

A NEW
P A N D E C T
O F

Roman CIVIL LAW,

A S

Anciently established in that E M P I R E ; and now
received and practised in most *European* Nations :

W I T H

Many useful O B S E R V A T I O N S thereon ; shewing, Wherein that
Law differs from the *Municipal Laws* of GREAT-BRITAIN,
from the *Canon Law* in general, and from that Part of it now
in Use here with us in E N G L A N D.

Whereunto is prefix'd,

By Way of I N T R O D U C T I O N,

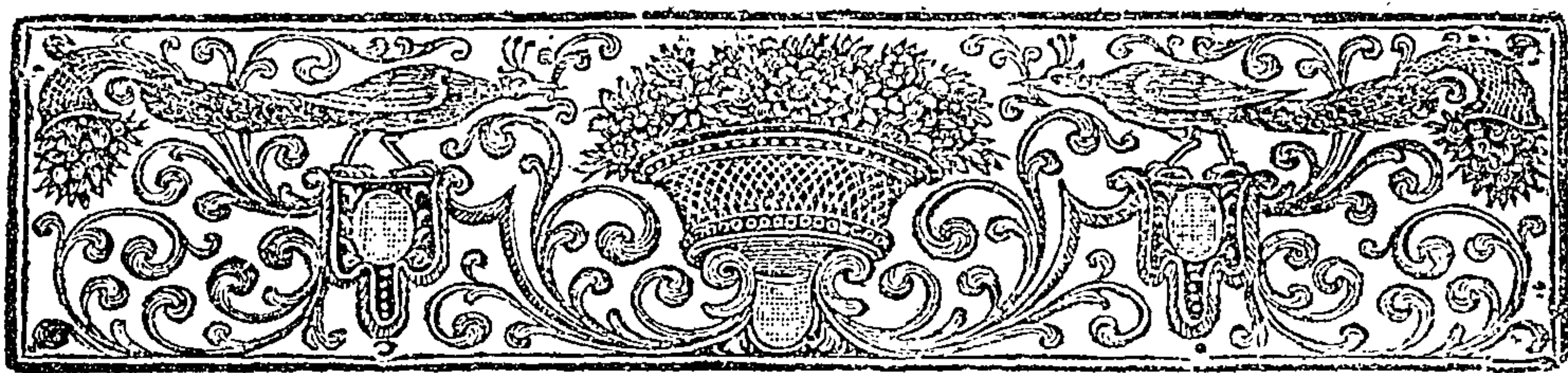
A

P R E L I M I N A R Y D I S C O U R S E, touching the Rise and Progress
of the CIVIL LAW, from the most early Times of the *Roman* Empire :
Wherein is also comprized a particular Account of the *Books* themselves
containing this Law, the Names of the *Authors* and *Compilers* of them, the
several *Editions*, and the best *Commentators* thereon.

By J O H N A Y L I F F E, LL. D.
late Fellow of New College, O X O N.

L O N D O N :

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M.DCC.XXXIV.



To the Right Honourable

P H I L I P

Earl of *CHESTERFIELD*,

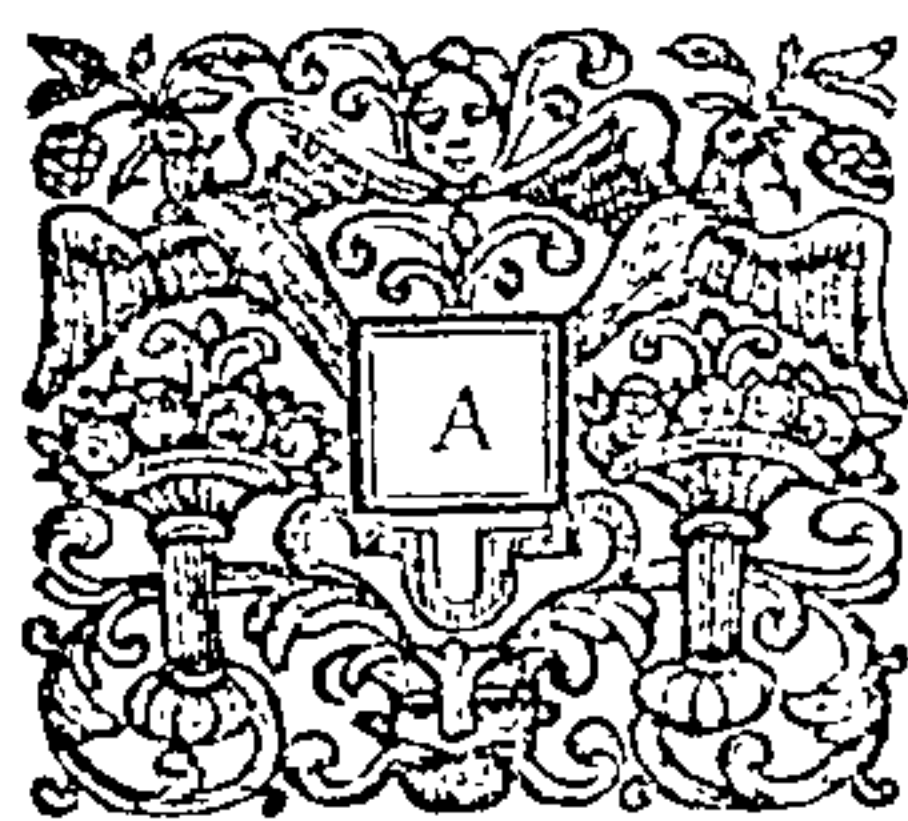
Baron *STANHOPE* of *SHELFORD*,

One of His Majesty's most Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL,

A N D

Knight of the most Noble Order of the GARTER.

