contrary, one of them observing the impropriety of listening to the ravings of a person whose head must certainly be distracted by the effects of the poison, they all took the hint, and were actually going to hold her down by force in order to proceed in their experiments upon her, which, you may think, would not have been the more merciful for what she had just said.

But she was delivered from this discipline by the appearance of his lordship, who on one of his servants carrying him the pleasing news of what she said, had found strength enough to run to her, and throwing himself on the bed, "Oh my dearest girl! (exclaimed he, clasping his arms around her neck, "am I not then a dead man? Tell me! tell me the truth, directly! am I not a dead man?"--

His haggard looks, and the bandages and flannels in which he was wrapped all over, convinced her of the truth of what the doctors had told her he had suffered. Shocked at the thought, she held up her hands in a supplicating posture, and imploring his pardon for what she had been the involuntary cause of, informed him that she was subject to fits which attacked her with doubled violence whenever she drank to any excess, as his lordship had compelled her to do that night, much, he must have been sensible, against her inclination had she dared to refused him;²⁰⁵ and that when she was in those fits, which lasted till the effects of the liquor went off, she was apt to rave and speak every extravagance and inconsistency that could come into a disordered head.

The manner in which she spoke left not the least room for doubt. All his fears were instantly removed, his joy at which obliterated the remembrance of everything he had suffered in mind and body, and he not only forgave her, but also made her a handsome present in recompense for her happy news.

But his doctors met with a very different treatment. He reviled them in the severest terms for their ignorance and presumption in putting him to such torture, and tearing his constitution by such violent means, before they were certain of his ailment; and without permitting them to allege in their vindication his assertions of what he felt, and entreaties not to leave anything unattempted that they thought might possibly relieve him, ordered them to be turned out of doors, without giving them a farthing for all their trouble.* * *

Sir Francis Dashwood

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 21

(Chrysal is describing the members of the Hell-Fire Club.)

* * *At the head of the table sits the superior. You see every eye is expressively fixed upon him, in admiration at the vivacity, humor and wit in all he says, while by an art²⁰⁶ peculiarly happy, he alone seems unconscious of his own preeminence.

These talents, which from the intoxication of present applause are much oftener of prejudice than advantage to the possessor, by diverting him from more solid pursuits, proved the foundation of his exalted rank and fortune; because always directed by the deepest and most delicate address.²⁰⁷

The first instance in which this address was displayed was in his own family. He had a distant relation²⁰⁸ who had spent his youth in such busy scenes as left not time for his imagination to wander in search of amusement. To a mind accustomed to be wound up to such a pitch, the charms of a conversation like his were a relaxation, irresistibly engaging. He insinuated himself insensibly into his favor, and by seeming to have nothing in view but his pleasure, led him as he pleased himself, not only into all the lengths of his own libertinism, so as to be a member of this society, when the decline of life, at least, should have suggested more serious thoughts; but also at his death to reward his complaisance²⁰⁹ with a much larger portion of his fortune than he had any claim to from consanguinity or the preference²¹⁰ of reason.

Such success encouraged his ambition to higher attempts. Introduced by the same qualifications to the acquaintance of the great, he not only gained their favor by them, but also imposed them upon them for abilities of a higher class so far, that being secure of his subserviency to their designs, they admitted him to a share of their power.²¹¹

But in this he had deceived himself, as well as them; as he found to their disappointment and his own extreme confusion, upon the very first trial of his political talents,²¹² when he showed in the strongest light the difference between the abilities requisite to raise a laugh, and rule a nation.

He had sense enough however to see his mistake before it had involved him in any consequences from which he could not recede without danger as well as disgrace; and prudently sacrificing his ambition to his safety, he turned off all²¹³ with a laugh and returned to the enjoyment of those pleasures for which nature seemed to have so particularly designed him. Whether that enjoyment is as sincere and undisturbed, though, as should appear from his looks and conduct, is a point not so certain, as you may be apt to imagine.

The principles on which this society was originally instituted, and from which it has never deviated, the professed ridicule of moral virtue and religion, should seem to have proceeded from an utter disbelief of a deity; or at least, a fearless defiance of his power; but contrary to this, there starts not at his own shadow a more abject slave to superstition

and all its foolish fears than he was at the time of his instituting it, and still remains.

Such an inconsistency requires explanation to you,²¹⁴ whose notions of life are formed solely from rational speculation.

Henry Fox

From Volume IV, Book I, Chapter 1

(Chrysal is still describing the members of the Hell-Fire Club.)

One of the most specious arguments alleged against the obligation to virtue is the success that is often observed to attend the violation of it in the general pursuits of the world. Of this you see the strongest instance which this age has afforded in that man²¹⁵ who sits at the left hand of the superior, wrapped up in the consciousness of his own importance, and smiling contemptuously at the company around him, while they believe he is joining in their mirth.

A particular account of his life would lead into too great a length. It would seem a satire on mankind, rather than a detail of the actions of one man. However, as a short sketch of it may be of advantage by unveiling this mystery in the conduct of heaven, and proving the insufficiency of the highest prosperity to confer happiness even in the hour of attainment when that prosperity is not founded in and procured by virtue, I will just run over the great heads²¹⁶ of his story, with that brevity which the disagreeableness of the subject naturally dictates.

The opening of his life gave no prospect of his present exalted station. Pleasure in every licentious excess soon dissipated a small patrimony;²¹⁷ and he was hardly entered into man's estate when want, of his own earning, began to stare him in the face.

The peculiar cast of a man's mind is in nothing more strongly shown than in the expedients he has recourse to in order to extricate him from difficulties. Instead of quitting the vices which had brought him into this embarrassment, he resolved on the first alarm to build his hopes of fortune on them by pursuing them in a different manner. Experienced in all the mysteries of intrigue, he knew that age and deformity will purchase pleasures for which youth and beauty expect to be flattered, if not even paid. Unrestrained therefore by any scruples of conscience, he directly determined to fix upon some wealthy female of the former class, and never doubted making her passion repay him manifold what he had expended on the gratification of his own.

I see the abhorrence with which the mention of such a scheme strikes you. Venal prostitution in the female sex, though cut off from every other method of prolonging a wretched existence,²¹⁸ is the lowest state to which it can sink. What then can be said of a man who, uncompelled by such irresistible necessity, voluntarily gives up the dignity of his nature, and hiring himself to be the slave of lusts which are a disgrace to it, contentedly eats the bread of infamy and vice? Language yet wants a name for such baseness.

This hopeful scheme was no sooner formed than carried into execution.²¹⁹ * *

Charles Churchill

From Volume IV, Book I, Chapter 21

(Chrysal is in the possession of Charles Churchill.)

* * *my master, as he staggered home, was accosted by a female who had something in her air and manner so different from those outcasts of humanity who offer themselves to casual prostitution in the streets that his curiosity was struck, and he stopped to take more particular notice of her. She appeared to be about fifteen. Her figure was elegant, and her features regular, but want had sicklied o'er their beauty;²²⁰ and all the horrors of despair gloomed through the languid smile she forced when she addressed him.

The sigh of distress which never struck his ear without affecting his heart came with double force from such an object. He viewed her with silent compassion for some moments and, reaching²²¹ her a piece of gold, bade her go home and shelter herself from the inclemencies of the night at so late an hour. Her surprise and joy at such unexpected charity overpowered her. She dropped upon her knees in the wet and dirt of the street and, raising her hands and eyes toward heaven, remained in that posture for some moments, unable to give utterance to the gratitude that filled her heart.

Such a sight was more expressive than all the powers of eloquence. He raised her tenderly from the ground and, soothing her with words of comfort, offered to conduct her to some place where she might get that refreshment of which she appeared to be

in too great want. "Oh! Sir," said she, pressing the hand that had raised her with her cold, trembling lips, "my deliverer, sent by heaven to save me from despair, let me not think of taking refreshment myself till I have first procured it for those whose greater wants I feel ten thousand times more severely than my own."

"What can they be?" interrupted he, with anxious impatience. "Can humanity feel greater wants than those under which you are sinking?"

"My father," exclaimed she bursting into tears, "languishing under infirmities acquired in the service of his country; my mother worn out with attending on him, and both perishing of want (heaven grant they are not already dead), together with two infant brothers, insensible of the cause of their distress, and crying to them for a morsel of bread which it is not in their power to give."--

"Where can such a scene of wretchedness be hidden from relief?²²² I'll go with you myself directly! but stop! let us first procure some comfortable²²³ nourishment from some of the houses which are kept open at this late hour for a very different purpose. Come with me! we have no time to lose."--With these words he went directly to a tavern and, inquiring what victuals²²⁴ were dressed²²⁵ in the house, loaded her with as much as she could carry of the best and, putting a couple of bottles of wine in his own pocket, walked with her to her habitation, which was in a blind alley happily for her not very far distant,

as weakness, together with the conflict of passions struggling in her heart, made her scarce able to go.²²⁶

When they came to the door she would have gone up first for a light, but he was resolved to accompany her, that he might see the whole scene in its genuine colors. He therefore followed her up to the top of the house where, opening the door of the garret, she discovered to him such a scene of misery as struck him with astonishment. By the light of a lamp that glimmered in the fireless chimney he saw lying on a bare bedstead, without any other covering than the relics of their own rags, a man, a woman, and two children, shuddering with cold, though huddled together to share the little warmth which nature still supplied them with.

While he stood gazing in horror at such complicated wretchedness, his conductress ran to the bedside and, falling on her knees, "Oh! Sir! Madam!" exclaimed she, in rapture, "Arise! I have got relief from an angel of heaven."--

"Take care!" answered a voice, the hollow trembling of which was sharpened by indignation, "take care it is not from a fiend of hell, who has taken advantage of your distress to tempt you to ruin! for with whom else could you be till this time of night? But know, wretched girl, that I will never eat the earnings of vice and infamy. A few hours will put an end to my miseries, which have received the only possible addition by this your folly."

"He must be such indeed," interrupted my master, still more struck with sentiments so uncommon in such a situation, "who

could think of tempting her in such circumstances to any folly. I will withdraw while you arise, and then we will consult what can be soonest done to alleviate a distress of which you appear so undeserving."--While he said this, he took the wine out of his pockets and, giving it to the daughter, went directly downstairs without waiting for a reply, and walking back and forward in the street for some time, enjoyed the sublimest pleasure the human heart is capable of in considering how he had relieved, and should further relieve the sufferings of objects so worthy of relief.

By the time he thought they might have learned from their daughter the circumstances of her meeting with him and taken some nourishment, he returned to them, when the moment he entered the room the whole family fell upon their knees to thank him. Such humiliation²²⁷ was more than he could bear. He raised them, one by one, as fast as he could and, taking the father's hand, "Gracious God!" said he, "can a sense of humanity be such an uncommon thing among creatures who call themselves human, that so poor an exertion of it should be thought deserving of a return proper to be made only to heaven? Oppress me not, sir, I conjure you, with the mention of what it would have been a crime I could never have forgiven myself to have known I had not done. It is too late to think of leaving this place before tomorrow, when I will provide a better, if there is not any to which you choose particularly to go. I am not rich; but I thank heaven that it has blessed me with ability and inclination to afford such

assistance as may be immediately necessary to you, till means may be thought of for doing more."

"Oh, sir," answered the mother, "well might my daughter call you an angel of heaven! You know not from what misery you have already relieved"--

"Nor will I know more of it at this time," interrupted my master, "than that which I too plainly see. I will leave you now to your rest and return as soon as it is day."--

"Speak not of leaving us, sir," exclaimed the daughter, who was afraid that if he should go away he might not return. "What rest can we take in so short a time? Leave us not, I beseech you! leave us not in this place!"--

"Cease, my child!" interposed the father, "nor press your benefactor to continue in a scene of misery that must give pain to his humane heart."--

"If my staying will not give you pain," answered my master, "I will most willingly stay; but it must be on condition that our conversation points entirely forward to happier days. There will be time enough hereafter to look back."--

Saying this, he sat down on the bedside (for other seat the apartment afforded none), between the husband and wife, with whom he spent the little remainder of the night in such discourse as he thought most likely to divert their attention from their present misery and inspire their minds with better hopes, while the children, all but the daughter who hung upon his words, comforted at heart with a better meal than they had long tasted,

fell fast asleep as they leaned their heads upon their mother's lap.

As soon as it was day, "Now, madam," said my master, addressing himself to the mother, "I will go and provide a place for your reception, as you say all places are alike to you. In the meantime accept of this trifle (giving her ten guineas) to provide such necessaries as you may indispensably want before you remove. When you are settled, we will see what further can be done. I shall be back with you within these three hours at most."

For such beneficence there was no possibility of returning thanks; but their hearts spoke through their eyes in a language sufficiently intelligible to his. Departing directly to save both himself and them the pain of pursuing a conversation that grew too distressful, he went without regard to change of dress or appearance to look for a proper lodging for them, where he laid in²²⁸ such provisions of every kind as he knew they must immediately want. This care employed him till the time he had promised to return, when he found such an alteration in the looks and appearance of them all as gave his heart delight.

"You see, sir," said the mother, as soon as he entered, "the effects of your bounty; but do not think that vanity has made us abuse it. These clothes, what we could raise on which has for some time been our sole support, were the purchase of happier times; and were now redeemed for much less than we must have given for the worst we could buy."--

"Dear madam," interrupted my master, taking her hand respectfully, "mention not anything of the kind to me, I beseech you. You will soon see such times again."--Then turning to her husband, "I have taken a lodging, sir," continued he; "it is convenient but not large, as I imagined would be your choice. I will call a coach to take us to it directly. If there are any demands here, let the people of the house be called up, and they shall be paid. I will be your purse-bearer²²⁹ for the present."

"No, sir," replied the husband, "there are not any. You have enabled us to discharge all demands upon us. People in our circumstances cannot find credit, because they want it."

My master would then have gone for a coach, but the daughter insisted on saving him that trouble; upon which he put the whole family into it, and walked away before them to their new lodging. It is impossible to describe what these poor people felt when they saw the provision he had made for their reception. The father, in particular, could not bear it but, sinking into a chair, "This is too much!" said he, as soon as a flood of tears had given vent to the fullness of his heart. "This is too much. Support me, gracious heaven, who has sent this best of men to my relief, support me under the weight of obligations which the preservation of these alone (looking round upon his wife and children) could induce me to accept."--Then addressing himself to my master, "My heart is not unthankful," continued he, "but gratitude in such excess as mine, where there is no prospect of ever making a return, is the severest pain."

My master, who sought none, attempted often to give the conversation another turn; but finding that they could speak or think of nothing else as yet, he took his leave, promising to come the next day, when their minds should be better settled, to consult what more was in his power to serve them, having first privately taken an opportunity to slip a couple of guineas into the daughter's hand to avoid putting the delicacy of her father and mother to farther pain.

Charles Churchill (*cont'd*)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 1

Fatigued in mind and body from the debauch of the evening before and the height to which his tenderest passions had been wound up by such a moving scene, my master went directly home and, throwing himself on a bed, slept till next morning without disturbance from pain or reflection.

The contradictions which I had seen in his character²³⁰ prompted my curiosity to take this opportunity of looking back to his past life to try if in the occurrences of that I could trace their cause. Born in the middle rank of life,²³¹ his parents were induced by the dawnings of uncommon genius which he discovered in his earliest youth to give him such an education²³² as might enable him to make that figure in some of the learned professions, for which paternal²³³ fondness flattered them that nature had designed him.

But however greatly he profited by his education, the end proposed by it was far from being pleasing to his inclinations,

which the vigor of his mind and body turned to more active scenes.²³⁴ For this reason, when he was to quit the pursuits of general learning for those of some particular profession his ardor cooled, and he entirely lost that spirit of emulative ambition which alone can enable a man to arrive at eminence.

Such a falling off could not escape the anxious observation of his friends, but as it was not in their power either to remedy it or gratify his inclination in any other way, all they could was to enter him into the service of religion,²³⁵ a profession in which though the greatest abilities and application of the human mind are evidently and indispensably necessary, yet by the perversion of man, the least are required.

* * *

Charles Churchill (*cont'd*)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 3

(Chrysal is in the possession of John Wilkes.)

The peculiar character of my late master made me feel regret at leaving his service till I should see more of him. His abilities did honor to the age and country in which he lived; and the exalted sentiments of virtue which broke from him spontaneously in the genuine effusions of his soul gave sufficient reason to judge that his conduct would be entirely ruled by it, and his talents exerted in the more pleasing and extensive way of recommending it to imitation by displaying all its advantages and charms, as soon as time should cool the fervor of his passions and apply its lenient balsam to the sores in his

heart, the smart²³⁶ of which first gave him that poignant²³⁷ turn, and drove him for relief to excesses that too often drowned his better reason and led him into actions which, in a cooler moment, he abhorred. In a word, his failings were the luxuriance²³⁸ of nature, as his virtues were her perfection.²³⁹

* * *

Description of Medmenham Abbey
From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 17

* * *

In the middle of a large lake upon his estate,²⁴⁰ there was an island, the natural beauties of whose situation had been heightened by every improvement of art. On this island he erected a building²⁴¹ exactly on the model of the monasteries which he had seen in other countries; and to make the resemblance complete, there was not a vice that he had ever heard imputed to the inhabitants of them, for practicing which he did not make provision in his. The cellars were stored with the choicest wines; the larders with the delicacies of every climate; and the cells were fitted up for all the purposes of lasciviousness, for which proper objects were also provided.²⁴²

Thus far, the ridicule, however criminal in itself, may seem to have been designed only against those societies of human institution:²⁴³ but it was beneath his genius and spirit to stop here. Nothing less would satisfy him than to attack the very essentials of the religion established by the laws of his country, and acknowledged by every serious person in it to be divine.

For this pious purpose, when everything was prepared for their reception, his next care was to find a fraternity proper for the place. But in this his rank and course of life made him not long at a loss. He selected from among his intimates a number equal to that of those who had been at the first chosen to

inculcate the religion which he designed to ridicule,²⁴⁴ whose names they assumed, as he with equal modesty and piety did that of the divine author of it:²⁴⁵ and to supply any decrease in this number by death or desertion from the terrors of reflection he instituted an inferior order of as many more, chosen also with the greatest caution and regard to the latitude of their principles, their fortunes and mirthful accomplishments.

The probationary office²⁴⁶ of these latter was to attend upon their superiors in the celebration of the mysteries which were all performed in the chapel of the monastery, where no other servants were ever permitted to enter on the most common occasion, as the very decorations of it would in a great measure have betrayed their secrets, the ceiling being covered with emblems and devices²⁴⁷ too gross to require explanation to the meanest capacity;²⁴⁸ and the walls painted with the portraits of those whose names and characters they assumed represented in attitudes, and actions, horrible to imagination.

* * *

Description of a Passover Feast

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 23

(Chrysal is in the possession of a Jewish peddler.)

* * *

The place chosen for the celebration of this ceremony was a summer house in a garden belonging to one of the rulers of their synagogue, where they all met at the appointed time. As soon as they were placed in order, one of the elders stood up, and in a long speech declared the occasion of their meeting, read the original institution²⁴⁹ of the Passover, and then recited the tradition,²⁵⁰ which changed the sacrifice offered, as I said before;²⁵¹ concluding with an oath of secrecy, which all present joined in and confirmed with the most dreadful imprecations, and which was to be sealed by the participation²⁵² of this horrid mystery.

When he had ended, the victims of that night were produced, their bodies examined for fear of blemish,²⁵³ and their primogeniture proved by those who had provided them, and who were reimbursed their expenses before the sacrifices began by the general contribution of all present.

This method was used, that every person might have an equal share in the merit of the sacrifice,²⁵⁴ as it would be dangerous and too expensive to provide a lamb for every head of a family in the congregation.²⁵⁵

Description of a Passover Feast (cont'd)

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 1

* * *

All things being prepared, the victims were brought to the altar naked and bound, the instruments for flaying, and the fires for roasting them (for, horror to human thought! they were to have feasted on their flesh)²⁵⁶ in readiness, and the butchers, of whom my master was one, just going to begin their work, when the doors of the house were burst open with an outcry that heightened the terrors of the guilty wretches, and a band of soldiers rushed in and seized them as they stood stupefied with the fright.

The horror of the sight gave a respite to their fate, striking the very hearts of the soldiers, though hardened by all the cruelties of war, with an astonishment that deprived them of power to stir for some moments. But this was only a short calm that, as it were, gave time to the storm to gather; for, as they stood thus gazing at each other, one of the children cried out, "Oh, father! father! come and untie my hands! these ugly cords hurt me!"

The voice no sooner struck the ear of the officer who commanded the party than, starting in a frenzy, he ran to the child, whom he had not distinguished before as he lay naked on the ground, and snatching him up in his arms, "O my child!" said he, in an ecstasy, "have I found you! have I rescued you in the very moment when you are going to be sacrificed by these wretches! O my child! my child!"

These words awoke the fury of the soldiers, which burst upon the Jews with a violence not to be restrained. The house was in a moment a scene of horror beyond description. Most of them fell instant sacrifices to the resistless²⁵⁷ rage. Happier far in having so speedy an end put to their sufferings than the few survivors, who saved their lives for that moment by throwing themselves among the dead or taking hold of the children, whom, even in this hurricane of passion, the soldiers took all care not to hurt.

The little respite which this caution gave the officers improved²⁵⁸ to pacify the soldiers, who would not be persuaded to spare the rest by any other argument but a positive assurance of having them put to the most severe and infamous public death.

When the storm was a little calmed by these means, and the living separated from the dead, the pillage of the scene was given up to the men, who rifled all, living and dead, with the most unrelenting severity, and retaliated their wicked intentions with exemplary justice on the miserable criminals, stripping them quite naked, and binding them with the very cords which they took off their destined victims, who were unbound with the tenderest care, and carried away till their parents should be discovered or, in case that could not be, to be educated at the public expense as the children of the state, while their intended murderers were thrown into prison till a punishment should be appointed severe enough for their guilt.

* * *

Sackville's Perfidy

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 12

(Chrysal is in the possession of a Jesuit spy in Brussels.)

The very morning after my master's arrival in the camp, an event happened that astonished all Europe. The French army was so greatly superior to that of the allies that the general²⁵⁹ was obliged to be entirely upon the defensive, nor had his consummate experience and indefatigable assiduity been able to prevent their taking several advantages by their numbers, and forcing him to retreat, that seemed to threaten the loss of the country he was to defend. But, through all these difficulties he persisted steadily in his own plan, and preserved his attention cool, and ready to take any advantage that might offer.

Accordingly, that morning, upon notice of some motions of the enemy²⁶⁰ that indicated a design of attacking him, he ordered a small but select body of forces, almost all of them English, to advance towards them and receive their charge, while he should make a proper disposition of the rest of his army to give the enemy battle, or make a secure retreat, as he should see expedient; but the unexampled behavior of those few brave troops soon changed the face of the affair; for, not satisfied with repelling the attack of the main body of the enemy's army, they intrepidly advanced to charge them in their turn, which they did with such irresistible valor that the French were thrown into confusion and obliged to abandon the field of battle.

* * *

The moment the commander-in-chief²⁶¹ received an account of the unexpected effects of the valor of the troops which he had ordered to march toward the enemy, he went to the English general,²⁶² who commanded all the horse²⁶³ in that wing, to advance and sustain them. It is impossible to describe his situation when a messenger from the general informed him that a party of the army was engaged in the plain that lay before him, and ordered him to march the cavalry under his command to their assistance. Surprise and resentment at such a measure's being taken without his having the least previous notice of it almost deprived him of his reason; but he recovered himself in a moment and, drawing his sword, with an air of indignation and discontent, was just preparing to obey the orders he had received, when another messenger arrived and delivered them, but with some variation.

This the general instantly perceived, and resolved to take advantage of to justify his obeying neither, in hopes, by that means, to accomplish his scheme of defeating the measures of his commander without any regard to the consequences that must attend such a conduct. Accordingly, instead of advancing, as he had been prepared to do, he entered into a debate with the messengers about this difference in their orders and, finding each positive in those he delivered, he coolly determined to go himself to the general for an explanation of them by trifling away the critical moment;²⁶⁴ in which manner he expected that the part of the allied army which was engaged would be beaten for want of a

proper and timely support, when he might have the glory of covering their retreat, and saving the whole army from a defeat, and effectually ruining the character of the general by attributing the whole misfortune to his not taking the advice of his council, or even communicating his designs to them in proper time.

Such a scheme was but too likely to succeed, had not the unparalleled bravery of the troops, whom he thus designed to have sacrificed to his ambition and resentment, disappointed it beyond all human probability,²⁶⁵ as I have observed before, and actually beaten the whole army of the enemy, though ten times their number, out of the field,²⁶⁶ while he was taking advantage of a pretext to abandon them to ruin.

The situation of his mind, when, upon his coming up to the general, he heard the victory was won, may be better conceived than described. The cool distant reception he met with gave him notice of the storm which was ready to burst over his head: and he saw that the scheme he had laid so deeply to perpetrate the ruin of another had inevitably worked his own, as the very accusations which he had intended to bring against his general would now recoil upon himself with ten-fold force.

According to his fears,²⁶⁷ the general next morning publicly passed an implicit censure on his conduct, which he saw received with such universal approbation that he thought it proper to resign his command, for fear of personal insult from the incensed soldiers; and return home, where he did not doubt but the

interest of his family, and his own eloquence and address, would vindicate his character at least, if not still accomplish his designs against the general.

Though I lost sight of him at this time, yet, as I had an opportunity afterwards of coming to the knowledge of the whole affair, I think it better, and less trouble to us both,²⁶⁸ to continue the account here than break my narrative with it in another place.

The first construction which was put upon his conduct was that it proceeded from cowardice; an opinion which the cruelty of his temper to those under his command gave no small weight to from this generally just maxim, that the cruel are always cowards; and which many insignificant²⁶⁹ parts of his former conduct were alleged to confirm; but I have shown that it sprung from another much less justifiable cause; I say, less justifiable, as cowardice is a natural infirmity which a man is no more accountable for than for his being born blind or lame; but such a scheme as his was a premeditated crime and aggravated with the blackest circumstances.

The first consequence of his quitting the army was a perfect harmony between the English and Germans; the glory they had acquired upon this occasion raising the spirits of the former so high that they thought no more of the inconveniences they had complained of before, but readily followed the example of their new commander, whom they all loved; and entered into friendship with their fellow-soldiers, as if there had never been any

jealousy between them; who, on the other hand, were so struck with their gallant behavior, and so sensible of the advantage gained by it, that they no longer accused them of improper delicacy, or strove to do them ill offices with the natives of the country as before.²⁷⁰ But what completed the happiness of the English was the commander in chief's indulging their natural thirst for glory under their present commander by giving them the post of honor²⁷¹ upon all occasions, and taking public notice of their valor, the honor of which they esteemed a sufficient recompense for the severest fatigues and dangers: an indulgence which it was not in his power to give before, as their late commander had always opposed their being exposed to danger out of an affected regard to them, as if they were of greater consequence than the rest of the army, or joined it only to make a figure, and not to do any service.

As soon as the late general arrived in England, his sovereign, who had been informed of the whole affair, immediately deprived him of his many very lucrative and honorable employments,²⁷² and dismissed him his service; an instance of clemency which few other princes would have shown, and which regard to the merits of his illustrious ancestors alone procured for him.

But so far was he from having a proper sense of this lenity, or acquiescing in the sentence of his sovereign, that he loudly asserted his being wronged, and demanded a trial to vindicate his character with all the assurance of conscious innocence.

This was the highest insult that could be offered to a prince, as it impeached his justice, and questioned his power in the tenderest point;²⁷³ however, he scorned to take any advantage of it but, waiving every personal resentment, condescended to grant the trial demanded; but with this express declaration, that, as it was at the instance of the party, and without any legal necessity, he should abide by the sentence of his judges, be it what it would, as he would never interfere farther.²⁷⁴ But this declaration was of little weight for the general was well-advised, before he solicited the trial, that according to the laws of the country he was exempted from the danger of it by his being deprived of all his military employments, as they only made a Britain²⁷⁵ subject to military law, by which he must be tried; and this exemption was the real reason of his being so eager for a trial.

But, though this life might be out of danger by this subterfuge, the trial completed the ruin of character beyond all possibility of recovery, as, upon the most impartial examination, his neglect of the orders of his commander,²⁷⁶ and the pernicious consequences of it by the loss of so favorable an opportunity of entirely ruining the army of the enemy, and perhaps putting an end to the war, by that means appeared so plainly that the justice of his being dismissed the service was not only asserted, but he was also declared incapable of ever being admitted into it again:²⁷⁷ and thus he fell, a second time, a victim to his own schemes. As to the victory which had been the immediate cause of

his ruin, as soon as the circumstances of it, as related here, came to be known to the world, the general lost the glory which, in the first emotions of joy and admiration, had been so lavishly heaped upon him for it; and it was justly ascribed to accident, as human foresight could not possibly have formed any plan for such an improbable instance of bravery as that which obtained it.²⁷⁸

The Tavora Plot

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 19

(Chrysal is still in the possession of the Jesuit spy.)

* * *

The king²⁷⁹ was shot in his coach as he returned one night from a love-assignation at some distance from his palace by my master, who had waylaid him at a proper place and fired a blunderbuss,²⁸⁰ loaded with small balls,²⁸¹ at him, through the back of the coach.

By an instantaneous stupefaction of fear which is often taken for resolution and presence of mind, the king fell down in the coach, and spoke not a word; which made my master conclude the work done, and so prevented a repetition of the blow.

But what was his confusion the next morning when he found that the king, though severely wounded, was likely to recover! The opportunity was lost, nor was it probable that another should offer till it would be too late. However, he attended the event,²⁸² so far safe,²⁸³ that no one could endanger his safety by betraying him, there being no person there, not even of the order,²⁸⁴ privy to the action: for secrets of this importance are always entrusted to as few as possible.

While he thus calmly looked on as an unconcerned spectator, it is impossible to describe the distraction that reigned all over the city, where every person suspected his neighbor, and was almost afraid to converse with his brother for fear of being

suspected of a participation in a crime of which he knew not the person guilty.

At court, in the meantime, the most mysterious silence was observed, and all conversation on the subject discouraged. This was thought to be the most probable way of coming to the knowledge of so dark an affair; as their spies could thereby mix with the people with less suspicions, and make their observations with the greater certainty when they should be off their guard.

Not that they were at a loss to think from whence the blow had come; but by whom it was struck was the difficulty to find out, that so they might found their proceedings on an evidence of justice, for the Jesuits were too mighty a body to be attacked upon an uncertainty.

* * *

I told you that the attempt had been made upon the king as he was returning from a love-meeting. The person with whom he had been²⁸⁵ was descended from the first, and related or allied to all the greatest families in the kingdom.

In a country whose characteristics are pride and revenge,²⁸⁶ such an intercourse²⁸⁷ must be dangerous even to royalty, as the honor of all those families seemed to be wounded through her. Accordingly, a rumor of her being with child having extorted some inadvertent, illative,²⁸⁸ general menaces from some of her relations, as the fact was really so, the conscious apprehensions of the king were alarmed; and, as he could not declare the true reason of them, he made a pretense of the assassination;²⁸⁹ the

charge of which received some appearance of probability from the very circumstance which now occasioned its being brought against them, it being known that he was returning from that lady at the very time when the attempt was made upon him.

Thus to the fear of danger arising from a real crime were the greatest subjects in the kingdom to be sacrificed on a pretense of guilt, which their very accusers believed them innocent of. For, before they were apprehended their ruin was resolved on, which was not a little forwarded by the opportunity which it gave the king of seizing all their vast possessions, and thereby repairing the losses he had suffered in the late calamities.²⁹⁰

Accordingly, after suffering every torture which human ingenuity could invent to make them confess a guilt of which they were not even suspected, they were publicly executed in the most ignominious and cruel manner, in the sight of an astonished people, without any proof being given of their guilt besides the bare affirmations and strained inferences of those who were both accusers and judges, and also reaped the profits of their ruin.

Such scenes as these are too horrid to be dwelt on: I shall therefore return to my master, with whom I had an opportunity of coming to the knowledge of every transaction relative to this mysterious affair, the miscarriage of his attempt having made it unnecessary for him to disburse the money among which I came to him,²⁹¹ and by that means continued me so long in his possession.

Could anything have heightened the opinion my first knowledge of him gave me, it must have been to see him an unconcerned spectator of the sufferings of those unhappy victims to his guilt, and to hear him argue for the justice of their punishment.

But his triumph was not long; secret and inscrutable as the Jesuits imagined they had laid their schemes, the king either received, or pretended to have received, such information of them as confirmed, by a multitude of facts not to be denied, gave an appearance of probability and justice to their being charged as accomplices with the unhappy nobles, and treated with the utmost severity; a step that could not have been taken on such grounds while these nobles were alive and at liberty, or the people in spirits to exert the influence of their prejudices in their behalf. But the favorable minute was come to strike at the root of ecclesiastical tyranny, and deliver both king and people from a yoke under which they had so long blindly groaned, that, at length, they thought it just and natural.²⁹²

* * *

(Here, Chrysal describes how his master was arrested and sent to prison.)

Description of Aminadab's Death

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 20

(Aminadab's son is describing his father's death for his uncle's edification.)

* * *

"By the letters which my father wrote to thee from England in the sacred cipher²⁹³ of our family, thou wert informed of his intended return into his native land of Africa,²⁹⁴ and invited to meet him at Tetouan²⁹⁵ and share his fortune. This he told me while we were upon our voyage; but thy better angel prevented thee, and saved thee the labor and loss of such a journey in vain.

"The ship on board which we unfortunately embarked was a Dutchman bound for the coast of Italy, but was to land us at Gibraltar, from whence we knew we could get an immediate passage over. But behold, when we were just in view of the port; when the sight of his native land made the soul of my father rejoice, and we thought of nothing but safety and content, a Sallee²⁹⁶ rover²⁹⁷ gave chase to our ship. The Dutch captain immediately crowded all the sail²⁹⁸ he could to escape; but the wind dying away and the pirate gaining upon us with his oars, he came to my father with tears in his eyes, and told him that we were all ruined, for he had neglected to bring a pass.²⁹⁹

"This news was like a clap of thunder to my father, who too well knew the consequence of their finding such a mass of wealth in his possession. 'Wretch that I am,' exclaimed he, 'why did I

venture with one of thy sordid nation? slaves to mammon,³⁰⁰ who would hazard liberty and fortune to save such a trifle.'³⁰¹ Then turning about and going into his cabin, he stood some moments as if lost in thought when, bursting into an ecstatic rage, he snatched up the coffer in which his gold and jewels were from under the head of his bed and, embracing it eagerly, 'I have gained thee,' said he, 'I have earned thee with anxiety and toil; and I will not lose thee now!--O Jonah, send thy whale to receive me,³⁰² and bear me to the land of my fathers. I will not be a laughing-stock to the Gentiles, nor a by-word³⁰³ in my father's house.'--Saying which words he rushed upon the deck and, before any person could possibly prevent him, he plunged into the sea with the coffer in his arms, and was never seen more.

"While all stood amazed at his rashness, the heavens, as if appeased with the sacrifice, immediately sent a wind that filled our fluttering sails, and soon bore the ship, delivered thus of its Jonah, out of the reach of the enemies.* * *

The Byng Debacle

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 6

(Chrysal is in the possession of Captain Harry Powlett,³⁰⁴ who asks another naval officer for information on the Byng debacle.)

* * * "You desire information in an affair," said he, "that has given our chore³⁰⁵ the deepest wound we have ever received. The circumstances are many and mysterious; but I will strive to give you a notion of it in as few words as possible, for it can be no pleasure to either of us to dwell upon such a subject.

"In the beginning of the war, soon after you went to America, the unfortunate man³⁰⁶ who has this day fallen a sacrifice to the humor³⁰⁷ of the times was sent out with a fleet to counteract the schemes of the enemy, and relieve a fortress³⁰⁸ of ours which they were then besieging. (This was the purport³⁰⁹ of his public orders; but it will appear to you presently that he must have received private ones of a nature different nature from those who at that time had the conduct of affairs.)

"Instead of making the expedition³¹⁰ necessary to have carried his orders into execution with effect, he trifled away the time here in such a shameful manner, using every frivolous excuse he could devise to delay his departure, that the voice of the public was raised against him; and it was found necessary to appoint another to the command in his place in order to silence their clamors; but unfortunately for him, he sailed the very day before his appointed successor was to have set out to supersede him.

"The same dilatory conduct threw a damp upon everything he attempted to do. He seemed resolved upon nothing; but though he was invested with the fullest powers to act as he saw proper himself, called councils of war to deliberate upon every the most trifling occasion, that he might have the sanction of their advice to excuse his neglect and often direct disobedience of his orders;³¹¹ for you well know, that a council of war always speak the sense of the commander.³¹²

One instance of his proceeding in this manner will be sufficient to justify this remark. He had been ordered to call at another fortress³¹³ in his way and take from thence a reinforcement for the garrison of that which he was sent to relieve: on his arrival there, instead of demanding that reinforcement peremptorily, as his orders empowered him, and making the expedition which the urgency of the occasion required, he showed such indifference to the enterprise by his delays, and expressed such diffidence of his success, that the commanding officer³¹⁴ took alarm; and following his example, called a council of war to consider whether he should send it, which on mature deliberation he absolutely refused on account of the danger of weakening his own garrison in case it should be attacked; whereas, it was notorious that could never happen if this unhappy man did his duty, as the force he had was sufficient to keep the command of the sea, and prevent such attempt. But far from urging this he quietly acquiesced in the officer's

excuse and sailed away without the reinforcement for which alone he had been ordered to stop there.³¹⁵

"On the same principles, when at length he came in sight of the place the siege of which was pushed with the greatest vigor he excused his sending any relief to it on a pretense of the danger of entering the harbor, as if any military operations could be free from danger, and sailed away to seek a fleet of the enemies which was coming to assist the siege, and which he came up with sooner than he wished.

"An engagement now was unavoidable; but, still he had it in his power to prevent any effect from it, which he notoriously did by trifling away his time in vain unnecessary maneuvers, and pretending to come to action³¹⁶ at a distance too great for him to do anything.

"The enemy, whose interest it was to avoid an engagement in which their most sanguine hopes could not promise them success, availed themselves of this conduct and made their escape, after having, from the superiority which his keeping aloof in this manner gave them, treated very roughly a part of his fleet that had advanced with less caution, and come really to action.³¹⁷

"This served him as a pretense for calling a council of war next day, by the advice of which instead of pursuing the enemy, who had evidently fled from him, or making any attempt to relieve the fortress which was besieged, obviously the first object of his being sent out, he returned directly to the other from which he was to have taken the reinforcement, as I mentioned before, to

defend that from the danger brought upon it solely by his own conduct, leaving the former, deprived thus of every prospect of relief, to take its fate; and giving up the honor of his country by flying from an enemy whom he might have vanquished, and who had fled from him before.

