**'Essay and draft essay on public opinion'** (<u>RA GEO/ADD/32/1064-1070</u>) Royal Archives/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017

Below is the raw transcription, initial product of student transcribers. Text is not corrected nor proofed.

Raw Transcription:

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As individuals generaly judge of persons & things from selfinterestd motives, so to private societys so do the public but the public judgements & that of particular Societys are different; the public have for objects, polities, War, legislation, Arts & Sciences; tho these concern every individual; yet they are but slightly esteemed, compard with those ideas that regard immediately the particular interest of each Society, such as its taste, liking, aversions, projects, pleasures, from hence it follows that a man who has acquir'd many ideas of this last kind, will be greatly esteemed by the Societys he frequents, but in the eyes of the public whether he exerts his talents in

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a great Office or in writing, he will not meet with great admiration from the public.

But whoever on the contrary occupys himself in ideas that are more generaly interesting, he will be look'd on by the Public as a superior genius, but to the particular Society in which he lives, he will be rather dull & disagreable, the first is a minature picture you must look at near & at a distance not to be distinguished; the last a colossal figure that appears monstrous if you approach it. To please the World a superficial knowledge of many things in all that is

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his mind to;

Besides in the first case a person is oblig'd to mix extrem'ly in the world, to adopt all its little interests & prejudices, while the last passes his time in silence & solitude; we would not be understood by this to propose a Hermits life, no a Scipio, a Hanibal, a Marlborough all liv'd in the World but without mixing in what we call its occupations. Thus much of public & private judgement in general; let us now examine it with regard to particular Virtues or accomplishments. I. Of Probity Probity with regard to a particular society consists in nothing more than in actions useful to that society in all its judgements such a society is determined solely by its own interests

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the public in the same interested manner ^^never bestows the names of honest, great heroick, proportionally to the force of mind courage or generosity with which the Action was attended; but to the importance of the action, & the advantage the society receiv'd from it; let one man fight against three 'tis an action thousands of our soldiers are capable of performing & would never be thought worth recording in History; but let the fate of an Empire depend on the combat, the Victor becomes like Horace immortal; Sapho & Cartius both leap'd into a Gulph, the first from disapointed love, the latter to save Rome, Philosphers may brand these actions with the common name of folly, but the public judging in

another manner & whilst Sapho is a fool Cartius is a Hero.

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sense & understanding, the public will ever estimate according to its interest. it will not proportion its esteem to the number & suttlety of ideas necessary to succeed in this or that business, but to the advantages it acquires by it; The most able Lawyer or most excellent painter will never be regarded like an able Politician, or a Succesful tho ignorant general, the reason is plain, the public has more occasion for Politicians than Lawyers & Painters & let a man of very middling tallents, favour'd by circumstances, do great things in a high office, he will ever posses superior to one; who tho possesing ten times his parts, is in a lower Office presented by unforeseen events from executing any thing considerable.

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In time of great calamity but small degree of merit opens the way to the highest praises, how immensely was Terentius Varo extoll'ed for no other reason that that he did not despair of the public; had Camillus defeated the Gauls at the Battle of Allia instead of doing it at the foot of the Capitol, he never would have been call'd the second founder of Rome.

After what we have said it should follow that the memory of these great men, Generals, Politicians, & c. should far out live that of their cotemporarys, who exercis'd their tallents in Arts & Sciences the public drew no utility from; 'tis however far otherwise & the reason is plain; if we except a few great Men who have invented & perfection'd the Military Arts; or

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others who have by their negociations at a fortunate crisis sav'd a falling Country, all the next ceasing at their death to be useful to the Public, share no longer its graditude or esteem; Authors on the contrary never cease to live, their Works demand esteem as long as they continue useful. how much more [deletion] respectable is the name of Confusius [deletion] than of any Chinese Emperor, why are so many Kings deefy'd when living forgot then dead; why is Hordie & Virgil join'd to the name of Augustus, for the self same reason of being useful, while those in oblivion are no more so.

What we have said with regard to time, will also hold with regard to distance of place; Newton is reverenc'd where the name of Cecil is unknown, & Descartes is equaly famous

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amongst those who never heard of a Sully nothing is more just the Works of Newton & Descartes are useful to all Europe. Cecil & Sully were only serviceable to their respective Countrys. It may be urg'd that as the Public in their judgements only consults interest, the labourer & Ploughman ought to go before the Historian, Poet, Mathematician; to this we must observe that Public esteem is an imaginary treasure demanding a very wise & cautious distribution to make it of real Value, it must not therefore be lavish'd on work every man is capable of, grown common it would lose its imaginary Virtue, would no longer animate men to great & glorious undertakings; the public therefore wisely esteems the Art of Agriculture & not the

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Artist, besides is things otherwise equal <u>as to utility</u>, ^ public esteem is ever proportion'd to the difficulty attending them; a Stone Cutter furnishes the materials for building & without him an Architect would be useless, but every man is capable of quarrying Stone, few have a genius for fine Architecture, as it fares with Authors, one Single original problemn of Newton, a play of Home's gains more applause than a Compilation of many Volumes in Folio like Gronovius's Antiquitys, Historical Dictionarys & c.

Any contradictions therefore that may seem to arise between the Public's interests & judgements are only in appearance they in reality ever go together

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Thus much of a Public & Private judgement in general; let us now examine it with regard to particular Virtues or accomplishments.

# I. Of Probity

Probity with regard to a particular Society consists in nothing more than in actions useful to that Society; in all its judgements such a Society is determin'd solely by its own interests. The Public in the same interested manner never bestows the names of honest, great, heroick, proportionably to the force of mind, courage or generosity with which the Action was attended, but to the importance of the Action, & the advantage the Society

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