My LORD,



F T E R upwards of Thirty Years Study, and a painful Industry, in compiling A NEW PANDECT or *Complete Body* of the Roman CIVIL LAW ; the First Volume of this Undertaking craves Leave to appear in the World under the Patronage and Protection of your Lordship, who in your late

Honourable Employment, as His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, have gain'd so much Glory to your Self, and done so much Honour to your Country, that your Lordship, in the Age whereof you are so great an Ornament, has very few of your Country-men to vie with you, in the Character of a consummate Minister.

Nor was it possible that your Lordship should be able, notwithstanding your Knowledge of Men and Letters, and your extraordinary natural Talents, to make so shining a Figure Abroad, or perform, to so much Advantage, the Functions of your honourable Employment, had you not superadded to your other great Endowments a thorough Application to the Study of

[a]

the

DEDICATION.

the *Civil Law* ; which, at the same time that it enabled your Lordship to excell all your Compatriots, set you on a Foot, in Foreign Courts, with the ablest Ministers of Princes, whose Glory and Advantage it is to form themselves on the Precepts of this renowned Law.

Your Lordship need not be told, That a Person, who, by his Birth and Fortune, is plac'd in such a high Point of Light, as makes him born, as one may say, to fill the principal Posts of the Commonwealth, must not content himself with barely knowing the Laws of *his own Country* : He ought likewise to make himself acquainted with the *Laws of Nations*, with which he may expect often to have to do, in a Publick Station, whether his Employment falls in the Business of Treaties and Alliances Abroad, or in the Administration of Affairs at Home, and this whether in Times of Peace, or in War. This Knowledge the Books of the *Roman Law* convey to his Mind : For tho' the *Roman Law* was, at first, only peculiar to that People, as having then almost the Empire of the whole World ; yet they had framed such wise Rules and politick Institutions to themselves, partly borrow'd from the *Grecians*, and partly deduc'd from right Reason, and the general Consent of Mankind, that much of that Law has since bore the Name of *The Law of Nations*.

It contains both a *Publick* and *Private Law* : The first chiefly relates to their own Forms of Government, as then very necessary to be observ'd ; tho' in many respects it favour'd too much of an arbitrary Power, as being fram'd for Conquest and Enlarging, and to restrain the unruly Passions of their first Citizens. But since Christianity has brought to Light a far better Dispensation, with regard to this Part, I shall no farther insist upon it.

That Part of it, which now, under your Lordship's Protection, recommends itself to the World, tho' it is call'd a *Private Law*, carries along with it much of the *Law of Nations* ; because it has more of natural Equity and pure Reason in it, than all other Laws of Men.

And surely, if the wise and impartial Dispensation of Justice, be a principal Means of making a State great and glorious, this Law must needs surpass in Excellency all other Laws, by how much the *Roman Empire*, which was all along conducted by this Law, did in Greatness exceed, and in Splendor outshine, all other States that have been since : For it is well known, that that State was esteem'd the common Country of all Men, and the Centre of the whole Earth. It maintained Intercourse of Trade,

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Trade, and held Correspondence with all other Nations, of what Sort, Constitution, and Language soever. It was, as BODIN notes, the Common Judge and Umpire, to arbitrate the Differences of other Princes and People : It was the Seat of Learning, and Receptacle of all learned Men : It continued flourishing several hundred Years, and, during this Time, dealt in Affairs of the greatest Consequence and Variety : And whatever was curious and exquisite in any kind, in other Parts of the Earth, was brought thither.

It is not therefore to be wonder'd at, that TULLY, contemplating the *Laws* of *Rome*, as well as their *Riches*, declares, That they shew'd as great Wisdom in framing their *Laws*, as they did in accumulating the infinite *Wealth* their State enjoy'd at that Time.

And it is also well observ'd by many later Writers, that, in the *Roman* Empire, its Grandeur is rather to be imputed to the Wisdom of their *Laws* and *Government*, than to their *Arms* and *Valour* : And tho', in the Opinion of VEGELIUS, their strict adhering to the Rules of martial Discipline, made the *Romans* Masters of the World, yet the Poet Sulpitius will not ascribe it to that alone ; for says he,

——— *Duo sunt quibus extulit ingens
Roma caput, Virtus Belli, & Sapientia Pacis.*

It was their wise Government in *Peace*, as well as their Success in *War*, that so highly advanced this City : For what Provinces they got by the *Strength* of their *Arms*, they retain'd by the *Equity* of their *Laws*, according to FLORUS.

St. AUSTIN brings in CATO speaking to the *Romans* of his own Time, that had much degenerated from their Ancestors :
 “ Think not, says he, that our Ancestry brought the City to
 “ this Height by their Arms ; for we have at this Time more
 “ Confederates, and greater Power, than they, both as to Men
 “ and Arms, and also Horses : No, They had other Means,
 “ which We want ; INDUSTRY at Home, EQUITY Abroad ;
 “ FREEDOM in their Consultations ; PURITY of Minds in
 “ all Men, free from Lust and Enormity. But in the Place of
 “ these, we have gotten Riot and Avarice ; Private Wealth
 “ and Publick Beggary ; Riches we prize, and Sloth we
 “ follow : Good and Bad are now undistinguished ; Ambition
 “ devouring all Rewards due to Vertue and Merit. And do
 “ not wonder at it, that each Man patches up a private Estate
 “ out of the Publick, when you serve your Lusts at Home, and
 “ your Profit and Partiality in the Senate. It is this that lays
 “ the

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“ the State open to the Incurfions of others. ” — Thus CATO, in his gentle manner, reprehended the wicked Manners of his Time : But for the Corruptions of the prefent Age, I fear, we want a JUVENAL, or fuch another ftinging Satirift.

But I will not purfue a Reflexion fo very obvious, and at the fame time fo very difagreeable : But, begging your Lordfhip’s Pardon for thus trefpaffing on your Indulgence, haften to conclude this long Epiftle.