The Byng Debacle (*cont'd*)

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 7

"The consequence of so strange a conduct was, the nation took fire;³¹⁸ and with one voice demanded satisfaction for such a sacrifice of their interest and honor. He was therefore not only deprived of his command, but also sent home a prisoner; and after suffering every indignity and abuse which the rage of a licentious populace broken loose from all bounds could suggest, brought to his trial, found guilty of neglecting to do all in his power to destroy the enemy, and for that crime has this day suffered the sentence of the law; a sentence not more unexpected by him, and extraordinary in itself, than in the manner it was passed, and afterwards attempted to be reversed by those who had passed it when they reflected on the danger of establishing a precedent that might one day come home to themselves.

"For persuaded (perhaps by their knowledge of the true motives of his conduct) that nothing more was meant by the trial than to amuse³¹⁹ the public, they resolved to act their parts in the farce and found him guilty, as I have said, of such a part only of the charge against him as common sense could never conceive punishable with death,³²⁰ it being impossible to acquit

him absolutely of the whole without involving themselves in his guilt, by which means they expected to save both his life and their own credit.³²¹ But such *trimming*³²² seldom answers;³²³ the tables were now turned; and it was resolved to carry even this lame³²⁴ sentence into execution with the utmost severity.

Alarmed at a measure so contrary to their expectations, his judges were driven to their wit's end; and from a provident regard to themselves left nothing unattempted to save him. They retracted, as far as was in their power, their own judgment!³²⁵ they petitioned the ministry! they applied to the whole body of the legislature. They prayed! they expostulated! they went!³²⁶ but all was in vain. His fate was determined; and they only drew upon themselves that contempt which such inconsistency deserved.

"From this general account of his conduct it must have appeared to you that he acted by secret orders, directly opposite to his public ones, as no man however prostituted in principle, however infatuated by fear (neither of which, it was well known, was his case), could otherwise possibly have acted in such a manner, the inevitable consequences of which were disgrace and death. But if any doubt should remain on your mind from the inconsistency of man's actions at different times, the least attention to the following circumstances will effectually remove it.

"Repeated information of the enemy's design upon that place had been sent to those in power³²⁷ for a considerable time before; but no notice was taken of it to reinforce the garrison;

or even order the officers, regularly belonging to it, to attend their duty, till the siege was actually begun; when this unfortunate man was sent, but so late, that the common impediments of contrary winds might very possibly have delayed him so long as to defeat the design of his going, even had he exerted himself with the greatest ardor.

"Had it also been really intended that he should reinforce the garrison, a force proper for that purpose would have been sent directly from home³²⁸ without subjecting him to the further delay of stopping for it at another place where it might not be to be spared, as proved to be the case.

"And lastly, had he not had secret reasons which he thought sufficient to justify his conduct it is not to be imagined that he would have wasted the time before he sailed; that he would have accepted the refusal of the commanding officer of the fortress from which he was to have taken the reinforcement; that he would not have attempted at least to throw some relief into the place; and that he would not have fought the enemy's fleet when he had the fairest³²⁹ prospect of defeating it; for the tenor of his former life acquitted him, as I have observed, of all suspicion of cowardice or traitorous correspondence with the foes of his country.

"His conduct at and after his trial confirmed these remarks. Depending on support from those in power, he neglected the only measure prudence could have suggested for his defense, which was to have retorted the charge of his miscarriage upon his very

accusers,³³⁰ and perplexed³³¹ the cause with such a variety of matter about "disobedience to signals" and "breach of discipline" as to blind the world and bewilder his judges, so that they should be glad to have acquitted him if only to get rid of the plague of the inquiry; a method which experience had shown to be effectual in as flagrant a case as his.³³² And even after he was condemned, his behavior proved that he expected a pardon to the last moment for a crime which he had committed in obedience to their orders. Why he did not produce those orders in his vindication must have been that they were only verbal ones; which in the blind lust of ministerial confidence³³³ and favor he had been weak enough to take.

"The reason of his being so basely deserted is too obvious. The administration of those who had employed him had been such a series of blunders (not to call it by a severer name) that they had not only been supplanted by another set,³³⁴ who promised better things, but were also obliged to give him up as a sin offering³³⁵ to the rage of the people, as protecting or pardoning him would have implied a participation of his guilt. And in this light the other party viewed it so strongly that they exerted all their strength to have saved him, in hopes of being able by his means to gain a clue to guide them through some of those labyrinths of iniquitous and false policy, which they suspected but could not otherwise detect, to the entire overthrow³³⁶ of their rivals.

"This so absolutely reversed the whole scene, that they who should have supported now found themselves obliged to crush him in their own defense, which, as it was the most popular measure, they were still able to do.

"There is but one thing more necessary for me to add; and that is the motive for their giving him such secret orders; which, as far as reason can judge in such dark, confused mysteries, must have been this.

"Provoked at the repeated insults and injustice of the French, the ministry here had precipitately plunged themselves³³⁷ into a war without being prepared or even determined to pursue it; and then, like a parcel of children who have exhausted all their strength and resolution in one spiteful assault, stood in a state of stupefaction, utterly at a loss how to proceed or retreat; till roused at length by the preparations and menaces of the enemy, they unluckily blundered in their fright upon the wretched expedient of letting them take this fortress, that for the recovery of it, they might have a pretense for giving up to them those places about which the dispute had begun; and so *botch* up³³⁸ a peace any way, to get rid of a war they found themselves unable to manage.

"The consequence of this notable stroke of policy was, the spirit of the people was inflamed to such a degree, by this disgrace upon their arms, that they have pushed on the war with a resolution little short of madness; and the scheme, which the

ministers had so wisely laid for their escape, only sealed their ruin.

"This, my friend, is a short but just sketch of this unfortunate affair, to which I shall only add one circumstance to prove what I said of his being sacrificed to the humor of the times. The officer who commanded³³⁹ in the fortress which was besieged, and who in the defense of it had betrayed a want of every qualification necessary for such an office but courage, and had even let that be overruled by the instances³⁴⁰ of his officers, who were tired of fatigues and dangers from which they saw no prospect of relief, to surrender it at last without any absolute necessity, was loaded with honors of every kind in reward of a merit merely negative at best; that is for not having done the very worst in his power, and surrendered it at first, without making any defense.

"I have thus gratified your curiosity in the best manner in my power. If I have made any mistakes, they are not those of intention; but have proceeded from the inability of reason to trace such mysterious actions to their real motives. One observation, though, I know I cannot be mistaken in, which is that this affair has given a wound to our chore (as I observed before) which it can never recover. For after such an example, what officer of any rank can expect to escape should he neglect to do his duty in the fullest manner, however powerful his private motives to the contrary may be?

"For my own part, I cannot say it yet affects me much. I am poor; and therefore must push.³⁴¹ If I ever have the good luck to be other, I know the consequence; and will rather quit the service than hazard being shot, as I know must be any man's fate who shall hereafter be found to fail in the performance of his duty from a prudential regard to the preservation of his life or fortune; however great that fortune, or powerful his family."

* * *

Riot at Drury Lane

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 9

(Chrysal is in the possession of John Hill.)

* * *

In the infancy of the stage in London, before it had been brought by much labor and expense to such a degree of perfection as to attract the attention of the public, it had been the custom after a certain part of the representation was over to admit persons for less than was paid at the beginning.

The obvious reason of this was to allure company of any kind thither, and take the most they could get, rather than keep the house empty. But when the passion for seeing plays arose to its present height,³⁴² this expedient appeared to be no longer necessary, and therefore was disused; a change which those who conducted the entertainments of the theater justified by alleging the enhanced salaries of the actors and the improvements made in the machinery³⁴³ and decorations of the stage since the time when that custom was introduced, which they said required reimbursement by a method that could not justly be taken offense at, as none were obliged to go who did not approve of the terms.

Such a measure was most alarming to these men of taste,³⁴⁴ some of whom denied themselves the pleasure of going to the beginning of the performance because they were not able to pay the full price; as the others could not get from behind their compters³⁴⁵ before it was half-ended; and for these good reasons

both thought it the highest grievance to have a custom abolished that had been so convenient to them.

Accordingly, as soon as the performance began they all arose and, without any respect to the rest of the audience, interrupted the players in the most outrageous manner, nor would desist till the managers should promise to redress the grievance which affected them so severely, and take half-prices as before.

This was too flagrant a violation of justice to be submitted to so suddenly. The managers therefore refused; upon which these redressers of grievances gave a loose to their resentment at such an instance of disobedience to their authority; and tore the house to pieces, doing more damage to the proprietors than their own entire worldly substance could repair.³⁴⁶

Riot at Drury Lane (*cont'd*)

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 10

When these men of genius and public spirit had thus gallantly accomplished their enterprise, they marched off in triumph, denouncing³⁴⁷ a repetition of their resentment should their orders not be obeyed.

The appearance of the house after this ravage, and the looks of the actors when they ventured to creep out of their hiding holes, seemed to realize³⁴⁸ the mimic³⁴⁹ scenes usually exhibited there. All was havoc, desolation, amazement and affright. Crowns, scepters, candlesticks, and broken benches were jumbled together; sovereigns and sweepers,³⁵⁰ lords, link boys,³⁵¹

duchesses and cinder wenches³⁵² joined in one common lamentation on their fate.

This, however, lasted not long. Their hearts were not formed of stuff for grief to make a deep impression on; nor were they so unaccustomed to the rubs³⁵³ of life as to be dejected at any mischance. Their concern therefore wore off with their fright; and one of them,³⁵⁴ resuming his character of turning everything to ridicule, marched with solemn pace and rueful countenance up to the motley ruins now collected into a heap and, with some droll variations, apt to the occasion, spouted over them a tragic speech in all the emphasis and trick³⁵⁵ of woe. The humor instantly ran through them all. Mirth grinned on every face; and they vied in cracking villainous jests on each other's undoing.

But the managers³⁵⁶ had suffered too severely in their property to be in so merry a mood. They consulted among themselves and with the sages of the law what was proper for them to do to obtain redress for such injustice, and prevent the menaced repetition of it. But all was to no purpose. Law gave way to licentiousness; and they were obliged to submit to the most intolerable of all tyrannies, that of the mob.

* * *

Wilkes, the Baboon, and the Hell-Fire Club

From Volume III, Book II, Chapter 18

(Chrysal, who is in the possession of Lord Sandwich,³⁵⁷ is describing John Wilkes.)

* * *

Though he disdained³⁵⁸ to decline the late competition,³⁵⁹ as the others did, he had been well aware that my master's higher rank in life³⁶⁰ would carry the point in dispute against him; for which injustice he resolved to revenge himself in the most signal³⁶¹ manner.

For this purpose he had contrived the night before to bring into his cell a great baboon, which he had provided for the occasion. When the brotherhood retired to their cells after dinner, as I have told you, to prepare for the ceremony, he availed himself of the office of keeper of the chapel, which he then filled, to convey this creature, dressed up in the fantastic garb in which childish imagination clothes devils, into the chapel, where he shut him up in a large chest that stood there to hold the ornaments and utensils of the table when the society was away. To the spring of the lock of this chest he fastened a cord, which he drew under the carpet that was on the floor to his own seat, and there brought the end of it through a hole, made for the purpose, in such a manner that he could readily find it; and by giving it a pull, open the chest and let the baboon loose whenever he pleased, without being perceived by any of the rest of the company.

Accordingly, when they were all in the height of their mirth, on my master's kneeling down, and with hands and eyes raised toward heaven repeating an invocation in the perverted phrase of holy writ to the being whom they served to come among them and receive their adorations in person, he pulled the cord and let the animal loose, who glad to be delivered from his confinement gave a sudden spring upon the middle of the table.

The effect which the sight of such a visitor had upon them may be better conceived than expressed. Their attention had been so fixed upon what my master was saying that they perceived not from whence he came; and his appearing so critically³⁶² at the invocation, and in such a shape, made them conclude he was the being invoked.

Terrified out of their senses by this thought, they all roared out with one voice, "*The devil! the devil!*," and starting from their seats made directly toward the door, tumbling over one another, and oversetting everything in their way.

In the height of this uproar and confusion, the baboon, frightened at the effects of their fear, happened to leap upon my master's shoulders as he lay sprawling on the floor, who turning about his head and feeling the shock, saw the animal grinning horribly at him, and concluded the devil had obeyed his summons in good earnest, and come to carry him bodily away.

Driven as he was to despair by this thought, he strove, however, in the instinctive impulse of self-preservation, to shake off the invader; but he, instead of loosing his hold, on

his repeated efforts, only clung to him the closer, clasping his paws around his neck, and chattering with spite³⁶³ at his ear. This completed the caitiff's³⁶⁴ distress. Every shadow of spirit failed him, and conscious guilt suggesting to him the meaning of this unintelligible jargon, he attempted in the blindness of his fear to move the very devil to pity by his pathetic wailings and supplications.

"Spare me, glorious devil!" said he, "spare a wretch, who never was sincerely your servant! I sinned only from vanity of being in the fashion! thou knowest I never have been half so wicked as I pretended; never have been able to commit the thousandth part of the vices which I have boasted of. Take not then the advantage of that vanity; but judge me only from my actions. I knew not that thou wouldst have come, or I should never have invoked thee! leave me, therefore, and go to those who are more truly devoted to thy service. I am but half a sinner. My conscience always flew in my face when I committed any crime! my heart gave the lie to my tongue when I gloried in my vices; and I trembled at the damnation I affected³⁶⁵ to brave! O spare me therefore, at least for this time, till I have served thee better. I am as yet but half a sinner."³⁶⁶

The Ayliffe Affair

From Volume IV, Book I, Chapter 3

(Chrysal is relating the history of Henry Fox.)

* * *

Old as this woman³⁶⁷ was when our hero deserted her, and to appearance as incapable of feeling, as raising desire, she had so long accustomed herself to the gratification of every sensual appetite, that she should not bear to live without a lover. The difficulty was how to fix upon a proper object: for as interest³⁶⁸ was her only attraction, the first advances must necessarily come from her; and then her prodigality to her last had put it out of her power to make it worth the while of such another as she might like to supply his place. Precluded thus from much delicacy in her choice, necessity directed her to one of her own domestics, something in whose circumstances pointed him out more particularly to her notice.

There is not a more despicable instance of vanity, than being ashamed of the connections of nature because of poverty, when that poverty is not the effect of vice. A far distant female relation had from this vanity bequeathed to her a very considerable fortune, to which this man should have been heir, had not the lowness of his condition,³⁶⁹ a motive sufficient to have influenced a generous heart in his favor, made her think it would be a disgrace to her to be succeeded by him; for which reason she wantonly deprived him of the inheritance of his ancestors to give it to one who did not want it. Dispirited by

such unnatural injustice, for which the law afforded no redress, he was no longer able to pursue the industry that had hitherto been his support; and sank into such distress, that his despair made him at length throw himself at the feet of her who enjoyed his spoils to beg relief.

This happened critically at the time when her inclinations for a new lover began to get the better of her grief for the loss of the last. Softened by what she had herself so lately felt, she pitied his distress; and as all the tenderer passions are allied, that pity was soon warmed into such love as she was capable of feeling. Accordingly, as she had taken him into her family on his first application, she now entrusted him with the management of her affairs to give color³⁷⁰ for the further intimacy she had in view. The consequence was natural. He readily took hints too plain to be overlooked; and she kept up his assiduity in her service by some presents in hand, and grants of more, charged most of them indeed on the inheritance of his ancestors which she had settled upon his predecessor in her favor after her death, till when they were not to take place or be discovered, to avoid his reproaches, as well as those of her daughter and her husband³⁷¹ for such a repetition of her former follies; and because she did not choose to straighten³⁷² her own circumstances by the immediate payment of them. But these wages of vice, however welcome in his present indigence, proved fatal to him in the end.

The hero of my tale, who saw the rise of this new favorite, and knew from experience on what it must be founded, though she affected to attribute her notice of him to gratitude to his relations, and retributory justice to himself, gave him a genteel and profitable employment³⁷³ under one of the many which he himself enjoyed in the state,³⁷⁴ professedly³⁷⁵ in compliment to her, but really to attach him to his own interest, and prevent his exerting his influence on her to obtain such grants as before-mentioned; for the turn of his own mind made him suspect everything that was possible; and such is the partiality of man to himself, that he who has been ungrateful to all mankind will yet expect gratitude from others.

Proud of this preferment,³⁷⁶ which raised his rank in life, and depending on the professions of friendship and promises which his new friend liberally made him, he thought proper at her death not only not to claim her grants for the present, to avoid breaking with him as he knew must be the consequence, but also to give up to him a particular gift, part of his own alienated inheritance which he had received publicly from her, as a reward for his services, and trust to his honor for an equivalent return. But that return, when at length it was made, was as far from being equivalent as his promises were from performance; nothing being more contrary to his intentions than to enable him to support his claims to those grants of which he had gotten notice, and judged from his own heart the reason of their being concealed.³⁷⁷ He continued therefore to feed him with promises

which led his vanity into expense, and encouraged him to embark in schemes that he had not a fund to execute, till he fell into distresses, to extricate himself from which he had recourse to means³⁷⁸ that laid his life at the mercy of this, his supposed friend.

There are some crimes, the consequences of which are so dangerous that no punishment can be too severe to deter from them. One of the worst of these is imitating a man's signature with a design to deceive. It perpetuates the violation of truth, undermines the security of innocence, and breaks that confidence which is indispensably necessary to carry on the concerns of life. But, though no circumstance can, in a legal sense, extenuate the heinousness of this crime, there were some in this particular instance which would have deterred any other man from the prosecution of it: it had been committed not with an intention of doing injustice to him or any other, but to remedy for a time his injustice by raising apparently³⁷⁹ the value of the return he had made for the gift of their common benefactress, as I have before observed, nearer to an equality with it, in order to procure present relief from distress of which he had been, in so many senses, the cause.

But all these considerations were of no weight with him when put in competition with the convenience of getting rid of one whom he doubly hated for being privy to his iniquities, and interfering with his interest. He hesitated not a moment therefore to make use of an opportunity offered beyond his

hopes,³⁸⁰ and sacrificed him, under the specious appearance of paying obedience to the laws.

In this it was necessary for him to act with the deepest dissimulation to accomplish his design in its full extent. But this was no difficulty to him. He professed pity for his misfortunes; and, while he corrupted all in whom the wretch placed confidence to betray him, managed so as to seem to be compelled by law to appear against him, though he might with the greatest ease have avoided it, and buried the whole in silence. Nor did he stop here! his malice seemed to pursue him even beyond the grave; for instead of permitting him to prepare in peace for the approach of fate, he buoyed him up with hopes of a pardon,³⁸¹ to earn which the deluded victim subscribed to everything dictated to him to blacken his own character, and make void the grants which he had purchased at so dear a rate; and in this infatuation³⁸² he was kept to the last moment to prevent his recanting; for which purpose his nearest friends, and all who might have undeceived him and administered comfort to his distress in the hour of anguish, were barred admittance to him.

But his eyes were opened on the verge of life,³⁸³ and in that awful moment when truth only is spoken he revoked everything he had been thus drawn in to say and asserted the validity of the claims which were the cause of his ruin, so that the whole scheme, labored with such deep damnation to deceive the world, was defeated.³⁸⁴

* * *

"The Wilkes Imbroglio"

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 3

(Chrysal is in the possession of John Wilkes, who is visiting Lord Temple.)³⁸⁵

* * *

The gentleman whom he went to wait upon,³⁸⁶ the morning I came into his possession, was one who had served his king and country with fidelity and success while he was permitted to follow the dictates of his own reason in their service; but gave up the empty and disgraceful appearance of acting in it any longer on finding his judgment disregarded, and himself designed to be made only a cipher, to increase the consequence of another.³⁸⁷

The indignation, however, which had prompted him to take this step led him not into those unjustifiable lengths which are too common on such occasions. He was faithful to his sovereign, though he had lost his favor; and watched attentively over the interests of his country, though he was not permitted to promote them. The only instance in which his conduct could possibly be censured was his patronizing such a man as my master. But it is a maxim in human politics that the end justifies the means be they what they will. He wanted to be restored to his former power; and thought this man's exposing the insufficiency of those who had supplanted him in it the most likely way to effect that purpose.³⁸⁸

To this desire of power he was not stimulated by the usual methods³⁸⁹ of repairing a ruined fortune or making a new family.³⁹⁰ His wealth exceeded his very wishes; and he already enjoyed the highest honors he could aspire to:³⁹¹ all he proposed was the glory of his sovereign and the advantage of his country, which that enthusiastic ambition, from whence proceed the greatest actions, made him think himself the most capable and wish to be the happy instrument of promoting.

* * *

"The Wilkes Imbroglia" (cont'd)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 4

Confident as my master was of his safety, he soon found that the fears of his patron were too just.³⁹² He had scarce laid him down to sleep³⁹³ when his bed was surrounded and himself made a prisoner by a number of fellows who, under the sanction of authority, committed all the outrages of lawless ruffians, breaking open his locks, rifling his effects, and searching into all his secrets.³⁹⁴

It was in vain for him to expostulate with such people against so flagrant injustice or claim the protection of the laws. They derided him and all he could say; and having finished their work, dragged him away with insults and abuse to a magistrate,³⁹⁵ where he had the comfort of waiting a considerable time in such agreeable company before his worship was at leisure to see him.

But this, though designed as an indignity, was of real advantage to him, as it gave him time to recover his spirits and collect presence of mind for an interview of such importance. Accordingly when at length he was admitted to the dreaded tribunal, instead of showing any dejection at the danger which seemed to hang over him, he behaved in a manner worthy of a better man and a better cause. He asserted the violation of the laws in his person with so much resolution and appearance of reason, and returned the insolence of office³⁹⁶ with such contempt, answering elusively to the insidious questions put to him, and boldly demanding that right of being restored to his liberty which was assured to every individual of the community by the essential principles of the constitution, that his judges were startled, and more than once wished they had left him unmolested.

However, as there was no receding now, they concluded it to be their best way to go through with what they had begun, and bear down opposition with a high hand; with which intent they sent him directly to prison, in defiance to all he could say, where he was treated with uncommon severity, and the method which the law provided for his being restored to liberty³⁹⁷ eluded as long as possible by finesses which power only could support.

* * *

As soon as my master's imprisonment was known, the populace all took fire. They made his cause their own. They looked upon him as a martyr in the darling cause of liberty. They insulted

all government, and committed excesses every hour infinitely more illegal and dangerous to liberty than that of which they complained.

In the meantime, his confinement was far from sitting so heavy upon him as might have been expected. Though he wanted the approbation of his own mind and the enthusiasm of the principles he professed to support his resolution and encourage him to look forward with hope, levity of temper supplied the place of that resolution and saved him from sinking under misfortunes by making him insensible of their weight. He rallied his jailers,³⁹⁸ mimicked³⁹⁹ his judges,⁴⁰⁰ cracked jests upon his own undoing, and turned every circumstance into ridicule with such drollery and unconcern as if he was acting the imaginary sufferings of another, not actually suffering himself. How long he would have been able to support that spirit though came not to be tried.

"The Wilkes Imbroglia" (cont'd)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 5

As soon as his friends obtained access to him (for the great severity of his confinement was the uncommon strictness of it) his patron went to see him. As I have taken notice of his disapprobation of what brought my master into this scrape,⁴⁰¹ you are surprised at his taking such a step that seemed so inconsistent with his character. But his motives for it did honor to the man, however strange they may appear in the politician. He had admitted him to a degree of personal intimacy. He had approved of his engaging in a cause to which he

was himself attached most sanguinely, and he scorned to desert him in distress occasioned by what he thought an error of his judgment, not a fault of his intention.

Besides the consolation to himself, the honor of such a visit was of the great advantage to my master's affairs, as it lightened the personal prejudices against him and gave a good opinion of his cause which appeared to have the countenance of such a man.

Intoxicated with the popularity he had thus acquired, which if rightly managed might have done great matters,⁴⁰² he was no sooner at liberty than he threw off all restraint, and ran into such licentiousness as in a short time lessened its force, and lost him every trace of the good opinion of all who gave themselves time to think of the causes and consequences of such conduct. But his triumph was not long-lived.

He had been restored to his liberty, not as a right common to all the members of the community on a supposition of the illegality of the manner in which he had been deprived of it, but in consequence of certain immunities⁴⁰³ annexed to a particular part of the legislature to which he belonged.

Though the abilities and integrity of the magistrate⁴⁰⁴ who made this distinction were unquestionable, some persons who looked farther than the present moment imagined they could trace it to a cause not commonly attended to. He had on former occasions⁴⁰⁵ been instrumental in depriving some people of liberty in the same manner; to have condemned that manner,

therefore, now as illegal would have been condemning himself; at the same time, that upright obedience to the dictates of his present opinion obliged him to set him free. Such a difficulty must have been distressing; but this distinction delivered him from it, and enabled him to save his credit and conscience both; as those people had borne no part in the legislature, and therefore had not been entitled to such immunity.

* * *

While my master was running riot in this extravagant manner some things happened which raised in his favor the indignation and pity of many who disliked the man, and disapproved of his proceedings, because they saw him persecuted by unjustifiable means.

* * *

"The Wilkes Imbroglia" (cont'd)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 6

When my master had in some measure exhausted the first flow of his spirits upon the recovery of his liberty he made a short excursion abroad,⁴⁰⁶ as if merely for amusement, but in reality to provide a place of retreat in case of the worst, as his apprehensions could not but be alarmed whenever he allowed himself time to think.

* * *

My master had not been long abroad when a countryman of the minister's⁴⁰⁷ thought proper to call him to account for the liberties he had taken with his country. The absurdity of such a

step in any man was still aggravated by the peculiar circumstances of this person, who had actually given weight to the severest part of the charge against his country (indeed the only part that would admit of weight, the rest being, as I have said, nothing but scurrility), by engaging in the service of the enemies of its present government, and fighting their battles against it.⁴⁰⁸ Such an antagonist therefore was beneath the notice of any man of reason, and accordingly was treated so by my master, who on this occasion behaved with a moral propriety and prudence much above the tenor of his general character. But his enemies beheld his conduct in a different light, and attributed to cowardice what was really the effect of courage.

* * *

"The Wilkes Imbroglia" (*cont'd*)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 7

The opinion that my master's having behaved in this manner from a want of spirit soon laid him under a necessity of showing the contrary. A person who was involved⁴⁰⁹ deeper than he chose to appear in his accusations against the minister,⁴¹⁰ though he was known to be his creature,⁴¹¹ thought he might falsely invalidate the credit of the charge and curry farther favor with his patron by denying it in terms of such abuse as should make the accuser infamous on submitting to them, as he imagined he would.

But in this he found himself mistaken. The captiousness of false honor, that often passes for true resolution which is the

only result of virtue, was now piqued; and two beings (for it was impossible for the other to draw back) who called themselves rational hazarded their lives in support of what neither could have supported by reason.⁴¹²

The event proved immediately unfavorable to my master, who received a wound that for some time seemed to threaten his life.⁴¹³ But he soon thought the danger amply made amends for by the pretense it gave him to put off from time to time the resentment of that part of the legislature to which he belonged for the offense which had occasioned his being confined, and at length to fly from it when he found it could not be any longer prevented by such finesses from bursting on his head. Such a flight was an implicit acknowledgment of his guilt. He was therefore deprived of his part in the legislature⁴¹⁴ and, consequently, of all the immunities annexed to it, and given up to the common course of the laws, for that and other matters, whenever he should be found within the reach of their power. Nor was this all! to show still stronger disapprobation of his conduct, the breach of those immunities, upon which the magistrate had founded his discharge from confinement, was overlooked,⁴¹⁵ and such offenses as his excluded from their protection for the future.⁴¹⁶

As for my master, he was no sooner removed out of the sight of the mob, whose idol he had been in such an extravagant degree, than he was entirely out of their mind, and the storm he had

raised subsided so totally as to leave no other trace behind it but his ruin.

I have observed your anxiety to know whether he ever obtained redress for the injustice done him in his property; and the injurious treatment he received when he was first apprehended, as I said that the fellows employed to take him had, under the sanction of authority, committed all the outrages of lawless ruffians.* * *The laws of our country never shone with brighter lustre than in this instance.

* * *An able and upright magistrate⁴¹⁷ supported them with such resolution and judgment that he obtained exemplary redress for all he had suffered that could be redressed, as did several others who had been involved in the same circumstances, as having been employed by him.⁴¹⁸

* * *

"The Wilkes Imbroglia" (cont'd)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 9

(Chrysal is in the possession of John Kidgell,⁴¹⁹ who is speaking to John Douglas.)⁴²⁰

* * *

"That's right," said my master, "I have something to show you⁴²¹ that will give you pleasure. You may remember I told you that I am sometimes obliged to a printer of my acquaintance for helping me to a job in the letter-of-essay way.⁴²² Happening to call upon him this morning, he showed me this," pulling a piece of greasy paper out of his pocket, "which I think really a

curiosity. It is a proof of a bawdy-song⁴²³ which the gentleman we have been talking of⁴²⁴ wrote, and had a few copies printed for the amusement of his particular intimates. My friend got it from one of his journey-men who sometimes works for that gentleman and says there are a good many more of them, which are all printed together in a ballad. You'll find it worth your reading. Nothing ever was so highly worked up.⁴²⁵ It gave me ineffable pleasure."--

"If you can prove this to be by that person," said the other spitting and wriggling in his chair, after having pored over it for some time, "your fortune is made! you know his enemies are striving to run him down by any means. Now this will give them so plausible a handle against him that they will not fail to reward you liberally for the discovery. All you have to do is to prove it plainly upon him."⁴²⁶

* * *

"The Wilkes Imbroglia" (cont'd)

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 10

(Chrysal is still in the possession of John Kidgell.)

Not to lose a moment's time in a matter of such importance, my master went next morning to his worthy friend the printer,⁴²⁷ to whom he opened⁴²⁸ his scheme, and by his influence with the assistance of a bribe, and promises of much more, he prevailed on the fellow from whom the former paper was gotten to betray the trust of his employer, and steal the whole ballad.

The next thing was to make his honest acquisition known to those from whom he expected the reward for his pious pains.⁴²⁹

* * *

In the attack made upon him⁴³⁰ * * *for this purpose, the principal part was undertaken by one⁴³¹ whose regard for religion and virtue was heightened by a motive not the most consistent with either. This was the person who had been competitor with the culprit for the higher order of the mock monastery. In the account I gave you of that curious transaction, I observed that he cherished a secret grudge against the other,⁴³² which was aggravated so violently by the disgrace he suffered on that occasion⁴³³ that he had prevailed to have him expelled the society.⁴³⁴ Such an opportunity therefore as this, of completing his revenge, was not to be missed by one of his principles. Accordingly, though at the sight of the ballad he knew it to be no more than a collection of the songs which he had himself often bore a part in singing at the monastery, and some of the worst of which he had boasted of being the author of, he inveighed against it with all the fervency and enthusiastic zeal of a modern fanatic,⁴³⁵ and displayed the danger of letting such an insult upon everything held sacred go unpunished in such strong and affecting color as afforded high entertainment to all who heard him, and were acquainted with his life.

But all his eloquence would have proved ineffectual to make such of his fraternity as were not, like him, stimulated by private motives give the lie to their own practice in so flagrant

a manner as to censure the theory of it, had not some particular expressions happened to affect the honor of one of them,⁴³⁶ whom all the rest of course espoused; and thus for once, honor turned the scale in favor of virtue and religion, too light by themselves; and the ballad was condemned⁴³⁷ as tending to debauch the principles of the people, though it was sufficiently known that it was not designed for publication nor would ever have been heard of had not this attack raised a curiosity about it.

Through the whole of this important transaction my master performed his part most cleverly, stopping at nothing that was thought anyway necessary to bring it to effect. As soon, therefore, as it was concluded he prepared to receive the reward of his labor, the enjoyment of which he had anticipated in imagination in every shape it could be given.

But it was not long before he found his hopes had been too sanguine. Instead of being rewarded immediately as he had been made to expect, the job was scarce done when he could perceive the smiles of favor grow cooler upon him as often as he went to pay his court to his patrons in order to keep them in mind of their promises. A state of such uncertainty, severe enough upon any, was not to be borne by one in his circumstances. The expectations he had raised in the height of his hopes had opened the mouths of all his creditors upon him with an importunity not to be quieted; besides, that he had embezzled some public money entrusted to him, a demand for which he expected every day, and knew he could not shift off⁴³⁸ for a moment.

Driven almost to distraction by such irresistible necessity, he had no recourse but to throw himself at the feet of the person who had appeared most sanguine in the pursuit of his scheme,⁴³⁹ and consequently been most liberal of his promises to him, and implore his assistance to extricate him from his accumulated distresses. But they who will most readily avail themselves of villainy always detest the villain. All the return he received was a cold profession of concern; and a shameless excuse of wanting that power to relieve him which the caitiff suppliant well knew he had.

A new misfortune often lightens the weight of those under which the mind was sinking before by rousing it from listless dejection to an assertion of its powers. Such a disappointment of his only hope showed him all the horrors of his situation; and made him instantly cast about how to escape from what he found he could not redress: instead, therefore, of betraying it by his looks, which he knew were watched, he assumed an air of uncommon spirits, and telling everyone that he had got a positive assurance of receiving the promised reward without any farther delay, he went to one of his tradesmen by that time he thought the news might have reached him, and taking up goods to a considerable amount, for which he confidently engaged to pay at a fixed and short day,⁴⁴⁰ no sooner got them into his possession than he sold them privately at half price and, packing up whatever he could carry with him, fled beyond the reach of his creditors;⁴⁴¹ and so proved how far his late conduct had

proceeded, as he professed, from his high regard to moral virtue and religion.

Part III: Interpolated Stories

"The History of Traffic"

Volume I, Book I, Chapter 3

My name is Traffic;¹ I was the only son of a wealthy merchant in London, who bred me to his own business. There was nothing remarkable in my youth, except that the characteristic passion of my heart showed itself, in the very dawn of reason, in my eagerness to engross² and hoard up the bawbles of my play-mates, and the far-fetched³ schemes I laid to over-reach⁴ them in all our little bargains.

My father was at first delighted with this cunning, which his fondness took for the first essays of a great genius; but, when he saw me persist in it after I grew up, and attempt to practice the same arts, in the course of my business, it gave him serious alarms for my future conduct; for he had ever been averse to these artifices which are called the mysteries of commerce, and owed his success solely to close application,⁵ in the plain way of a fair trader.

But this caution I looked upon with contempt, as timidity and want of genius,⁶ and, undiscouraged by the constant repulses to all my *bold strokes*⁷ and deep schemes, which I was continually suggesting to him, I resolved, when I should be at liberty, to indulge my own inclinations, to strike out new ways, that should afford me opportunities of exerting my abilities in their full strength, and showing them in their proper lustre.⁸

The vanity which prompted avarice to form these designs would so often break out in boasting, that my father was fully acquainted with them; and, a sensible decline in his health

quickenings his apprehensions for me, his tenderness would omit nothing which might show me my error in its proper light, and prevent my falling into so destructive ways.

Calling me therefore into his closet⁹ one morning, he addressed me in these words; words which dear experience has now printed deeply on my heart, though then they had no weight with me.

"My son," said he, "the day approaches fast when you will be in possession of the fruits of my honest industry. I leave you a good fortune; and have the happiness to be able to tell you, in this trying moment, that no willful private wrong or public fraud makes me wish it were, by one penny, less.--As therefore it was acquired in the fear of God, if not abused, it will wear with his blessing. Habit had so wedded me to my business, that I could not leave it off myself; and I bred you to it to indulge, as I thought, the bent of your genius, and to prevent idleness from tempting youth to folly.--But now, that dangerous season is past with you; and the labor of my life has taken away all necessity of labor from yours. Be wise then, my son, and enjoy the happiness which heaven offers you, without tempting a reverse! You will have riches more than enough for every natural¹⁰ want, for every rational wish; and it will sweeten your enjoyment of them and draw down the blessings of heaven on your head to employ the super-plus¹¹ in acts of private benevolence and public spirit; in which best of employments, the abilities with which you are so liberally blessed will find ample room for their

exertion; and your pious endeavors be rewarded with a success that will be an happiness to your life and an honor to your name.

"As for the profession of a merchant, to which you have been bred, heaven points it out to the inhabitants of this country by our situation;¹² nor can any other be more advantageous to it; but still, even that advantage may be pursued too far, and the extreme of industry¹³ may sink into avarice, and so disappoint its own end.

"For I must tell you, my son, that though trade adds to the wealth, yet too eager a pursuit of it, even with the greatest success, diminishes the strength of a nation.¹⁴ I am sensible that this is against received¹⁵ opinion; but truth, when properly displayed, will force conviction.

"The real strength of a nation consists in the prevalence of disinterested spirit, which, regardless of self, throws its weight into the public fund; as may be proved by many examples of small, poor states, conquering large wealthy ones. Whereas the spirit of commerce centers all in self, discouraging and despising as folly every thought which does not tend that way; and so breaking that unanimity which is the very essence of power, and only can give it success.--A reflection this, my son, which observation confirms too strongly at present, and which seems to overcast the prospect of this happy nation.

"My advice therefore to you is to retire from business, though not to idleness. You will have a fortune that will make you of consequence in the state, and give you sufficient employment in the conduct of it, without embarrassing your mind

with anxiety for more. And, to enable you to follow this advice with the greater ease, I have settled all my affairs, and shall leave you free from every entanglement of life. This is the advice, the request of a fond father, who desires compliance from his dear son, and would not force unwilling obedience by any act of authority or command. But should the love of business have taken such an hold of your heart as habit gave it of mine, and not permit you to comply with this request, take, my son, the advice of experience, and hold fast the clue it offers to guide you through the labyrinths of trade,¹⁶ in which the vivacity of your genius may otherwise lose its way. Nor are the rules I shall hint to you many to be remembered, or difficult to be observed.

"Be just, my son, in all your dealings; wrong not individuals; nor defraud the public.¹⁷

"These are all the rules I recommend; but in them is comprised more than, perhaps, appears at first view. Do not, therefore, think them too obvious to have been necessary to be repeated! nor let the mention of them give offence by any seeming implication of personal doubt.¹⁸

"In the business of a merchant these rules comprehend¹⁹ a great extent of meaning, though I shall mention but a few instances of it at present.

"As for the first, every misrepresentation to mislead ignorance, or abuse credulity, every taking advantage by superior knowledge, is a wrong to the party so deceived; as every artifice to evade the intention of the legislature is a fraud against the

public, nay against yourself, and every individual who claims the benefits provided by the ordinances, so defeated of their support.²⁰ "This indeed is so obvious that it were an affront to reason to insist on any proof of it. The most eager pursuer of illicit trade will not vindicate a general indulgence of it;²¹ and if it is not lawful for all, how can it be for him; or with what color can he claim a profit which he is conscious arises only from deceit, and from the benefit of those very laws which he thus defeats?

"The temptations to this breach of honesty, I own, are many and great, and some of them perhaps plausible; particularly in those branches of trade, which seem to bear a more than equal share of the weight imposed for general advantage. But, in opposition to this, it must be considered that it is impossible to provide so exactly for a thing of so fluctuating a nature as trade, that the balance shall not incline in some one instance; and that it must, by the same motion which oppresses one, be favorable to some other; and so preserve the equipoise²² in the whole; and this obviates the only shadow of an argument that can be brought in defence of this too common practice.

"As for the former, of avoiding private wrong, that is more difficult and less defensible, if possible, than even this. For where all the powers of the mind are turned to make advantage, it is very hard to refrain from taking it where we ought not, and bringing the great business of life²³ into common practice in its minutest concerns.

"The man whose soul is on the stretch²⁴ to take advantage in a bargain for thousands on the Exchange²⁵ will be apt perhaps insensibly to overlook an error that is not to his disadvantage in a tradesman's bill, or to take no notice of a guinea given instead of a shilling in change at the tavern, though either is as great dishonesty as if he took them in a manner punishable with death by the laws: not to mention the innumerable little instances of temptation to this kind of wrong which occur in every moment's dealing. That we may avoid temptation²⁶ is one of the petitions of the divine prayer, and never more necessary to be offered up than in this profession, whose constant practice opens innumerable instances of it upon us.

"In a word, my son, there are so many and strong arguments of this nature to be given against all trade, that the general advantage of the commonwealth alone can, in any way, support it against them. This therefore should be written in the deepest characters on the heart of every merchant, that he should never let private interest tempt him to engage in any trade or scheme that can interfere with the public interest, or is forbidden by the laws of his country.--I shall say no more; nor burden your mind with farther advice. Observe this, and be happy."

I was obliged to hear him; but his words, at that time, made no more impression on my mind than the whistling of the winds, nor in the least altered my intentions; though I felt no scruple in promising obedience, the breach of which could never be upbraided to me, as I could not think of practicing it before his death should remove the only person who had such authority.

"The History of Traffic" (cont'd)

Volume I, Book I, Chapter 4

The opportunities which I had long panted for arrived too soon: my father dying, just after I was of age, and leaving me possessed of wealth sufficient for me to exercise my talents on, as I was not blessed with prudence to take his advice, and put it to its proper use, in rational enjoyment.

I was immediately a man of consequence, and that, not only in my own eyes. I made a figure upon 'Change;²⁷ I signed among the foremost in the public subscriptions.²⁸ But all this did not satisfy me. I sickened at the thought of having an equal, not only in wealth, the darling object of my soul; but also in the reputation of acquiring it by methods of my own *striking out*, as I looked upon the known course of business as too slow for my advances, and too limited for my genius.

I therefore immediately became a SCHEMER, and entered into every project which my own brain could invent, or artful imposition suggest to me, blindly, wilfully giving up the serenity of an open mind, for the vain appearance of mysterious²⁹ consequence and design: and making my fortune a prey to every sharking³⁰ projector³¹ who flattered my vanity with promises of success, in the very attempts which had been his own ruin.

The perplexity in which this infatuation soon involved my affairs, far from opening my eyes, only set me upon deeper schemes. *Sporting*³² upon private adventures, *taking in*³³ unwary confidence,³⁴ *flinging*³⁵ the fair trader, by eluding the

restrictions of law, were now too small a game for me: I was entangled, and must cut the Gordian knot³⁶ by some bold stroke.

I therefore threw off all restraint, and entered into measures the most injurious to my country, which was then engaged in a just and extensive war.³⁷ I insured the effects of its enemies, and of consequence gave them information how to avoid its forces. I carried on their trade with other countries: I supplied them with provisions from ours; and at length went so far as to lend and procure them money to support the war against ourselves.

But all my schemes met their just fate. Though I could give their ships information how to avoid our squadrons, yet they fell into the hands of unstationed³⁸ privateers. My subterfuges for carrying on their trade were seen through, and a stop put to them before I could receive the stipulated profits. The stores I bought for them were intercepted by our fleets, and, to conclude all, the enemy, by one stretch of arbitrary power, refused to pay any debts, and appropriated the funds provided for that purpose to the present support of the war.

This finished my ruin: I had not only lent them all my own fortune, but had also borrowed much more to supply them, on confidence in their promises, than I was now able to pay.

In this situation, the advice of my father returned full upon me, and aggravated my distress. But I had no time for reflection; the horrors of a jail stared me full in the face, which I had no way to avoid but by flight, the equivocalness of my character having made every honest man, who was able to assist

me, afraid of being concerned with me.--I therefore immediately raised all the money I possibly could, and embarked secretly in a ship of my own for Jamaica; heaven, to make its justice the more signal, using my blackest guilt as a chain to draw me to the vengeance I deserved.

I must stop here, and look back, to give you an account of an affair, which the precipitancy of my ruin prevented my mentioning in its proper order.

Much as such a complicated scene as I have described must have taken up my time and engrossed my thoughts, I had still found leisure for guilt of another nature, though ultimately springing from the same cause.

I have told you that my father had acquired his own fortune by industry; but as the greatest industry requires a foundation to work upon, his had been assisted by the person to whom he served his apprenticeship, who knowing his abilities, and confiding in his honesty, upon the decline of his own health, established him in partnership with his only son, whom he thought too young to conduct so extensive a business.

My father faithfully executed this great trust, and continued the partnership, till his observation of my unfortunate disposition determined him to make me quit trade; when it was dissolved, without the least breach in that real friendship which had so long subsisted between them. Though I did not obey my father's desire, yet my vanity would not admit a thought of recommencing the partnership, as it would have been but a curb on my favorite schemes, and have implied a want of assistance,

which, in my own opinion, I was far above. On the contrary, I rather declined too close a connection with him in business; as I feared he might have taken upon him to interpose his advice against anything which his narrow,³⁹ fearful temper⁴⁰ might disapprove in my great designs; but as I kept up every other appearance of regard, and even respect for him, this shyness⁴¹ was not observed, nor any coolness occasioned by it, in the intercourse of intimacy between us.

But for this conduct I had another motive, besides regard for *him*. He had an only daughter, enriched with every beauty and virtue that could mark the favorite work of heaven: she was about four years younger than me, which difference of age had given me an opportunity of treating her with such a fondness, from her very infancy, as raised a real love in her grateful heart, as her beauties did the strongest one it was capable of feeling in mine. Our fathers had seen this growing attachment with the greatest pleasure from the beginning and encouraged it between us (our mothers both died in our infancy), joining in the general opinion, that the union which had always been between their families would be completed by the intermarriage of their children: an opinion that was then my pride, and seemed a pleasure to the young Amelia's⁴² honest heart, that was above disguise.

But my father's death, before she was of an age to undertake the cares of such an awful state, and a long illness of her father's after, during which her filial piety and love would not admit a thought of anything that should interfere with her tender

regard for him, prevented my happiness from being accomplished, while there was any obstacle that could hinder my evil genius from defeating it.⁴³

At length, after languishing five years, her father died, without a moment's more immediate warning, having been on the Exchange that day as usual.

In the tumult of this loss, I was sent for; and no will being found, for he unhappily had not imagined his end so near, nor made any settlement of his affairs in the confidence of our attachment, Amelia put everything into my hands, and requested me to make up⁴⁴ all her father's accounts, and conclude her dealings with the world.

This happened just as my scheming had begun to embarrass my affairs. My heart therefore, never proof to much temptation, yielded to such an opportunity of recovering the losses of my folly at her expense by *sinking*⁴⁵ the greatest part of her fortune to my own use; never considering that I might have the whole in a just and honorable way, enhanced with the greater blessing of herself.

To accomplish this design, and prepare her for what was to follow, I pretended to Amelia that I found many difficulties in her father's affairs; and having secreted⁴⁶ as much as I thought proper, and could with safety, and destroyed every memorial⁴⁷ that might detect me, for all which her unbounded confidence gave ample opportunity, I at length gave her in an account, with the strongest expressions of concern, "to find that what I had long apprehended was too true, and her father's affairs in a very bad

situation; that I had however, with great difficulty, got together something above ten thousand pounds, and was convinced, that this perplexity in his affairs was the occasion of his long illness, and had not left him spirit enough to inquire into them, and make a will."

This representation⁴⁸ had the effect I designed; Amelia's confidence in me would not admit a thought of my deceiving her; as pride, too powerful in the purest human heart, prevented her revealing her circumstances to anyone else, who might have attempted to disprove what I said; though indeed it was scarce natural to suspect me of a deceit, that, according to the opinion which then prevailed concerning Amelia and me, could only affect myself.

She, therefore, with an appearance of surprise rather than doubt or even concern, acquiesced, and signed a receipt in full, desiring me to destroy all her father's books and papers, as they could be of no farther use to her.

This completed my design beyond a possibility of detection, and even raised a new one against the poor pittance I had left her, though it was not quite a fourth part of what was really her right; for I had now thrown off all thoughts of marriage with one so far beneath me in fortune, looking upon it as a reproach to my wisdom and knowledge of the world to make any bargain in which I should not have the advantage: for what I had so basely defrauded her of I considered merely as an acquisition of my superior skill in business, and absolutely my own, without any manner of obligation to the person from whom I obtained it: not

that I had lost my desire for her person (the only degree of love my heart was capable of feeling), but the advantage I had it now in my hopes to obtain over her, made me look upon her as a sure prey to my pleasure.

"The History of Traffic" (cont'd)

Volume I, Book I, Chapter 5

Though my whole life was one continued scene of villainy, yet in all, there was a gradation, a regular descent from bad to worse; each successful crime opening new opportunities and suggesting schemes which never entered into my thoughts before.

This was exactly my case with regard to Amelia. While she was in possession of her whole fortune, the highest wish of my heart was to marry her; but no sooner had an unhappy accident given me an opportunity of defrauding her of far the greatest part of it than that respectful love immediately sank into loose desire, and my success in my former schemes against her set my thoughts at work to accomplish the gratification of this passion on my own base terms.

To bring this design to perfection, it was necessary that I should get her entire fortune entirely into my power; which I accordingly formed schemes to accomplish without delay; for the success of my former attempt, so far from satisfying my avarice, or raising any sense of compassion in my breast for her wrongs, had me look upon herself and all that belonged to her as my property, which I was as impatient to possess as if it was detained from me by injustice.

I therefore took occasion one day when we were alone together to drop some words of concern at my not having, immediately by me, a sum of money to lay out on most advantageous terms which had been that very morning proposed to me.

She directly took the hint, and said her little fortune was still in her hands, in the same bank notes I had given her; and if the use of it, for any time, could be of advantage to me, she should feel a greater pleasure in my taking, than in any profit she could make of it, any another way.

This was just what I wished; and though I could scarce refrain from laughing at the easiness with which she took the bait, I would not accept of her offer but with this restriction, that I would consider whether the terms proposed to me might not suit her, and be more advantageous than the interest I could afford her if I should make use of it myself. I said this with an equivocal smile, which she understood as I would have her, and immediately, with an assenting blush, put the notes into my hand, without requiring a receipt, or any kind of acknowledgment for them.

Having thus gained that which I reckoned the better part of Amelia, and sure, as I imagined, of herself when necessity should humble her to my designs, as I had her whole means even of subsistence in my power, I directly resolved to close with an offer some time before made me by a wealthy merchant, of a large fortune, with his daughter, whom I accordingly married a few days after I had got possession of Amelia's money.

I shall spare myself the pain of farther description of my wife, than that she was the very reverse of Amelia in soul and body; and my marriage consequently as unhappy as I justly deserved.

But I comforted myself with hopes of happiness in the enjoyment of Amelia, whom I looked upon as my own, and only deferred making my base proposals to till her resentment at my marriage should cool, and I could devise some plan of privacy to elude the vigilance of my wife. Not but I dreaded the first emotions of her anger, which I expected to break out in loud complaints. But I was mistaken in measuring her soul thus by my own. She scorned to complain; nor did I hear a word from her, to interrupt the riot of my wedding. A greatness of soul, so far above my comprehension that I attributed it to fear of giving offence to one in whose power she must be sensible she was.

But at the end of the month I was awake from these dreams by a message from her, delivered by a relation of hers, to desire I should pay in her money to him, for which he would give me her receipt. As I was not prepared for this, I believe it threw me into a confusion too visible; but I soon recovered presence of mind enough to answer that "I could not but be surprised at such a demand, as Amelia must be sensible that I had paid her all the money of hers that was in my hands, for which I had her discharge in full."

The gentleman replied in astonishment, "Her discharge, sir! that was when you settled her affairs; but she says that she, since then, gave her whole fortune into your hands to lay out for

her. And, sir, my cousin is known to be neither a fool or a liar; though I fear she has suffered severely for her ill-placed confidence."--"Perhaps she says so, sir," said I, "but I know nothing of the matter, and am not accountable for what she says or you think, sir; and I suppose, if your cousin is not a fool, she has not given her money without something to shew for it.-- But you must excuse my talking any longer on so idle a subject; and so, sir, your servant."--The mine was now sprung,⁴⁹ and I waited with impatience for the event. As to her demand, I knew she could never support it, as there was no person present when she gave me the notes; and I had negotiated them in a manner beyond all possibility of their being traced.

While I was thus hugging⁵⁰ myself in this security, the friends of Amelia persuaded her to bring a bill in Chancery⁵¹ against me, in which the whole affair was set forth without any exaggeration. But this I made light of, as I had my lawyer ready, under whose directions I swore such an answer as set her charge entirely aside.⁵²--Elated with this success, I thought this the time to pursue my victory, and wrote her a letter in which I attributed everything in my conduct of late, that might have surprised her, to love and despair of obtaining her by any other method: and offered her a settlement above the demand she had made to me, if she would consent to my desires. This I wrote in such general terms that my letter could not be brought in evidence against me, and the largeness of the offer was only to decoy her into a treaty, there being nothing farther from my thoughts than ever to make her independent of my pleasure.

This insult only added new fuel to her resentment; and all the answer I received was by another bill; but this met the same fate, by the same methods, with the former.

After this, I heard no more of Amelia for some time: but what was my astonishment when I was informed that she had sold off her jewels and other little effects, and was gone to a relation of hers, who lived in Jamaica! This broke⁵³ all my designs; and despair of ever obtaining her awoke my love, and aggravated my remorse for my ill usage of her, almost to madness.

From this time the hand of heaven seemed to be upon me; everything I had any concern in miscarried; and, to hasten my ruin, my house was a perfect sink of riot and debauchery: my wife, as she had no charms to excite desire, in a manner,⁵⁴ publicly purchasing the gratification of her lusts at the most extravagant expense, and living in a profusion that must destroy even a royal fortune.

Mine, great as it had been, sunk under so many dissipations of all kinds; and I had no resource left, as I said before, but in precipitate flight, which heaven made my passion for Amelia direct to Jamaica, to mark the justice of its vengeance more plainly.

"The History of Traffic" (cont'd)

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 6

I had hitherto varnished over my villainies with hypocrisy, and strove to preserve some appearance, at least, of virtue. But this was a restraint no longer possible, nor indeed profitable to me now, when my flight took off the veil, and alarmed all mankind

against me; so that mine was really a state of war with all the world.

On my arrival in Jamaica, I had the addition to my grief to find that Amelia had been taken in her passage thither by a Spanish privateer.

This drove me to despair: I was wearied of life; but resolved not to die unrevenged on those who had thus, as I thought, robbed me of my hopes; never reflecting on the improbability of her hearkening to my suit.

Burning with this project, I fitted out my ship, and manned her with a crew as desperate as myself; resolving, though the war was at an end,⁵⁵ to pursue my revenge upon the Spaniards, on the defenseless coast of their American dominions,⁵⁶ in which my other passions were urged to haste by fear of my creditors, the news of my failing having come to Jamaica almost as soon as myself.

We therefore set out upon our cruise, or rather piracy, without delay, of which I shall not raise your horror with any further particulars, than that we went directly into the Spanish Main,⁵⁷ where we not only rifled all the ships we met, but also made descents on the coasts, and ravaged with a barbarity that was a reproach to human nature.

The tumult and hurry of this life kept my spirits in an agitation, that gave a kind of respite to my grief; and the spoil we made in our first enterprises was so great as to awake hopes of restoring my affairs, so as to enable me to return to England with all the credit wealth could give.--And could I have known

when to stop, I was soon rich even beyond my most sanguine hopes: but urged by avarice, and encouraged by success, I still went on headlong to my fate, which I met in an attempt upon a town, some way up in the country, the convenience and pleasantness of whose situation had made it the residence of the richest families in the whole province: as its distance from the coast made them live in a state of perfect security, without any fortification or guard.

To this place we directed our march one evening, and arrived at it a little after midnight, with an intention to surprise the inhabitants and return to our ship with the spoil, before the country could rise to intercept us.

The first part of our design succeeded, and we got possession of the town without any resistance; where we committed all the outrages, and roamed about with the licentious carelessness of freebooters under no command.

While everyone thus prowled about for prey, fate goaded me to an arbor in a garden, whither I followed the cries of women! I was just rushing in among them, inflamed with brutal desire, when--what was my astonishment to see Amelia in the most magnificent⁵⁸ undress,⁵⁹ throwing heaps of gold and jewels into a vault that opened by a trap door into the arbor! I stood motionless at the sight for some moments, in distrust of my senses, but two such objects as she and her riches soon awoke me from my trance, and I advanced to take possession of both, resolving not to discover myself till a more proper time; the strangeness of my dress, that was designed to strike horror, and

the blood which, from scenes of cruelty and murder just committed, still reeked upon my hands and face, making it impossible that she should know me.

At the sight of me, the women all shrieked, and Amelia, as I advanced to lay hold on her, fell into a swoon. This embarrassed me greatly, as I had no time to lose; for our sentinels just then sounded a retreat. However, I thought I would wait a little, to see if she recovered, and stooping to raise her, to give her air, I received such a blow from behind, as deprived me of all sense for several hours; when, on my recovering, I found myself chained on the ground in a dungeon.

I was some time before I could believe my senses, or conceive where I was: till the jailor coming to see if I was alive, gave me to understand that my companions had gone off without me, and left me in the hands of a nobleman who had himself knocked me down as I was going to commit rape upon his lady, while she lay in a swoon; and that I had been thrown into this dungeon, that, if I recovered, I might suffer the punishment due to the outrages we had committed both here, and in several other places of their dominions.

I wanted no further information to show me the horrors of my situation. I saw them all, and aggravated a hundred-fold, by the accusations of my own conscience, that could now trace the hand of heaven in the justice of my punishment, which had thus overtaken me, in the presence, and on the account, of Amelia. I wished for death, as my only relief, and determined to seek it: but, alas! my resolution failed me; and I feared to die. In this

misery I was dragged before a magistrate, who, enumerating the crimes we had been guilty of, condemned me to immediate death.

This sentence, so much milder than my fears, awoke a hope of further mercy, to obtain which, my evil genius suggested it to me, to apply to Amelia, absurdly flattering myself that some sparks of her love for me might yet remain alive, or, at least, her goodness take delight in showing itself superior to my ill-treatment. Base hope, that met its just reward!

I therefore waived attempting a defense of other crimes, as I was conscious that I could not make any, but asserted my innocence, as to the particular charge of a base design upon Amelia at the time I was taken, adding, that "I had the honor of being nearly related to that lady, and that, if I was indulged with a few words with her, in the presence of all there, I hoped I might be found to merit a mitigation of my sentence."

On my mentioning the name of Amelia, I observed one of the principal persons in the court, whom I soon understood to be her husband, kindle into rage. He did not however interrupt me; but as soon as I had concluded, he started up, and exclaimed with the most furious indignation: "Amelia thy relation! No more than angels are related to devils, by springing from the same creator! Her virtues are dishonored by the claim! But she shall appear and disprove the odious calumny."--Saying which words, he instantly went for her, while a hollow⁶⁰ murmur of surprise and detestation made the silence of the court the more dreadful, and heightened the horrors of my suspense.

But I waited not long: Amelia soon appeared, led in by her husband, and being seated by the judge, "Where," said she, looking round with the serenity of conscious⁶¹ virtue, "where is the person who says he is related to me?"

The sight of her threw me into such a conflict of passions, that, without reflecting where I was, or how necessary it might be for me to raise her compassion by some moving address, that might soften the severity of her resentment for my former treatment of her, as well as assure her of my innocence of any base design against her person, in the condition she was in when I was taken, I could not forbear crying out in English, for I had spoken before in Spanish, in which I expressed myself but badly, "O Amelia! hast thou then forgot me?"

At the sound of my voice she started, and, looking earnestly at me for a moment, fell upon her knees, and, lifting her hands and eyes to heaven, she said aloud in Spanish, "O God, how signal is thy justice! Let me, let all the world acknowledge and adore it!"--And then rising and turning to her husband, who stood in amazement: "This, my lord," said she, "this is the man of whom I have informed you: This is that Traffic whose base dishonesty obliged me to leave my native country; and so, by that providence which is able to turn the greatest misfortune into a blessing, was made the cause of my present happiness with you. I abjure all kindred with him; I desire he may be examined as to my story; and, if he can vary in the least from what I have told you, let me be condemned to the severest punishment but that of staying longer in his sight, or ever seeing his face more."

On this she withdrew, without deigning a look at me: But her words had a proper effect upon my heart, and I resolved to do her justice. I therefore prevented⁶² her husband's command,⁶³ and, in as few words as possible, related the black affair with the strictest truth. When I had concluded, her lord declared that I had not only confirmed everything she had told him, but also added many circumstances of my own guilt which she had omitted, or perhaps not known.

So complicated guilt seemed to require consideration to find out proper punishment, so I was remanded to my dungeon, but without the least encouragement to hope. The next day I was again brought into the court, where my former sentence was changed into that of being broke alive upon the wheel;⁶⁴ and this severity was said to be in justice to Amelia.

When I had stood some moments stupefied with fear, the judge addressed me again in these words: "Thou hast heard, O wretched man, the sentence due to thy crimes; but great as they have been, mercy extends her hand to thee. The virtues of the illustrious Donna Amelia overbalance thy guilt, and have prevailed for a mitigation of thy punishment, in gratitude to that divine providence which made thee the cause of her coming among us. Thou shalt not die, because we would not kill thy soul, before thou hast had time to repent of thy crimes; nor shalt thou suffer torture, that thy strength may not be impaired for the labor to which thy life is doomed; for this is the last day that thou shalt ever behold the light of heaven: Thou shalt immediately descend into the mines, there to work out the residue of thy

unhappy days, in raising that gold for the use of others, the insatiable desire of which was the cause of all thy guilt."

I would have spoken, in the agony of my soul, to desire death; but I was stopped by the judge, who sternly said that to hear a word from me would be an insult upon justice. On his saying which, I was hurried away to the mountains over us, and precipitated into this gulf, where I have now been near--

* * *

(Here Chrysal describes how he left Traffic's possession, ostensibly because Traffic, who has discovered Chrysal in the gold mine to which he was sent as a punishment for his crimes, throws the piece of gold which Chrysal inhabits into a container, from which it is lifted out of the mine.)⁶⁵

"A Jesuit Joins the Order"

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 8

(Chrysal is in the possession of a Jesuit priest, whom a captain in the Peruvian army approaches.)

* * *He advanced with a military intrepidity and, kneeling down in form,⁶⁶ "Father," said he, "I have a long reckoning⁶⁷ to make, and some of the articles⁶⁸ are rather heavy." "My son," replied the priest, "you have had experience of the indulgence of the church, and that no crimes are too black for mercy, on proper penitence. Proceed then, and open your ailments to your physician; nor fear the efficacy of his medicines."

"You know then, father," said the penitent, "that I have long burned with a passion for the wife of my brother the judge. It was the subject of my last confession."--"I remember it right well," replied the father, "and you may remember also what ghostly, yet comfortable advice I gave you, to strive against and suppress it if you could."--"True, father; but I told you then, that I knew it would in vain for me to strive, as I was resolved to enjoy her, though at the hazard of my life."--"But, son, did I not comfort you by saying that, if you found it in vain to strive, and could not live without her, as life was the greatest good in this world, it was just that you should preserve yours by obtaining what you was so violently set upon, but always to be careful that you conducted matters so as not to give offense by your success."--"Ah! but father, that was not in my power; she was deaf to all my entreaties; and that threw me into such despair that, not able to wait any longer, I have, this very

morning, had recourse to force."--"That was really bad, if it could have been avoided; but, as you would not have forced her if she would have complied willingly,⁶⁹ that alters the case very much in your favor, and perhaps she put you to that trouble only to save the appearance of her own virtue, and if so, you have both acted right, and there is no harm done, provided the affair is not disclosed."

"O, father, that is the thing; I was afraid of that; and as her husband had always been a father to me, and all my future hopes depended on him, I so greatly dreaded her telling him that, to prevent it, as soon as I had enjoyed her, I cut her throat."

"Murder, O fie; it is a heinous crime: blood calls for blood: your case is terrible."--"I feared so, father: but I depended on your tenderness; and I did not think it reasonable that I should have all the pleasure of the crime, and you only the trouble of forgiving, I stripped her of these jewels, which give me leave to offer you."

"You are a prudent man, my son; I thought you would act with discretion. I accept the jewels as a peace-offering to the holy church for your sins; and as the value of them (indeed they are costly gems) proves the sincerity of your repentance, I shall not hesitate to pronounce your sins forgiven."

"For though adultery is a great sin and, in this case, aggravated by rape and incest, yet, as you say, it was not because she was the wife of another man, and especially your brother, that you desired to enjoy her, but merely as she was a beautiful woman, therefore the adultery and incest come in but by

accident; and then as you ravished her only because she would not comply, the sin of the rape is certainly hers, as I said before: for, if I force a man to commit a crime, I am guilty of that crime, and not he: and again, though murder is a most heinous sin, yet as you killed her not merely to indulge a murderous intent, but to prevent her discovering your having forced her, and so ruining you, the intention quite alters the nature of the fact, and makes it but self-preservation, which is the first law of nature.⁷⁰ And lastly, as you took the jewels, not with a design to rob her, but to offer them to the church, and accordingly have brought them, that conclusion sanctifies the whole action, and makes your peace with heaven.

"For know, my son, that crimes which respect man only, as in your case, rape, adultery, incest, murder, and robbery, though bad in themselves, 'tis true, yet are a pleasure to the church to forgive to a faithful and penitent son, who believes all her doctrines, and pays due obedience to her clergy, the vicegerents⁷¹ of God on earth, the receivers of her revenues, and dispensers of her favors and vengeance; to whom all earthly power is subservient, who are the kings of kings, and lords of the world.--This, my son, is the doctrine of our holy church, as delivered by the most learned fathers of our order, in the belief of which you will be safe from all the powers of hell: do what you will, while you pay faith and obedience to the church, she will pardon all your sins." --

When he had concluded his instructions with this pious exhortation, and sealed his absolution with a blessing, the

purified saint arose and said, "Holy father, thou hast set my soul at ease with regard to hereafter, but still I fear for this world. It unfortunately happened that I was seen in the fact by a servant who escaped me, or I should have charmed her silence⁷² too; and now I apprehend⁷³ she will inform my brother."--"This is unlucky, most unlucky," replied the priest, "I know not what to advise; I am utterly at a loss: if you should prevent her malice, and accuse her of the fact."⁷⁴--"O, but father, the rape; there may be appearances of that, which would disprove my charge against a woman."--"Mistake me not, my son, I do not advise any such thing! Heaven forbid that I should advise to bear false witness against an innocent life: I am utterly at a loss."--"Suppose, father, I should still strive to prevent my fears by taking off⁷⁵ my brother, as I cannot find her: this is the only way to make me easy; ha, father; is not that a happy thought? I wish it had occurred sooner, and then I should have given you but the one trouble."--"Why, truly son, the dead neither make nor receive discoveries: and self-preservation will certainly justify anything, as I have said before: but I must not advise you; your own genius is ready, and can improve a hint;⁷⁶ I must know nothing till the affair is done: all I can say is that work unfinished had better never have been begun.

"Adieu, my son, my blessing waits on all your undertakings. But be sure to hold the indulgent mercy of the church in grateful remembrance."--

The officer went away, happy in having lightened the burden that was upon his conscience, and big with the pious project of

making the murder of his brother the first fruits of his regeneration. He was the last penitent of that morning and, as soon as he was gone, his ghostly director retired to mortify⁷⁷ his appetite in the refectory of the convent.

"A Jesuit Joins the Order" (cont'd)

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 9

The great value of the jewels which the officer had presented to my master took up so much of his thoughts that, as soon as he had finished his collation,⁷⁸ he retired to his cell to meditate on the farther advantages he might make of this affair.

While he was in this pleasing employment, another ecclesiastic entered to acquaint him with the murder and robbery of the judge's wife and, among other particulars of the story, said that her crucifix, thought to be the richest in lay possession in all Peru, had been taken from her.--

"That crucifix!" exclaimed my master starting, for he knew it well, having long paid his devotions to it, and now to be cheated thus of it, when he thought it so justly his due, provoked him almost to madness. "That crucifix taken too; damned! murderous! deceitful villain! villain on all sides! But I will be revenged!"

The other priest understood not what he meant, and was just going to inquire, when in rushed the captain, all aghast. "O father! father!" said he, as soon as he could speak, "sanctuary! sanctuary! my brother is at the gate with all the officers of justice!"--At this the father grinned an insulting smile and,

beckoning to the other priest to withdraw, "Wretch," said he, "thou sacrilegious wretch! how couldst thou dare to enter these holy walls, violated by thy guilt? Didst thou not hear the fate of Ananias and Sapphira!⁷⁹--As thou didst deceive me with thy feigned penitence and hast lied to the lord in concealing what thou hadst most justly devoted to him I revoke the absolution I gave thee, and will deliver thee to justice to receive the punishment due to thy crimes. These holy walls afford no sanctuary to sacrilege!"

The poor criminal stood confounded at reproaches which he dared not interrupt, though he could not comprehend the cause or meaning of them. At length, when the priest had exclaimed himself out of breath, the trembling wretch replied, "O father! what can have kindled thy wrath against me? I have committed no crime since thy absolution purged my soul! I was only going towards my brother's house when I met him and the servant with him with all the officers of justice in search of me, on which I fled directly to you for sanctuary." "I grant no sanctuary to sacrileges."--"What sacrilege, O father?"--"The crucifix, deceitful wretch! Where is thy sister's⁸⁰ crucifix? Hast thou not defrauded the church of her due? Didst thou not say that thou tookedst thy sister's jewels only to make a peace-offering for thy sins, and then to secrete, thus, the most valuable part of them! This is defrauding the laborer of his hire!⁸¹ This is defrauding the church of her right without making the proper compensation! And what can be greater sacrilege?"

Just at these words, a knocking at the gate awoke the penitent from his amaze,⁸² and made him apprehend that he had not a minute to lose; he therefore with the readiest presence of mind replied, "The crucifix! father! you astonish me! did I not give it to you?" --And then putting his hand into his bosom, and pulling it out with a look of surprise, he reached it to him. "Forgive, O father," said he, "the crime of inadvertency! I meant not to have kept it from you, but only overlooked it in my confusion! accept it! accept all I am master of, and save my life."

"Son," replied the father, softening his voice and taking the crucifix, "I am glad thou wast not intentionally guilty of so unpardonable an offense! I believe, and accept thy excuse. Be comforted, therefore, my son, thy sins are forgiven." "O but, father, the officers of justice."--"What officers, what justice dares attempt show her face within these walls? Thou art my penitent, I have absolved thee, and I will defend thee. Sit down and compose thy spirits, while I repel this bold intrusion on the peace and privilege of these holy walls."

Saying thus, the father went to the gate of the convent, where stood the judge, displaying the guilt of the fugitive to the holy fathers to engage them to refuse him sanctuary and give him up to justice. But my master soon stopped him. "Cease," said he, with a low voice, and downcast, meditative look, "disturb not the peace of these holy walls. The man you seek is my penitent. He has made satisfaction to the church, and reconciled himself to heaven. I come this moment from giving him

the seal of absolution. Disturb not the raptures of his soul that is now joining with the angelic choirs in the hymns of joy raised in heaven for his repentance. Depart in peace."

"How, father," exclaimed the judge, "can a wretch guilty of such crimes so soon have made his peace! He has deceived you, father; he has not told you half his guilt: rape, incest, adultery and murder! Can they be thus forgiven? So easy pardons but encourage vice."--"And who art thou, presumptuous man!" replied the father, raising his voice and putting on an air of authority, "and who art thou that darest thus to call the power of God's holy church in question? What faith, or rather what heresy has taught thee this presumption? Dost thou measure the divine authority of our unerring tribunal by the weak rules of thy blind law? Are not the keys of heaven ours; and have we not the power to loose as well as bind? But I shall not argue more with thee here; there is a tribunal proper for such opinions as thine; there try if thy knowledge of the laws will justify thy heresies; there thou art not judge."

The first mention of heresy had struck such a terror into the heart of the poor judge that he was for some moments unable to reply. At last, recollecting himself a little, "I submit, O father," said he, "I am no heretic; I have no opinions but what I learn from the holy church, whose power I acknowledge in all its divine plenitude."--"'Tis well," replied the priest, "'tis well; depart in peace, and tomorrow I will visit thee, and examine the state of thy conscience."

The judge then making a profound reverence withdrew without a murmur, and the triumphant father returned to his penitent. "My son," said he, "thine enemies are defeated. Thy rest is secure here. But such is their power and so strong the general abhorrence that pursues thy late guilt that it will not be safe for thee ever to leave this sanctuary."--"O father, must I be confined for ever here?"--"I said not so, my son: there is a way for thee to go in triumph out, above the power of thy present persecutors."--"O name it, father."--"Take our vows. Heaven has blessed thee with a fertile genius and steeled thy soul with fortitude. These talents must not be buried; an account will be required of them; and where can they be put to proper use except in the service of the donor, in his church? there they will raise thee to that rank and power which thou seest us enjoy. I see thou yieldest. Resist not the motions of the holy spirit. I receive thee into the fold."⁸³ I salute thee, brother. From this moment of thine election mayest thou date thy entrance into the highest honors of this world. The day approaches when thy military knowledge and valor may also be called into action. Great events are ripening in the womb of time!"⁸⁴--"I yield, O father," replied the penitent, "I receive thine offer with due submission and respect; and from this moment dedicate my valor, skill, and every power of my soul and body to the implicit service of thine holy order."--"It is the hand of heaven that leads thee, no longer son, but brother. I will go and acquaint our brethren with thy miraculous conversion and election. Thou has no more to do but to make thy will, and bequeath all thy

wealth to our order."--"Bequeath, my father, must I die?"--"But to the world, brother, to live with us."--"But I have nothing to bequeath."--"Leave that to us. Do you only give all your fortune in the hands of your brother to our society in consequence of your admission; and let us find that fortune. I go. The bell rings for vespers. I shall send our notary to you; and when that is done we will restore our exhausted spirits with a slight repast in the refectory, where I will introduce thee to our brethren."

In a word, all things were executed and the new brother admitted in proper time into the order, of which he has since risen to be one of the brightest ornaments. And the judge, to avoid the imputation of heresy which his implied doubt of the church's sanctuary had given my master the hint of, was glad to pay half his wealth to the society as the fortune of his pious brother.

Soon after this affair was thus happily completed, my master, that he might openly show his adoration of me to the world had me made into a crucifix, in which shape I was fastened to his rosary, and there publicly received that adoration from the knee, which before was paid me only in the heart.* * *

"The History of a Horned Cock"

From Volume I, Book I, Chapter 16

(Chrysal is describing the various personages present at a rout for the edification of the alchemist.)

Opposite to him sits one of those philosophers who build their pretensions to scientific fame on making collections of the anomalous frolics of nature without ever attempting to investigate the wisdom and power displayed in the regular process of her works. In the course of this study a whimsical adventure lately happened to the noble virtuoso⁸⁵ before us. A man that bought poultry around the country to supply the markets of this great city, having got intelligence of his lordship's taste, resolved to turn it to his own advantage. He accordingly procured a most beautiful game cock and, sawing off the spurs of another cock that had very long ones, contrived to fix them firmly with wax on the head of this bird, on each side of the comb⁸⁶ with the points turned backward and inclining from each other, like the horns of a goat, in such a manner that they appeared to have grown naturally there.

As soon as he found that he could bring his scheme to a probability of success, he waited on the virtuoso and, giving notice that he had something curious to communicate was immediately admitted to an audience in his museum, where he informed that he had received intelligence from a particular friend of his, a Scotch peddler, that, in the farthest part of the Highlands⁸⁷ there was a most remarkable cock, with two surprising horns growing out of the back of his head, in the

possession of an old woman who was famous for the second sight; that upon his admiring the creature the woman had offered to sell it to him for a pound of tobacco and a bottle of brandy, but he was afraid to meddle with it, as all the country said it was her familiar,⁸⁸ though he had seen it himself scrape the dunghill⁸⁹ and tread⁹⁰ the hens, like any other cock: and that, upon hearing the news, he was come to inform his lordship of it, and to offer his service to go all the way himself for the bird and bring him up, if he would promise to reimburse him the expenses of his journey and give him some little consideration for his trouble; and to convince his lordship that he had no design to impose upon him, he would go at his own hazard, and desire nothing if he did not succeed.

The first mention of such a curiosity threw the virtuoso into the highest rapture: he embraced the fellow, conjured him not to lose a minute nor drop the least syllable of the affair to any person living till he brought him the cock; and, to secure his fidelity, pulled out his purse and gave him ten guineas, with a promise of fifty more the moment he should receive him.⁹¹ The man promised everything he required and went away, hugging himself in the success of his scheme. Accordingly, he left that part of the country directly and, taking care to keep beyond the reach of his lordship's inquiry, followed his business, as usual, for the time that he might be thought to have spent in his expedition. In the meanwhile, the virtuoso could not conceal the pride of his heart, on the prospect of so great an acquisition; but in all his letters to his philosophical correspondents gave

mysterious hints of something immensely fine, rare, and unnatural, and assumed the importance due to the possession of such a treasure.

At length, the moment arrived that was to complete his happiness. About ten o'clock at night the man alighted at his lordship's gate and, sending in his name, was immediately shown into the museum, where his lordship flew to meet him in the utmost impatience. As soon as the man entered, all over spattered with dirt, and putting on every appearance of fatigue, "Well, my good friend," said the virtuoso, with the greatest eagerness, "what success? Where is the dear creature? Shall I be so happy as to see him in my possession?"--"My lord," answered the man, "I must beg your pardon for a moment, I am not able to speak: I am quite worn out"--and then dropping upon a chair, as if he was just ready to faint, his lordship immediately rang for some cordial for him, which he took from the servant himself at the door (for he would not admit anyone living), and gave him with his own hand. When he was a little recovered, "I beg your lordship's pardon," continued he, "but I could not hold out a moment longer: what with traveling all day, and watching⁹² all night, I am quite worn out."--"But where is the bird?"--"And then such offers as I have refused! Well, to be sure, I trusted to your lordship's generosity, for I shall never have such another opportunity of making my fortune: for behold the thing had taken wind, and there was my lord duke's and Sir Thomas's men, and twenty more riding for life,⁹³ to try who should get him, but I had got the start of them and was coming back with the pretty

creature in my bosom; but I let them all go on their fool's errand, and did not say anything to them; for how did I know but they might kill me to get him away from me?"--Having finished his speech, which the other did not choose to interrupt though he listened to it with the utmost patience, the fellow opened his horseman's coat⁹⁴ and, with the great greatest caution, produced the wonderful creature, the head and neck of which had been carefully thrust into a box made on purpose, for fear the coat should rub off the horns.