Nor will I, after the Example of moft Dedicators, invade your Lordfhip’s Modesty, by attempting to expatiate on your fhining Qualities, which, however juftly done, would be unpleafing to your Lordfhip, and the more unnecessary, not to fay impertinent, as they are fo univerfally known.

None but weak Minds drink, or at leaft drink deep, of the intoxicating Draught of *Flattery* : And none but fuch, however humbly circumftanc’d, are capable of offering the poisonous Potion. ’Tis for Perfons of low or contemptible Talents only, to be caught by its deteftable Fascination ; and, indeed, fuch generally want thofe gilded Helps, which a Character, illuftrious as that of the Earl of CHESTERFIELD, muft always difdain.

I fhall therefore only add my earneft Prayers, which, at the fame time, are thofe of all good *Englifhmen*, That your Lordfhip may always continue, what you have hitherto been, The Delight of Mankind, and The Ornament of *Great-Britain* ; and be long blefs’d with Health and Power answerable to your Inclinations, to promote the *True* Service of your PRINCE, and the *True* Intereft of your COUNTRY. I am,

May it Please Your LORDSHIP,

Your LORDSHIP’s moft Devoted

and moft Obedient Humble Servant,

JOHN AYLIFFE.



A
Preliminary Discourse
TOUCHING THE
RISE and PROGRESS
OF THE
Roman *CIVIL LAW*.



HAVING for some Years pass'd promised the learned World a complete Body or System of the *Roman* Civil Law, as anciently establish'd in that Empire, and as at this Day received and practised in all foreign Countries, where-ever the *Roman* Arms extended their Conquests; I now proceed to the Publication of this Work in the *English* Tongue, with a Design of inviting all such Persons to the Study of this Law, as are little acquainted with the *Roman* Language, or else have not sufficient Leisure on their Hands to read it (as they should do) in the original Text: And as this Undertaking has been the Care and Labour of the greatest Part of my Life, I hope it will meet with a proper Encouragement from all such Persons as are Friends to Letters, and desire to attain the Knowledge of so useful a Part of Learning. The Reader will here find a Table of Laws, not only of a vast Extent for the Number of Cases therein comprehended, but of such superior Excellence beyond all other human Laws yet in Being, for its known Wisdom, Justice, Candor, and Equity in the Decision of all Controversies between one Man and another, that I cannot sufficiently extol and magnify the Glory of the *Roman* Law.

It would be too tedious to relate all the high Titles and Commendations that have been given to this *Law of Laws*, by all such Persons as have had any Insight into this Volume of Wisdom: But it is enough, I think, to recommend the Study of it to curious Men, that it is now read in all the Universities of *Europe*, and practis'd in most of the Courts of Judicature in all civiliz'd Nations; that it extended itself to Countries which were never subdued by the *Roman* Eagles; and it now remains amongst those People who have long since shaken off the Power that first imposed it. It was from this Source of Knowledge, that the several Writers on the Laws of Nature and

of Nations have borrow'd their Materials to raise those immortal Works, which have adorned the Commonwealth of Learning ever since the first Establishment of this Law : And even the greatest Statesmen in all Ages have not thought it below their high Honour and Dignity to acknowledge themselves indebted to this Treasure of human Policy, which has given them so much Assistance in all the Affairs of their Administration, and whereby they have acquir'd to themselves so great a Name and Reputation for Business. And as the Lawyer at the Bar may, in our Courts of Equity, draw from hence an inexhaustible Fund of topical Arguments to ground sound Reasoning and good Pleading on ; so may the Judge himself, on the Bench, here meet with an implicit Equity, sufficient to guide and govern him in all his Determinations. I need not tell the World, that in all foreign Countries most of the Gentry, even those of the highest Rank, and greatest Estates, study (at least) the Elements of the *Civil* Law, and the Law of Nations, to qualify them for their Travels into other Countries, that they may appear there with Honour and Respect ; and likewise for the Management of publick Embassies, and national Treaties, wherein they find the Knowledge of this Law to be of great Use and Service to them.

But here in *England* (I know not for what Reasons) great Discouragement has been given to the Profession hereof, for almost an hundred and fifty Years together, (I mean, from the latter End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign down to the present Age we now live in) ; which has made it not only the Wonder of all our Neighbours, how this Nation has been able to support itself in that Grandeur it has appear'd during this Period of Time : but it has more than a little surpriz'd some of them to see it subsist at all under any Figure and Dominion abroad, in point of National Interest, being overmatch'd in Dexterity of Wit and Cunning by some of them, in the Art of forming Leagues and Alliances ; in the deep Skill and Knowledge of foreign Traffick by others, whilst we would settle Tariffs, and other Acts of Commerce with them ; and, lastly, (what is a sad Truth to own) excelled in human Wisdom and Policy by all with whom we have had to do in the laborious and mystical Part of negotiating Treaties of Peace, and concluding other Differences (upon Arbitration) referred to us, between Nation and Nation, concerning the Right to Kingdoms and Principalities, transferred either by Donation, Succession, or Last Will and Testament, &c.