His lordship's rapture at the sight is not to be described. He instantly pulled out his purse and, paying down the promised price, took possession of him, and bid the man go and refresh himself for the night with the best in the house, and in the morning he would consider how he might make him a return more equal to his service by procuring him some handsome place at court. But the fellow had other designs in his head than ever to see his face more. However, he kept that to himself and, retiring with many professions of gratitude, left his house directly, and took his leave of that country forever.

In the meantime, his lordship had notice that supper was served up; but, though he had company of the first rank in his house, he was so wrapped up in the contemplation of his new acquisition that he sent word he was taken suddenly ill, and could not possibly attend them: he then dispatched several servants express⁹⁵ to his learned friends to desire their attendance next day to see the most astonishing and beautiful composition nature had ever made in the animal world, and devoted

the rest of the night to the drawing up a proper description of this surprising horned cock, with a physical inquiry into the substance of his horns, and a philosophical attempt to account for such an extraordinary production. When this work of uncommon learning was finished, he indulged himself with taking another view of his darling bird, and then put him in a beautiful cage, from which he dislodged two Chinese pheasants, and placed him in his museum next to his favorite horned owl.

It was six in the morning before he retired to rest, when his head was so full of his news acquisition that he lay dreaming of cows with wings, and cocks with horns, and such like wonderful works of nature, till the arrival of his learned friends at noon. As soon as their coming was announced he arose directly and, without waiting to visit his cock, to whom he had given a sufficiency of provisions before he left him, went to meet them. After several impatient inquiries into the cause of so sudden and peremptory a summons, the virtuoso, in all the mysterious importance which so estimable an acquisition gave him, produced his own learned labors of that morning, and, when they had sufficiently studied and examined them, introduced them to a sight of the unparalleled subject: "There, gentleman," said he, in conscious exultation, "there, my friends, behold the most uncommon unnatural, and inestimable curiosity that ever enriched the collection of a philosopher. There behold an indisputable proof of their error who assert that nature has placed an immoveable boundary between the quadruped and winged creations. There behold a sufficient encouragement to urge your

indefatigable search for monsters, and to mix the whole animal creation in coition for the production of mermaids, griffins, centaurs, harpies,⁹⁶ and horned cocks, and all that beautiful confusion which yield such inexpressible delight to an inquisitive, philosophic mind."--

While he was making this harangue, the company approached the gilded cage that contained this inestimable prodigy and, stooping down to contemplate him, were surprised to find one of his horns fallen off, and the other moved considerably from the situation in which it had been described to them: for doleful to relate, the cock, which was of the right game-breed,⁹⁷ had unfortunately taken offense at the visage of the owl his neighbor, and in his struggles to come at him through the bars of the cage had rubbed off one, and displaced the other of his horns. When this deplorable misfortune was mentioned to the owner, it is impossible to describe his astonishment and confusion. He stooped hastily to be satisfied of the truth of it and, behold the irreparable ruin of his pride, gave one dismal groan, and fell at his length on the floor in a swoon.

While his servants, who were summoned upon the occasion, were fetching him to himself, one of the philosophers opened the cage and, taking out the bird, they all entered into a discussion of so strange a phenomenon. After many learned and ingenious solutions,⁹⁸ one of them declared that it had always been his opinion, in which the present case abundantly confirmed him, that all cornuted⁹⁹ animals cast their horns every year, like the stag, and that the present case was not more than that; of which

he was perfectly convinced, as he could plainly feel with his finger the growing horn, which had thus thrust off the old one; "So that, my lord," said he, addressing him to the owner, who by this time was recovered, and attending to their remarks, "instead of being vexed at such an event you have reason to rejoice, as it explains a very difficult point, and you will have an opportunity of tracing¹⁰⁰ the growth of this beautiful prodigy."

This sage solution administered some consolation to the virtuoso, who immediately took the bird in his own hands and, feeling the lump of wax which had fastened on the fictitious horn, was convinced of the truth of his friend's accurate observation, which he himself farther confirmed by taking notice that, as no blood followed the avulsion, it was evident that the horn was of itself ready to fall off without the assistance of the cock's struggling (for they had caught him at that work), as the dislocation of the other horn showed that that was not in the same state of ripeness, and, therefore, it had resisted that force. Consciousness of the sagacity of this remark, in some degree, restored his spirits, and he was going to proceed when one of the company, who had taken up and examined the fallen horn, and had not given any opinion on the matter, interrupted him drily, and said that the hypothesis was certainly very ingenious, but he believed the affair might be solved a readier way; for, upon examination of the supposed horn, he found it was only a cock's spur which had been fastened upon the creature's head with wax, upon the end of the spur in his hand; and, if they

would let him pull off the other, he would undertake the imposture would be too plain to admit of any doubt.

The mention of this threw them all into confusion, as they had all given their opinions positively,¹⁰¹ of the honor of which it deprived them, and cut short many more, which they were ready to offer: they therefore stood looking at each other, till he stretched out his hand to pull of the other horn, when they all interposed, particularly the owner, and insisted that they must be better satisfied of what he had advanced before they could permit so rash an experiment. But the bird himself cut short the dispute; for, some of the company happening to have snuff in their fingers, it got into the cock's eyes, and made him shake his head with such violence that off flew the horn in his owner's face. The person who had made the discovery immediately took it up, and showed such plain proof of the trick that it could no longer be denied.

It is impossible to describe the shame and vexation in every philosophic face present at this lamentable event. The abused purchaser, in particular, was almost mad: however, after mature deliberation, it was agreed upon for the credit of philosophy¹⁰² to bear the deceit in silence, rather than expose themselves to the ridicule of the unlearned by seeking satisfaction from the cheat. As for the cock, he was immediately sacrificed to Aesculapius¹⁰³ to avert the consequences which such a disappointment might have upon the health and understanding of the company,¹⁰⁴ and to remove such an evidence of their disgrace. But all their caution was in vain: the person who first detected

the deceit could not deny his vanity the pleasure of making his sagacity known; and the fellow, finding his trick passed over thus with impunity, could not avoid boasting of it; and to this day diverts his customers with the history of the horned cock.

"History of a Lady of Enterprise"

From Volume II, Book I, Chapter 12

(Chrysal is in the possession of the titular heroine.)¹⁰⁵

* * *

My new mistress was the young widow of a person of great distinction who, in the decline of life, had overlooked the disparity of age and rank and married her, solely to gratify his passion for her beauty. During the few years he lived, his care and prudence kept her indiscretion within bounds, but, as soon as that guard was removed, she plunged into all the fashionable follies of the times with a keenness¹⁰⁶ that courted ruin.

But though she eagerly followed every pursuit that bore the name of pleasure, vanity was the ruling passion of her heart. The rank into which her husband had lifted her placed her upon a level, in point of society, with the best company, and the fortune he left her was sufficient to support that rank. But still, as there were many degrees¹⁰⁷ above her, her heart pined for precedence, and she could not enjoy the honors she had while she was obliged to give place¹⁰⁸ to so many.

She had formed a variety of schemes to obtain this desired object, but still¹⁰⁹ without success. At length,¹¹⁰ the very night I came into her possession,¹¹¹ an accident suggested one to her, which she immediately put in execution¹¹² with the most sanguine hopes. There had been a nobleman of the first rank in the company, the weakness of whose reason had obliged his friends to put him under the government of a person to whose fidelity they thought they could entrust so important a charge. As

private misfortunes are always an agreeable topic for public conversation, an elderly lady, who was acquainted with this nobleman's family, entertained the company with several melancholy instances of his weakness. My mistress regarded this only as it was meant, as common chat, till some time after, the nobleman happening to fix his eye with some earnestness upon her, a sudden thought darted into her mind that, if she could any way bright about a marriage with him, all her dear views of ambition would be gratified at once.

The moment this thought took possession of her head, it drove out every other. She lost deal!¹¹³ She revoked!¹¹⁴ She missed reckoning her honors!¹¹⁵ In short she was so absent that she was obliged to pretend a violent headache, and leave the company. As soon as she got home, she went to bed, where she spent the night in forming numberless projects for accomplishing her design; but still the account which the old lady had given of the vigilance of the person to whose care the nobleman was entrusted disconcerted¹¹⁶ them all. At length, she resolved to attempt corrupting his fidelity, as she could not expect to elude his vigilance. She had often heard that the greatest honesty was not proof against a proper price, and her knowledge of her own heart did not contradict that opinion. However, not to be too rash, nor betray her design, before she had some prospect of success, she resolved to sound¹¹⁷ the person before she applied directly to him.

Accordingly, as soon as she got up, she wrote him an anonymous letter,¹¹⁸ letting him know that a person had a certain

affair to propose to him, for his concurrence in which he should receive immediately a thousand guineas, and an annuity of five hundred pounds a year, besides several other considerable advantages; and that what he was desired to do could be effected without any possible loss or danger to himself. This letter she sent by the penny-post,¹¹⁹ and desired the answer might be returned in the same manner, under a feigned direction,¹²⁰ to the house of a person in whom she confided.

Such a letter necessarily surprised the gentleman to whom it was sent. Though the greatness of the offer convinced him that some extraordinary piece of villainy was designed, yet, as he knew himself above temptation, he resolved to humor¹²¹ the scheme till he should discover the whole of it, for the honest revenge of punishing a base attempt to seduce him into dishonesty. Accordingly he answered the letter directly in such terms as he imagined would tempt the writer to be more explicit, expressing his readiness to embrace any proposal that should be so advantageous when he should be satisfied that the person who made it was able to perform it, and worthy of his confidence.

This bait took, as he desired. My mistress, whose eager imagination was too full of the desired object to let her use any caution, thought her work done and immediately wrote him another letter, to which she signed her name, and in it explained her whole scheme of marrying the nobleman by his assistance, enforcing¹²² her former offer by a promise of continuing him in the agency¹²³ of the estate, or, rather indeed, of sharing it with him, and desiring to meet him that evening, either at her

house or any other place he pleased, to confer upon proper means for bringing it¹²⁴ into immediate execution.

The gentleman was not a moment at a loss how to act on such an occasion: he immediately waited upon the nobleman who was next heir to his unhappy charge and, showing both the letters, desired his directions how to act. Though this nobleman was struck with horror at a piece of villainy that did such dishonor to the sex, respect for the memory of the worthy man whose name she bore would not permit him to expose her to public insult; however, to prevent her making the like attempt elsewhere, he resolved to shock her by a personal detection; accordingly, he made the gentleman write her word that it was improper for him to be seen going to her house, but that if she pleased he would meet her at eight that evening at a certain tavern where she should inquire for him by the name of Mr. Trueman. Such a prospect of immediate success made her blind to every appearance of deceit or danger, and accordingly she prepared to attend the appointment with the most sanguine expectation.

But his lordship had prepared a reception for her which she never suspected. A little before the time,¹²⁵ he went to the tavern with the gentleman, and, fixing upon a room in which there was a closet large enough for him and another nobleman whom he took with him, left word that if any lady should inquire for Mr. Trueman, she should be told that he was above alone, and the gentleman¹²⁶ called down to her. As they judged, her impatience brought her rather before the time, when her imagined confederate showing her up into the room, and placing her so that every word

she said might be heard in the closet, he entered into a conversation with her on the subject of their meeting, in which he led her to repeat her whole proposal, and, by starting¹²⁷ difficulties, to enforce it with every iniquitous argument in her power.

As soon as his lordship thought she had said enough he issued from his concealment, and, looking her full in the face, calmly thanked her for the care she was taking to preserve the noble family of his relation, which she had whimsically¹²⁸ given as one of the reasons of her desiring this marriage. It is impossible to describe her situation at the sight of this nobleman, whom she well knew, as well as his interest in defeating her design.¹²⁹ Astonishment, shame, and confusion struck her motionless and dumb. She just was able to turn her eye to her betrayer, and then fell in a swoon upon the floor. Such distress naturally softened the resentment of the generous nobleman to whom she had designed such an injury: he assisted to raise her from the ground, and having with difficulty brought her to herself, instead of aggravating her distress by reproaches, mildly advised her to desist from such unjustifiable schemes, and promised her that he would take no notice of what had happened if he found that her future conduct merited such tenderness.

This treatment had the wished effect. That false spirit, which would have borne her up against any severity, sunk before such unexpected delicacy and compassion. She melted into a flood of tears; and, unable to utter a word, fell upon her knees and kissed the hand of the nobleman in a rapture not to be expressed;

who immediately raised her from the ground, and telling her that he imagined it must be disagreeable to her to stay there any longer, ordered a chair¹³⁰ and handed her into it himself with the utmost politeness and respect.

Her situation when she got home was truly pitiable. The assurance of her late hopes¹³¹ doubled the distress of her disappointment, and the fear of shame made the thought of her guilt intolerable. She cursed her own folly and all the ways of faithless man; and, in the agony of her grief, resolved to leave this detested town next morning and bury herself, forever, from the world in her country-seat.¹³²

This resolution she held in till next morning, when she actually set out for the country; but I have reason to believe it did not hold very long, as I have frequently seen her since, in all public places,¹³³ as gay and unconcerned as ever.* * *

"Curious Anecdotes of a Great Man"

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 16

(Chrysal is in the possession of the Jesuit spy in Brussels.)

* * *

"You have often expressed a curiosity, my friend," said the stranger to my master, "to learn the particulars of my life. That I did not gratify it, was not owing to any diffidence¹³⁴ or disinclination to oblige you; but because I had not arrived at any fixed period to make a proper pause at, and therefore an imperfect account could give you but little satisfaction. But that objection is now removed: I am here settled in a situation, which, though far below my former hopes, I shall strive to be contented in, and not launch out any more into the fatigues and perils of the world, at this late season of my life. One caution only I must hint to you, which is, that, in the account I am going to give, I shall throw aside all prejudice, and represent everything in the unadorned simplicity of its first principles,¹³⁵ without any regard to the received notions of self-deluded man.--

"I was born in France, of poor parents, who were scarcely able to give me the first rudiments of a liberal education. To avoid a life of labor, I rashly entered into the monastic, before I had experience enough to see the folly of such a step: but my stay here was not long: to a man of sense the obligation of a vow ceases, with the motive that induced him to take it. I made my escape from the convent, and as I was destitute of money to

support me, and as yet too ignorant of the ways of the world to be able to live without it, was driven by necessity to enlist myself for a soldier. But I soon found that I had not gained by the change, the slavery of a soldier's life being still more intolerable than that of a monk. I therefore had recourse to my former expedient for relief, and deserted at the very first opportunity. I then threw myself at random upon the world, without any particular point to direct my course to; but this did not discourage me: I had boldly thrown off the shackles which foolish man had forged for himself, to prevent his rising in life, and regulated my conduct solely by my convenience. This gave me a superiority over the rest of mankind, which I never failed to avail myself of. I looked upon their follies as my inheritance, and soon found abundant opportunities of turning them to my advantage.

"For some years I lived a life of ramble,¹³⁶ in the course of which I met with many adventures.--At length, I thought my own country too narrow a sphere to confine my activity to, and so I went to Spain, where I expected an ample harvest from the ignorance and superstition of the people; but their poverty disappointed my hopes, and almost starved me into repentance of my expedition. However, I proceeded to Madrid, where the credulity of a countryman of my own made me amends for the reserve of the natives. He not only relieved my immediate wants, which were too pressing to be borne, but also entrusted into my hands some valuable materials for a literary work, from which he

expected both reputation and profit. But I disappointed his hopes; for, being tired of Spain, I took the first opportunity of going to try my fortune in some other country, and carried all his papers with me. Nor was this all he suffered by his confidence. I had before experienced the inconvenience of depending upon charity, in a country where there is scarce sufficient for the necessaries of nature. I therefore thought it proper to take all the money and valuable effects in his possession to defray the expenses of my journey. As to the distress this might throw him into, I never regarded that a moment, no more than I did his being my countryman. I despised the narrowness of thought that made such accidental circumstances of any weight, when they clashed with my own particular designs; and I esteemed the lesson I had taught him, to be more cautious whom he placed his confidence in, a sufficient recompense for his loss.

"From Spain I directed my course to Germany, where the political knowledge I acquired from my late friend's papers made me so much taken notice of, that after some time, not disagreeably spent among the great, I was recommended to the prime minister and favorite of the king of Poland,¹³⁷ as a proper person to be entrusted with the education of his only son. Not to disgrace this character, I assumed a fictitious name and title, and gave out that I had been obliged to leave my own country for an affair of honor. My employment gave me frequent opportunities of conversing with the father of my pupil, in whom

I displayed my skill in politics to such advantage, that I soon was admitted into his esteem and confidence. In this intercourse I had the honor of starting the first hint of that project,¹³⁸ which has since kindled the present war in Germany,¹³⁹ and will immortalize his name (for he has had the ungenerous meanness to assume it to himself) to all ages.¹⁴⁰

"Such a situation was sufficient to satisfy the desires of any other man: but my ambition knew no bounds: I thought my patron did not reward my merit as it deserved; and, in revenge, I resolved to work his ruin. For this purpose, I entered into a correspondence with several noblemen who were his enemies, and, taking advantage of the opportunities his confidence gave me of seeing his papers, copied some and counterfeited others that I thought necessary to my design, which was no less than to raise a civil war, in which the minister should be sacrificed, and the master dethroned. But, just as my plot was ripe for execution, it was discovered, and I hurried from a palace to a prison, where I was condemned to languish out the rest of my days; my life being spared in compliance with a delicacy of my patron's, who thought it would be a disgrace to him to have his son's tutor hanged.

"When I had lain here some time, a happy thought procured me my liberty: I wrote a most penitential letter to the pope's nuncio, in which I discovered my true name, and my having fled from my vows; and pretending a thorough sense of my guilt, and desire of returning to my order, begged his intercession in my

favor. My scheme succeeded! He claimed me as an ecclesiastic, and the king, whose mind was too intent on greater matters to think of me, readily complied. I was accordingly released from my prison; but instead of being set absolutely at liberty, as I had hoped, was sent under a guard of ecclesiastics to Rome, where all the favor I could obtain was to be ordered back to my convent.

"This was a great disappointment to me; but I was obliged to submit. I accordingly set out, guarded as before, but determined to take the first opportunity of making my escape; which I at length effected, after many vain attempts.

"To frustrate the pursuit of my guards, I fled into Switzerland, where the name of liberty flattered my hopes of doing whatever I pleased. The first thing I did there was to abjure my religion, and profess theirs,¹⁴¹ to conciliate their good opinion. This was no difficulty upon me, as I had long looked upon all religions with equal indifference. As I had no money, I immediately commenced author.¹⁴² But, though I gained reputation, my profits were so inconsiderable that I was obliged to have recourse to other methods for my support, some of which happening to contradict their prejudices, I was obliged to leave their dominions with circumstances of disgrace. You will laugh at the narrow notions of mankind when I tell you that the affair they made so great a noise about was only my denying a debt which I was unable to pay, and the creditor did not even want.

"There were some other particulars indeed of my conduct which would have met with a severe fate, had I not taken prudent care to obviate it. I had entered into an intimacy with a person of some fortune, who had an agreeable wife. The connections of the wife¹⁴³ are always made with a view to some particular end. I had more than one in this acquaintance: the supply of my necessities, by the generosity of the husband, and the gratification of my pleasure, by the enjoyment of the wife.--I succeeded in both, but was prevented by an accident from enjoying my success long. The husband surprised us one day in a situation that did not admit of doubt. He drew his sword, to have revenged his wrongs with my death; but I disappointed his design by presenting a pistol at his head, which I always carried about me for fear of accidents. Upon this, he ran out of the house in a kind of frenzy. I saw the delicacy of my situation, and that my safety depended upon the proper use of that moment. The wife had swooned away at the first sight of her husband. I ran and fetched a glass of water, as if to recover her, but conveyed a few drops into it which I never went without for any such emergency, that delivered her forever from all fear of her husband's resentment. I had many reasons for doing this. It was in her power to make discoveries to her husband, which I did not choose; besides, as the suspicion of her death would inevitably fall upon him, I thought that a good way to escape his revenge. I then quitted the house without being perceived. All things happened as I could wish. The husband was obliged to fly from

his country to avoid an ignominious death for the murder of his wife; and all his effects were confiscated to the state. It is true, I did not entirely escape suspicion! He had laid open all he knew of the affair, by letter, to his friends! but, though they believed him, he had no evidence to support his charge; so that I despised¹⁴⁴ his impotent accusations.

"From Switzerland I once more turned my face to Germany, where my name was so famous for my political knowledge, that, a war being just ready to break out,¹⁴⁵ I received considerable offers from most of the parties concerned, to engage me in their service; but, though I refused none, I resolved not to engage myself absolutely to any, till I could know which might prove most advantageous to me."

"Curious Anecdotes of a Great Man" (*cont'd*)

Volume II, Book II, Chapter 17

"As England was likely to bear a considerable part in the war, I thought it proper to go over, and sound the inclinations of the ministry there also. The riches and credulity of the inhabitants of that country have long made it be esteemed the inheritance of needy adventurers.¹⁴⁶ The thought of displaying my abilities in so fertile a soil inspired me with an ardor I had never felt before. I already grasped¹⁴⁷ all the wealth of the nation, and looked upon myself as the oracle of the people, and the terror of the ministry, who would not fail to purchase my silence with a pension that should enable me to spend the rest of my days, wherever I liked, with dignity and ease.

"Full of these flattering hopes, I arrived in London, where I soon found, that, just as the notion I had formed of the people in general might be, the government would not take the bait I had prepared for them, and treated me and my proposals with equal contempt. This threw me into the necessity of prostituting my abilities, which I fondly hoped would have been employed in embroiling nations to the deception of individuals for the support of life;¹⁴⁸ for all the wealth I was master of consisted solely in the projects of my brain.

"My success in this under-plot¹⁴⁹ made me some amends for the miscarriage of the other. I no sooner fixed my habitation than I was crowded to by tradesmen of all kinds, to solicit my custom¹⁵⁰ for things which I had not the least probability of being ever able to pay for. But that gave me no concern; I accepted their offers to such an amount that I was immediately able to procure considerable sums of money for other occasions by the sale of commodities, which, so far from having occasion for, I scarcely knew the use of.

"Flushed with this good fortune, I threw off all reserve, and gave a loose to every passion which luxury could raise in a temper naturally warm; never reflecting that the day would soon come when my inability to pay my present debts would not only put a stop to these artificial resources, but also probably plunge me in the horrors of a jail for life. I professed myself a man of pleasure! I dressed, gamed, and intrigued with people of the first rank; and, for some time was so intoxicated as to forget my

purpose in coming over, and think I could support this life forever. Not that I was ever so intent upon my pleasures as to miss any opportunity of procuring the means immediately necessary to obtain them. On the contrary, the moment I threw off my designs upon the government, I doubled my application, to turn the follies of particulars¹⁵¹ to my own advantage, stopping at nothing, however iniquitous in the opinion of the world, to accomplish my designs.

"Such a life must necessarily involve me in a variety of adventures, many of which, 'tis true, I got not so smoothly over as I could wish; but I had learned philosophy enough to take the bad with the good, without repining at what it was not in my power to redress.

It would be endless to enter into a particular detail of everything I did, and suffered, in the course of this life; I shall, therefore, only just mention one or two affairs, which may serve to give you some notion of the rest.

"As I particularly valued myself upon my literary character, there was no kind of acquaintance I was fonder of cultivating than with men of letters; for which I had also a farther motive, that, as their attention to books generally made them strangers to the ways of men, they were most easy to be made the property of any mercenary designs.

"On both these accounts I had taken lodgings in the house of a clergyman, who, besides the character of a man of learning, was also reputed to be in good circumstances. I soon found that he

was a person exactly fitted for my designs, and therefore lost no time in making a proper impression on him. The first step towards acquiring confidence is to place it yourself. I immediately made him my banker, lodging every sum of money I won at play, or raised by the means I mentioned before, in his hands. As my success made these sums very considerable at first, he conceived an opinion of my being a person of consequence and fortune, above my appearance. This inspired him with such respect for me, that, if at any time I even hinted an occasion for more than I had in his hands, he not only offered to supply me, but even looked upon my acceptance as an honor. To confirm him in this way of thinking I frequently accepted of his offers when I had no occasion, only that the punctuality of my payment might make him still the readier, whenever it should.

"Nor was it long before I was obliged to avail myself of this scheme. A bad run at play stripped me of all my money, and my tradesmen brought in their bills, so that my former resources were at an end. In this difficulty I applied to my landlord, who really¹⁵² supplied me all the money in his possession; and, that not being sufficient, borrowed as much more as he could, till my remittances should arrive from my estate.

"This supply might have extricated me from the difficulties of the present moment. But I was awakened from my golden dreams, and saw that this was the last money I could any ways expect to raise, as my practices began to be suspected, and everybody had taken the alarm against me; so that, if I parted with it, I

should only gain a momentary relief, as my landlord would soon expect to be paid also. I therefore resolved to serve all my creditors alike and go back to Germany with the money in my possession, leaving them to curse their credulity, and be more cautious for the future.

"As I had still a considerable quantity of valuable effects in my possession, I knew it would be impossible to remove them without giving the alarm to my landlord, and I could not think of leaving them in his hands, though they were far short of the debt I owed him. In this dilemma my ready genius prompted a scheme that would not only secure me from him, but also gave me time to prepare for my decampment with more convenience. Upon my first coming to his house I had contrived, by taking the impressions in wax, to get false keys to all his locks. This is a piece of precaution which no man of prudence will ever neglect. In pursuance of my scheme, the morning after I received the money from him and before I was to pay it away, by appointment,¹⁵³ I took the opportunity, while he was at church, to convey into his closet several things of value, my property in which I could clearly prove, taking away, at the same time, the obligations¹⁵⁴ which I had given him for the money he had lent me, which his confidence in my honor had prevented his taking the precaution of having witnesses to.

"As soon as I had done this I went directly to a magistrate, before whom I made oath of my being robbed of a large sum of money and many of my most valuable effects, among which I

particularly named the things I had left in his closet, and required¹⁵⁵ an authority to apprehend my landlord and search his house, as I had reason to suspect that he had stolen them, having caught him often coming out of my apartments in evident confusion, and at times when my being absent deprived him of every honest reason of going into them; and this charge I had confirmed by the testimony of my valet de chambre, and another person, whom I had prepared properly.

"Though the execution of sentence is not quite so sudden in England as in Turkey,¹⁵⁶ an accusation of this kind, however groundless is, in many respects, not much less dreadful; the harpies¹⁵⁷ of the law never losing their hold of the accused till they have devoured everything in his possession. The warrant I demanded was readily granted for this reason; and away I resolutely went, in company with the officers, to execute it. We found my landlord, in the security of innocence, in his parlor, waiting for my coming in to dinner. It is impossible to express his astonishment when they laid hold of him, like a thief, and told him it was on my accusation. All the resolution, and presence of mind I was master of, were requisite to bear me through the scene! At first he was unable to speak a word, which the candor of his accusers did not fail to construe into a silent acknowledgement of his guilt; but, recovering himself in a few moments, he first raised his eyes to heaven, and, then turning them upon me, gave me a look that almost froze the blood in my veins; but never deigned to speak a word to me.

"He then addressed himself to the officers, and mildly desired that they would execute their duty with lenity, nor offer any indignity to the sacred character he bore till a proof of his guilt should make him appear unworthy of the sanction of it.

"Such behavior had an effect not to be described upon all that were present. The very officers forgot their hardened nature for a moment, and the tear of pity fell from eyes that never wept before at human misery. Even I began to feel the foolish infection, and was obliged to charm¹⁵⁸ up other passions to prevent my betraying myself, though my ruin was at stake. Accordingly, I raised my voice, and, with a stern accent, commanded the officers to do their duty, and search the house, before his accomplices should have time to convey away the things we came in quest of. This word¹⁵⁹ put an end to a compassion that was contrary to their nature, and they proceeded to their business with their usual keenness; though still with respect, till they came to search his closet, where the sight of things which I had sworn to have been stolen from me appeared so plain a proof of his guilt, that they treated him with all the indignity of the vilest malefactor.

"Secure in his innocence, he had hitherto preserved a steadiness of temper than seemed superior to the power of fortune; but at this sight his resolution failed him. He fell upon his knees, and raising his hands and eyes to heaven, 'Just God,' said he, 'thy will be done! Thou knowest my innocence, and

art able to defend me!--And wilt defend me,' said he, rising and recovering his former spirits.

"In the meantime I seemed encouraged¹⁶⁰ by this success to hope for the recovery of the money, which I pretended to have lost also, and ceased not to urge the officers to make the strictest search. But this was not necessary; they ransacked every place, and tossed about everything that was too large for them to convey away, till they made his whole house one scene of desolation. They then dragged him before the magistrate, where the finding of the things gave such weight to the charge that he was on the verge of being hurried to prison, and would certainly have suffered an ignominious death, had it not been for some unlucky prevarication in my valet de chambre's evidence. This with some suspicions that were suggested against my own character by the pawnbroker to whom I had sold the goods I took up from my tradesmen, and who unfortunately happened to be present, gave the affair such a turn in his favor that he was admitted to bail, till his innocence or guilt should be proven by a public trial.

"But it was far from my intention to wait for this. The moment I left the magistrate I went to the house of an acquaintance whither I had ordered my effects to be removed before, where I resolved to prepare for my departure with the utmost expedition. As to my creditors, when they called upon me next morning, as I had appointed, for their money, I told them the story of my having been robbed the day before by my landlord; and therefore that they must wait till I should receive another

remittance from my own country; and though I saw that few of them believed me, or were inclined to grant me that indulgence, I was under no concern, as the habitation of my friend was in a place privileged from the immediate power of the law.¹⁶¹

"However, it was impossible to be easy in such a situation, where every eye that saw me reproached me for what I had done! I therefore took the first opportunity of going off, in which I was so successful as to elude the vigilance of my pursuers and escape to Holland, where I had the vexation to learn that half of my scheme was disappointed, my landlord being discharged without trial, for want of my appearing to prosecute him; but, though he escaped death, his affairs were so effectually ruined by the loss of the money he lent and had procured for me, and the expense and damage he suffered by my accusation, that he was obliged to fly for refuge to the savages of America,¹⁶² from the power of his more savage creditors."

"Curious Anecdotes of a Great Man" (*cont'd*)

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 18

"I no sooner arrived in Holland, the general rendezvous of politicians,¹⁶³ than I reassumed that character once more, and that with such success that the minister of a power in alliance with England conceived such an opinion of my abilities as made him offer to recommend me to that court, for an employment of the highest consequence, in one of the principal courts of Germany.

"Though I was sensible that my return to England must be attended with disagreeable, if not dangerous circumstances, from

the general prejudices that were entertained there against me, I boldly resolved to accept of his offer: the former, which could consist only in impotent marks of dislike, I disregarded; and the latter I judged my recommendation would enable me to defeat. Accordingly I set out, with the utmost privacy, and was safe in London, before my leaving Holland was even suspected by those who would have lain in wait for me.

"The very morning after my arrival I waited upon the minister,¹⁶⁴ to whom I was recommended, with my letters, who received me very politely, and, upon the credit of the character given to him of me, entered into a familiar conversation¹⁶⁵ on several subjects of intricacy and importance, in which I supported the character he had received of me so well that he dismissed me with an assurance of his protection and favor.

"I now thought myself secure of my hopes: but the pleasure of this thought was of a very short continuance. The very next morning I received a message from the minister to attend him directly, which you may think I obeyed in the highest spirits. Instead of the affability, with which I expected to be received, upon my advancing to him, he darted a look at me, that seemed designed to search my very soul. After viewing me steadily thus for some moments, 'You are recommended to me,' said he, 'as a man of abilities; and such I have found you to be; but you have imposed upon the person who recommended you, and concealed your real character from him, or he would never have entertained so favorable an opinion of such an abandoned wretch!--But I have

unravelling the mystery of your iniquities, and am guarded against your wiles.--Your crimes call loud for vengeance, and the stroke of fate hangs over your head: but in hopes you may repent and amend your life, and in respect to the recommending you brought (of which I cannot give you a stronger testimony than this), I will give you an opportunity to escape, for this time, the ruin that threatens you. Fly this country directly! If you are found in this city an hour hence, or make the least delay in any part of the kingdom (and all your steps are watched), you are to expect no favor or protection. And, that you should not plead inability to obey this injunction, take this purse of gold, and let me never see your face more.'

"I need not tell you the effect this speech had upon me! I took the purse and retired without making any reply; nor did I close my eyes in sleep till I had bid adieu to that inhospitable shore.

"On my return I went to wait upon my former patron, but was denied admission, and ordered never to go there any more: the account of my disgrace in England having, as I learned afterwards, been transmitted to him in the very ship that brought me over.

"Though these miscarriages mortified my pride, they did not deject my spirit. The gold given me by the English minister enabled me to support myself in a state of independence for some time; during which, I successively offered to accept every proposal that I had formerly rejected; but I had missed my

opportunity, and was now rejected myself in my turn. At length, when I was almost reduced to despair, the employment I hold here was offered to me,¹⁶⁶ which, though far beneath my former hopes, I thought it not prudent to refuse, especially as it opened me an opportunity of venting my rage, with impunity, upon all who had ever offended me. I am literally hired to wage open war with truth, honor, and justice by inventing false news to support the exhausted spirits of the people;¹⁶⁷--by defaming the enemies of my employers, to give a color to the iniquitous designs of the latter; and by varnishing over the most flagrant acts of oppression, cruelty, and deceit with the specious colors of authority, justice, and religion.

"To a man who retained any of the prejudices of the world and did not examine things in the simplicity of nature, such a task must be most disagreeable. But to me all things are indifferent, as I know all things are alike."

"The History of Pheron and Ilissa"

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 21

(Chrysal is in the possession of an inquisitor, as is a tablet or case of gold. Chrysal asks the case's spirit to relate the history of Pheron and Ilissa, a father and daughter who are being held by the Inquisition.)

* * *

"There is something so extraordinary in the whole history of the persons who have raised your curiosity, that it will be necessary to trace it from the beginning, to give you the satisfaction you desire.

"The father of the young lady, who gave me to our master, is the person whom you saw this morning at his tribunal. His name, in his own country, was Pheron; he is a native of Abyssinia,¹⁶⁸ where his ancestors have possessed ample territories for many ages, being descended from the race of their kings.

"From the first dawn of reason in the mind of Pheron, he showed the strongest desire for knowledge and the steadiest attachment to virtue. The advances of human knowledge have not been so great in those countries as here; yet natural reason has been able to discover the sublime truths of morality, the practice of which is called wisdom, and the time consumed here in fruitless speculation devoted to it; by which means, if men are not so knowing, they are certainly more wise.¹⁶⁹--In this happy employment passed the first years of the youth of Pheron till, riper manhood calling him to the service of his country, he went

at the head of his father's vassals, to repel the invasions of the Ethiopians.¹⁷⁰

"His success was so great in this first essay of his arms, that he not only repelled the invaders, but also carried the war into their own country, where, after many victories, he compelled them to sue for peace.

"The fame of his actions soon reached the ear of his sovereign who sent for him to his court, and rewarded his services by giving him his sister in marriage. Dignities¹⁷¹ in those countries are not prostituted to the support of luxury and idleness. Pheron returned home with his bride to govern and protect his people, who, safe in his care, pursued their usual occupations; war not being there made a constant profession, nor the gratification of the worst passions of human nature reduced into a science, and practiced by rule.¹⁷²

"The peace which Pheron had made was not injurious to his enemies, and therefore was preserved by them, which gave him leisure to attend to the improvement of his country, and instruction of his people.

"He had lived in this happy state some years when there arrived a person in his country who gave an unexpected turn to his affairs. The situation of those nations is such, that the inhabitants themselves rarely ever travel; nor is the face of a stranger seen in an age among them. This made the arrival of this man the more taken notice of; he was immediately introduced

to Pheron, to whose friendship his knowledge in several branches of science¹⁷³ soon recommended him.

"When the stranger had thus established an interest with him, he at length disclosed to him the motive of his coming into a country so remote from his own; he told him that he had undertaken this hazardous and painful journey in pure obedience to the divine command of instructing the ignorant in the knowledge of salvation. He explained to him the mysteries of the Christian religion; the hierarchy of Rome; the divine foundation of its power; and the several orders in its government¹⁷⁴ in so forcible a manner, that he soon made a convert of him.

"Pheron had always adored the name of Christ, but never till now knew what it was to be a Christian. One only book of His gospel had he ever seen, and from that he could understand no more, than that faith in the death of Christ for the redemption of mankind, and obedience to the self-evident laws of morality, with the pious worship of the one God alone, was the whole religion taught by him.--It is not strange, therefore, if the glorious fabric of the church, as represented by this Jesuit,¹⁷⁵ for such he was, had all the effect he could desire upon him, the naturally inquisitive turn of his mind making him listen with eagerness to everything which seemed to open a new prospect to it.--Nor was he content with his own knowing these sublime doctrines: he also instructed his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and their example converted the greatest part of his people; for nothing could prevail upon him to attempt forcing their

assent.--But this did not satisfy him; the descriptions which he had heard of the learning, piety and glory of Rome had filled his soul with an ardent desire to see that metropolis of the world, that he might learn its virtues, and transplant them into his own country. He communicated this thought to his instructor, who, fired with the glory of such a proselyte, encouraged him in it by every argument he could use.--

"This determined his resolution to make an attempt, the hazards of which would be rewarded with such happy consequences. He therefore prepared all things for his journey, in which his wife would bear him company, and also bring her only child, the lady whom you saw today, to receive the benediction of his Holiness, and committing the government of his people to his brother, and taking jewels and gold to an immense value to defray the expenses of his journey, he set out with a company sufficient to protect him from the dangers of traveling through such inhospitable countries, and arrived without any accident at the Red Sea, where he embarked on board a ship for Alexandria.

"While he waited here for a ship bound to Italy, the plague deprived him of his instructor and his wife. He was at first inconsolable for his loss; but virtue soon awoke reason to his guard, and his care for his daughter made him careful for himself.--His attendants would have persuaded him to return directly home, as he had lost his guide; but the loss of his wife made the thought of home a torture to him. He therefore sent

them back, and resolved to settle his daughter in a convent, and enter into the monastic life himself at Rome.

"With this design he embarked in the first ship that sailed for Europe, not being able to bear the sight of a place which had been so fatal to him. The ship was bound to this place, but, for a large sum of money, the commander engaged to land him at Leghorn;¹⁷⁶ but, happening to come to the knowledge of his wealth on the passage, he brought him directly hither, where he was no sooner landed, than he informed the Inquisitor, who is his brother, who immediately seized both Pheron and his daughter, for errors in their opinions, and confined them in the prisons of the holy office, where they have now been above a year.