But these are not the only Political Transactions of Importance treated of in the Books of the *Civil* Law, and which often happen between us and other Nations with whom we have to do ; for there are several other Causes and Dealings which we may frequently have with them, of equal Consequence to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Publick. As for Instance ;
 “ The Community and Property of the Sea, and the Rights of Fishing
 “ therein, and Trading thereupon ; Freedom from Customs, and other
 “ Immunities granted to foreign Merchants, in respect of their Persons ;
 “ Promises of Aid and Protection against Enemies ; the Harbours and
 “ Entertaining of Rebels and Traitors, both against the State and Person
 “ of the Prince ; the Interpretation of publick Leagues and national Con-
 “ tracts, and of their Force and Duration, *viz.* whether they oblige the
 “ Successor, or die with the Prince that made them. ” Again : In our Books
 of the *Civil* Law, we have several Titles relating to the “ grand Affair of
 “ War, and the Rights which are incident thereunto ; touching the
 “ Business of sending Supplies to our Enemies, and the Oppressing of our
 “ Allies and Confederates ; and of Neutralities, ” &c. *Thirdly*, There are
 other Titles, which concern “ the Latitude of Territory and Jurisdiction
 “ either upon Land or Sea ; Imbargoes laid on Shipping, and the Seizing
 “ of Merchants Goods at Land, and Contraband Goods at Sea, ” &c. And,
Lastly,

Lastly, 'Tis in the Volumes of this most excellent Law alone, that we find recorded, " The Rights and Privileges given to Ambassadors, and other publick foreign Ministers (a) residing here among us, what Names or Distinctions soever they bear ; with an Account of the Nature of their Office, their Admission or Non-Admission by Princes and other Potentates ; their respective Precedency had of each other, after they are received ; the Right of detaining and imprisoning them for publick Crimes committed against the Sovereign Majesty of the Prince or State unto which they are sent. " Together, with many other Matters of the foregoing Kind, relating to their Persons, Characters and Functions ; which, with above two Hundred and fifty other Titles of a publick and private Nature, shall be the Subject of the ensuing Work.

And therefore, without a perfect Knowledge of the Law of Nations touching these and the like Matters, which is no-where to be found, or (at least) so well collected and laid together as in the Writings of the *Civil* Law, we shall find our Men of Business wretchedly deceiv'd and at a Loss in all their foreign Dealings and Transactions, how big soever we may plume and look upon ourselves with the good Genius and Disposition of the Municipal Law of *England* : For other Nations abroad knowing almost no other Rule or Common Law, besides that of the *Roman* Empire, will be sure to encounter us with this kind of Reason, as an universal Weapon, in all their Disputes and Controversies held with us, though (perhaps) some of our great Statesmen should maintain an ignoble Contempt of that Law, and the Profession itself.

But it not being my principal Design in these Sheets to give large *Encumiums* on the Usefulness and Excellency of the *Roman* Civil Law, or to shew the Necessity of some Encouragement of it here among us, I shall quit these Heads, and entirely apply myself to the main Subject in Hand : Having only said so much as I thought necessary to recommend the present Undertaking, and to evince the Folly of such as condemn the learning of the *Civil* Law. And herein I shall endeavour to clear up Matters in such a Manner, as to render the Knowledge of this Law easy to all Sorts of Persons, and to raise my Subject to such a Pitch, that it may not be too irksome and insipid to please Gentlemen, nor too mean and trifling to entertain Scholars. For my full Aim has been in the compiling this Work to deliver Things in a plain and easy Manner, without the Disguise of Terms and hard Words, with which our Books of the Common Law are largely filled, to the great Discouragement of young Students : And this I have done, that I may induce the young Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, for whose Service and Entertainment these Sheets are chiefly written, to take a Delight in reading the same, whereby they may qualify themselves for the highest Matters in Civil Government, and improve those Hours, which are too often, in this Age, consum'd in Riots and vain Pleasures.

And to the End that the Reader may have a thorough and perfect Knowledge in this Law, I will here, by way of Preface or Introduction thereunto, *First*, Give some brief and historical Account of the Rise and Progress thereof, from the most early Times of the *Roman* Empire, (for almost thither we must go back, if we would be fully instructed in the Order and Method wherein the Books of this Law (now in Use among us) were written) : And from hence I shall deduce the original Pedigree of the said Law, according to that Course and Order of Time wherein it was established. *Secondly*, I shall endeavour to inform the Reader, in the Detail of this Preface, with the Time and Reason of its Declension in this Western Part of the World : And this I shall do to obviate the senseless Objections,

(a) D. 50. 7. per tot. Tit. C. 10. 63. per tot.

which some noisy and ignorant Persons have been pleased to make against the Study and Practice of it. And then I shall advance to shew how it reviv'd again by a new Resource, after it had lain dead and bury'd (as it were) under the Rubbish that overwhelmed the *Roman* Empire for almost five hundred Years together, through the Ruins and Devastations brought thereon by the Incurfions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations invading *Italy*, and traversing the Dominions of the *Roman* People. And, *Lastly*, I shall herein attempt to give a particular Account of the Books themselves, wherein this Law was written, with the Names of the Authors and Compilers of them, the respective Times wherein they were compiled, and the best Commentators thereon. This being my chief Design in this Introduction, I shall proceed first to declare what I mean by the *Roman* Civil Law; and then I shall go on to speak of the Rise and Progress of it, as I have already promised to do.

Now, by the *Roman* Civil Law, I mean that Law which the *Roman* State or Commonwealth ordain'd for its own peculiar Use and Service, and for the Government of all such Persons as were subject to the *Roman* Empire: For such Civil Laws as are made and constituted by other private Cities or Princes in their own Territories, are vulgarly called *Statute-Laws*, every State or City having Power of making Laws for its own Government. Moreover, it is to be remarked, that the *Roman* Civil Law is divided into two particular Branches or *Species*: the one stiled the *written*, and the other the *unwritten* Law of *Romulus*. The first of these is properly term'd a *Law*; and the second usually goes by the Name of *Custom*. And having thus premised what I intend by the *Roman* Civil Law, I shall next consider its Original, which was twofold, *viz.* The first being *Natural*, and the other *Civil* and *Historical*, as deriving its Beginning from the very Foundation of the *Roman* State itself, and from the Time of building the City.

For when the City of *Rome* was first built, the *Romans* had no such Thing as written Laws, but were entirely govern'd (as some will have it) by the arbitrary Discretion of their Kings: And thus they continued under the despotick Rule and Power of *Romulus* and other succeeding Kings, according to these Authors, for the Space of two hundred forty five Years after the building of the City; and were govern'd *Manu Regiâ*, or, in other Terms, by the Will and Pleasure of their Kings. Thus *Tacitus* assures us (*b*), that *Romulus* ruled this State according to his own Will and Pleasure, and *Numa Pompilius* only establish'd a Form of divine Worship, and some Religious Ceremonies, without enacting any Laws relating to Civil Polity: And the Lawyer *Pomponius* herein agrees with *Tacitus*. For, in treating of the Rise and Progress of the *Roman* Law, he begins with such Laws as were enacted by their Kings, saying, "That, in the Infancy
" of the *Roman* State, all Things were govern'd and administer'd *Manu*
" *Regiâ* (*c*); the People having no certain Laws to steer their Actions by." Indeed, it is to be noted, that *Tullus* and *Ancus* made some certain Laws, well knowing that Monarchy was the best Form of Government, if limited by wise and wholesome Institutions; but the worst State of Dominion in the World, when subject to an Absolute and Despotick Power. When I say, that all Things were govern'd *Manu Regiâ*, I would not be thought to infer from hence, that the *Romans* lived entirely without any Laws, *viz.* on the sole Will and Pleasure of their Kings, but rather that they directed themselves by the Institutions of the ancient Inhabitants of *Latium* or *Italy*, and made use of their Customs and Usages; leaving the Power of Judicial Matters to be determin'd by the arbitrary Sentences of their Kings.

(*b*) Lib. 3. An.

(*c*) D. 1. 2. 2. 1.

and Progress of the Roman Civil Law.

V

After *Romulus* had settled the Worship of the Gods and some other Matters, he gave some Laws unto his People ; and, if we may credit *Dionysius Halicarn.* (d), he took on himself the outward Splendor of Sovereign Majesty. For though *Justinian* and others stick not to affirm, that *Romulus* was only the Founder of this new City, and that *Numa Pompilius* was the first Author of the *Roman* Laws ; yet, I can hardly persuade myself to think, that this new Commonwealth could long subsist without some Laws, at least such as ancient Writers ascribe to *Romulus* and his Royal Successors. But these Laws being partly written, and many of them not committed to Writing at all, were Laws chiefly relating to Things honest and profitable, and which, in a particular Manner, explain'd and determin'd the Laws of Nature. Such, I mean, as conduced to Matrimony and a conjugal Society of Life : From whence arose the Laws concerning Paternal Power, and the Education of Children. And hence 'tis, that *Romulus* only assign'd two Employments to Gentlemen, viz. The Study of Military Affairs, and that of Husbandry ; the People living in a rude and military State of Life at the building of the City, and for some Time afterwards : For he, in a particular Manner, slighted and neglected the Encouragement of Mechanick Arts and the like, as being the great Inciters of Avarice and other filthy Desires.

But though the *Dernier* Resort and last Proceedings at Law were lodg'd in the Power of the Kings (as aforesaid,) according to the first Constitution of the State ; yet no sooner had *Romulus* chosen the Fathers, and created them into a Senate, but that he granted them this Power and Authority ; and thus the Senate came to have Cognizance of all such Matters as the King referr'd to their Consideration ; and hereupon they usually made Decrees by a general Suffrage or a Majority of Voices. And therefore afterwards, when the King came to make several Decrees without consulting the Fathers, and to exercise absolute Power, he was said to be rent and torn out of the Hands of the Fathers (e) : For so great a Hatred and Aversion had that wise People, soon after the Foundation of the City, to an absolute and despotick Government in the Prince.

Numa Pompilius and his Successors much advanced the Work which *Romulus* had begun, but leaving the Laws of *Romulus* just as he found them : For hereunto he added several Things, which *Romulus* had omitted and passed by (f). And then it was that *Numa* publish'd that Law which the *Romans* stiled *Jus Pontificium*, or the Law of the Priesthood : Wherein he enacted several Things relating to Religion, Things Sacred, and the Ceremonies of Religious Worship, hereby laying a Foundation for the several Degrees and Classes of the Priesthood. And this Law was in *Latin* stiled *Jus Pontificium*, because it was under the Direction and Administration of the High-Priests, in that Language called *Summi Pontifices*. Besides these, he moreover establish'd other Laws for the Government of the *Roman* State, which chiefly depended on the Laws of Nations (g). For to prevent the undertaking of Wars upon unjust Grounds, he created Heralds at Arms, in *Latin* stiled *Feciales* : And that the *Roman* Citizens might be contented with their own, without coveting other Mens Lands, he made a Law for the meting and bounding of Estates. And furthermore, he also made a Law to restrain and prohibit the great Expences of Funerals ; and enacted several other eminent Laws (h), too many here to enumerate. And, to procure the greater Authority and Veneration for his Laws, he pretended to have frequent Meetings and Correspondences with the goddess *Egeria* (i).

(d) Lib. 4. (e) Dion. Hal. lib. 2. Liv. lib. 1. c. 16. (f) Tac. An. lib. 3. c. 26. (g) Dion. Hal. lib. 2. (h) Dion. Hal. lib. 2. (i) Dion. Hal. ut supra.