"The first motive of this outrage was the stranger's wealth, an unpardonable crime in that court, and which would soon have brought them to an unhappy death. But the beauty of the daughter has hitherto deferred their fate, and, by what you have overheard today, may probably prevent it entirely."

* * *

(The Inquisitor has fallen in love with Ilissa. With the help of a sailor who is also being held prisoner by the Inquisition, he escapes with Pheron and Ilissa to Abyssinia, where Pheron rewards him by making him his son-in-law.)

"The History of Don Alphonso Guzman"

From Volume III, Book I, Chapter 9

(Chrysal is in the possession of George Keppel,¹⁷⁷ an officer in the British army. The army is laying siege to Havana, which belongs to Spain.¹⁷⁸ Keppel asks a Spaniard who has penetrated the enemy forces and thrown himself on his mercy¹⁷⁹ to relate his history.)

* * *

"My name is Alphonso. My father, Don Pedro, bears an honorable command in the forces which defend yonder city against your arms, but glories more in the honor of being descended from the noble family of Guzman,¹⁸⁰ which has preserved its blood pure from every debasing mixture since the beginning of time in the mountains of Castile, and produced a race of heroes whose fame has filled the world.

"When my father arrived at an age fit to bear arms, as none of the powers of Europe dared to provoke the wrath of Spain, disdaining a life of inglorious peace, he entered into the forces sent hither to reduce such of rebellious natives as still presumed to refuse submission to the monarch of the Spanish worlds, where he signalized himself so eminently that at the end of seven years his merits were rewarded with a commission signed by the viceroy himself in the name of the king.

"Such a distinguished honor gave weight to the addresses which he had for some time paid to the only daughter of Don Alonzo Garcias, who was a native of Aragon,¹⁸¹ and had been sent

over by the king to fill the important office of secretary to the receiver of his revenues.

"From this marriage, so honorable to both parties, I have the happiness to derive my birth, if it can be called an happiness to be born only to misfortunes.

"As I was the sole hope of two such illustrious houses, no pains were spared to give me an education suitable to my birth; the great exploits of my ancestors, the antiquity and untainted nobility of my blood, were continually repeated to me to excite emulation, and inspire me with proper sentiments of honor. Such care seemed the surest means to procure happiness, but the wisdom of man strives in vain against the decrees of fate.

"In the neighborhood of my father's house there lived a merchant named Don Antonio, between whose family and ours there was the closest intimacy; an intimacy mutually advantageous, the countenance¹⁸² of a person of my father's consequence being an honor to his friend, who never omitted those returns of gratitude which his wealth often gave him an opportunity of making.

"Don Antonio had an only daughter, whose being heiress to his great fortune was the least blessing Heaven had bestowed upon her! Oh! my Olivia, shall I ever behold you more? May I yet raise my hopes so high as to think of calling you mine?--"

* * *

"Don Antonio's daughter and I being nearly of the same age, the tender connection of infant fondness grew up between us, and improved with our ripening years. The attention of my father was

too much engrossed by his military cares to take notice of our attachment, and my mother was so sensible of the many perfections of Olivia, that far from discouraging, she promoted it by every means in her power, dwelling continually on her praises, and suggesting to me such little offices¹⁸³ of affection and respect as were suited to our ages, and most likely to make an impression on her tender heart.

"Nor did the father of Olivia (she had lost her mother in her infancy) show any dissatisfaction at a passion which could not escape his notice; influenced most probably by a sense of the honor which he should derive from such an alliance.

"In this happy state we lived till I entered on my fifteenth year, when my father thought it proper for me to learn the art of war, in order to qualify me for such military promotions as I was entitled to by my birth, and for that purpose gave me notice to prepare myself to march with some troops, which were going to reinforce a garrison in the most distant part of the kingdom.

"Though my heart glowed with all the ambition and desire of glory, which my noble blood must naturally inspire, the thought of being separated from Olivia overbalanced every other consideration. In the first emotions of my soul, therefore, I threw myself at my father's feet, and rashly owned my passion, imploring him as he regarded my life to make me happy in the possession of my love, before he attempted parting us, even for a moment.

"It is impossible to describe his rage on this unhappy discovery. Spurning me from him with his foot, 'Degenerate wretch,' said he, when his wrath permitted him to speak, 'Degenerate wretch, to stain the honor of your blood by thinking of an alliance with the daughter of a person, of whose family you have no knowledge!'"--(For in all the intercourse of intimacy, the father of Olivia had never discovered in what part of Spain he had been born; nor could the recital of illustrious pedigrees, the constant topic of discourse among the noble, ever incite him to an emulative mention of his own.)--'Hence! Fly my sight this moment; nor ever presume to appear before me again, till you have conquered this disgraceful passion.'

"I knew the inflexibility of my father's temper too well to attempt making any reply, even would the fullness of my heart have permitted me. I retired therefore without speaking a word, and going to my mother, informed her of my distress, which she strove to alleviate by every expression of tenderness and consolation, promising to exert all her influence, as soon as the first heat of his wrath should be allayed, to prevail upon him to consent to my suit."

"The History of Don Alphonso Guzman" (*cont'd*)

From Volume III, Book I, Chapter 10

"Though I received some encouragement from these assurances, I could not forbear going in the boding¹⁸⁴ of my heart to acquaint Olivia with what had happened, but in the most delicate terms. Her affliction was not less than mine. She saw the

sincerity of my love, and in the tenderness of such a scene yielded to my entreaties, and plighted her faith to me by the most sacred vows.

"Comforted by the thought that she could not now be torn from me, I returned home, where I found my mother fulfilling her promise, and pleading with my father in my behalf. As their earnestness made them speak aloud, I could not resist the natural desire of listening to a debate of such importance to my hopes. She urged, with all the strength of reason, the absurdity of thinking a family dishonored by the admission of a female,¹⁸⁵ and enforced her arguments with the examples even of sovereigns; she insisted on the beauty, virtues and fortune of Olivia, which made her worthy of the most honorable alliance; and concluded with saying how much better it would be for us all to have me married to a person whose wealth would enable us to spend the remainder of our lives in plenty and happiness than to continue struggling with every misery of poverty, merely to indulge a false ill-grounded pride.

"My father had listened to the former part of what she said with an appearance of attention; but the moment she mentioned his poverty, he lost all patience. 'Forbear, mean, mercenary woman!' said he, stamping his foot upon the ground with a violence that shook the house, 'Forbear to tempt my wrath by such base insinuations. Did ever a Castilian think poverty a hardship, or put riches in competition with his honor? Such sentiments may suit an Aragonian, but are beneath me. I see the source of the

wretch's degeneracy! My blood¹⁸⁶ never could have stooped to such meanness, had it not been mixed with yours.'--

"Saying this, he flung out of the room, and finding me at the door, 'Mark me, thou disgrace to my blood!' said he with a look that appalled my soul, 'If ever I hear more of this affair, I swear by the offended honor of all my ancestors to sacrifice everyone concerned in my being offered such an affront.'

"What I felt at hearing this dreadful denunciation may be easily conceived. I swooned away, nor recovered my senses, till several hours after, when I found my mother weeping over me in the bitterness of resentment and grief.

"As soon as she perceived that I was come to myself, she strove to comfort me by repeating her former promises, to the accomplishment of which she was now farther impelled by her resentment of the reflections which my father had thrown upon her country.

"But an unforeseen misfortune blasted all our hopes before she had time to make another effort.

"The father of Olivia having had occasion to go to England, on some affairs in the course of his extensive dealings, was so taken with the people of that country, that after his return he never omitted any opportunity of vindicating them from the injurious aspersions of those who spoke only from injustice, and without proper information.

"This attachment naturally raised the jealousy¹⁸⁷ of the clergy;¹⁸⁸ but as he confined his approbation merely to their

moral and social virtues, without ever saying a word in vindication of their religious tenets, they contented themselves with cautioning him against misplacing his praise, and telling him, that there could be no virtue where the true faith was not; and therefore those actions, with which he was dazzled, were no more than shining sins:¹⁸⁹ and they were thus mild in their reprehension, as he was remarkably punctual in the profession and practice of all the rites and doctrines prescribed by the holy church.

"But this lenity lasted not long. On the breaking out of the present war with England,¹⁹⁰ some persons who envied the success with which his honest industry had been rewarded raised a suspicion in the governor of his holding an improper correspondence with the enemy, to which his former regard for them seemed to give an appearance of probability.

"Bold in conscious innocence he denied the charge, nor could the strictest inquiry procure the least proof of it. But in the course of their search a discovery was unhappily made that involved him in ruin, if possible, more dreadful; a number of books containing opinions contrary to the Catholic faith being found in his possession concealed among some of his goods.

"In vain did he allege that they belonged not to, nor could possibly have been known by him, the goods among which they had been concealed having been landed¹⁹¹ but a few days before out of an English ship, which had been taken by a Spanish man of war in her passage to one of their own colonies, where such books were

openly allowed of, and sold to him unopened, as they still remained.

"But evident as the truth of this was, the Holy Office, to whose jurisdiction the affair belonged, would not admit of any such excuse. They instantly seized the unhappy man, and hurrying him away to their own prison, took possession of all his wealth, and forced his helpless daughter into yonder convent.

"This misfortune, which deprived me of the wretch's poorest consolation, the liberty of complaining, drove me to despair. I pined in silence; and was beginning to meditate on laying down a life that was become a burden to me, when my father calling me to him one morning, 'The time is come!' said he smiling fiercely, 'that will prove the blood of Guzman. The evil genius of the English has prompted them to come and seek their deaths here. The most noble governor has not only promoted me this day to the command of a company in the forces destined for the defense of this city, but also, in respect to my family, has appointed you to be my lieutenant. Let this arouse you to a sense of yourself! Consider what you owe to your country, and to your name! Every feeble passion flies at the manly voice of war.'

"Languid as my soul was, I could not hear this news without joy, especially as it opened me a prospect of meeting honorably that death, which was now my only hope. Accordingly, as soon as the enemy appeared, I courted danger with such eagerness that my father, in spite of all his magnanimity, more than once desired me to restrain a courage that arose to an excess.

"But even death itself is deaf to the wretch's call. Nothing material happened to me till the battery, through which I came to you, opened upon the convent, when the thought of my Olivia's danger of being buried in its ruins drove me to madness. I instantly flew thither, and imagining that such circumstances bore down all regard to rules calculated for times of peace, demanded entrance to convey the inhabitants to some place of safety. But what was my astonishment to hear, the governor had given the strictest orders, that not a soul should be admitted to stir, committing to the immediate hand of heaven the protection of its peculiar votaries.¹⁹²

"Such inhumanity, for I can call it by no milder name, broke every bond of duty and allegiance. I abjured all farther connection with so cruelly insensible a monster; and recollecting the many exalted instances of true generosity which the unhappy father of Olivia had told me of the English, I resolved to apply myself to them, and try whether I could not obtain that safety for the beloved of my soul which I could not hope from him, whose duty it was to protect her.

"This, most illustrious chief, is the story of my misfortunes; the cause of that conduct which appeared so strange to you. If you grant my suit, you will be amply rewarded by the conscious approbation of your own mind. You will merit the blessing of heaven on your undertakings, by sparing the most perfect of its works! And may I presume to add! You will attach to you a heart that is incapable of deceit! Through every

vicissitude of life will I attend your steps, the faithful servant of your fate."

* * *

(Don Alphonso's wish is granted: Chrysal's master ceases to shell the convent, and reunites Don Alphonso and Olivia.)

"Adventures in a Wagon and at an Inn"

From Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 12

(Chrysal is in the possession of a man of fashion.)

* * *

As he¹⁹³ was rolling carelessly along, his chariot¹⁹⁴ was stopped in a narrow part of the road, by one of those traveling wagons whose unwieldy weight gives it the privilege of taking place of its betters. Such a circumstance naturally made the travelers in both carriages look out, when he was struck with the uncommon beauty of a young creature in the wagon, whose charms in the first opening of their bloom gave scope to imagination to paint a prospect if possible beyond their present perfection.

Such temptation could scarce be resisted by one who had reasoned his passions into the best subjection, much less by him, who blindly obeyed them in, or rather stimulated them to their utmost excess. He no sooner saw, therefore, than he resolved to have her by any means. The first thing to be done, for this pious purpose, was to change his appearance, in order to get into her company, as the least suspicion of his rank would directly blow his design.¹⁹⁵ But this was no difficulty. He was well accustomed to lay it down; and the meanest character in life sat as naturally upon him as his own.

Accordingly, as soon as his chariot passed the wagon he drove on furiously till he was out of sight, when he alighted, and changing clothes with one of his servants out of livery,¹⁹⁶

ordered them to leave the great road, and wait for him at an inn some miles distance across the country.

Thus equipped for his enterprise, he walked on leisurely, like a common traveler, till he was overtaken by the wagon, the driver of which plied him¹⁹⁷ in the usual way to take a place, which after some affected difficulties he agreed to. But the greatest difficulty arose not from him. The wagon was already so full, that when the driver mentioned taking in another, the passengers all cried out against it with one voice. But his authority was too absolutely to be resisted. He fixed his ladder,¹⁹⁸ and ordered them to make room, barely condescending to say that it was for a gentleman who had been taken suddenly ill, and wanted to go only to the next village. This circumstance, though treated with brutal disregard by the rest, had an immediate effect upon the tender disposition of his destined prey, who squeezing closer to her mother, he crept into his nest, and settled himself as conveniently as he could next to her in the straw.

The company into which he had thus thrust himself seemed to be a representative of all the heteroclite¹⁹⁹ characters of the age. Besides the young female, whose appearance had attracted him, and her mother, a plain good-looking woman, it consisted of a mountebank doctor²⁰⁰ and his zany,²⁰¹ a Methodist preacher, a strolling actor²⁰² and actress, a fat ale-wife,²⁰³ a servant-maid who was going to London to repair a cracked reputation,²⁰⁴ a

recruiting sergeant and two recruits, an outlawed smuggler, and a broken²⁰⁵ exciseman.²⁰⁶

Though my master could not at first view distinguish all their different characters, some of them were so strongly marked that he promised himself the highest entertainment from the clashing which he concluded must inevitably arise in such a group, and was resolved to promote, upon the first occasion. But an accident soon gave him that pleasure, without the trouble of planning for it.

As the weather was warm, and few of the company could be suspected of the delicacy of changing their clothes often, it may be supposed that every savor which arose among them was not purely aromatic. My master had not been many minutes in his place, when the various odors fuming around him had such an effect upon his senses, that he undesigningly breathed a wish for a bottle of spirits.²⁰⁷

As he had been introduced under the pretense of being sick, the ale-wife, who happened to be near him, mistook his meaning, and thought he wanted a dram, not once dreaming of any other use of spirits. Pulling out a flask therefore from under her coat, in the height of good-nature, "Spirits!" said she, "they are poisonous stuff. Here is what will do you more good by half!"²⁰⁸ --Then drawing the cork and taking a sup to show him that it was not poison, "drink some of this," continued she, reaching him the flask, "and I'll warrant²⁰⁹ it will settle you. It is right Holland's."²¹⁰

Before my master had time either to accept or refuse her offer, the actor, who sat between them, *smoked*²¹¹ her mistake, and intercepting the bottle, as she reached across him, cried out in triumph,

"Bravo, my queen! your gin from Holland pure,

My stomach sooner than his head will cure."--

Then taking a large *go down*²¹² or two, "Here, Belvidera,"²¹³ added he, giving the bottle to the actress, "in this friendly cup, drown all your sorrows!--Drink, as you love me, deep."--

His faithful mate could not disobey such a command. She took the bottle, and lifting it to her head, "Thus to the bottom," said she, "though it were a mile!"²¹⁴

But she was interrupted in her intention by the smuggler, who lay at her feet, and no sooner smelled the dear liquor, than he raised his head, and perceiving what she was about, "Avast haling"²¹⁵ there," cried he, snatching the bottle from her mouth, "or you'll pump the scupper"²¹⁶ dry."--And then going to put it to his own, "Hold," said the exciseman, catching his hand with the same design, "I seize this in the king's name, till I know whether it has paid duty."²¹⁷

The mention of the word duty set the smuggler's blood on fire. "Duty! you shark!" said he, grasping the bottle faster, and catching him in return by the throat with the other hand, "I'll seize you! damn my eyes and limbs! I'll pay you the duty, if you don't loose your hold this moment, you scoundrel! that I will."

Though he gripped the exciseman's throat so hard, that he could not return his compliment in words, he scorned to yield the prize without one effort. Giving a twist therefore with all his force to wrest it out of his antagonist's hand, though he could not succeed, he prevailed so far as to turn the mouth of the bottle downwards, by which means the contents were poured full in the face of the sergeant, who lay snoring, on his back, with his mouth wide open.

Welcome as such a guest would have been in a proper manner, the intrusion thus unexpectedly was not so agreeable. He started up half-suffocated; and belching²¹⁸ his dose, full in the face of one of the recruits, "Blood anouns!²¹⁹ fire! and fury!" sputtered he, "what's the meaning of this?"

Just as he said this, one of the wheels of the wagon came into a deep hole, with such a plump, that though it did not absolutely overset, it tumbled all the passengers on top of one another; and instantly put a stop to the cries of the ale-wife for the loss of her liquor.

The screams, oaths, and execrations of the whole company, on this occasion, would have given my master the highest delight, had he not been rather too nearly concerned to enjoy the fun, the fat ale-wife being thrown so full upon him, that he was unable to stir, though almost smothered,²²⁰ so that he could not help adding his cries to the concert.²²¹

"Adventures in a Wagon and at an Inn" (cont'd)

Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 13

When the driver had got his wagon out of the hole, and seen that all was safe about it, he came to know what was the matter with his passengers; and having unpacked them, my master had the pleasure to hear the young woman propose to her mother to walk a little way, till some, not the most agreeable, consequences of the late disaster should blow off, to which she readily consented, as he prepared to accompany them, both for the same reason, and in order to have an opportunity of making an acquaintance, which he found he could not so well do in the wagon.

But the wagoner was not in the humor to give them that indulgence. When they called to him to let them down, he answered surlily that they had not above a couple of miles to their inn; and if he were to stop thus every moment, he should not get in in time, and so without any farther ceremony whipped on his horses. This was a severe disappointment to my master, who soon grew so sick that he could not hold up his head all the rest of the way.

But the qualms of his stomach did not affect his conscience so as to make him in the least alter his design. On his arrival at the inn, he made a pretense of the compassion which the young girl and her mother had expressed for him to attach himself particularly to them, and ply them with wine by way of return, which false modesty²²² made the mother take so freely as gave him good hopes for success.

The conversation and behavior at supper was strictly in the character of the company. The Methodist made a long grace, and talked of religion and temperance while he ate more than any two at the table, and his eyes were gloating²²³ at the servant-maid, his fellow-traveler, who seemed to listen to him with great complacency and attention. The actor mimicked the Methodist to his face, and lolled out his tongue at everyone else, as they happened to look another way.²²⁴ The actress spoke in heroics,²²⁵ and turned up her nose at everything and everybody. The smuggler and exciseman sat growling at each other, as if they meant to make a farther trial of their manhood. The sergeant talked of his exploits in the wars, and proved his valor by an oath at every word, which his two pupils listened to with looks of admiration, that showed they designed to imitate that part of his example at least. The ale-wife lamented the loss of her gin, which, she said, she could not replace with any like it on the whole road. In short, everybody ate and talked; and talked and ate together,²²⁶ except the girl and her mother, who were quite lost in astonishment at a scene so new to them, and my master, whose thoughts were too much take up with his own scheme to mind anything else.

Accordingly he stepped out when supper was ended, and engaging the chambermaid in his interest by a present of half-a-crown, she showed him where his mistress was to lie, and promised to settle all things in the manner most convenient to his designs by putting her and her mother in the bed next to the

door, there being two in the room, and placing in the other the servant maid, who paid for a bed to herself, as her modesty would not permit her to sleep with a stranger.

As soon as the house was quiet, and my master thought the wine which he had forced upon the mother had secured her,²²⁷ he got up, and stealing in his shirt to the door of their chamber found it open, upon which he entered and crept to the bed, where he expected to find his mistress, without ever considering what must be the consequence of surprising her in such a manner. Opening the curtains therefore softly to feel by the difference of size on which side she lay, he had scarce put his hand upon the clothes when it was seized and gripped so hard, that he soon lost all thought of everything but disengaging himself.

For this purpose he made two or three efforts, but finding them ineffectual, and provoked at the pain his hand suffered in the struggle, he discharged a blow with the other full on the face of his antagonist, who springing directly out of bed, returned it with such usury, that my poor master fell sprawling on the floor where he roared out "Murder!" with all his might, in which he was immediately joined by those who lay in the other bed, whose cries not only raised the house to his rescue but also saved him from farther violence, his antagonist desisting to beat him in order to make his retreat in time.

When those who lay nearest were assembled at the door, half-clad, and worse armed²²⁸ with whatever they could catch up in their confusion, prudential regard to personal safety made them

all stop short, everyone finding some pretense to excuse himself from going in first and pressing the post of honor upon his neighbor, till they at length raised their fears so high, that it was uncertain whether anyone would venture in before daylight, though the cries still continued, had not the smuggler, who did not wake to join them at first, put an end to the debate. "Damn you all," said he, snatching a candle from one, and a poker from another, "for a pack of cowardly lubbers!"²²⁹ Will you stand jawing here, while the people are murdering?" Then rushing in, "Hallo!" continued he, "what's going forward here, in the devil's name?"

The first object that presented itself to his view when he entered was my master, who was still upon the ground, unable, between fright and beating, to rise. Advancing to him therefore, "Hip messmate!"²³⁰ said he, giving him a kick on his naked posteriors, "what cheer?"²³¹ Speak, if you are alive!"--

The entrance of light restoring my master to some spirit, he raised his head at this salute, and making an effort to get up, "I scarce know whether I am, or not," answered he, "I have been so beaten by that bitch of Babel;"²³² but she shall pay for it, if I ever recover."

The place where he was found directing this accusation being to the person in that bed, while some of them helped him up, the rest gathered round it, and asked the servant maid, who lay there, what had induced her to treat the gentleman in such a manner. But the mention of her name saved her the trouble of a

reply. Before she could speak, "It was not she!" exclaimed my master, "I mean the old beldam, mother to the young witch whose baby face brought me among you, and who lay in this bed. It was she who abused me thus; or rather some porter²³³ in woman's clothes who passed for her, for no woman ever had such strength."--

"I believe you must be mistaken, sir," interposed the exciseman, "the people you mean are lying quietly in the next bed, and seem to be as much frightened as you are hurt."--

"How!" returned my master, "did they not lie in this bed, next the door?"--

"No," answered the other, "Mrs. Margery lies here, as grave, and demure, as a whore at a christening."--²³⁴

"Then the jade of a chambermaid has played me a trick," replied my master, "but who the devil lay with her? for I am sure she was never able to do what I have suffered."--

"As for that!" said the actor, who had all the while been peeping round the bed, "I believe it will be no hard matter to find it out. These breeches," pulling a pair from under the bolster, "must belong to somebody, and will certainly point out her bedfellow, if the lady, like a true Amazon, did not wear them herself."--

"Adventures in a Wagon and at an Inn" (cont'd)

Volume IV, Book II, Chapter 14

As the breeches were immediately known to belong to the Methodist, they marched away directly to his bedside, for he had

not joined them, and asked him how he had come to use the gentleman in that inhumane manner, showing him my master, whom they had dragged along with them.

"Who I?" answered the Methodist, affecting all the surprise of innocence, and determined to deny what he thought could not be proven, "heaven forbid that I should use any fellow Christian ill. I engage not in such broils. My warfare is with the spirit."--

"And sometimes with the flesh too, I believe, doctor!" interrupted the actor, "nay it is in vain to deny it! do you know these breeches, doctor?"

"Breeches!" exclaimed he, starting up in real affright, and fumbling under his bolster, "O they are gone! they are gone! I am robbed, ruined, and undone."--

"No doctor; they are not gone, and you see!²³⁵ But the question is, how they came under the young woman's bedstead, where this gentleman received this abuse."--

"Let him answer that!" replied the Methodist, never at a loss for an impudent lie, "let him answer that! all I know of the matter is this: being disturbed in my rest, I then knew not, but now plainly perceive by what cause, I arose to pray, as is my custom, when hearing somebody go softly out of the room, I watched, as it was my duty to prevent any evil, and, following the footsteps into another chamber, caught a man in the very fact of attempting the virtue of some female who lay there; upon which, expostulating with him upon the heinousness of such a

crime, he flew at me so furiously that I could scarce defend myself from him, and if in the fray he received any hurt, he must charge it to himself, as he was the aggressor. But this is not the whole; I now perceive that I was disturbed out of my sleep by his stealing my breeches from under my head, which he accordingly took with him into the room of that damsel, and therefore I demand justice²³⁶ from him for the attempt, as well as for any loss I may have suffered."--

Saying this, he took his breeches out of the actor's hand, and searching the pockets, "It is too true!" continued he, gnashing his teeth and wringing his hands in a perfect agony, "it is too true! I am ruined and undone! I am robbed of all the money which I had collected in my pilgrimage to relieve the poor of the lord. Twenty golden guineas, besides silver and other monies. Let him be searched! Let everybody be searched this moment. I must have my money! I must have my money."--

As my master was a stranger to them all; and not blessed with a face that could bespeak much favor, they began to give credit to the charge against him, especially as the servant maid corroborated it by saying that he had also been rummaging for her pockets when that worthy gentleman interrupted him (for women and all were now gathered to hear the matter canvassed), and talked of carrying him before a magistrate in the morning, that he might be sent to jail.

At another time, such a scene would have given him the highest pleasure, but he had no taste for fun now. Enraged

therefore at the iniquity of such a charge, and the insolence with which they were proceeding to treat him, "Unhand me at your perils, you scoundrels," said he, telling them who he was, "unhand me, this moment. As for that infamous villain and his trull,²³⁷ I charge you to secure them directly, and send in my name for a magistrate. I'll make examples of them at least."--

You may conceive with what surprise they were all struck at hearing this. However, as he gave only his bare word for it, all were not equally ready to believe him. "You, my friend scapegrace!" said the actor, coming, and looking him full in the face, "no! no! sir. Say that to those who don't know him. I am his intimate companion; his chosen among ten thousand. There is not a fine girl upon the town but we have *bilked*;²³⁸ nor a house in the hundreds of Drury²³⁹ where we have not *kicked up a dust* together. He and I are like Pylades and Orestes;²⁴⁰ sworn friends and brothers. No! no! that stroke won't pass upon me."

This made matters worse than ever with my master, adding ridicule to insult, which was poured upon him in such torrents from every mouth that he could not speak a word in his own defense. But his distress lasted not long. The servants of a gentleman who luckily happened to lie at the inn that night being raised by the uproar, one of them knew my master, through all his disguises. "By your leave, there!" said he, rushing through the crowd, and shoving aside some of them who had already laid hold of him, "Are you all mad, to use a gentleman in this manner?"-- Then addressing himself to my master, "What is the matter, please

your honor? I am sorry to see your honor in such a pickle. My master (naming him) is in the house, and will do you justice. I'll run and call him up directly."

Such a testimony instantly turned the scale, and made those who were most insolent to him before, now most officious to pay him respect and attendance. Accordingly he was removed, without asking his leave, into his own room, where they were preparing to humanize his appearance, when the gentleman entered.

Much as my master was above the weakness of shame, he could not avoid feeling something like it on being caught in such a condition. He was sitting on the side of the bed, covered only with the ragged remains of his shirt which had been torn to pieces in the fray, daubed all over with blood and dirt, and beaten to such a degree, that he scarce retained one feature of the human face divine,²⁴¹ which had not lost all likeness of the original.²⁴²

The gentleman started at such a spectacle, and stopped short in doubt whether it could be he, till my master's voice satisfied him; when he gave orders to have everyone concerned in the affair secured, and then seeing the poor sufferer taken proper care of and put to bed, he proceeded to inquire into the matter, the circumstances of which appeared to be these.

The Methodist having agreed with the servant maid, his fellow traveler, to have some spiritual conversation with her that night, she promised to lie in the bed next the door, and therefore after the chambermaid had assigned them their quarters,

as she had settled with my master, feigned some pretense to desire a change, which the others readily consented to. Accordingly as the Methodist was secure of his reception, he came soon, and was got into bed to his disciple when my master made his attempt, whose hand he seized in the manner I have related; and would have beaten him still more severely for his intrusion had it not been for his crying out, upon which he retreated to his own bed in such an hurry to escape detection that he forgot his breeches, which he had taken with him for fear some of his chamber fellows should search them and rob him of eight or ten guineas that he had picked up in the course of his preaching about the country, and the actor had made bold to take as lawful prize when they fell into his hands, and afterwards found means to convey to his wife for more security.

Everything being thus cleared up, the gentleman advised my master to drop the affair, as prosecuting it would only expose him still more, to which he willingly agreed, having no inclination for any farther trouble about it.

The Methodist though was far from being so easily pacified for the loss of the fruits of his summer's labor in the vineyard,²⁴³ which he thought worse of than a thousand beatings, and was resolved to recover, if possible, in spite of all their scoffs and insults. But the detection of the other part of his story had so entirely destroyed his credit, that he found it in vain to persist, especially as the actor offered to make oath that he had that very evening applied to him to borrow a shilling

to pay his reckoning.²⁴⁴ Cursing them all, therefore, in the bitterness of his soul, he changed his route, and went upon another preaching progress in order to retrieve his loss, in which pious work he prevailed upon his disciple and fellow sufferer in shame, the servant maid, whose pockets had escaped the pillagers, to accompany him.

By this time the wagon was ready to set out, when the rest of the company departed, except the actor and his lady, who were so tired of that vulgar way of traveling that they thought proper to continue their journey in the stagecoach; and my master, who was laid up in salves and flannels, had lost both ability and inclination to pursue his enterprise any farther.

Part IV: Concluding Material

Chrysal Takes Leave of the Alchemist,

and the Alchemist of the Reader

From Volume II, Book II, Chapter 24

* * *the moment I came into your possession, and found that you were the chosen of ten thousand, the first-born of science, whom wisdom had instructed and art led by the hand through the dark labyrinths of nature, till the coy fugitive,¹ unable longer to elude your pursuit, had been obliged to consent to a revelation of her most occult wisdom, and to entrust you with the command of that chain which links the animal and material worlds together; the moment, I say, that I perceived who you were, and that I was the intelligence² appointed to convey this favor to you, I entered your heart with the greatest pleasure and waited with impatience for the moment when I should confer this completion of human happiness and honor upon you; a pleasure that was heightened by the noble constancy you showed when the smell of the hot ox-cheeks, as you came by the cook's shop, raised that conflict between nature and knowledge, whether you should purchase some of it to satisfy your hunger, or preserve me for this last experiment, in which the latter was so gloriously triumphant.

The auspicious moment is arrived; nature labors in the throws of the mystic birth; and lo! the philosophic king arises in all the glory of the morning! attend to my words; receive the consummation of human knowledge.

To apprehend this secret cause,³ you must know

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

O doleful and deplorable event; never to be told without wailing; never to be read without tears. Just as the spirit had arrived at this most interesting point, human weakness, unable to suppress the impulse of internal vapor which the mention of the fatal ox-cheeks set in motion in my empty bowels, by the longing it raised in my stomach, emitted an explosion that filled the room with a fetid stream.--The spirit started at the unpardonable offense to his purity; and looking at me with ineffable contempt, indignation, and abhorrence, vanished from my sight, without deigning a word more.

The misfortune was more than I could bear; I sank under its weight and swooned away upon the floor, where officious humanity found me and restored me to a life that was a burden under such a disappointment. The labor of my life being lost, the one moment in a thousand years slipped away in vain. But such is the consequence of human weakness; such the end of all the works, of all the expectations of man.

C O N C L U S I O N

And now, O my brother in disappointment, who readest this most lamentable catastrophe, whether thou art a tailor, whose principal debtor is made a lord,⁴ a physician, whose nostrum⁵ is discovered, a cobbler, who sleepest over thy last, in hopes of dreaming of hidden treasure, a poet, whose play is refused, or a senator,⁶ who hast mortgaged thine estate to purchase a seat in parliament just before its dissolution,⁷ attend to the instruction of my words and learn from my example. Seize the present moment, nor depend upon the future; let reason curb expectation; reduce imagination to common sense; and bring your wishes within the bounds of your real wants: so shall industry banish necessity⁸ from your habitation, and content⁹ turn all your possessions into gold.

Notes to Part I

¹ "should any fancied likeness be thought to direct an application": I.e., to prompt one.

² "White Chapel": "Name of a district in London, inhabited chiefly by persons of low character" (*OED*). Less subjectively, Henry A. Harben, in *A Dictionary of London* (London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd., 1918), describes it as "a parish east of Aldgate, constituted in the 17th century. Originally a chapelry in the parish of Stepney" (624).

³ "turnpike": "A main road or highway" (*OED*); see below, n. 22 to Part I.

⁴ "to join the opposite extremities of the earth by bringing their products together": I.e., the family and their tea.

⁵ "stool": "A bench, counter, table, trestle" (*OED*).

⁶ "'there was nothing of a piece'": I.e., nothing of the tea equipage matched. Johnstone is quoting a common expression, as evidenced by his use of quotation marks, which he normally omits when making an allusion; see, for example, below, n. 241 to Part III.

⁷ "leave": Permission.

⁸ "I was surprised to find my conjecture": I.e., to find it confirmed.

⁹ "as I imagined": I.e., as I had thought before.

¹⁰ "by its appearing to be part of some regular work": A continuous discourse; not just jottings.

- 11 "chandler's shop": Originally, a "chandler" was "one whose trade it is to make or sell candles" (*OED*). Gradually, however, the term was extended to mean "a retail dealer in provisions, groceries, etc." (*OED*).
- 12 "dearer": More expensive.
- 13 "lumbering": Cluttering.
- 14 "designed": Planned; during this period, the word "design" often had a sinister connotation, although it does not have one here.
- 15 "curious": Interesting.
- 16 "agency": Function.
- 17 "expletive": "Redundant, wordy" (*OED*).
- 18 "shift": Expedient.
- 19 "except": Unless.
- 20 "Jack Twist the rope-maker": Johnstone begins a practice which he continues throughout the novel, and which was common during the period, of naming characters after something salient about them--usually, their professions; cf. below, n. 32 to Part I, and n. 1 to Part III.
- 21 "toppingest": Colloquial for "best."
- 22 "Radcliffe Highway": In Johnstone's time, the name of a road in London, although eventually, the name was changed; see Walter Besant, *East London* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980), 71. "Highway" is defined as: "A public road open to all passengers, a high road; esp. a main or principal road forming the direct or ordinary route between one town or city and

another, as distinguished from a local, branch, or cross road, leading to smaller places off the main road, or connecting two main roads" (*OED*).

23 "take me in my shift": I.e., in that and nothing else; without a dowry.

24 "wanted": Needed.

25 "an army that should drive the Pope and the devil...out of Rome": A reflection of the anti-catholic sentiment which was common in England during the period; see Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714-80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993).

26 "break": Deteriorate; cf. below, n. 13 to Part II, and n. 53 and n. 205 to Part III.

27 "break through": Transgress.

28 "the kitchen poker": I.e., one used for stirring the fire there.

29 "drops": Of liquor, or possibly hartshorn, or smelling salts.

30 "nor did we ever find one penny more after him": I.e., that came from him.

31 "close": Meticulously.

32 "Peg Sprout, the green-woman's daughter": Johnstone continues naming characters after their professions; a "green-grocer" was someone who sold fruits and vegetables. See above, n. 20 to Part I.

33 "Wapping": "A part of London close to the docks" (*OED*).

- 34 "Michaelmas": "The Feast of St. Michael, 29 Sept., one of the four quarter-days of the English business year" (*OED*).
- 35 "staff": Stick used as a weapon.
- 36 "dress": I.e., mode of dressing; cf. below, n. 59 to Part III.
- 37 "dip him for a witch": I.e., to see if he was one. A common superstition at the time held that witches who were submerged in such a way would not sink.
- 38 "Methodists that were just then come up": I.e., had just arrived, or whose movement had started only recently.
- 39 "preaching about the country": The fact that Methodists liked to travel while preaching was regarded as a symptom, or manifestation, of their eccentricity, and there is no doubt that Johnstone regards it that way as well. The antagonism which he evinces towards them here is exhibited elsewhere in the novel; see pp. 103-4, 295, and 298-304 of the text. "Country" is defined as: "A region, district" (*OED*); i.e., "county."
- 40 "schemer": Reckless entrepreneur; one who indulges in plans of an elaborate or far-fetched nature; cf. below, n. 31 to Part III.
- 41 "the philosopher's stone": A substance thought to facilitate the conversion of base metals into gold; hence, one used by alchemists. It has also been thought to possess regenerative--i.e., life restoring--properties. For a description of it, including the "tincture" or "elixir" of which some have argued

that it consists, see Gilchrist, 6; see also below, n. 53 to Part I.

42 "without": Unless.

43 "those wild, idle dreams which some men...have thought proper to obtrude upon the world as learning and knowledge": An attack upon "free-thinkers"--those who rejected the religious beliefs of Johnstone's day which were more-or-less generally accepted, and in which he himself firmly believed; cf. below, n. 169 to Part III.

44 "not thinking it allowable, or just, to palm my own words or sentiments upon the world on the credit of another": I.e., at the expense of someone else's credibility.

45 "abstinence": From food and other "earthly" accoutrements. The alchemist has to be pure in both mind and body in order to perform his experiment successfully, as his own makeup is just as important as the experiment itself; see Gilchrist, 7.

46 "terrene": Earthly, material; see above, n. 45 to Part I.

47 "enthusiasm": Religious fervor; see below, n. 435 to Part II.

48 "imperial conversation": "Imperial" is defined as: "Magnificent; exceedingly fine or grand" (*OED*); "conversation" is defined as: "The action of consorting or having dealings with others; living together; commerce, intercourse, society, intimacy" (*OED*). The phrase "imperial conversation" in this case is meant to convey extraordinary communication or involvement with something sublime.

49 "obstetric": Child-bearing. In an alchemical experiment, "birth" is one of several symbolic stages through which the matter being transformed passes, the others being "death" and "resurrection" (see below, n. 69 to Part I); see Gilchrist, 10. Moreover, the experiment is often described as the union of the "sun" and the "moon" (the male and female), whose eventual offspring--gold--is the product; see Gilchrist, 9.

50 "in strong expectation of the birth of the mystic child": I.e., of the result of the alchemical experiment; see above, n. 49 to Part I. "Mystic" is defined as: "Spiritually allegorical or symbolical" (*OED*). Alchemy is indeed highly "allegorical"; see Gilchrist, 10.

51 "first-born of the morning": I.e., the sun, whose rising is not only the first indication of the morning, but inaugurates it. In alchemy, the sun is associated with fire--one of the four elements, the others being earth, water, and air--all of which are indispensable to the alchemical process. And because fire plays a pivotal role in the alchemical experiment--it strips away the outer layers of the "primal material," setting the experiment in motion--it is viewed in some measure as "giving birth" to it. See Gilchrist, 7-10; see also above, n. 49 and n. 50 to Part I.