A Preliminary Discourse touching the Rise

Ancient Writers assure us, That *Tullus Hostilius*, the third King of the *Romans*, gave also some Laws to that People, though *Livy* (k) makes him to be of a much more fierce and savage Nature than *Romulus*: And particularly that Law of his is mention'd, whereby he commands, That whenever a Parent shall have three Children at a Birth, they shall all be maintain'd at the publick Charge, till they arrive at the Age of Puberty (l.) *Ancus Marcus* reviv'd several of his Grandfather *Numa's* Laws and Institutions, by bringing them into Use again (m). Touching *Tarquinius Priscus*, Writers are in a manner silent; though 'tis strange to think, that he should make no Laws, upon enlarging the City so much. Yea, a Law is ascribed to him, which was made by the Consent of the People, touching the *Golden Crown, Scepter, and Ivory Chair, the Toga Picta, Tunicata, Palmata, Paludamentum, the Trabea Curulis, Rings, &c.* And also touching the *Fasces, or Twelve Bundles of Rods*, which were given to the Kings, in respect of the Number of Cities then subject to *Rome* (n). But the chief Law-giver among their Kings was *Servius Tullius*, whose Laws even Kings themselves were bound to obey (o), as being temper'd with so much Justice and Equity, and made with such a Regard to the Good of the Commonwealth. He not only reviv'd all the Laws of *Romulus* and *Numa Pompilius*, which were grown obsolete by a long Course of Years, bringing the same into play again, but he also made some other Laws. In particular, he made the State or Commonwealth of *Rome* a Partner with himself in point of Jurisdiction: And though he reserv'd to himself the Cognizance of all publick Crimes; yet he delegated the Hearing and Examination of private Causes to other Judges. And moreover, he likewise made Laws, which Persons were obliged to follow in Judicial Matters, as a Rule of Practice (p). But the Law which he made, obliging the *Patricians* or Nobility not to circumvent the *Plebeians* or Commonalty in Matters of Contract, was disannulled and taken away by *Tarquinius Superbus* (q). The Laws of *Servius Tullius*, in particular, were such as follow, viz. The Law touching the *Paganalia*, and the yearly Registering the Number of the *Roman* Citizens; and that concerning Usury, and Childrens beating their Parents (r); the Law touching the Liberty and Freedom of Citizens; the Laws relating to Contracts and private Injuries, &c. Hence it is rightly said, That *Romulus* ordain'd such Laws as respected the Law of Nature; that *Numa's* Institutions concerned those Things which depend on the Law of Nations; and that the Ordinances of *Servius Tullius* had only a Regard to such Things as depend on the Civil Law (s).

Now these Laws of the Kings, which the *Romans* first made use of, were collected and laid together by the Industry of *Sextus Papirius*, the first Person among the *Romans* remarkable for his great Knowledge and Proficiency in the Laws; and as he reduced these Laws into one Volume or Body of Law, after he had digested the same into their proper Order, this Body or Fund of Laws was from him stiled the *Papirian Civil Law*. For this Book is called the *Papirian Civil Law*, not that *Papirius* added any Thing of his own hereunto, but because he compiled and reduced those Laws into Order, which, after their Establishment, lay scatter'd up and down without any certain Method (t). Now this Man seems to be that *Papirius*, unless I am much mistaken, who in his Childhood was wont sometimes to come with his Father and sometimes with his Mother into the Senate, and enquire what was done therein, &c. But see the whole Ac-

(k) Lib. 1. c. 22. (l) Dion. Hal. lib. 3. (m) Liv. lib. 1. c. 32. (n) Dion. Hal. lib. 3.
(o) Tac. An. lib. 3. 26. (p) Dion. Hal. lib. 4. (q) Dion. Hal. lib. 5. (r) Dion. Hal. lib.
2 & 4. (s) Tac. An. lib. 3. c. 26. (t) D. 1. 2. 2. 2.

count hereof in *Macrobius*. Wherefore 'tis not amiss in the Text to read *Prætextatus Papirius*, unless (perhaps) you had rather read *Pætus*, which, according to *Cicero* in his Epistles, was the *Prænomen Gentilitium* of the *Papirian* Family. And here, speaking of this Man, I cannot but remark the great Parsimony of the ancient *Romans*: *Papirius* thinking the Vow of a small Cup of Wine to *Jupiter* to be a sufficient Sacrifice of Thanksgiving for a Victory over the *Samnites* (a).

The Lawyer *Paulus* (x) says, That the Lawyer *Gran. Flaccus Licinianus* wrote a Book of Commentaries on the *Papirian* Law; and both *Festus* and *Arnobius* do each of them quote this *Granius Flaccus*; and so likewise does *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia* (y), who has given us an entire Text out of the *Papirian* Law. We have some Fragments of these Kingly Laws remaining, which *Anton. Augustinus*, *Contius*, *Baldwin*, *Fulvius Ursinus*, *Pandulphus*, *Præsius*, *Manutius*, and others, have collected partly in the very Words of those Laws themselves. But as the Number of these Laws was but small and inconsiderable, so they lost the Force and Effect of Laws from their being repealed and abrogated on the Expulsion of their Kings; and none of them now remain at this Day in the Books of the *Roman* Law. But *Baldwin*, an eminent Lawyer, in his Comment on the *Roman* Law, out of his great Confidence, scruples not to affirm, That he had taken eighteen of *Romulus's* Laws from a certain Pillar heretofore erected in the Capitol at *Rome*, which he reckons up: But these Laws are not so far proved to be genuine, as to gain the Credit of learned Men; *Cujacius* affirming them not to be such. The Treatise of *Granius Flaccus*, wherein he explain'd and gave us the Laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other Kings, is now lost through the Injury of Time.

But 'tis to be observed, that several of the Laws which are stiled the Laws of the Kings, were not made by the Authority of the Kings alone; but they had also the Consent and Concurrence of the People to ratify and confirm them. For when *Romulus* had divided the People, on the great Increase of the City, into Tribes and Wards, and *Serv. Tullius* into Centuries; they had, according to this Division, their Assemblies of Wards and Centuries, stiled *Comitia Curiata*, and *Centuriata*. *Serv. Tullius* very much lessen'd the Power of the former, in *English* called the *Ward-motes*; and in their Room he introduc'd the *Comitia Centuriata*, which were chiefly employed either in chusing Magistrates; or else in making and abrogating of Laws; or lastly, in the Business of Peace and War, and the like. But the *Comitia Tributa* were instituted and settled by *Pub. Volero*, a Tribune of the People for the sake of the *Ward-motes*. Now the Difference between these two Assemblies consisted herein, *viz.* The latter confirm'd such Matters as had been first debated in the Senate, and approv'd of by the Voice of the People in their Wards, if they came recommended to them by divine Tokens, or other happy Influences. But in the former, Things were there transacted in one Day, without any previous Decree of the Senate, and without the Recommendation of divine Tokens or other Auspicious Omens.

But though the Laws made by Royal Authority were entirely abolish'd with Kingly Power; yet not only the *Leges Centuriatæ* still remain'd in Force, but even those Laws which *Numa* made relating to divine Worship, and such as concern'd the Magistrates and the Rights of the People; which being at length confirm'd by the Decrees of the Senate and the Ordinances of the People, were all of them laid together, and made one Volume, by the aforesaid *Papirius* the High-Priest; who lived soon after the Expulsion

(a) Plin. Hist. lib. 14.

(x) In L. 144. D. 50. 16.

(y) Lib. 3. c. 11.

of the Kings, and was one of the principal Men in *Rome* for Learning and true Knowledge in Civil Affairs. I have mention'd these Laws of the Kings, not only to shew how much they conduce to the Knowledge of Antiquity, but likewise because they make very much for the Illustration of the *Justinian* Law itself : And so much the more, since frequent Appeals are made hereunto in the *Roman* Civil Law, these Laws being often cited therein : And moreover, because they make one of the four great Periods of the *Roman* Law itself, being stiled the first *Fund* of that Law. For the first Period was under the Government of their Kings : The second, under that of their *Decemviri* : The third, under that of the Consuls : And the fourth, under that of the Emperors.

Besides such Laws as are left by the Kings, and such as were term'd *Leges Curiatæ*, the Consuls had likewise the Power of Legislature transferr'd on them. For, immediately after the aforesaid Expulsion, a Contest arose between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, (with us call'd the Lords and Commons) debating among themselves, whether it were more adviseable, in this new State of the Commonwealth, to live under the arbitrary Power of Magistrates, or under the Direction and Guidance of some known Laws. The *Patricians* or Nobility, indeed, who, by their Birth and Wealth, were most likely to have the greatest Share (if not the entire Possession) of this absolute Power lodged with them, thought the arbitrary Will and Command of the Magistrate to be the better Form of Government, (as *Historians* assure us (a) : And thus they carry'd it, in a manner, against the *Plebeians* or Commonalty, for almost twenty Years after the aforesaid *Æra* of the Kings Expulsion : All their Laws (some few excepted) being in Part repealed by the Law of the *Tribunus Celerum* ; and some of them becoming obsolete, they afterwards grew into Disuse : And thus were the *Romans*, for almost twenty Years together, rather govern'd by Custom, than any certain Law. Hereupon, the new Consuls made several Laws ; and *C. Junius Brutus* and *Pub. Valerius Publicola*, being Consuls, first endeavour'd to take Care and preserve the Liberty of the *Roman* People, not only by restoring their former Laws which *Tarquin* took from them, but even by making several other Laws (a). This last Person was, by way of Eminence (b), call'd the *Popular* Legislator, from a particular Law which he made, and which, from him, was termed the *Valerian* Law ; allowing Appeals to be made from the Consuls to the People ; and commanding, that no Magistrate should be chosen without the Suffrage of the Populace. This Law was again restor'd when *Valerius* and *Marcus Horatius* were Consuls, after it had been subverted and laid aside (c) by the Tyranny of the *Decemviri* : And it was, lastly, establish'd a third time in the Consulship of *Marcus Valerius* (d).

About sixteen Years after the Expulsion of the Kings, the Populace, by reason of the great Tyranny of the Nobility, retir'd to Mount *Aventine*, and enacted some certain Laws for themselves, in *Latin* stiled *Leges Sacratæ & Perpetuæ*, because they were never to be violated ; and creating two Tribunes with Consular Power, for the preserving of their Liberties : These Tribunes were to defend the People from all Injuries whatever committed by the Nobility (e). These Persons, by a Law stiled the *Tribunitian* Law, abrogated the Laws made by the Kings (as already remember'd) ; saving that which related to the Priesthood, and some other Laws very agreeable to the *Roman* State (f). After this, in the Year 282, the *Publitian* Law was enacted by *Volero Publitius* above mentioned ; ordaining, That the *Plebeian* Magistrates should be chosen and created in the *Comitia*

(a) Liv. Hist.

(d) A. U. C. 352.

(a) Liv. Hist. lib. 2. c. 1.

(e) Liv. Hist. lib. 2. c. 32.

(b) Plutarch. Vit. Publ.

(f) D. 1. 2. 2. 3.

(c) A. U. C. 306.