52 "the earth sufficiently impregnated with the water": In alchemy, the earth is referred to as the "earth-mother," in spite of the fact that the moon is viewed as the female, whose union with the sun, or the male, produces gold, which is the result of the alchemical experiment; see Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the*

Crucible (translated by Stephen Corrin; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), 43; see also above, n. 49 and n. 50 to Part I. This nomenclature stems from the fact that metals come from inside of the earth, a view first promulgated by Aristotle; see Gilchrist, 19.

53 "ascendeth white and resplendent": Gilchrist writes, "The child of the royal union [i.e., the sun and the moon; see above, n. 49 to Part I] must be gently nurtured, usually by adding a liquid that may have been extracted from the vessel at an earlier stage. With the right food and heat it grows until it 'whitens,' indicating that the Elixir [i.e., the "philosopher's stone"; see above, n. 41 to Part I] is perfected in its first degree. The White Stone, as it is known, is said to be capable of transmuting metals into silver. It is the female tincture, equated with the moon" (10).

54 "compound": Combine.

55 "the pure elements": I.e., ingredients used in the alchemical experiment. Here, they are appearing in their most unadulterated form. Gilchrist writes, "These pure elements were found only at the very heart of matter, and were seen more as forces, or agencies, rather than as detectable substances" (18).

56 "before they fly from the fire": If at any time during the experiment the elements or ingredients should escape from the alchemical vessel, which is hermetically sealed, the entire experiment is ruined and has to be begun all over again. For

this reason, the experiment requires tremendous patience and skill on the part of the alchemist; see Gilchrist, 7.

57 "and so perfect the great work": I.e., complete the experiment. The phrase "the great work" is a common term in alchemy for what the alchemist is trying to produce; see Gilchrist, 5.

58 "my eyes began to dazzle...the power of imagination overwhelmed my soul": The alchemist is also transformed, like the materials on which he is experimenting. The idea that the alchemist himself serves as a metaphor for the experiment which he conducts is a common idea in alchemy; see Gilchrist, 7.

59 "I saw a blue effulgence break from the liquid gold": "Effulgence" is often associated with gold and, hence, with alchemy; see Gilchrist, 12.

60 "genial": "Conducive to growth" (OED).

61 "vase": Alchemical vessel.

62 "substantial": Tangible, concrete.

63 "the son of the sun": See above, n. 51 to Part I.

64 "the rose of the east should bloom in the desert": Gilchrist writes, "To gain the gold-giving tincture, the sun, further treatment is necessary until the Elixir reddens. Then it is the Red Rose, grown from the White Rose, the ultimate goal of the process" (10). The east was associated with knowledge, and was an early hotbed of alchemical research (see Gilchrist, 19-22); it is also possible, of course, that Johnstone is punning on the word "rose" and suggesting the sun, which rises in the east and

is associated with alchemy (see above, n. 51 to Part I). The phrase "bloom in the desert," in relation to the rose, is meant to suggest the idea of transformation, as a desert, or an arid area--one not normally conducive to a flower's growth--has been rendered fertile as a result of the alchemical experiment.

65 "I melted with the virtuous joy": The word "melted," of course, is a pun on what is happening to the substance that is being used in the alchemical experiment, but Johnstone is also continuing to parallel the changes that occur in the experiment with those in the alchemist; see above, n. 58 to Part I.

66 "for fear of interrupting the mysterious process": See above, n. 56 to Part I. The word "mysterious" is intended to evoke the knowledge that is particular to an area of life, to which only a few are privy; see below, n. 77 to Part I.

67 "ecstasy": "The state of being 'beside oneself,' thrown into a frenzy or stupor, with anxiety, astonishment, fear, or passion" (*OED*).

68 "the bed of purification": I.e., alchemical vessel.

69 "arose with the glory": I.e., in all its glory. It is probable that Johnstone intends these words to evoke resurrection--specifically Christ's--which is one of the symbolic stages in the alchemical experiment; see Gilchrist, 10; see also above, n. 49 to Part I.

70 "too strong for mortal sense": I.e., to be beheld by mortals.

71 "My senses sunk under the pressure, and I was dissolved into a trance": See above, n. 58 to Part I.

72 "placid": "Pleasing, agreeable, welcome" (*OED*).

73 "tolerable to human sense": I.e., capable of being looked at without flinching.

74 "crown thee with the virgin rose": I.e., reward you for your labors.

75 "Chrysal": Johnstone includes a footnote here, in which he writes: "This name [Chrysal] is evidently [i.e., based upon 'evidence,' rather than supposition] derived from... 'gold'" (1:3). Actually, it is the Greek prefix "chrys-," which means "gold," to which Johnstone is referring (see above, n. 56 to Introduction). Johnstone accounts for this nomenclature in the following manner: "By the universal authority of the occult philosophy, spirits are always denominated from [i.e., named after] their office" (1:3).

76 "in reward of thy noble constancy in offering this, thy last mite, on the shrine of knowledge": Alchemists are often divided into those who seek gold for purely mercenary reasons, as opposed to those whose interest in the subject is motivated by the search for knowledge (see Gilchrist, 2); obviously, Johnstone intends his alchemist to belong to the latter class.

77 "mysteries": Johnstone intends this word, and the word "mystery," to mean the secrets or inner-workings of an area of life, especially a trade or profession; see above, n. 66 to Part I.

78 "excruciated": Tormented.

79 "the various incidents of my being": I.e., experiences which I have had.

80 "in my present state": I.e., while in it.

81 "the grand secret, which I shall afterwards communicate": Cf. Smollett, 5-6.

Notes to Part II

¹ "a war between Spain and England...about the liberty of cutting sticks upon a desert shore": In the latter half of the 1730s, a conflict arose between England and Spain over the rights British traders had to cut logwood, from which dye is made, in the Bay of Campeche; see William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (7 vols.; New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1892), 1:449.

² "a safe passage for the treasure": "The treasure" Johnstone is referring to belongs to the Spanish governor--which the British, under normal circumstances, would have attempted to capture, had their commander not been corrupt.

³ the commander of an English man of war": "Captain Powlett afterwards Dk. of Bolton" (Davis 13). Harry Paulet or Powlett, sixth Duke of Bolton (1719-94).

⁴ "the profanation which a crucifix might suffer in the hands of heretics": Prior to the present chapter, Chrysal had been converted into a crucifix by a Peruvian Jesuit; see p. 240 of the text.

⁵ "address": Skill.

⁶ "state of war": A favorite term of Hobbes, with whom it is associated; see 98-102. Cf. also below, n. 70 to Part III.

⁷ "the wealth he had so happily acquired": Although the succeeding material belongs to the following chapter, the transition between this sentence and the following one is continuous, as a result of Johnstone's technique of "requiring"

or instructing the reader to insert the material in the continuation into Volumes I and II; see Textual Commentary.

⁸ "He immediately came to a right understanding": "Lord H. Powlett" (Davis 14). See above, n. 3 to Part II.

⁹ "her stern-post was loose": The *DNB* states: "On 4 Feb. 1755 [Powlett] was appointed to the *Barfleur* of 90 guns, attached to the grand fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, which sailed in July for a cruise to the westward. On 22 Aug. Powlett was ordered to chase a sail that was seen to the south-east; during the night he lost sight of the fleet, and for the next two days cruised independently, going on the 25th to Hawke's rendezvous, intending to await Hawke's return. But the carpenter reported that the stern-post was loose, and was dangerous" (15:533).

¹⁰ "When man...quits the straight path to strike out a nearer": I.e., on a path nearer.

¹¹ "a mighty fleet": "Expedition against the Havannah" (Davis 14); see below, n. 178 to Part III.

¹² "irresistibly": Literally, incapable of being resisted.

¹³ "the master of the ship was broke": Stripped of his commission; cf. above, n. 26 to Part I, and below, n. 53 and n. 205 to Part III.

¹⁴ "rout": Gambling party.

¹⁵ "Observe that person": "Lord Chesterfield" (Davis 13). Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773).

¹⁶ "THE ECONOMY OF HUMAN LIFE": I.e., management of all of its aspects. *The Economy of Human Life* was the title of a book that

was probably written by Robert Dodsley, although many believed it to have been written by Chesterfield; see Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley: Poet, Publisher & Playwright* (London and New York: John Lane, 1910), 176-79.

17 "the employments to which his merits raised him": Chesterfield was appointed to the following positions: gentleman of the bedchamber (1715), captain of the gentlemen pensioners (1723), lord of the bedchamber (1727), privy counselor (special counselor to the king) (1728), ambassador to the Hague (1728), lord lieutenant of Ireland (see below, n. 21 to Part II) (1744), and secretary of state (1746) (*DNB* 18:912-17).

18 "insensibly": Imperceptibly.

19 "this pernicious passion...turned his thoughts from every nobler pursuit": There is ample evidence that gambling was Chesterfield's undoing, as Johnstone maintains; see Shellabarger, 182-84.

20 "sharpers": "Sharp" is defined as "to cheat, swindle, trick (a person)"; "to obtain by swindling, to steal" (*OED*).

21 "one of the most important places of the state in a neighboring nation": "Ld. Lt. of Ireland" (Davis 13). See above, n. 17 to Part II.

22 "dignified with": I.e., possessed of, with an ironical imputation.

23 "delicate": Skillful.

24 "art": Skill; cf. below, n. 206 to Part II.

25 "he looked upon it as charity...to submit to be cheated by them": As odd as it may seem, Chesterfield, a man of indubitable intelligence, could know that he was being fleeced but gamble anyway. Shellabarger writes, "Horace Walpole relates that a German baron, a noted cheat, in prison for debt at Bath, used to be released when the Earl [Chesterfield] reached town, as that was the best chance [the baron and his creditors] had of recovering their money. Although quite aware of the baron's crookedness, Chesterfield could not resist playing with him" (182-83).

26 "physic": Medicine.

27 "there not being a branch in the wide world of science which had not felt his pruning": The *DNB* states: "Hill was now [in 1751] kept fully employed by the publishers, and wrote on all kinds of subjects, compiling book after book with marvelous rapidity" (9:848). For a complete listing of his publications, see *DNB*, 9:849-50.

28 "speculation": Philosophical inquiry.

29 "obliged": Obligated; forced or compelled.

30 "receipt": Recipe.

31 "Extensive as these scenes were": Prior to the present chapter, Chrysal describes Hill's confrontation with a war-weary veteran at a coffee house, where Hill regularly goes to meet with a group of men who pride themselves on their literary taste and supposed expertise in other matters of the day. These are the same men whom Chrysal accuses of instigating the riot at Drury

Lane; see below, n. 344 to Part II. The *DNB* does not mention Hill as having any involvement in the riot.

32 "peculiar": Particular.

33 "its effects": I.e., the effects which it produced.

34 "criticism": I.e., of individuals, as opposed to "panegyric."

35 "ballads": "Ballad" is defined as: "A popular song; often spec. one celebrating or scurrilously attacking persons or institutions" (*OED*).

36 "wanted": Lacked.

37 "the general had slept off the fumes": "Lord Ligonier" (Davis 13). John Ligonier, otherwise Jean Louis, Earl Ligonier (1680-1770).

38 "improve": Cultivate, make use of; cf. below, n. 258 to Part II.

39 "cut": Drunk.

40 "broke up": Outlasted, with a satirical suggestion on William's part that his master's behavior caused his guests to depart.

41 "a bottle in my way always": I.e., someone else paid for a bottle, as was normally the case, in order to repay the speaker for telling the story.

42 "bumper": "A cup or glass of wine, etc., filled to the brim, esp. when drunk as a toast" (*OED*).

43 "that's right": "On second thought."

44 "geneva": Gin. A most popular inebriant during the time of *Chrysal*; see Rude, 9-10.

45 "council": I.e., King's Privy Council; "in Great Britain a body of advisers selected by the sovereign, together with certain persons who are members by usage, as the princes of the blood, the archbishops, and the chief officers of the present and past ministries of state" (*OED*).

46 "I was not in cue": I.e., in complete possession of my faculties.

47 "We old fellows are not sparrows": I.e., we cannot copulate without stopping as they do; today, we would say "rabbits."

48 "the spirit is often willing, when the flesh is weak": Matt. 26.41, Mark 14.38.

49 "Right, the old age": I.e., the oldest age that will do, or the one to which I am accustomed.

50 "That's true": "That's it exactly."

51 "place": Position, as at court; often a sinecure.

52 "Standard": In Johnstone's time the word had various military significations, including, and most particularly, "a military or naval ensign," "ensign" meaning "banner, flag" (*OED*).

53 "play": Gamble.

54 "till he makes it at Tyburn": I.e., until he is hanged; "Tyburn" was where malefactors were hanged.

55 "fellow": Equal.

56 "rising": I.e., receiving promotion, for which military experience was needed.

57 "such poor wretches as he are just fit to be transported there": I.e., like a criminal; cf. below, n. 162 to Part III.

58 "directly": Immediately.

59 "The former is beyond aggravation": I.e., cannot be made out to be worse than it is.

60 "toilet": Dressing-table.

61 "gross": "Of persons: Big-bodied, corpulent, burly" (*OED*).

See below, n. 82 to Part II.

62 "Aminadab": In keeping with Johnstone's anti-semitism, the name is meant to suggest an archetypal Jew. The significance of the name is indicated by Matt. 1.2-4: "Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren;/And Judas begat Phares and Zara of Thamar; and Phares begat Esrom; and Esrom begat Aram;/And Aram begat Aminadab..." Moreover, in Num. 7.12 and 10.14 (in which the name is spelled "Amminadab"), the name is identified with the tribe of Judah (one of the twelve tribes of Israel, who were descended from the sons of Jacob), of whom Aminadab's son Nahshon (or "Naasson") was leader.

63 "Bulgarian King's": Frederick the Great's, of Prussia; see Davis, 14. Johnstone probably changed Frederick's country of origin from Prussia to Bulgaria in order to maintain the pretense that *Chrysal* is a work of fiction; see below, n. 241 to Part II.

64 "bent the other way": I.e., inclined in the opposite direction.

65 "packet": News; so-called because it arrived from the continent by "packet" boat.

66 "it is all one": I.e., the same.

67 "they would recover their senses of themselves": I.e., of their own accord, without our having to do it for them.

68 "without: Unless.

69 "the protestants in Germany": I.e., the Countess's fellow Hanoverians.

70 "bring in their money": I.e., "call it in," collect it.

71 "the granting them": I.e., the terms of the agreement under which they agreed to provide the supplies.

72 "economists": Those who pride themselves on their supposed financial expertise.

73 "nice": Delicate.

74 "the foolish weakness of nature": I.e., ties of kinship, or other affinities that are biological in nature.

75 "the alley": "Particularly applied to Change Alley, London, scene of the gambling in South Sea and other stocks" (*OED*); cf. below, n. 25 and n. 27 to Part III.

76 "I could not procure an establishment for your whole nation": An allusion to the repeal of the Jew Bill; see Felsenstein, 187-214, and Perry, 150-61.

77 "Zion": "The name of one of the hills of Jerusalem, on which the city of David was built, and which became the centre of Jewish life and worship; in biblical and derived use, allusively for: The house or household of god; and hence connoting...the Israelites and their religious system" (*OED*).

78 "high priest of the conventicle": "Whitfield [sic]" (Davis 13). George Whitefield (1714-70). "Conventicle" is defined as:

"A religious meeting or assembly of a private, clandestine, or illegal kind; a meeting for the exercise of religion otherwise than as sanctioned by the law" (*OED*).

79 "assurance of election": I.e., of achieving salvation and, hence, eternal life.

80 "Momus": "Foote" (Davis 13). Samuel Foote (1720-77). "Momus" was the Greek god of mockery; as a result, it is a most fitting sobriquet for Foote.

81 "outrageous": Literally, provoking outrage.

82 "gross": "Extremely coarse in behavior or morals; brutally lacking in refinement or decency" (*OED*); see above, n. 61 to Part II.

83 "canting": "Cant" is defined as: "Affected or unreal use of religious or pietistic phraseology; language (or action) implying the pretended [i.e., claimed] assumption of goodness or piety" (*OED*).

84 "wonderful": I.e., tending to excite or create religious awe.

85 "they scorn as much to be laughed, as preached, out of their own way": I.e., into changing their behavior.

86 "If I could carry on my business without this assistance I most certainly would never have entered into such a confederacy...if you could make equal profit by any other company": Undoubtedly, Johnstone intends this speech of Whitefield's as an example of the kind of casuistry which he detests, and which he frequently attacks in *Chrysal*; cf. above, n. 63 to Introduction, and below, n. 69 to Part III.

- 87 "he had him at command": I.e., his mercy.
- 88 "the doctor": Whitefield.
- 89 "estate": State.
- 90 "ghostly": Spiritual.
- 91 "cousin": "A collateral relative more distant than a brother or sister; a kinsman or kinswoman, a relative; formerly very frequently applied to a nephew or niece" (*OED*). The relation of Lady Huntingdon's to whom this passage refers was her nephew, Laurence Shirley, fourth Earl Ferrers (1720-60). Ferrers' name is omitted from the key; for a possible explanation as to why, see Appendix II.
- 92 "He asked her if she had procured him a pardon": Ferrers was under sentence of death for murdering his steward, for which he was executed; see *NC*, 3:297-307; see also W.S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of the Correspondence of Horace Walpole* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 394-403.
- 93 "exhortation": Religious text urging (to a charitable or pious deed); a tract.
- 94 "my late master": Whitefield.
- 95 "insensibility": Lack of feeling.
- 96 "she...sought relief from the solid comforts of religion": The Countess was given to this propensity; the *DNB*, for example, states: "The loss of her two sons, George and Ferdinando Hastings, from small-pox in 1743 made her cling more closely to the consolations of religion" (9:133).
- 97 "suffer": Allow.

98 "extravagance": "Fantastic absurdity (of opinions, conduct, etc.)" (*OED*).

99 "the entertainments frequented by persons of her sex and rank": Johnstone intends this sentence as a transition to the opening of the following chapter, in which the Countess attends a rout. She did in fact socialize frequently with members of her class; the *DNB*, for example, states: "Lady Huntingdon was mainly instrumental in introducing the 'new light' [Methodism] into aristocratic circles, into which it probably would never otherwise have found its way" (9:133). However, Johnstone does not show her actively trying to convert such members.

100 "My new master": "Mr. Pitt" (Davis 14). William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham (1708-78).

101 "closet": "A room for privacy or retirement; a private room; an inner chamber" (*OED*).

102 "against": Before, by that time.

103 "meanest": Lowest.

104 "the success of his measures": An allusion to Pitt's success in capturing French ships; cf. below, n. 337 to Part II.

105 "all but": Except for.

106 "a faction": Members of the ministry that was headed by the Duke of Newcastle, including Henry Fox as secretary of state (see below, n. 374 to Part II).

107 "caballing": "Cabal" is defined as: "To combine (together) for some secret or private end....Usually in a bad sense" (*OED*).

108 "notoriously": Known to all.

- 109 "our master": King George II; see below, n. 116 to Part II.
- 110 "that dangerous time": I.e., when England was losing the Seven Years' War, particularly following the defeat of Major-General Braddock (see below, n. 129 to Part II), and the fall of Minorca (see pp. 171-80 of the text).
- 111 "constitution": Social-political structure.
- 112 "member": Representative of a borough.
- 113 "enjoin": Command.
- 114 "nominally": Literally, "in name only."
- 115 "A parliament should be a representative of the people....the next parliament would remedy the mischief": An obvious example of Johnstone's didacticism, as the sentiments which he expresses are no doubt his own.
- 116 "august person": "Geo. II" (Davis 14). King George II, named George Augustus (1683-1760). Undoubtedly, the word "august" is a pun on the surname "Augustus."
- 117 "we": Chrysal and other spirits; see, for example, p. 274 of the text.
- 118 "those people": See above, n. 106 to Part II.
- 119 "event": Result.
- 120 "that element which nature has pointed out for the scene of your triumphs": Water; cf. below, n. 12 to Part III.
- 121 "All you require is a neutrality where you are entitled to assistance": Because of its naval power, which England possessed but France lacked, Spain was regarded as a potentially dangerous enemy should it align itself with France; hence, if the country

remained neutral, as Pitt implies here, such neutrality would greatly aid England in winning the war. The phrase "you are entitled to assistance" reflects the obedience with which Pitt and, of course, Johnstone believe that the king should be regarded; it was highly fanciful, considering that relations between the two countries had been strained throughout the century.

122 "their complaints": According to the Treaty of Utrecht, which concluded the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), England agreed to send only one ship per year to trade with the Spanish territories in the New World (see below, n. 55 and n. 56 to Part III), an agreement to which it did not adhere. The popular view of the treaty in England was that it was unfair; therefore, the "complaints" which emerged when England circumvented it were similarly regarded as invalid. See Ayling, *Georgian*, 126-27.

123 "of course": As a matter of course.

124 "It is a pleasure to me to contract business with this man": The relationship between George II and Pitt was scarcely so harmonious as Johnstone portrays it, no doubt because he wants to advance his own political agenda. In fact, the king barely tolerated Pitt, regarding him as a necessary evil for the successful prosecution of the Seven Years' War. Much of the conflict between the two centered around the king's desire to protect his beloved electorate Hanover. He was initially

criticized for it by Pitt, who eventually capitulated on the issue. See Ayling, *Georgian*, 164-65, 170.

125 "vain maze of timorous wiles": I.e., useless barrage of cowardly tricks, such as Newcastle had indulged in.

126 "the causes of the shameful activity...by which this war has been drawn into such a length": I.e., by the dilatory tactics of some of its leaders, either out of cowardice or a desire to enrich themselves through despoiling the enemy; cf. below, n. 178 to Part III.

127 "your judgment will supply the place of experience": An allusion to Wolfe's youth: he was only thirty-one when Pitt entrusted him with his command (*DNB* 21:770), and thirty-two at the time of his death (21:773-74).

128 "self-sufficient": Overconfident.

129 "so fatal to others": An allusion to the defeat of Major-General Braddock near Fort Duquesne in 1755, as well as several other disasters; see above, n. 110 to Part II.

130 "answer my expectations, and you will fulfill the wishes of your country": Wright writes of this scene, "Johnstone gives an imaginary account of Wolfe's last interview with Mr. Pitt, which, though fiction, is worthy of notice, as representing no small degree of fundamental truth" (488-89).

131 "He executed his charitable commission": Pitt had asked Wolfe to give some money to some wounded veterans.

132 "it has too long triumphed in its wrongs": Wright writes, "Whatever reality may underlie this tender scene [i.e., the one

between Wolfe and Katherine Lowther; see below, n. 133 to Part II], fact is against a somewhat similar one, wherein the hero receives his mother's blessing, and takes his leave of her" (490). Wright then quotes a letter which Wolfe wrote to his mother in which he bids her goodbye, suggesting that the scene which Johnstone depicts here never happened (490).

133 "a young lady": "Miss Lowther afterwards Dutchess [sic] of Bolton" (Davis 14). Katherine Lowther was the daughter of Robert Lowther, a governor of Barbados, and sister of Sir James Lowther, the first Earl of Lonsdale. The *DNB* states that after Wolfe's death she "married the last Duke of Bolton in 1765, and died in Grosvenor Square on 21 March 1809" (21:775).

134 "elevated rank and large fortune": See above, n. 133 to Part II.

135 "parental approbation gave its sanction to their happy choice...that was to seal their bliss": Wolfe and Katherine Lowther were engaged when he embarked on the trip for America--his final one--to which Johnstone refers; see Wright, 412.

136 "instant": Present, immediate.

137 "knowledge of his heart": At the beginning of the novel, when Chrysal appears before the alchemist, he asserts that being in someone's possession automatically makes him privy to the "knowledge" of which he speaks; see *Chrysal*, 1:5.

138 "my time...begins to grow short": Johnstone was nearing the end of the second volume of the 1760 version.

139 "the magistrates of the city I had just left arrived to pay their contributions and make submission for their misbehavior": Earlier in this same chapter, Chrysal describes how these same magistrates had sided with Frederick's enemies--i.e., the Austrians and the French--and treated his messengers disrespectfully, as a result of which he demanded the "contributions" which were raised through taxing the city's inhabitants; see *Chrysal*, 2:165.

140 "they should attend himself": I.e., do so in person.

141 "the posture and address are both improper to be offered to a man": The first indication that Johnstone presents Frederick as a religious man, which he was not. In *Frederick the Great* (translated by R.A. Bell; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), Pierre Gaxotte writes, "As for Frederick, he was an unbeliever; a simple, natural unbeliever, whose personal lack of faith hardly concerned other people, for it did not involve the least element of tyranny nor any great zeal to effect conversions" (288). Many did not know about this propensity of Frederick's; in fact, in England he was touted as "the Protestant hero." See below, n. 144 to Part II.

142 "occasions": Uses.

143 "conscious": "Knowing, witting, well aware" (*OED*).

144 "kneeled down, and offered up his soul in the most ardent devotion to heaven": Ironical, given that Frederick was an atheist; see above, n. 141 to Part II.

145 "ungrateful return": I.e., the manner in which he intends to use the money for charity is but a small recompense for all that his creator has done for him.

146 "its commerce collects the produce of": I.e., its trade leads to the acquisition of goods from.

147 "how happy the people who have a good man for their guide": Further proof--as if any were necessary--of how Johnstone never tires of singing Pitt's praises.

148 "His tour was now finished": During this "tour," omitted from this abridgement, Frederick overhears two of his soldiers singing his praises, to his gratification; see *Chrysal*, 2:169-72.

149 "me, who happened to stick to the corner of his pocket": Is *Chrysal* suggesting that he did so intentionally, so as to remain in Frederick's possession?

150 "his usual time of rising next morning": Frederick's habits of rising early in the morning and maximizing the use of his time were well-known; see Asprey, 266-67.

151 "reduced": Transformed.

152 "As the soldier had judged": During Frederick's "tour" (see above, n. 148 to Part II), one of the soldiers whom he overhears talking predicts that the battle will soon occur; see *Chrysal*, 2:169.

153 "the forces of the enemy were in motion": While the key to *Chrysal* from *An Olio of Bibliographical and Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda* does not identify the battle, Johnstone's description makes it clear that it is the Battle of Rossbach,

which took place on November 5, 1757. Two days before the battle, the enemy commanders, Prince Hildburghausen of Austria and Prince Soubise of France, removed themselves from their encampment and selected another one--the "motion" to which this passage refers. See Asprey, 469.

154 "he went to the top of a neighboring house, from whence he could view them distinctly": Asprey writes, "Frederick climbs to the roof of the manor house in Rossbach village. He studies the enemy through a spyglass. As he stands there, the point of the army appears" (470). After leaving the roof Frederick did not go directly to battle, as Johnstone suggests; rather, he went to dinner (470), which Johnstone omits, undoubtedly to heighten the drama (cf. below, n. 157 and n. 241 to Part II).

155 "too complex to be brought into the regularity of any one design": I.e., to be explained succinctly.

156 "my master was completely victorious": Frederick's victory at Rossbach was indeed extraordinary: the Prussian army lost about five hundred men, as opposed to the enemy, which lost about ten thousand; see Asprey, 472.

157 "the victory was entirely gained by that part of his forces which he commanded in person...while they prevented him from being surrounded by the enemy": Patently untrue, as Frederick was aided in his victory at Rossbach by, among others, Friedrich Wilhelm von Seydlitz (1721-73), a young Prussian general; see Asprey, 471. Obviously, Johnstone changes the facts here to aggrandize Frederick's accomplishment and, hence, advance his own

political agenda; cf. above, n. 154, and below, n. 241 to Part II.

158 "numbers were at length forced to submit to superior valor": At the Battle of Rossbach, Frederick's forces numbered twenty-one thousand, while he estimated the enemy's at between fifty-five and sixty; see Asprey, 469.

159 "menaced": Threatened.

160 "Lord Howe": William Howe, fifth Viscount Howe (1729-1814).

161 "His stature, above the common size of man, was formed with the justest proportion": The *DNB* states: "Johnson was a tall, fine-looking man" (10:939).

162 "attempered": Softened, mollified.

163 "above the hypocritical formality of studied rules of behavior devised only to deceive": Johnstone associates Johnson's "simplicity," in the sense of his lack of familiarity with, or disregard for, the polite forms of social behavior which typified his era, with honesty and sincerity.

164 "uninhabited deserts": I.e., land that is undesirable for habitation.

165 "the account which he gave my late master of his manner of treating his people showed a just foundation of his power over them": Johnson tells Lord Howe (see above, n. 160 to Part II) that he deals with the Indians kindly and sincerely, and that has won him their respect. He also tells him that if the Indians are generally diffident towards Europeans, they have good reason to be.

166 "literally the father of his subjects, the king of his own family": Flexner refers to this passage without commenting on its accuracy (307). The *DNB* does not refer to it, although it does mention that Johnson had "many mistresses," one of whom was "Molly Brandt, sister of Joseph Brandt or 'Thayendanegea,' the famous war-chief of the Mohawks," who "bore him eight children" (10:939).

167 "however forcibly enjoined for particular convenience": I.e., vigorously enforced for the advantages that would accrue to himself. Johnstone is saying that Johnson was unwilling to make laws for the Indians which were not binding on himself; see above, n. 165 to Part II.

168 "commerce": Relations.

169 "his philosophy was not refined enough to suggest one thought of governing the passions": See above, n. 163 to Part II.

170 "converse": Have sexual intercourse.

171 "the use of it would defeat the design": I.e., lead to anarchy rather than harmony.

172 "inclination": I.e., "the passions"; see above, n. 163 to Part II.

173 "complicated": Interwoven.

174 "this great affair was thus equitably settled": I.e., the riot at Drury Lane, for which Garrick and Beard, who were the managers (see below, n. 356 to Part II), were not compensated. See pp. 181-83 of the text; see also below, n. 345 to Part II.

175 "measures": Policies.

- 176 "several": Various.
- 177 "embarrass": Perplex, confuse.
- 178 "by the bye": Incidentally, by the way.
- 179 "I had an opportunity of seeing many striking instances": Chrysal describes Garrick rejecting several authors: one because his play deals with servants; a second because of his lack of dramaturgical knowledge and lofty language; a third because his work is too slavish an imitation of classical authors; and a fourth because he has no talent whatsoever. See *Chrysal*, 3:207-19.
- 180 "put folly even out of countenance": A pet locution of Johnstone's, probably because "putting folly out of countenance" is what he believes that he is doing; see *Chrysal*, 2:67, 4:249.
- 181 "this society": The Hell-Fire Club.
- 182 "he despised themselves": Postgate writes, "The men whom [Wilkes] now met [in the Hell-Fire Club] had to recommend them neither gifts of mind nor, except perhaps in one direction, gifts of body. They were a group of dull-witted libertines, and Wilkes afterwards spoke of them with contempt" (19).
- 183 "scurvy": Ribald, wretched.
- 184 "he proved upon this occasion": I.e., that involving the baboon and the Hell-Fire Club; see pp. 184-86 of the text.
- 185 "I have given you a sketch of the character of my new master upon a former occasion": See p. 129 of the text.
- 186 "a licentious pursuit of everything called pleasure having wasted his fortune": Ayling writes, "Despite his squint and his

leer, [Wilkes'] wit and charm could carry him anywhere; it took him, he said, only half an hour to talk away his face. It did not take him much longer to gamble away his fortune, with drink and women and electioneering thrown in" (*Georgian* 227).

187 "any purpose": I.e., writing *The North Briton*.

188 "retrieve his affairs": Set them to rights.

189 "my master": Lord Orford, i.e., Robert Walpole, second Earl of Orford (1701-51).

190 "alighted": I.e., had arrived, left the coach.

191 "started": I.e., leapt up.

192 "But soft": An imperative, akin to "go quietly," or "be still."

193 "chemist's": Apothecary's.

194 "your resentment prevented me from making a discovery": I.e., fear of your resentment precluded me from making it.

195 "confessing all the sins of his life to servants who stood around him": Cf. below, n. 366 to Part II.

196 "meager": "Of persons and animals, their limbs, etc.: Having little flesh; lean, thin, emaciated" (*OED*). The word is meant to suggest poverty and, hence, the eagerness of Orford's physicians to squeeze as much money from him as they can.

197 "the faculty": I.e., "medical faculty"; members of the medical profession.

198 "cupped": "To bleed by means of a cupping-glass," "a glass vessel or 'cup' with an open mouth" (*OED*).

- 199 "blistered": "Blister" is defined as: "Anything applied to raise a blister; a vesicatory" (*OED*).
- 200 "vomited": I.e., treated in such a manner so as to induce vomiting.
- 201 "clystered": Treated with an enema.
- 202 "purged": "Purge" is defined as: "To empty (the stomach, bowels, etc.); to deplete or relieve (the body or, now only, the bowels) by evacuation" (*OED*).
- 203 "crisis": I.e., turning point.
- 204 "attach": I.e., arouse.
- 205 "against her inclination had she dared to refused him": I.e., she would have suffered greatly for it, had she so dared.
- 206 "art": Artifice or skill; cf. above, n. 24 to Part II.
- 207 "always directed by the deepest and most delicate address": I.e., carried out with the most profound and consummate skill.
- 208 "He had a distant relation": "Late Lord Westmoreland" (Davis 17). John Fane, seventh Earl of Westmoreland (1682?-1762), Dashwood's uncle.
- 209 "complaisance": Friendship, amiability.
- 210 "preference": Ascendancy.
- 211 "a share of their power": "Chancellorship of the Exchequer" (Davis 17). Dashwood held the position from 1761 to 1763; see Kemp, 72-85, and *DNB*, 22:539.
- 212 "the very first trial of his political talents": I.e., Dashwood's implementation of the cider tax; it created a storm of

protest, which caused Dashwood's resignation. See Kemp, 54-62, and *DNB*, 22:539; see also below, n. 212 to Part II.

213 "turned off all": I.e., bid goodbye to politics. Dashwood resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1763; see above, n. 211 to Part II.

214 "you": The alchemist.

215 "that man": Fox.

216 "great heads": Highlights.

217 "Pleasure in every licentious excess soon dissipated a small patrimony": The *DNB* states: "Indulging recklessly in gambling and other extravagances, [Fox] soon squandered the greater part of his private fortune" (7:562).

218 "though cut off from every other method of prolonging a wretched existence": I.e., if no other expedients are available.

219 "This hopeful scheme was no sooner formed than carried into execution": Chrysal here relates Fox's seduction of a Mrs. Horner, which concludes with the Ayliffe affair; see below, n. 367 to Part II.

220 "want had sicklied o'er their beauty": *Hamlet* III.i.84-85: "And thus the native hue of resolution/Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought..."

221 "reaching": Handing.

222 "Where can such a scene of wretchedness be hidden from relief": A rhetorical question; it cannot be hidden.

223 "comfortable": "Strengthening or refreshing to the bodily faculties or organs; sustaining" (*OED*).

- 224 "victuals": Items of food.
- 225 "were dressed": I.e., had been prepared.
- 226 "go": Walk.
- 227 "humiliation": Humble behavior.
- 228 "laid in": I.e., brought in, supplied.
- 229 "I will be your purse-bearer": He who supplies you with money; almoner.
- 230 "The contradictions which I had seen in his character": Chrysal is referring to Churchill's benevolence (see pp. 143-50 of the text) and his licentiousness.
- 231 "the middle rank of life": Brown writes, "It seems certain that the Churchill family were relatively poor, at least until 1742, when the father was given the additional vicarage of Rainham in Essex" (5), prior to which his only benefice had been St. John's in Westminster (5).
- 232 "such an education": Churchill attended Westminster School from 1739 to 1748 (Brown 7).
- 233 "paternal": Of the father.
- 234 "more active scenes": Debauchery, and also, possibly, poetry.
- 235 "all they could do was to enter him into the service of religion": It is not clear whether Churchill failed to pursue his education beyond Westminster School at Oxford or Cambridge, as might have been expected of a young man of his scholastic abilities, for the reason Chrysal indicates. Brown says that there are a number of different stories as to why he did not,

none of which are verifiable (15-17). Clearly the ecclesiastical career was one for which Churchill was not suited, although it was his father who pushed him towards it, not his friends. Brown writes, "It appears that his father's forgiveness of his imprudent marriage was conditioned upon Churchill's entering the ministry, a calling for which he had no sympathy whatsoever" (18).

236 "smart": Pain.

237 "poignant": I.e., piercing, in melancholy fashion.

238 "luxuriance": Overabundance.

239 "his virtues were her perfection": Johnstone's admiration for Churchill, made so abundantly clear here, may have stemmed from the fact that Johnstone believed that Churchill was doing in verse what he was attempting in prose: i.e., shaming the unvirtuous into changing their behavior. McCormick believes that Johnstone knew Churchill and that his knowledge of the Hell-Fire Club came from him (71). However, Jones believes that Johnstone's source was his patron, Lord Mount-Edgewood, who had Lord Sandwich as his superior in the navy (224).

240 "his estate": Dashwood's; it was known as "High Wycombe" or "Wycombe Park." See Kemp, 12, 14, 117-20.

241 "he erected a building": "Medenham [sic] Abbey" (Davis 16). Medmenham Abbey. Dashwood did not "erect" it; he restored it. McCormick regards Johnstone as a mediocre author at best, and one who was prone to inaccuracies, of which he sees this aberration as one among many instances of proof. It is possible, however,

that Johnstone deviates from fact here, not because he is indeed inaccurate, but because he wants to preserve some claim to the assertion that he makes, however weakly, that his work is fictional. Periodically Johnstone indulges in such departures, of the nature of which he must have been aware; for example, he refers to Foote's play *The Minor* as a "ballad," when he obviously knew that it was a play. Cf. above, n. 62, n. 154 and n. 157 to Part II.

242 "objects": I.e., women. Postgate writes, "No names of the feminine collaborators are known or even hinted; to that extent the monks remained complete gentlemen. But the girls were obviously not ordinary women 'of the town'...and it is unlikely that they were great ladies of the aristocracy, for some gossip about them would have been deposited in contemporary memoirs. They were probably the wives and daughters of the merchants and tradesmen, that well-to-do, rising and ambitious portion of eighteenth century England. There is an abundance of anecdotes showing such women as flattered by aristocratic notice, easy to seduce, and frank in their enjoyments" (24). See also Jones, 128-29, and McCormick, 148-63.

243 "societies of human institution": I.e., created by human beings for the worship of a deity, rather than by the deity Himself.

244 "a number equal to that of those who had been at the first chosen to inculcate the religion which he designed to ridicule":

I.e., twelve, for the twelve apostles, "one of whom," Williamson writes, "was yearly elected 'Abbot'" (34).

245 "the divine author of it": I.e., Jesus.

246 "probationary office": I.e., temporary duties or responsibilities, until one moves up, or assumes, higher "office."

247 "devices": "Device" is defined as "something artificially devised or framed; a fancifully conceived design or figure" (*OED*).

248 "too gross to require explanation to the meanest capacity": I.e., comprehensible even to the "lowest," or most vulgar, person.

249 "institution": "The established order by which anything is regulated; system; constitution" (*OED*).

250 "tradition": "Among the Jews, any one, or the whole, of an unwritten code of regulations" (*OED*).

251 "which changed the sacrifice offered, as I said before": Earlier in the present chapter, Chrysal says that the victims in the Passover service had been changed from lambs to human offspring. See Exod. 12.4-7, in which the lamb sacrifice is enjoined as part of the Passover service; see also Felsenstein, 151-54.

252 "participation": Enactment, sharing.

253 "their bodies examined for fear of blemish": Cf. Exod. 12.5: "Your lamb [see above, n. 251 to Part II] shall be without

blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it out from the sheep, or from the goats..."

254 "This method was used, that every person might have an equal share in the merit of the sacrifice": I.e., in the performance of the sacrifice, but with an ironical imputation. In addition to being a charge of the complete rapacity of the Jews, the accusation that all of them are to have a share in the sacrifice probably is derived from Exod. 12.6: "And ye shall keep [the lamb; see above, n. 251 to Part II] up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening."

255 "it would be dangerous and too expensive to provide a lamb for every head of a family in the congregation": The notion that each family was supposed to have a sacrificial victim is almost certainly derived from Exod. 12.3: "Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, in the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for a house..."

256 "(for, horror to human thought! they were to have feasted on their flesh)": The notion that the Jews practiced cannibalism as well as human sacrifice probably is derived from Exod. 12.8-9, in which God tells the Israelites that they are to eat the lambs after they have sacrificed them.

257 "resistless": Literally, incapable of being resisted.

258 "improved": Used or employed; cf. above, n. 38 to Part II.

259 "the general": Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick (1721-92). His talents as a military leader were highly regarded (see Walpole, *George II*, 2:293-94); for example, he scored an impressive victory at the Battle of Minden (see below, n. 260 to Part II), although the victory was somewhat spoiled by the perfidy of George Sackville (see pp. 158-64 of the text).

260 "motions of the enemy": "Battle of Minden" (Davis 14). The battle took place on July 10, 1759; see Walpole, *George II*, 3:60-65.

261 "the commander in chief": Prince Ferdinand; see above, n. 259 to Part II.

262 "the English general": George Sackville Germain, first Viscount Sackville (1716-85).

263 "horse": Cavalry.

264 "by trifling away the critical moment": I.e., intentionally failing to capitalize on it. The *DNB* states: "The moment appeared opportune for pursuit, and repeated orders were sent to Sackville to advance with the British cavalry, which was away behind a wood on the right. The orders were regarded as not sufficiently precise by Sackville, who, after some expostulation with Colonel Fitzroy, the bearer of the last order, peremptorily halted [Lord] Granby [Ferdinand's second-in-command], who had already got the blues [British soldiers] in motion, and went off to confer with Prince Ferdinand" (7:1112).

265 "beyond all human probability": I.e., what anyone would have believed.

266 "beaten the whole army of the enemy...out of the field": I.e., defeated them so utterly so as to have caused them to retreat.

267 "According to his fears": I.e., in accordance with them; as he had feared.

268 "less trouble to us both": I.e., Chrysal and the alchemist.

269 "insignificant": I.e., seemingly trifling.

270 "they no longer accused them of improper delicacy, or strove to do them ill offices with the natives...as before": Prior to the present chapter, Johnstone describes the conflict that existed between the British and German soldiers, who were on the same side. He says that the English, who were fastidious and haughty, complained about the food that they were served; the Germans, in turn, saw to it that it was withheld from them. See *Chrysal*, 2:215-16.

271 "the post of honor": I.e., leading position in military exercises; usually, the place of most danger.

272 "his sovereign...immediately deprived him of his many very lucrative and honorable employments": The *DNB* quotes a passage from a letter by Horace Walpole, in which he mentions, with characteristic irony, how Sackville was stripped of everything he possessed, as if it were a mere trifle, when the emoluments that Walpole lists amount to tens of thousands of pounds (7:1112).

273 "questioned his power in the tenderest point": I.e., his power, or sovereignty, over his subjects.

274 he should abide by the sentence of his judges...as he would never interfere farther": The *DNB*, while confirming that this warning was given, does not overtly state that it was issued by the king: "When...it was decided to refer to the law officers of the crown the question of the legality of trying an officer no longer in the service by court-martial for offenses committed while serving, [Sackville] was officiously warned that if the finding of the court were adverse, he would certainly be shot, like [Admiral] Byng" (7:1112).

275 "Britain": British subject.

276 "his neglect of the orders of his commander": The *DNB* states: "On 5 April [1760] the court agreed to its finding and sentence, which was that Sackville was 'guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission bound to obey as commander-in-chief, according to the rules of war'" (7:1112-13).

277 "he was also declared incapable of ever being admitted into it again": The court which condemned Sackville also found that "'he is, and he is hereby adjudged to be, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever'" (*DNB* 7:1113).

278 "As to the victory which had been the immediate cause of his ruin...as human foresight could not possibly have formed any plan for such an improbable instance of bravery as that which obtained it": Johnstone exaggerates the extent to which Sackville's forces at Minden were able to rebound from his failure to act, undoubtedly because he has two contradictory goals in mind:

while, on the one hand, he wants to minimize the damage which England received to its national reputation as a result of Sackville's perfidy, on the other, he also wants to condemn Sackville for that perfidy. That Johnstone is exaggerating the success of Sackville's forces is clear; the *DNB*, for example, states: "In the end the movement [at which Sackville had balked] was made, but, to the vexation of the whole army, the moment for decisive action had gone by, and the British cavalry lost their share in the honors of the day" (7:1112).

279 "king": King Jose I of Portugal (ruled 1750-77).

280 "blunderbuss": "A short gun with a large bore, firing many balls or slugs, and capable of doing execution within a limited range without exact aim" (*OED*). With unintentional irony, the *OED* adds: "Now superseded, in civilized countries, by other fire-arms."

281 "small balls": Bullets of small calibre.

282 "he attended the event": I.e., decided to stay so as to witness its outcome.

283 "so far safe": I.e., which so far had been safe for him.

284 "the order": I.e., the Jesuits.

285 "the person with whom he had been": The Marchioness of Tavora.

286 "a country whose characteristics are pride and revenge": The prejudice against the Portuguese which Johnstone evinces is typical of his dislike of foreigners in general; for example, see

Chrysal, 2:115-29, for a diatribe of Johnstone's against the Dutch.

287 "intercourse": "Social communication between individuals; frequent and habitual contact in conversation and action; dealings" (*OED*).

288 "illative": Insinuating, inferential.

289 "he made a pretense of the assassination": I.e., used it as a pretext.

290 "the late calamities": On November 1, 1755, an earthquake in Lisbon, which consisted of three shocks, ended in the deaths of between 10,000 and 15,000 people. See T.D. Kendrick, *The Lisbon Earthquake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1957); see also Nowell, 76.

291 "the miscarriage of his attempt having made it unnecessary for him to disburse the money among which I came to him": I.e., he was liable to pay money to those who had conspired with him only if the attempt proved successful.

292 "But the favorable minute was come to strike at the root of ecclesiastical tyranny...they thought it just and natural": Johnstone's opinion that the Portuguese were right in throwing off the oppression which they suffered under the Jesuits is grounded more in his dislike of them than in the reality of their having been involved in the assassination attempt on the king. He exaggerates their involvement; see Nowell, 77.

293 "cipher": "A secret or disguised manner of writing" (*OED*).

- 294 "Africa": In Johnstone's time and earlier, used to signify a different portion of the world than today; here, of course, it is meant to include the Middle East.
- 295 "Tetouan": Port city in northern Morocco.
- 296 "Sallee": Port city in northwestern Morocco.
- 297 "rover": "A pirate ship; a privateer" (*OED*).
- 298 "crowded all the sail": "To crowd sail" is defined as "to hoist an unusual number of sails on a ship; to carry a press of sail for the purpose of speed" (*OED*).
- 299 "pass": "Permission or authorization to pass" (*OED*).
- 300 "slaves to mammon": Wealth; cf. Matt. 6.24, Luke 16.13: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."
- 301 "who would hazard liberty and fortune to save such a trifle": Presumably, Aminadab's words are intended as an ironical commentary on what he is about to do.
- 302 "O Jonah, send thy whale to receive me": An allusion to the book of Jonah, in which the titular character spent three days and nights in the stomach of a whale, until it delivered him onto land; see Jon. 1.17, 2.10.
- 303 "by-word": "An object of scorn or contempt" (*OED*).
- 304 "Captain Harry Powlett": See above, n. 3 to Part II; see also pp. 85-88 of the text.
- 305 "chore": "A band, company, 'crew'" (*OED*); thus, the navy.
- 306 "unfortunate man": Admiral John Byng (1704-57).
- 307 "humor": Caprice; cf. below, n. 121 to Part III.
- 308 "relieve a fortress": "Minorca" (Davis 15).

309 "purport": Alleged purpose.

310 "expedition": Haste, expediency.

311 "he might have the sanction of their advice to excuse his neglect and often direct disobedience of his orders": The *DNB* states: "Byng summoned a council of war, the resolutions of which seemed to him to warrant his leaving Minorca to its fate, and he accordingly returned with the fleet to Gibraltar" (3:572).

312 "a council of war always speak the sense of the commander": I.e., agrees with him.

313 "another fortress": "Gibraltar" (Davis 15). See above, n. 311 to Part II.

314 "commanding officer": "General Fawke [sic]" (Davis 15). Thomas Fowke (died 1765), Lieutenant-General in the British army. He was appointed governor of Gibraltar in 1752. For refusing to give Byng a regiment, which he was supposed to provide (see below, n. 315 to Part II), he was tried and convicted in 1756. Unlike Byng, he was not executed; instead, King George II stripped him of his command. See Walpole, *George II*, 2:165.

315 "he quietly acquiesced in the officer's excuse and sailed away without the reinforcement for which alone he had been ordered to stop there": The *DNB* states: "The governor of Gibraltar [i.e., Fowke; see above, n. 314 to Part II] refused to part with the troops which he was ordered to send, alleging that they could not be spared from the garrison; and Byng, who from the first had shown himself very ill satisfied with the condition

and force of his squadron, accepted his refusal without protest, and sailed from Gibraltar on 8 May" (3:571).

316 "come to action": I.e., prepare to fight.

317 "The enemy...treated very roughly a part of his fleet that had advanced with less caution, and come really to action": I.e., to fight. The *DNB* states, "The ships in the van [i.e., wing of Byng's fleet], thus unsupported, sustained great loss, and the whole French line...fired their broadsides [i.e., guns on one side of each ship] into them....When Byng extricated his rear from the confusion into which he had himself thrown it [i.e., through failure to engage the enemy], he found his van so shattered as to be incapable of forming line and renewing the action" (3:571-72).

318 "the nation took fire": The *DNB* states: "When the news of the defeat [of Minorca] reached England the wrath of the ministry [Newcastle's] and the fury of the populace were excessive" (3:572).

319 "amuse": Deceive.

320 "they...found him guilty...of such a part only of the charge against him as common sense could never conceive punishable with death": Not strictly accurate, as the military court by which Byng was tried, between December 28, 1756, and January 27, 1757, found him guilty of failing to perform his duty properly, which was punishable by death under the twelfth article of war. However, it is unlikely that the members of the court thought that Byng would actually be executed, as "they added an earnest

recommendation to mercy, on the grounds that they did not believe [Byng's] misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection [i.e., treason], and that they had passed the sentence only because the law, in prescribing death, had left no alternative to the court." However, "the king refused to entertain this recommendation, and the sentence was carried out" (*DNB* 3:572).

321 "credit": I.e., credibility.

322 "*trimming*": Evasive or dishonest behavior.

323 "answers": I.e., proves efficacious.

324 "lame": "Maimed, halting; imperfect or defective, unsatisfactory as wanting a part or parts. Said esp. of an argument, excuse, account, narrative, or the like" (*OED*).

325 "They retracted...their own judgment": I.e., their previously-given opinions in regard to the verdict and recommended sentence.

326 "went": I.e., paid visits.

327 "those in power": "Mr. Fox, Secretary of State" (Davis 15). Fox held the position from November 1755 to October 1756; see above, n. 106 to Part II.

328 "a force proper for that purpose would have been sent directly from home": Byng's forces were inadequate, as he was aware (see above, n. 315 to Part II); the *DNB* states that, because Newcastle's ministry was reluctant to believe that Minorca was actually in danger, "the squadron sent out with Byng was therefore by no means so large as it might easily have been made" (3:571).

329 "fairest": Brightest.

330 "perplexed": Obfuscated.

331 "as flagrant a case as his": "Admiral Lestock's" (Davis 16).

Richard Lestock (1679?-1746) was an admiral in the British navy who was acquitted of failing to perform his duty properly in a case that was somewhat similar to Byng's; see *DNB*, 11:993.

332 "confidence": I.e., "confiding in."

333 "another set": "Mr. Pitt" (Davis 16); see above, n. 100 to Part II.

334 "sin offering": I.e., expiatory gesture.

335 "a clue to guide them through some of those labyrinths": An allusion to Greek mythology, in which Ariadne provided Theseus with a "clue" or ball of string to guide himself through the labyrinth of the Minotaur; see below, n. 16 to Part III.

336 "to the entire overthrow": I.e., so as to effect it.

337 "precipitately plunged themselves": "Captures before the declaration of war" (Davis 16). Ayling writes, "At sea the war was already active by 1754, when the French learned of the British decision to send regular troops to America. At this, naturally, the French too decided to send further reinforcements of their own. Admiral Boscawen, under orders to intercept them, failed to catch more than two of their transports; but Admirals Hawke and Byng between them captured 300 French merchantmen in a few months" (Georgian 161). See above, n. 104 to Part II.

338 "botch up": I.e., "patch together," although "botch" certainly captures the sense which Chrysal feels that Newcastle's ministry has made of it.

339 "The officer who commanded": "General Blakeney" (Davis 16). William Blakeney, later Lord Blakeney (1672-1761).

340 "instances": Entreaties.

341 "I therefore must push": I.e., make my own way.

342 "when the passion for seeing plays arose to its present height": Plumb writes, "As with literature, the theater blossomed [in England] in the eighteenth century; long before 1800 every market town, however small, had its own, specially built theater, often tiny but always elegant" (76). He also writes, "Over two thousand [plays] were produced [in London] between 1750 and 1800" (76).

343 "machinery": "Stage appliances and contrivances" (*OED*).

344 "these men of taste": Chrysal is referring to John Hill and his cohorts whom Hill meets at a coffee house to declaim against the theater and comment derisively on other issues of the day; see above, n. 31 to Part II. The *DNB* states: "A certain [Thaddeus or "Thady"] Fitzpatrick put himself at the head of a set of young men known as 'The Town,' and demanded in their names, on 25 Jan. 1763, admission at half price at the end of the third act. A riot followed" (7:900). See also Kendall, 89-92.

345 "the others could not get from behind their compters before it was half-ended": I.e., they could not get from behind their "counters," owing to the close proximity between the time when

plays started and shops closed. "Counter" is defined as: "A banker's or money-changer's table; also, the table in a shop on which the money paid by purchasers is counted out, and across which goods are delivered" (*OED*). Johnstone is adopting a supercilious tone towards the men because they work for a living and are unable to mend the damage that they cause; see above, n. 31 to Part II, and below, n. 346 to Part II.

346 "doing more damage to the proprietors than their own entire worldly substance could repair": I.e., their possessions or net worth; see above, n. 345 to Part II.

347 "denouncing": Threatening.

348 "realize": I.e., bring to life.

349 "mimic": I.e., "imitated," from "mimesis," the Greek word for "imitation."

350 "sweepers": Chimney sweepers.

351 "link boys": "Link-boy" is defined as "a boy employed to carry a link [torch] to light passengers along the streets" (*OED*).

352 "cinder wenches": "Cinder-wench" is defined as "a female whose occupation is to take cinders [coal remnants] from among ashes" (*OED*).

353 "rubs": Vicissitudes, impediments.

354 "one of them": Johnstone's description suggests Foote, who acted at the Drury Lane Theater, although Trefman does not mention Foote as having any involvement in the riot.

355 "trick": False display.

356 "the managers": "Garrick & Beard" (Davis 16). David Garrick (1717-79) and John Beard (1716?-91).

357 "Lord Sandwich": John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-92). Postgate and Kronenberger believe that the man whom Wilkes embarrassed with the baboon at the Hell-Fire Club, if the incident did in fact occur (see below, n. 434 to Part II), was not Lord Sandwich but Lord Orford (see above, n. 189 to Part II; see also pp. 131-37 of the text); see Postgate, 26, and Kronenberger, 15. Certain circumstances of the story make it more likely that it was Orford. He was universally regarded as slow-witted. This fact explains how he could have been fooled so easily, if he was; and, perhaps, why Wilkes resented being passed over in favor of him. Furthermore, if Johnstone's knowledge of the Hell-Fire Club came from Lord Sandwich through Lord Mount-Edgcombe, as Jones believes (see above, n. 239 to Part II), it is unclear why Sandwich would have related a story which was so embarrassing to himself. If Johnstone changed the victim from Orford to Sandwich, one can only speculate on why he did so. Presumably, it was to draw a link between Sandwich's later condemnation of Wilkes (see below, n. 429 and n. 437 to Part II) and the incident involving the baboon and the Hell-Fire Club.

358 "disdained": Would not condescend.

359 "the late competition": To join the Hell-Fire Club as a full-fledged member; see above, n. 246 to Part II.

360 "my master's higher rank in life": Sandwich, an earl himself (see above, n. 357 to Part II), was the son of a viscount and the

grandson of an earl, unlike Wilkes, whose father was a distiller, although a prosperous one.

361 "signal": Telling.

362 "so critically": I.e., at such a "critical" moment.

363 "spite": I.e., imagined or perceived spite.

364 "caitiff's": "Caitiff" is defined as: "A wretched miserable person, a poor wretch, one in a piteous case" (*OED*).

365 "affected": Pretended.

366 "I am as yet but half a sinner": Cf. above, n. 195 to Part II.

367 "this woman": Mrs. Horner; see above, n. 219 to Part II.

368 "interest": Wealth and powerful connections.

369 "the lowness of his condition": Rank. The NC states that Ayliffe's father was "an upper servant" (4:285).

370 "give color": Provide "shade" or camouflage; hence, justification.

371 "husband": I.e., daughter's husband.

372 "straighten": I.e., worsen, unduly confine.

373 "profitable employment": "Commissary of Musters" (Davis 17).

A "muster-roll" is defined as "an official list of the officers and men...in an army or some particular division of it" (*OED*). The person who held Ayliffe's position was usually referred to as a "muster-master."

374 "one of the many which he himself enjoyed in the state": Fox was secretary of state from 1755 to 1756 (see above, n. 106 and

n. 327 to Part II), and paymaster general from 1757 to 1765, a position in which he greatly enriched himself; see *DNB*, 7:563.

375 "professedly": Ostensibly.

376 "preferment": Promotion.

377 "the reason of their being concealed": I.e., because Ayliffe had had a liaison with Mrs. Horner, just as Fox had.

378 "recourse to means": "Forging a lease" (Davis 17). The *NC* states: "When Ayliffe's creditors became urgent, he had recourse, for a present supply, to some irregular and very dangerous practices; amongst others, he forged a presentation to the valuable rectory of Brinkworth, in Wiltshire, which he sold to a young clergyman for a considerable sum. This living being in Mr. Fox's gift, he forged his handwriting and that of two subscribing witnesses with admirable dexterity; but, soon after Ayliffe's affairs became desperate, a discovery was made of this infamous fraud" (3:286).

379 "apparently": I.e., in actuality.

380 "an opportunity offered beyond his hopes": I.e., beyond any for which he could have reasonably hoped.

381 "he buoyed him up with hopes of a pardon": *The Newgate Calendar*, which exonerates Fox and, hence, acquits him of the charge which Chrysal makes, states: "Ayliffe seems to have been much unprepared for death, possibly flattering himself with the hopes of a pardon" (3:288).

382 "infatuation": Delusionary state.

383 "the verge of life": Death.

384 "the whole scheme...was defeated": Wishful thinking on Johnstone's part, unless one counts the fact that the world may have generally been aware of Fox's perfidy. Fox himself appears to have suffered no adverse consequences from it and, if one looks at some important source materials dealing with the period, one finds that the *NC* acquits Fox of any misbehavior in the Ayliffe affair (see above, n. 381 to Part II), and the *DNB* entry on Fox omits any mention of the Ayliffe affair whatsoever, as if it were an insignificant episode in his life or did not happen.

385 "Lord Temple": Richard Temple Grenville, afterwards Richard Grenville-Temple, Earl Temple (1711-79).

386 "The gentlemen whom he went to wait upon": "Lord Temple" (Davis 18). See above, n. 385 to Part II.

387 "himself designed to be made only a cipher, to increase the consequence of another": Lord Bute, John Stuart, first Earl of Bute (1713-92), who became *de facto* prime minister when King George III ascended the throne in 1760, and first lord of the treasury in 1762.

388 "He...thought this man's exposing the insufficiency of those who had supplanted him in it the most likely way to effect that purpose": An allusion to the patronage Wilkes received from Temple in writing *The North Briton*; see Postgate, 33, 60-62.

389 "methods": Motives.

390 "making a new family": I.e., being "ennobled" or raised to the peerage; see above, n. 385 to Part II.

391 "he already enjoyed the highest honors he could aspire to:
 Aside from his having been raised to the peerage (see above, n.
 385 to Part II), Temple's "honors" included the following: he
 had been appointed first lord of the admiralty in 1756; member of
 the privy council (see above, n. 45 to Part II), also in 1756;
 lord privy seal in 1757; lord-lieutenant of Buckinghamshire in
 1758; and a Knight of the Garter in 1760 (*DNB* 8:570).

392 "the fears of his patron were too just": In the previous
 chapter, Temple warned Wilkes that he had gone too far in
 attacking the king (in no. 45 of *The North Briton*, which is not
 explicitly mentioned by Johnstone).

393 "laid him down to sleep": An allusion to the traditional
 children's prayer: "Now I lay me down to sleep/I pray the Lord
 my soul to keep/If I die before I wake/I pray the Lord my soul to
 take."

394 "breaking open his locks, rifling his effects, and searching
 into all his secrets": Williamson writes, "In the meantime
 [while Wilkes was in the Tower], Wilkes' house was ransacked and
 his papers, private and political, seized. The drawers of his
 writing table were broken open, and all the papers found in them
 and other places put into a sack and taken to [Lord] Halifax's
 house" (62-63).

395 "magistrate": "Lord Halifax" (Davis 19). George Montagu
 Dunk, second Earl of Halifax (1716-71).

396 "the insolence of office": *Hamlet* III.i.70-73: "For who
 would bear the whips and scorns of time/Th' oppressor's wrong,

the proud man's contumely,/The pangs of despised love, the law's delay/The insolence of office..." I.e., the insolence of those who hold office. The locution is a favorite one of Johnstone's--or of Shakespeare's; see *Chrysal*, 2:29, 2:36. Nor does Johnstone's use of the phrase, in some of its variant forms, end there; in *Chrysal*, he also uses "the insolence of liberty" (2:143), and "the insolence of power" (3:91).

397 "the method which the law provided for his being restored to liberty": Habeas corpus.

398 "He rallied his jailers": At the Tower, Wilkes asked to be lodged in the room in which Lord Egremont's father had been confined on the charge that he was a Jacobite; he also asked that he not be given a room which had belonged to a Scotsman so that he would not catch the "itch." See Quennell, 189, Ayling, *Georgian*, 229, and Kronenberger, 41.

399 "mimicked": Mocked, taunted; cf. above, n. 349 to Part II.

400 "his judges": "Lord Halifax and [Lord] Egremont" (Davis 19), the two secretaries of state. Lord Halifax (see above, n. 385 to Part II), and Sir Charles Wyndham (or Windham), second Earl of Egremont (1710-63). Wilkes behaved with considerable aplomb when he was brought before them; Walpole writes, "[Wilkes] was conducted to Lord Halifax's, where he behaved with much firmness and confidence, and grievously wounded the haughty dignity attempted to be assumed by Lord Egremont" (*George III* 1:219).

401 "his disapprobation of what brought my master into this scrape": Attacking the king (in no. 45 of *The North Briton*); see above, n. 392 to Part II.

402 "if rightly managed might have done great matters": I.e., accomplished great things.

403 "certain immunities": "Privilege of parliament" (Davis 19). Wilkes was "M.P.," or Member of Parliament, for Aylesbury. See below, n. 416 to Part II.

404 "magistrate": "Ld. Chief Justice Pratt" (Davis 19). Charles Pratt, first Earl Camden (1714-94).

405 "former occasions": "Cases of Dr. Henry Shebbaire [sic], taken upon Genl. Warrants when Mr. Pratt was Attorney General" (Davis 19). John Shebbeare (1709-88) was arrested in 1758 on a general warrant and later sent to prison for criticizing the influence of Hanover over Great Britain (cf. above, n. 124 to Part II), which Shebbeare felt had led to a weakening of the nation (*DNB* 18:2).

406 "he made a short excursion abroad": To France, where his daughter Polly was studying, from July 20 to September 26, 1763.

407 "a countryman of the minister's": "Capt. Forbes" (Davis 19). In France in August, 1763 Wilkes received a challenge from a Scotsman named Forbes, who disapproved of the way Wilkes had portrayed his countrymen in *The North Briton*. Wilkes agreed to the challenge provided that he first be allowed to fight a duel with Lord Egremont, by whom he felt that he had been mistreated (see above, n. 400 to Part II). Egremont died soon after and

Forbes's challenge was never renewed. "The minister" was Lord Bute, who was Scottish; see above, n. 387 to Part II.

408 "by engaging in the service of the enemies of its present government, and fighting their battles against it": Walpole refers to Forbes as "an outlawed Scot in the French service" (*George III* 1:223).

409 "A person who was involved": "Mr. Martin" (Davis 19). Samuel Martin (1714-88). Martin was Scottish and an active follower of Lord Bute--two facts which amply account for his antagonism towards Wilkes. Walpole writes, "It is remarkable [i.e., "worth remarking"] that in [George III's] reign Martin became a distinguished tool of [George III's mother, the Princess Dowager's] minion Lord Bute" (*George II*, 1:90, n. 4).

410 "the minister": Lord Bute; see above, n. 387 and n. 407 to Part II.

411 "creature": I.e., puppet.

412 "two beings...who called themselves rational hazarded their lives in support of what neither could have supported by reason": Johnstone's abhorrence of duelling is consistent with his religious beliefs. For a discussion of how duelling was viewed in the eighteenth century, including the opinions on it that were held by numerous literary figures, see V.G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honor and the Reign of Autocracy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 193-241.

413 "a wound that for some time seemed to threaten his life": In France, on November 16, 1763, Wilkes fought a duel with Samuel

Martin (see above, n. 409 to Part II) in which he received a stomach wound that he thought was mortal. For a discussion of the duel, including Walpole's contention that it was a plot to assassinate Wilkes, see Quennell, 218-19.

414 "He was therefore deprived of his part in the legislature": Wilkes claimed that, owing to the stomach wound which he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin (see above, n. 413 to Part II) he was unable to respond to a summons from the House of Commons. He wrote a letter to that effect, which the speaker read to the House on January 11, 1764. The speaker noted that it had not been authenticated, after which Wilkes was expelled, on January 19.

415 "overlooked": Disregarded.

416 "such offenses as his excluded from their protection for the future": On November 23 and 24, 1763, the House of Commons ruled that the privilege which Wilkes had pleaded (see above, n. 403 to Part II) did not apply in cases of seditious libel.

417 "An able and upright magistrate": "Lord Ch. J. Pratt" (Davis 19). See above, n. 404 to Part II.

418 "several others who had been involved in the same circumstances, as having been employed by him": I.e., Wilkes' printers; see below, n. 427 to Part II.

419 "John Kidgell": John Kidgell (1722?-66?), clergyman, best-known for his involvement in the Wilkes imbroglio. The DNB states: "He was a man of some talent, but dissolute and dishonest....He habitually neglected his duty, and lived as a man

about town, under the auspices of Lord March [see below, n. 429 to Part II]" (11:98). Walpole describes him as a "dainty, priggish parson, much in vogue among old ladies for his gossiping and quaint sermons" (quoted in *DNB*, 11:98).

420 "John Douglas": John Douglas (1721-1807), Bishop of Salisbury, best known for exposing William Lauder, who had accused Milton of plagiarism, as a fraud; see *DNB*, 5:1242-43.

421 "I have something to show you": "Essay on Women [sic]" (Davis 20). *An Essay on Woman*.

422 "letter-of-essay": Letter to a newspaper declaiming for or against a politician or political cause.

423 "bawdy-song": Johnstone refers to the *Essay on Woman* in this way here, rather than as a poem; see above, n. 241 to Part II; cf. also below, n. 437 to Part II.

424 "the gentleman we have been talking of": "Mr. Wilkes" (Davis 20).

425 "highly worked up": I.e., cleverly wrought.

426 "prove it plainly upon him": I.e., prove demonstrably that he is the author.

427 "the printer": Michael Curry (1722?-78). Curry betrayed Wilkes, possibly as a result of bribery, possibly as a result of intimidation; see Rude, 31.

428 "opened": Unveiled, introduced; cf. below, n. 166 to Part III.

429 "those from whom he expected the reward for his pious pains": Lord March (William Douglas, third Earl of March and fourth Duke

of Queensberry [1724-1810]), Lord Sandwich, and Lord Bute. It is clear that all of them harbored considerable resentment towards Wilkes. March was a member of the Hell-Fire Club (Postgate 21), wherein Wilkes very likely may have offended him; he also held various appointments in the Bute administration (*DNB* 5:1278), which Wilkes attacked in *The North Briton*. That Wilkes and Sandwich did not get along, of course, is abundantly illustrated (see below, n. 432 to Part II). Finally, Bute was the head of the administration which Wilkes castigated so repeatedly (see above, n. 392 and n. 401 to Part II).

430 "In the attack made upon him": Wilkes.

431 "the principal part was undertaken by one": Lord Sandwich; see above, n. 429 to Part II, and below, n. 437 to Part II.

432 "I observed that he cherished a secret grudge against the other": Chrysal says that Sandwich resented Wilkes because he constantly made him the butt of his humor, even before the baboon incident, and that Sandwich did not know how to respond, except by trying to outdo Wilkes in profligacy; see *Chrysal*, 3:247-48.

433 "the disgrace he suffered on that occasion": I.e., that involving Wilkes, the baboon and the Hell-Fire Club; see pp. 184-86 of the text.

434 "He had prevailed to have him expelled the society": Chrysal does say that this was why Wilkes left the fraternity (see *Chrysal*, 3:248), but it was not the case. Postgate writes, "Such is the story [of Wilkes, the baboon and the Hell-Fire Club; see pp. 184-86 of the text]; in another version, Wilkes arranged for

a sweep to fall down the chimney and appear with a crash in a cloud of soot at the appropriate moment. Neither version is convincing; all that appears certain is that the meetings were suspended in 1763, possibly because of a practical joke by Wilkes which was regarded as too boisterous" (27). Nowhere does it appear that Wilkes was forcibly ejected, or that the meetings continued without him.

435 "the fervency and enthusiastic zeal of a modern fanatic": Religious fanatic or Methodist; see above, n. 47 to Part I.

436 "one of them": William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester (1698-1779), who edited Pope's *An Essay on Man*, to whom Wilkes and Thomas Potter ascribed the notes in the *Essay on Woman*; see below, n. 437 to Part II.

437 "the ballad was condemned": On November 15, 1763, the House of Lords pronounced that the *Essay on Woman* was obscene and constituted a breach of privilege because of the attack which it contained against Bishop Warburton (see above, n. 436 to Part II), who was one of its members. Lord Sandwich took a leading role in the condemnation (see above, n. 429 and n. 431 to Part II), for which he was given the nickname "Jemmy Twitcher." Johnstone refers to the *Essay* as a "ballad" here, rather than as a poem; see above, n. 241 to Part II; cf. also above, n. 423 to Part II.

438 "shift off": Parry, as in get rid of, put off.

439 "the person who had appeared most sanguine in the pursuit of his scheme": Lord March; see above, n. 419 and n. 429 to Part II.

440 "a fixed and short day": I.e., one expressly settled upon in the near future.

441 "he...fled beyond the reach of his creditors": The *DNB* states that in 1763, "Kidgell, who was deeply in debt, had to fly the country," apparently to Flanders, where he died (11:98).

Notes to Part III

- 1 "Traffic": "The transportation of merchandise for the purpose of trade; hence, trade between distant or distinct communities; commerce" (*OED*). See above, n. 20 to Part I.
- 2 "engross": Possess.
- 3 "far-fetched": Possessed of wide, far-reaching implications.
- 4 "over-reach": Out-maneuver.
- 5 "close application": Hard work.
- 6 "genius": Talent.
- 7 "bold strokes": I.e., innovative gambles (in business).
- 8 "I resolved...and showing them in their proper lustre": As Douglas points out, Traffic's original sin--disobedience to his father--is the same as Robinson Crusoe's; see Douglas, 76.
- 9 "closet": "A room for privacy or retirement; a private room; an inner chamber" (*OED*).
- 10 "natural": Logical, sensible.
- 11 "super-plus": Surplus.
- 12 "Heaven points it out to the inhabitants of this country by our situation": I.e., by England's proximity to water; cf. above, n. 120 to Part II.
- 13 "the extreme of industry": I.e., extreme forms of industriousness.
- 14 "though trade adds to the wealth, yet too eager a pursuit of it, even with the greatest success, diminishes the strength of a nation": As Douglas points out, the opinion which Traffic's father expresses here contradicts that of Bernard Mandeville,

who, in his *Fable of the Bees* (1714), maintained that individual vices such as avarice could redound to a nation's betterment, not its detriment; see Douglas, 75-76.

15 "received": Accepted; see above, n. 14 to Part III.

16 "hold fast the clue it offers to guide you through the labyrinths of trade": An allusion to the story of Theseus and the Minotaur--specifically, the ball of string given the former by Ariadne--in Greek mythology; see above, n. 335 to Part II.

17 "Be just, my son, in all your dealings; wrong not individuals; nor defraud the public": In *The Complete English Tradesman* (Manila: History Conservation Society, 1989), Defoe writes, "there are some latitudes which a tradesman is and must be allowed," but "[a tradesman] must not only intend or mean honestly and justly, but he must act so, and that in all his dealings; he must neither cheat nor defraud, over-reach nor circumvent, his neighbor or anybody he deals with" (128).

18 "personal doubt": I.e., doubts as to Traffic's worthiness.

19 "comprehend": Encompass.

20 "the ordinances, so defeated of their support": I.e., laws, robbed of their efficacy.

21 "The most eager pursuer of illicit trade will not vindicate a general indulgence of it": I.e., the fact that there may be one person who does it does not justify it for the many.

22 "equipoise": Balance.

23 "the great business of life": I.e., making money.

24 "on the stretch": Yearning.

- 25 "the Exchange": The Royal Exchange, center of London's financial district; cf. above, n. 75 to Part II.
- 26 "That we may avoid temptation": Matt. 26.41, Mark 14.38, Luke 22.40 and 22.46.
- 27 "upon 'Change": On the stock-exchange; see above, n. 25 to Part III.
- 28 "public subscriptions": To raise money for public works.
- 29 "mysterious": Attractive, insofar as it involves an unknown entity.
- 30 "sharking": "Shark" is defined as "to prey like a shark upon; to victimize, sponge upon, swindle; to oppress by extortion" (*OED*).
- 31 "projector": I.e., "schemer" or entrepreneur, like Traffic himself; cf. above, n. 40 to Part I.
- 32 "sporting": "Sport" is defined as "to engage in betting; to speculate" (*OED*). The *OED* quotes this passage from *Chrysal* in defining this word.
- 33 "taking in": I.e., ensnaring.
- 34 "unwary confidence": I.e., "confidence" (see above, n. 323 to Part II) which is placed without due caution.
- 35 "flinging": "Fling" is defined as "to get the better of, cheat, swindle, 'do'; to cheat out of (money, etc.)" (*OED*).
- 36 "Gordian knot": In Greek mythology, Gordus, father of Midas, tied his wagon up outside of a temple using a complex knot, leading to a widespread belief that whoever untied it would

become conqueror of Asia. Many tried and failed, including Alexander the Great, who severed it with his sword.

37 "a just and extensive war": One can conclude that Johnstone is referring to the War of the Spanish Succession, for a number of reasons. First, it involved a contest between England and Spain over shipping rights (see Ayling, *Georgian*, 126-27; see also above, n. 122 to Part II), like the war in Traffic's story; second, it was certainly "extensive," as it lasted for thirteen years; third, the placement of Traffic's story at the beginning of *Chrysal* suggests that Johnstone intends it to take place in the past; and finally, the war to which Traffic refers cannot be the Seven Years' War, as Traffic later refers to it as having been concluded (see below, n. 55 to Part III), and the Seven Years' War was not when "The History of Traffic" appeared in its present form in 1760. Interestingly, however, the phrase "a just and extensive war" which Johnstone uses is possibly an echo, or misquoting, of one which Pitt insisted that King George II include in his first speech to parliament: "'As I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavor to prosecute it in a manner most likely to bring about an honorable and lasting peace in concert with my allies'" (quoted in Williams, 1:64).

38 "unstationed": Uncommissioned.

39 "narrow": I.e., limited, insofar as it involves an inability to understand and appreciate Traffic's greatness.

40 "temper": Temperament.

- 41 "shyness": I.e., backwardness, unwillingness to be forthcoming.
- 42 "Amelia's": The name suggests Fielding, whose novel *Amelia* (1749) had been popular, although it was common during the period. Many German princesses went by its variant "Amalie," which was the name of King George II's mistress, the Countess of Yarmouth (see pp. 98-102 of the text), as well as one of his daughters.
- 43 "while there was any obstacle that could hinder my evil genius from defeating it": I.e., while he sought every means of defeating it ("her filial piety and love").
- 44 "make up": Set to rights.
- 45 "sinking": Appropriating (herself). Under the law at the time, a husband became proprietor of all his wife's property, unless other legal arrangements had been made.
- 46 "secreted": "Concealed, hidden" (*OED*).
- 47 "memorial": I.e., piece of evidence.
- 48 "representation": Fictitious portrayal of events.
- 49 "The mine was now sprung": I.e., the plan was already launched; we would say, "the cat was now out of the bag."
- 50 "hugging": Congratulating.
- 51 "Chancery": "The court of the Lord Chancellor of England, the highest court of judicature next to the House of Lords" (*OED*).
- 52 "set her charge entirely aside": I.e., completely defeated it.

- 53 "broke": Defeated; cf. above, n. 26 to Part I and n. 13 to Part II, and below, n. 205 to Part III.
- 54 "in a manner": I.e., in the following manner.
- 55 "the war was at an end": See above, n. 37 to Part III.
- 56 "the Spaniards, on the defenseless coast of their American dominions": Area on the southern coast of North America, including Mexico, Florida, and Central America, "defenseless" because it was surrounded by water.
- 57 "Spanish Main": The seas on the northeastern coast of Latin America.
- 58 "magnificent": "Sumptuously constructed or adorned" (*OED*).
- 59 "undress": I.e., state of being undressed or disrobed, without a bodice or overskirt; cf. above, n. 36 to Part I.
- 60 "hollow": "Of sound: Wanting body; not full-toned; 'sepulchral'" (*OED*).
- 61 "the serenity of conscious virtue": Possibly an echo of Pope's "Prologue to Mr. Addison's Tragedy of *Cato*" (on the proper role of the theater): "To make mankind in conscious virtue bold:/Live o'er each scene, and be what they behold" (3-4).
- 62 "prevented": Preempted, obviated.
- 63 "her husband's command": I.e., the command which she had given her husband.
- 64 "broke alive upon the wheel": A form of punishment in which a prisoner's bones were broken with iron bars while he was spread-eagled on a cartwheel, after which he was left to die. Being

"broke alive upon the wheel" was considered worse than being hanged because the prisoner took longer to die.

65 (Here Chrysal describes how he left Traffic's possession... from which it is lifted out of the mine.): Johnstone chose to end Traffic's story this way because Traffic, disgusted with his greed, flings Chrysal away from him in disgust; in other words, Johnstone chose this particular ending for its dramatic effect.

66 "kneeling down in form": I.e., as he was supposed to.

67 "reckoning": Account; cf. below, n. 114 and n. 244 to Part III.

68 "articles": Items.

69 "you would not have forced her if she would have complied willingly": An example of the kind of casuistry which Johnstone detests, and which he frequently attacks in *Chrysal*; cf. above, n. 63 to Introduction, and n. 86 to Part II.

70 "self-preservation...is the first law of nature": A favorite idea of Hobbes, with whom it is associated; see 98-102. Cf. also above, n. 6 to Part II.

71 "vicegerents": Deputies, agents.

72 "charmed her silence": I.e., brought about her silence through seducing her, although something murderous is probably also being implied.

73 "apprehend": Fear.

74 "accuse her of the fact": I.e., of the theft of the jewels.

75 "taking off": Murdering.

76 "hint": Idea.

77 "mortify": "Kill."

78 "collation": "The light repast or refection taken by the members of a monastery at close of day" (*OED*).

79 "Ananias and Sapphira": Biblical husband and wife. He withheld money from the church, intended for the poor, which he obtained through selling his land; she was aware of it. When confronted with their dishonesty, both of them denied his having done it and, shortly afterward, died. See Acts, 5.1-10.

80 "sister's": Sister-in-law's.

81 "This is defrauding the laborer of his hire": Cf. 1 Tim. 5.18: "For the scripture saith, thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, the laborer is worthy of his reward." Cf. also Luke 10.07, Matt. 10.10.

82 "amaze": "Extreme astonishment, wonder" (*OED*).

83 "I receive thee into the fold": I.e., into the order of the Jesuits.

84 "Great events are ripening in the womb of time": An allusion to the Jesuits' supposed political aspirations, including the usurpation of power in Portugal through assassinating the king, as part of the so-called "Tavora Plot" (see pp. 165-68 of the text).

85 "virtuoso": One who experiments with, or conducts investigation into, the arts and sciences; in this case, of course, used satirically. The literary work with which the term is usually associated is Ben Jonson's play *Volpone* (1606), about

a "mountebank," or scientific "healer"; see below, n. 200 to Part III.

86 "comb": "The red fleshy crest or caruncle on the head of the domestic fowl...so called from its indented or serrated form" (*OED*).

87 "Highlands": Mountainous area in northern Scotland.

88 "familiar": "A demon supposed to be in association with or under the power of a man" (*OED*) or, in this case, a woman. It was in the form of an animal such as a bird, as it is here.

89 "scrape the dunghill": In search of food.

90 "tread": Mount.

91 "the moment he should receive him": I.e., the moment the virtuoso should receive the cock.

92 "watching": Keeping watch, or staying awake.

93 "riding for life": I.e., as if their lives depended on it.

94 "horseman's coat": "Horseman" is defined as "a mounted soldier" (*OED*); hence, the "coat" or uniform one would wear.

95 "he then dispatched several servants express to his learned friends": I.e., with orders to proceed directly to them, with all speed.

96 "griffins, centaurs, harpies": Mythological hybrid creatures: a "griffin" has the head and wings of an eagle, but the body of a lion; a "centaur" has the head of a man, but the body of a horse; a "harpy" has the face of a woman, but the body of a bird (see below, n. 157 to Part III).

97 "the right game-breed": I.e., fighting kind.

- 98 "solutions": I.e., possible explanations.
- 99 "cornuted": Having horns; hence, a cuckold.
- 100 "tracing": "Following," with a scientific and, hence, satirical imputation on Johnstone's part.
- 101 "positively": With absolute certainty.
- 102 "the credit of philosophy": I.e., the credibility of science; cf. below, n. 173 to Part III.
- 103 "As for the cock, he was immediately sacrificed to Aesculapius": I.e., to the Greek god of medicine. An allusion to the death of Socrates; in *Phaedo* (in *Five Great Dialogues*, translated by B. Jowett; Roslyn, N.Y.: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1941), Plato reports that Socrates, prior to his death, said to Crito, a student and follower of his, "I owe a cock to Aesculapius; will you remember to pay the debt?" To which Crito replied, "The debt shall be paid..." (153). Of course, the rooster in Johnstone's story was not slaughtered for religious purposes; rather, it was probably for food.
- 104 "to avert the consequences which such a disappointment might have upon the health and understanding of the company": I.e., upon their "health," and the "understanding" that they have with one another, which could only be preserved so long as the bird was slaughtered.
- 105 "heroine": See above, n. 145 to Introduction.
- 106 "keenness": Appetite, voracity.
- 107 "degrees": Levels (in the social hierarchy).
- 108 "give place": I.e., give way.

- 109 "still": Always.
- 110 "At length": Finally; after a (great) while.
- 111 "the very night I came into her possession": At a gambling party, or "rout"; see below, n. 113 to Part III.
- 112 "in execution": Tried to execute.
- 113 "She lost deal": I.e., missed her turn to deal. The heroine is engaged in a game of whist, as several of the terms which Johnstone uses pertain to it; see below, n. 114 and n. 115 to Part III.
- 114 "She revoked": In whist (see above, n. 113 to Part III), "revoked" is defined as: "A failure to follow suit when a proper card is played" (*OED*).
- 115 "She missed reckoning her honors": I.e., missed counting them (cf. above, n. 67 to Part III, and below, n. 244 to Part III). In whist (see above, n. 113 to Part III), "honor" is defined as: "The four highest trumps (ace, king, queen and knave): the relative proportion in which they are held by the two sides being an element in counting the points in some forms of the game" (*OED*).
- 116 "disconcerted": Frustrated, thwarted.
- 117 "sound": Sound out, discover.
- 118 "she wrote him an anonymous letter": Gray writes, "About 2 months ago Mr. Creswick (the [Duke] of Cleveland's managing man) received an anonymous letter as from [i.e., apparently by] a lady, offering him (if he would bring about a match between her &

his lord) 3000 [pounds] to be paid after marriage out of the estate" (2:666).

119 "penny-post": "An organization for the conveyance of letters or packets at an ordinary charge of a penny each" (*OED*).

120 "under a feigned direction": I.e., to an address which was not her own, as is made clear by the following clause.

121 "humor": Indulge.

122 "enforcing": Reinforcing.

123 "agency": Management.

124 "it": Her scheme; Johnstone apparently failed to realize that his pronoun reference here is unclear.

125 "the time": I.e., the time appointed.

126 "the gentleman": I.e., Mr. Trueman, the gentleman whom she was supposed to meet.

127 "starting": Introducing.

128 "whimsically": I.e., foolishly or capriciously; without thinking the matter through.

129 "his interest in defeating her design": Interestingly, Johnstone does not regard the nobleman's coming to the defense of his own interest with disapproval; rather, Johnstone merely regards him as taking appropriate measures to safeguard that interest. Cf. above, n. 14 to Part I.

130 "chair": Sedan chair.

131 "The assurances of her late hopes": I.e., the sanguineness of her expectations.

132 "country-seat": Country estate.

133 "all public places": Gray writes, "The whole affair [of Lady Fawkeners] was immediately told to everybody. Yet she has continued going about to all public places..." (2:667).

134 "diffidence": Suspicion; also hesitation, caution.

135 "everything in the unadorned simplicity of its first principles": Johnstone views his protagonist as having a refreshingly unencumbered world view, about which Johnstone seems ambivalent. It is characterized by a desire to see the world without shading or camouflage, which is almost Hobbesian (see above, n. 6 to Part II and n. 70 to Part III) in its relentless insistence upon not glossing over the faults of human nature, and proceeding in or modifying one's behavior accordingly.

136 "a life of ramble": I.e., constant "rambling," moving from place to place.

137 "king of Poland": Augustus II (reigned 1734-63).

138 "that project":

139 "the present war in Germany": The Seven Years' War.

140 "(he has had the ungenerous meanness to assume it to himself)": I.e., has sunk "low" enough so as to take credit for it.

141 "abjure my religion, and profess theirs": I.e., abjure Roman Catholicism and profess Protestantism.

142 "As I had no money, I immediately commenced author": A common lament of Johnstone, who feels that the less qualified one is for the literary profession, the more likely one is to undertake it; see, for example, *TP*, 1:137-44.

- 143 "The connections of the wife": I.e., the connections that one forms with someone's wife.
- 144 "despised": Treated with derision.
- 145 "a war being just ready to break out": Given the fact that it was the last major conflict to erupt in Germany prior to the Seven Years' War, probably the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).
- 146 "the inheritance of needy adventurers": I.e., their rightful property.
- 147 "grasped": Possessed.
- 148 "my abilities, which I fondly hoped would have been employed in embroiling nations to the deception of individuals for the support of life": I.e., "embroiling nations" by convincing them that "individuals" have acted in a "deceptive" manner, so that he, the narrator, could profit.
- 149 "under-plot": I.e., secondary plot to which one has recourse after the first has failed.
- 150 "custom": "Business patronage or support" (*OED*).
- 151 "particulars": Particular individuals.
- 152 "really": "In reality; in point of, or as a matter of, fact; actually" (*OED*).
- 153 "by appointment": I.e., as I had appointed to do.
- 154 "obligations": Promissory notes, IOUs.
- 155 "required": Demanded.
- 156 "the execution of sentence is not quite so sudden in England as in Turkey": The notion that Turkey was an inhumane state, as

opposed to England--indicating the inherent barbarism of Islam, compared to Christianity--was commonplace in the England of Johnstone's day. Along these lines, Brandon H. Beck, in *From the Rising of the Sun: English Images of the Ottoman Empire to 1715* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), alludes to a prisoner of the Turks, who wrote that "Ottoman courts of law," which he "described as moralistic, severe and quick, guaranteed stability to the state" (27), as if it could not have been accomplished without the use of force, as it would be in a Christian state.

157 "harpies": Mythological creatures, half-bird, half-human (female); renowned for the foul odor they invariably left in their wake. Johnstone is probably alluding to the story regarding Phineus, in which they swept down and stole food that he was about to eat. See above, n. 96 to Part III.

158 "charm": Summon, as by incantation.

159 "word": Command.

160 "I seemed encouraged": I.e., feigned that I was encouraged.

161 "the habitation of my friend was in a place privileged from the immediate power of the law": Probably the Mint, an area in the Southwark section of London in which debtors were immune from prosecution; for a discussion of which, see Adam Anderson, *The Origin of Commerce* (1787), 3:136.

162 "the savages of America": The notion that Americans were savages was common in Johnstone's lifetime and was expressed by Samuel Johnson, who said "they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging"

(quoted in Boswell, 2:312). It was owing not only to America's heavy Indian presence but also, as Johnson's comment implies, to the practice in England of transporting felons to America.

163 "Holland, the general rendezvous of politicians": In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Hague was an important meeting place for politicians; Lord Chesterfield, for example, was stationed there as English ambassador (see above, n. 17 to Part II). Johnstone, of course, is using the phrase satirically, a reflection of both his prejudice towards the Dutch (see above, n. 286 to Part II), and his distrust of politicians.

164 "the minister": Johnstone's presentation does not facilitate identification of the person to whom he is referring.

165 "familiar conversation": I.e., one conducted so as to denote intimacy between the participants.

166 "opened": Afforded; cf. above, n. 428 to Part II.

167 "inventing false news to support the exhausted spirits of the people": I.e., to sustain them.

168 "Abyssinia": Ethiopia, although Johnstone seems to regard Abyssinia and Ethiopia as two separate nations (see below, n. 167 to Part III). Johnstone sets part of "The History of Pheron and Ilissa" in Abyssinia because he is writing an Oriental tale, a genre which had become popular in England in the eighteenth century owing to the success of the *Arabian Nights*, the first English translation of which had appeared in the early 1700s. In 1735, Samuel Johnson had translated a book about Abyssinia by a Portuguese Jesuit, Father Jeronymo Lobo, on which he drew in his

own Oriental tale, *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1759), by which Johnstone presumably was influenced.

169 "if men are not so knowing, they are certainly more wise": A paradox which Johnstone intends as a lament upon the deleterious influence of deism, which, in its questioning of the dogma of the Christian church, has in Johnstone's view created more questions than it has answered. For a discussion of deism--including the belief that it was tantamount to heresy--see M.H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (5th ed.; Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1988), 50; cf. also above, n. 42 to Part I.

170 "invasions of the Ethiopians": See above, n. 168 to Part III.

171 "Dignities": I.e., "dignified" positions, especially governmental ones.

172 "practiced by rule": According to the book, so to speak.

173 "science": Knowledge of all kinds.

174 "orders in its government": I.e., levels in its hierarchy.

175 "Jesuit": Johnstone adopts a softer tone towards the Jesuits here than he does elsewhere; cf., for example, pp. 165-68 and 231-40 of the text.

176 "Leghorn": Port city in central Italy on the Tyrrhenian Sea.

177 "George Keppel": George Keppel, third Earl of Albemarle (1724-72).

178 "The army is laying siege to Havana, which belongs to Spain": Johnstone devotes considerable attention in *Chrysal* to the siege of Havana. His main goal is to show how the English commanders,

including George Keppel (see above, n. 177 to Part III), and a sutler enriched themselves to an extraordinary degree, at the expense of the common soldier, whose hopes were raised, only to be disappointed. See *Chrysal*, 3:1-134, and Ayling, *Georgian*, 185-86.

179 "thrown himself on his mercy": Cf. *APB*, 1:1-4.

180 "Guzman": The protagonist's name in a famous Spanish picaresque novel, Mateo Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599-1604), an English translation of which by James Mabbe, with which Johnstone may have been familiar, appeared in 1623.

181 "Aragon": Region in northeastern Spain; it was formerly independent, which may account for the abhorrence with which Don Alphonso's father regards it.

182 "countenance": Patronage; also, acknowledgment (in terms of friendship).

183 "offices": Expressions, deeds.

184 "boding": I.e., "forebodings"; inklings of impending disasters.

185 "the absurdity of thinking a family dishonored by the admission of a female": "Absurd" because the husband, in marrying, confers his own rank upon the wife.

186 "blood": Offspring.

187 "jealousy": Alarm, apprehension.

188 "the clergy": I.e., the Inquisition.

189 "shining sins": I.e., unvirtuous acts, whose dazzling appearance belies their inner nature.

- 190 "the present war with England": The Seven Years' War, or at least Spain's involvement in it.
- 191 "landed": Unloaded, removed; put ashore.
- 192 "committing to the immediate hand of heaven the protection of its peculiar votaries": I.e., the women of the convent; those whose especial function is their devotion to heaven.
- 193 "he": Chrysal's master, the man of fashion.
- 194 "chariot": "A wheeled vehicle, coach, or conveyance" (*OED*).
- 195 "the least suspicion of his rank would directly *blow* his design": I.e., defeat his aims, by revealing them.
- 196 "one of his servants out of livery": I.e., wearing ordinary clothes, not livery.
- 197 "plied him": I.e., applied to him, diligently.
- 198 "He fixed his ladder": I.e., placed it so that Chrysal's master could climb into the wagon.
- 199 "heteroclite": Varied, in an extreme sense.
- 200 "mountebank doctor": One who sells quack-medicines; a quack.
- 201 "zany": Literally, an assistant; a clown who appears in a medicine-show.
- 202 "strolling actor": I.e., one who is itinerant; cf. above, n.
- 342 to Part II.
- 203 "ale-wife": Female saloon- or inn-keeper.
- 204 "a servant-maid who was going to London to repair a cracked reputation": I.e., to abort a baby which she was carrying; also, possibly, to become a prostitute.

- 205 "broken": Discharged; cf. above, n. 26 to Part I, n. 13 to Part II, and n. 53 to Part III.
- 206 "exciseman": Tax collector.
- 207 "a bottle of spirits": Smelling-salts.
- 208 "more good by half": I.e., twice as much good.
- 209 "warrant": Guarantee.
- 210 "Holland's": I.e., Dutch gin; see above, n. 44 to Part II.
- 211 "smoked": Uncovered, realized.
- 212 "go down": Sip.
- 213 "Belvidera": A character in Thomas Otway's play *Venice Preserved* (1682).
- 214 "'Thus to the bottom,' said she, 'though it were a mile'": Johnstone is making fun of stage diction which was common during the period, particularly its artificiality; cf. above, n. 98 to Introduction.
- 215 "Avast haling": I.e., "stop hauling."
- 216 "scupper": "An opening in a ship's side on a level with the deck to allow water to run away" (*OED*).
- 217 "to see whether it has paid duty": I.e., whether tax has been paid on it.
- 218 "belching": Vomiting.
- 219 "Blood anouns": An oath; "anouns" is derived from "wounds," and refers to those which Christ suffered on the cross.
- 220 "though almost smothered": I.e., because he was.

- 221 "he could not help adding his cries to the concert": Johnstone's use of slapstick in this chapter anticipates his use of it in AV; see, for example, AV, 1:186-89, 2:133-36.
- 222 "false modesty": Fear of offending.
- 223 "gloating": Leering.
- 224 "as they happened to look another way": I.e., when they happened to look away from him.
- 225 "heroics": Heroic couplets.
- 226 "everybody ate and talked; and talked and ate together": I.e., with their mouths full; an indication of their "low-breeding," or lower-class origins, for which Johnstone is mocking them.
- 227 "my master thought the wine which he had forced upon the mother had secured her": I.e., rendered her incapable of defeating his designs.
- 228 "and worse armed": I.e., less than half armed.
- 229 "lubbers": Louts, etc.
- 230 "Hip messmate": "Hello, friend."
- 231 "what cheer": "What's the good word?"
- 232 "bitch of Babel": A confusing reference. It seems as if the allusion is to the story of the tower of Babel (Gen. 11.1-9), but it is more likely that Johnstone meant "Baal," not "Babel," and that it is the story of Jezebel to which he is alluding. She slew the lord's prophets (after convincing Ahab, her husband, not to follow them), and worshipped instead the prophets of Baal, an idol (1 Kings 17.31, 18.4 and 18.19).

- 233 "porter": "Porter," hence, a muscular man.
- 234 "as grave, and demure, as a whore at a christening": I.e., as one would be chastened into behaving, owing to her surroundings.
- 235 "and you see": I.e., as you can see.
- 236 "justice": Reparation.
- 237 "trull": I.e., "jade"; a wicked, or wanton, woman.
- 238 "bilked": Ruined.
- 239 "a house in the hundreds of Drury": I.e., in the neighborhood of Drury Lane; "hundred" is defined as: "A sub-division of a county or shire, having its own court" (*OED*). Drury Lane was home to theaters as well as brothels, including the theater that was managed by David Garrick and James Beard (see above, n. 356 to Part II). In part, that explains the unsavory reputation actors and actresses had during the period.
- 240 "Pylades and Orestes": In Greek mythology, friends whose relationship has come to epitomize close male friendship; they figure heavily in the *Oresteia* trilogy by Aeschylus.
- 241 "the human face divine": *Paradise Lost*, 3.40-44: "Thus with the year/Seasons return; but not to me returns/Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,/Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,/Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine..."
- 242 "which had not lost all likeness of the original": I.e., of God.
- 243 "the fruits of the summer's labor in the vineyard": Cf. Isa. 65.21, Matt. 20.1, Mark 12.2.

244 "reckoning": Bill; cf. above, n. 67 and n. 115 to Part III.

Notes to Part IV

- 1 "the coy fugitive": Nature, personified here, as usual, as a woman.
- 2 "intelligence": "An impersonation of intelligence; an intelligent or rational being; esp. applied to one that is or may be incorporeal; a spirit" (*OED*).
- 3 "this secret cause": I.e., of the universe and all that inhabits it.
- 4 "a tailor, whose principal debtor is made a lord": I.e., ensuring that his debts will forever remain uncollectible.
- 5 "nostrum": Quack remedy.
- 6 "senator": "Often applied (unofficially and rhetorically) to a member of either House of the British Parliament" (*OED*).
- 7 "to purchase a seat in parliament just before its dissolution": I.e., prior to when a new election would be held, rendering the previous one null and void.
- 8 "necessity": Need.
- 9 "content": Contentment.

Appendix I

Tatler No. 249: *The History of a Shilling*

by Sir Richard Steele

I was last night visited by a friend of mine who has an inexhaustible fund of discourse and never fails to entertain his company with a variety of thoughts and hints that are altogether new and uncommon. Whether it were in complaisance to my way of living, or his real opinion, he advanced the following paradox: that it required much greater talents to fill up and become a retired life, than a life of business. Upon this occasion he rallied very agreeably the busy men of the age, who only valued themselves for being in motion, and passing through a series of trifling and insignificant actions. In the heat of his discourse, seeing a piece of money lying on the table, "I defy," says he, "any of these active persons to produce half the adventures that this twelvepenny piece has been engaged in, were it possible for him to give us an account of his life."

My friend's talk made so odd an impression upon my mind, that soon after I was abed I fell insensibly into a most unaccountable reverie, that had neither moral nor design in it, and cannot be so properly called a dream as a delirium.

Methought the shilling that lay upon the table reared itself upon its edge, and turning the face towards me, opened its mouth, and in a soft silver sound gave me the following account of his life and adventures.

"I was born," says he, "on the side of a mountain, near a little village of Peru, and made a voyage to England in an ingot, under the convoy of Sir Francis Drake. I was, soon after my arrival, taken out of my Indian habit, refined, naturalized, and put into the British mode, with the face of Queen Elizabeth on one side, and the arms of the country on the other. Being thus equipped, I found in me a wonderful inclination to ramble, and visit all the parts of the new world into which I was brought. The people very much favored my natural disposition, and shifted me so fast from hand to hand, that before I was five years old I had travelled into almost every corner of the nation. But in the beginning of my sixth year, to my unspeakable grief, I fell into the hands of a miserable old fellow who clapped me into an iron chest, where I found five hundred more of my own quality who lay under the same confinement. The only relief we had was to be taken out and counted over in the fresh air every morning and evening. After an imprisonment of several years, we heard somebody knocking at our chest and breaking it open with an hammer. This we found was the old man's heir, who, as his father lay dying, was so good as to come to our release; he separated us that very day. What was the fate of my companions I know not. As for myself, I was sent to the apothecary's shop for a pint of sack. The apothecary gave me to an herb-woman, the herb-woman to a butcher, the butcher to a brewer, and the brewer to his wife, who made a present of me to a nonconformist preacher. After this manner I made my way merrily through the world; for, as I told

you before, we shillings love nothing so much as travelling. I sometimes fetched in a shoulder of mutton, sometimes a play-book, and often had the satisfaction to treat a Templar at a twelvecpenny ordinary, or carry him with three friends to Westminster Hall.

"In the midst of this pleasant progress, which I made from place to place, I was arrested by a superstitious old woman, who shut me up in a greasy purse in pursuance of a foolish saying, that while she kept a Queen Elizabeth's shilling about her, she should never be without money. I continued here a close prisoner for many months until at last I was exchanged for eight and forty farthings.

"I thus rambled from pocket to pocket until the beginning of the civil wars, when, to my shame be it spoken, I was employed in raising soldiers against the King. For being of a very tempting breadth a sergeant made use of me to inveigle country fellows, and lift them into the service of the Parliament.

"As soon as he had made one man sure, his way was to oblige him to take a shilling of a more homely figure, and then practice the same trick upon another. Thus I continued doing great mischief to the crown, until my officer chancing one morning to walk abroad earlier than ordinary, sacrificed me to his pleasures, and made use of me to seduce a milkmaid. This wench bent me, and gave me to her sweetheart, applying more properly than she intended the usual form of: "To my live and from my love." This ungenerous gallant marrying her within a few days

after, pawned me for a dram of brandy; and drinking me out next day, I was beaten flat with an hammer, and again set a-running.

"After many adventures, which it would be tedious to relate, I was sent to a young spendthrift, in company with the will of his deceased father. The young fellow, who I found was very extravagant, gave great demonstrations of joy at receiving the will; but opening it, he found himself disinherited, and cut off from the possession of a fair estate by virtue of my being made a present to him. This put him into such a passion that after having taken me in his hand and cursed me, he squired me away from him as far as he could fling me. I chanced to light in an unfrequented place under a dead wall, where I lay undiscovered and useless during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell.

"About a year after the King's return, a poor cavalier that was walking there about dinner-time fortunately cast his eye upon me, and, to the great joy of us both, carried me to a cook's shop, where he fined upon me, and drank the King's health. When I came again into the world, I found that I had been happier in my retirement than I thought, having probably by that means escaped wearing a monstrous pair of breeches.

"Being now of great credit and antiquity, I was rather looked upon as a medal than an ordinary coin; for which reason a gamester laid hold of me, and converted me to a counter, having got together some dozens of us for that use. We led a melancholy life in his possession, being busy at those hours wherein current coin is at rest, and partaking the fate of our master; being in a

few moments valued at a crown, a pound, or a sixpence, according to the situation in which the fortune of the cards placed us. I had at length the good luck to see my master break, by which means I was again sent abroad under my primitive denomination of a shilling.

"I shall pass over many other accidents of less moment, and hasten to that fatal catastrophe when I fell into the hands of an artist, who conveyed me underground, and with an unmerciful pair of shears cut off my titles, clipped my brims, retrenched my shape, rubbed me to my inmost ring; and in short, so spoiled and pillaged me, that he did not leave me worth a groat. You may think what a confusion I was in to see myself thus curtailed and disfigured. I should have been ashamed to have shown my head, had not all my old acquaintance been reduced to the same shameful figure, excepting some few that were punched through the belly. In the midst of this general calamity, when everybody thought our misfortune irretrievable and our case desperate, we were thrown into the furnace together, and, as if often happens with cities rising out of a fire, appeared with greater beauty and lustre than we could ever boast of before. What has happened to me since this change of sex which you now see, I shall take some other opportunity to relate. In the meantime I shall only repeat two adventures as being very extraordinary and neither of them having ever happened to me above once in my life. The first was my being in a poet's pocket, who was so taken with the brightness and novelty of my appearance that it gave occasion to the finest

burlesque poem in the British language, entitled from me, *The Splendid Shilling*. The second adventure, which I must not omit, happened to me in the year one thousand seven hundred and three, when I was given away in charity to a blind man; but indeed this was by mistake, the person who gave me having thrown heedlessly me into the hat among a pennyworth of farthings."

Appendix II

A Key to *Chrysal*, from *An Olio of Bibliographical and
Literary Anecdotes and Memoranda* by William Davis

The origins of the key which is presented herein are somewhat mysterious. As mentioned in the Introduction, Johnstone wrote the first two volumes of *Chrysal* while visiting his patron, Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, in Devonshire. Davis writes, "To Lord Mt. Edgcumbe [sic], [Johnstone] presented a key to the characters delineated, as also to Capt. Mears [in whose ship Johnstone sailed to India]" (21). Davis does not indicate whether the key which he presents is the same one, although it seems likely; Baker believes that it is (vi-vii).

The key abounds in spelling mistakes; furthermore, quite a few of its references quote inaccurately from the text. Curiously, it also becomes more extensive as it continues; the vast majority of the entries pertain to Volumes III and IV.

Interestingly, there are significant references in the novel which are omitted from the key. These include the identity of the Countess of Huntingdon's nephew who was hanged for murder, Earl Ferrers (whom Johnstone refers to as her "cousin"); Sackville's perfidy at the Battle of Minden; and, most notably, the identity of Henry Fox. In each of the cases mentioned above, one can speculate on the reason for the omission: deference to the Countess of Huntingdon; patriotism, as Sackville's cowardice represented a national as well as a personal embarrassment; and

fear of offending Fox, who was one of the most powerful individuals of his day.

As mentioned in the Textual Commentary, the key was based on the 1768 edition.

"The author's intention was to draw general characters," Davis writes, "therefore, in the application of the key, the reader must exercise his own judgment in distinguishing the real from the fictitious actions of the different personages" (21).

VOL. 1

Page 52	Commander of an English Man of War	Capt. Powlett afterwards Dk. of Bolton
100	Observe that Person	Lord Chesterfield
101	Importance Places of State	Id. Lt. of Ireland
125	The General had slept off the fumes	Lord Ligonier

VOL. 2

Page 24	Entered her Graces Levee	Ctss. of Yarmouth
50	Who sold glyster-pipes	Doctor Henzie
55	High priest of the Conventicle	Whitfield
---	Momus	Foote
57	Hunchback	Squintum
58	Mrs. Brimstone's Mrs. Cole	Mother Douglas
---	The person	Foote
60	In my Ballads	Minor
78	Finished all the Pamphlets	Critical & Christian Remarks on the Minor

79	Parson of the Parish	Archbishop of Canterbury
79	Direction of the Squire	King
80	Went directly to her Grace	Countess of Huntingdon
98	My new Master	Mr. Pitt
102	August person	Geo. II
104	Found a person waiting	General Wolfe
108	A young Lady	Miss Lowther afterwards Dutchess of Bolton
188	Bulgaria	Prussia
194	Apostate	Arch. Bower
220	Motions of the Army	Battle of Minden

VOL. 3

Page 2	He immediately came to a right understanding	Lord H. Powlett
3	A mighty Fleet	Expedition against the Havannah
5	He was lolling in a listless manner	Sir G. Pocock
7	Who had been guilty of the unpardonable &c.	Admiral Knowles
12	When the Officer Next to him	Admiral Keppell
17	Said my Master to the General	Lord Albermarle
21	In my Patron's time	D. of Cumberland
29	In so advantageous a light to one	Chas. Townshend

34	Though the Captain of the ship	Capt. Campbell (Here the scene is carried back to the Havannah)
44	A Youth who had made	(The whole of this story seems a Work of Imagination.)
120	The Parson of the Parish	Bishop of Derry
122	Gave me to an Admiral	Admiral Matthews
127	To wait upon the General	The Character is here changed to Lord Howe
---	Of making regular Sieges	Lord Loudon
128	Yes, interrupted an Officer	Lord Charles Hay
130	Impatient to see his Brother	late Lord Howe
138	That a person to whom he could not properly &c.	Sir Wm. Johnson
170	Execution of the Commander	Admiral Byng
172	And relieve a Fortress	Minorca
173	Another Fortress	Gibraltar
173	Commanding Officer	General Fawke
178	Those in power	Mr. Fox, Secretary of state
179	As flagrant a case as his	Admiral Lestock's
180	By another set	Mr. Pitt
---	Precipitately plunged themselves	Captures before the Declaration of war
181	The Officer who commanded	General Blakeney
184	Orders of his Captain	Capt. Hamilton
185	One of those	Lord Colvill

186	The Little Gentleman	Mr. Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden
190	My master proceeded to figure	Dr. Hill
191	A superficial smattering of letters	Fitz Patrick
---	A Tradesman	Mr. Bourke
195	But the Managers	Garrick & Beard
220	My master arrived in London	Lord Orford
232	A person of a flighty imagination	Sir F. Dashwood
233	He erected a building	Medenham Abbey
238	Another candidate advanced	Mr. Wilkes
239	The person who had that day	Ditto
249	He also built a church	High Wycombe Church
256	Sits the superior	Sir F. Dashwood
257	He had a distant relation	Late Lord Westmoreland
228	A share of their power	Chancellorship of the Exchequer
262	Shrine of a contested saint	Abbe Paris
274	This man who had thoroughly	Dr. Thompson

VOL. 4

Page 4	Old Dowager	Mrs. Horner
5	Pitched upon a near relation	Lord Ilchester
9	Acquaintance with a Nobleman	late Duke of Richmond
12	First personages	D. of Cumberland
18	Profitable employment	Commissary of Musters
19	Recourse to means	Forging a lease

23	An essential part	Genl. of the Army for Life
24	But more profit	Paymaster of the Army
25	Those events	Death of Geo. II
26	Perfidy of one	Mr. Calcraft
28	Possession of the same person	Lord Sandwich
---	A person of distinguished learning	Dr. Sum
29	An only daughter	Niece
46	A lady whom he addressed	Lady Mansel
50	Debilitated debauchees	Sir E. Mansel
56	One of her admirers	Genl. Geo. Boscawen
67	A brother of the person	Mr. Burgh
69	A near relation	Capt. Wheeler of the Isis
71	His success with one	Miss Stephenson
95	Crowned head	Fleur de Lys
---	My new master	Mr. Prestagi the auctioneer
136	Of the author	Churchill
163	The most intimate acquaintance	Mr. Wilkes
166	Political pamphlet	North Briton
175	The gentleman whom he went to wait upon	Lord Temple
180	To a magistrate	Lord Hallifax
181	His judges	Lord Hallifax and Egremont
186	Certain immunities	Privilege of Parliament
---	Integrity of the Magistrate	Ld. chief justice Pratt
---	Former occasions	Cases of Dr. Henry Shebbaire, taken upon Genl. Warrants

		when Mr. Pratt was attorney General
190	Attack upon the Minister	Lord Bute
191	A countryman of the Ministers	Capt. Forbes
197	A person was involved	Mr. Martin
200	An able and upright magistrate	Lord Ch. J. Pratt
201	A clergyman	Mr. Kedgell
203	His guest who came punctually	Doctor Douglass
204	Assistance of one of the latter	Mr. Leach, Printer
205	Of such a patron as yours	Lord Bute
205	Leading a Bear	Travelling as tutor to Lord Pulteney
---	That impostor	Mr. A. Hamilton Bower
207	Tearing off the veil	Writing the History of the Popery
208	Two silly impostors	Lauder and Elizh. Canning
211	I have something to shew you	Essay on Women
---	Which the gentleman we have been talking	Mr. Wilkes
218	The honor of one of them	Bp. of Gloucester
220	One of his Tradesmen	A Bookseller
223	That a positive Law	Marriage Act
227	By a gentleman of his acquaintance	Ld. Deloraine
250	A lady of large fortune	Hon. Mrs. Knight
256	Possession of my new master	Sir Charles Coote, K.B.
271	Given to a Briton	D. of Cumberland

276	Giving up the Countries	Convention of Closterhoven
277	Given to a German	Prince Ferdinand
---	A Commander of their own	late D. of Marlborough

Select Bibliography

- The Adventures of a Black Coat* (London: Edes and Gill, 1767).
- Apuleius. *The Golden Ass*, translated by Robert Graves (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1967).
- Asprey, Robert B. *Frederick the Great: The Magnificent Enigma* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1986).
- Ayling, Stanley E. *The Elder Pitt: Earl of Chatham* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976).
- . *The Georgian Century: 1714-1837* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1966).
- Baxter, Stephen B. "The Conduct of the Seven Years War." In *England's Rise to Greatness, 1660-1763*, edited by Stephen B. Baxter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 323-48.
- Boswell, James. *Life of Johnson*, edited by George Birbeck Hill and L.F. Powell (6 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).
- Brown, Wallace Cable. *Charles Churchill: Poet, Rake, and Rebel* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).
- Churchill, Charles. *Poems of Charles Churchill*, edited by James Laver (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970).
- Coventry, Francis. *Pompey the Little*, edited by Robert Adams Day (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
- Douglas, Aileen. "Brittania's Rule and the It-Narrator." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 6.11 (Oct. 1993): 65-82.

- Felsenstein, Frank. *Anti-semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- Flexner, James Thomas. *Lord of the Mohawks: A Biography of Sir William Johnson* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1979).
- Furneaux, Rupert. *The Seven Years War* (London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1973).
- Henry, Stuart C. *George Whitefield: Wayfaring Witness* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957).
- Johnstone, Charles. *The Adventures of Anthony Varnish* (3 vols.; London: William Lane, 1786).
- . *Buthred: A Tragedy* (Dublin: W. Boucher, 1779).
- . *Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea* (4 vols.; London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1768).
- . *The History of Arsaces, Prince of Betlis* (2 vols.; London: T. Becket, 1774).
- . *The History of John Juniper, Esq. Alias Juniper Jack* (3 vols.; London: R. Baldwin, 1781).
- . *The Pilgrim: or, A Picture of Life* (2 vols.; London: T. Cadell, 1775).
- . *The Reverie: or, A Flight to the Paradise of Fools* (2 vols. London: T. Becket, 1763).
- Jones, Louis C. *The Clubs of the Georgian Rakes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

- Kendall, Allan. *David Garrick: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).
- Kronenberger, Louis. *The Extraordinary Mr. Wilkes: His Life and Times* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1974).
- Le Sage, Alain Rene. *Asmodeus, or, The Devil on Two Sticks (Le Diable Boiteux)*, translated by Joseph Thomas (New York: G.H. Doran, 1926).
- McCormick, Donald. *The Hell-Fire Club: The Story of the Amorous Knights of Wycombe* (London: Jarrolds, 1958).
- Olshin, Toby A. "Form and Theme in Novels about Non-Human Characters, A Neglected Sub-Genre." *Genre* 2 (1969): 43-56.
- Plumb, J.H. *Chatham* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1953).
- . *Georgian Delights* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1980).
- Postgate, Raymond. *That Devil Wilkes* (London: Dobson Books, 1956).
- Quennell, Peter. *Four Portraits: Studies of the Eighteenth Century* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1965).
- Rude, George. *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- Shellabarger, Samuel. *Lord Chesterfield and His World* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1951).
- Smollett, Tobias. *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, edited by Robert Adams Day (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1989).

- Trefman, Simon. *Sam. Foote, Comedian, 1720-1777* (New York: New York University Press, 1971).
- Walpole, Horace. *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second*, edited by John Brooke (3 vols.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- . *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*, edited by G.F.R. Barker (4 vols.; New York: Putnam, 1894).
- Williamson, Audrey. *Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty* (New York: Reader's Digest Press/E.P. Dutton & Co., 1974).
- Wright, Robert. *The Life of Major-General James Wolfe* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864).