Tributa; whereby the Power and Authority of the Nobility was very much diminish'd. For though it was still, at this time, a very great Controversy, whether the People should be bound by these *Plebiscites*; yet the same was at length determined by the *Horatian* Law, as I shall shew hereafter. But (the Power of the Consuls being arbitrary, and the Cognizance of the Laws being in the Nobility alone) *Terentillus*, otherwise call'd *Terentius Arsa* (g), a Tribune of the People, preferr'd a Law, commanding a Creation of five Men to set down certain Conditions for limiting the Consular Authority; and that whatever Power and Commission the People granted over themselves, the Consuls should exercise the same, and no more, and not use their own licentious Will in the Place of Law (h). The *Lex Terentilla* was made and publish'd the following Year, notwithstanding the great Opposition of the Nobility thereunto (i). But the Number of the Persons appointed for recording these Laws and Conditions, was soon after increased another Half; so that, instead of Five, the Number was now multiply'd to Ten (k). And this Institution of the *Decemviri* made the third Period of the old *Roman* Law. But several Factions and Dissentions afterwards arising in the City, about three hundred Years after the Building of *Rome*, a Decree of the Senate was made, at the Instance of *Titus Romilius* (l), ordaining, That ten Men should be sent into *Greece* by publick Authority, in quest of some wholesom Laws and Institutions for the better Government of this new Commonwealth, the People being unwilling to live any longer under this uncertain State; and that they should collect and fetch from such States and Cities there, as were then in the highest Vogue and Reputation for their Wisdom, the best and wisest of of their Laws (m): And the *Romans* chusing the best out of all these, they founded their City upon written Laws; which being engraven on Twelve Brafs Tables (n), they became the Fountain or Foundation of the whole *Roman* Law, both for publick and private Matters. This Decree of the Senate, just now mention'd, was confirm'd likewise by a *Plebiscite* or Ordinance of the People, through the Means of *Titus Licinius*, then their Tribune. The Persons sent to transcribe the *Grecian* Laws, were *Spu. Posthumius Albus*, *Aul. Manlius Vulso*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus* (o); who having transcribed the most useful Laws of the several Cities there, especially those of the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, return'd Home and recorded the same on twelve Brazen, or (as others say) on twelve Ivory Tables: And, these Laws being recorded, they call'd them *The Laws of the Twelve Tables*, and were the Groundwork, or *Materia Prima*, as it were, of all the *Roman* Civil Law. For these Laws being Abridgments of such Laws as were made by *Solon* at *Athens*, and of such other Laws as were brought out of the Cities of *Greece*, renown'd for their Wisdom and Knowledge in all Civil and Human Affairs, were added to the ancient Customs of *Rome*, and became a Law for some Time among the *Romans*, 'till a more noble Superstructure was erected on this Foundation.

And here give me Leave to observe with many Writers that have treated of the *Roman* Law, That if there be any Wisdom in Human Laws and Civil Constitutions, we may expect to meet with it in the Books of the *Civil* Law. Wherefore *Cicero*, long ago, under the Person of *Crassus*, pronounced (p) these Twelve Tables to be of more excellent Use and Advantage to Mankind, than all the Writings of the Philosophers. On the Return of the above-mention'd Persons out of *Greece*, seven more were added (q) the following Year to the aforesaid Number, by a Decree

(g) Dion. Hal. lib. 10.

(h) Liv. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 9.

(i) A. U. C. 292.

(k) Dion. Hal.

lib. 10. (l) A. U. C. 300.

(m) Dion. Hal. lib. 10.

(n) A. U. C. 303.

(o) Dion. ut supra.

(p) De Orat. lib. 1.

(q) Liv. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 32.

A Preliminary Discourse touching the Rise

of the Senate, for the sake of Perusing and Examining these Laws ; so that now the Number of them was increas'd to ten, as first propos'd : The Consuls and the other Magistrates in the mean while ceasing to act in their Office. And after these Laws had been sufficiently examin'd, they were approv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, by a Decree of the Senate, touching the same ; and were publish'd by the *Rostra*, that they might be the more easily understood by the People : And this Decree of the Senate was afterwards confirmed in the *Comitia Centuriata* (r), or the Grand Assembly of the People.

The *Athenians*, at first, refused these Men a Copy of their Laws, 'till they had try'd whether the *Romans* were worthy of receiving them. And to find out this, they sent a certain wise Man of *Greece* (as the Story goes) to *Rome* ; which the *Romans* being apprized of, resolv'd to laugh at him, and all the *Athenians* that sent him : Wherefore, on his coming to *Rome*, they pick'd out a certain Fool to dispute with him, that he might return with Derision. But the *Greek* behaved himself in such a manner, and was so well pleas'd with the Management of the Dispute, that, on his Return to *Athens*, and reporting the same, the *Athenians* granted the Persons sent a Copy of their Laws : Who transcribing the same, (as aforesaid) carry'd them afterwards to *Rome* for the Use of the *Romans*. But I will not warrant for the Truth of this Account, being, probably, the Invention of some monkish Writer, to establish the Sense the *Greeks* and *Romans* then had of the *Trinity*. Some Persons indeed say, That one *Hermodorus*, an *Ephesian* by Nation, and who indeed, was an Exile in *Italy*, was the Author of bringing these Laws to *Rome* out of *Greece*. *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, in his *Roman Antiquities* (s), gives a large Account of this Matter, touching the *Romans* borrowing their Laws from the *Greeks* : But both *Cicero* and *Dionysius* are each of them silent as to *Hermodorus* bringing these Laws to *Rome*, or being the Author of them ; though *Cicero* reports him to be an *Ephesian*, and banish'd the City of *Ephesus* by Ostracism. *Pliny*, in his *Natural History* (t) rather makes *Hermodorus* to be an Interpreter of the *Greek* Laws, than any thing else, saying, That *Hermodorus* had his Statue in the great Hall of Justice at *Rome*, being the Interpreter of those Laws which were written and settled by the *Decemviri*. The *Decemviri* had also a Sovereign Power given them by the *Roman* People, not only to correct and interpret the said Laws, upon Occasion, but likewise to add thereunto, or diminish the same, as they thought fit ; and that no Appeal should lie from them, as from other Magistrates. Wherefore, finding some Defect in these Laws, they did (u), in Virtue of the aforesaid Power given them, add Two other Tables in Writing, to the Ten which they brought with them out of *Greece* ; and thus, by Accident, they were call'd *The Laws of the Twelve Tables* ; this Addition of Two Tables more being made by *Appius Claudius* and his Collegues the Year following. And as the ancient *Roman* Law had its Denomination from hence ; so this Law of the Twelve Tables was the Foundation of the Written *Civil* Law, which we use at this Day, and by which the *Roman* People began to live.

These Laws of the Twelve Tables were made first to contain many Titles. The first Table or Title treats of Citations. The second of Judgments and Thefts. The third of Things credited ; that is to say, of Debtor and Creditor. The fourth treats of the Right of Fatherhood and of Wedlock. The fifth, of Inheritances and Guardianship. The sixth, of Property and Possession. The seventh, of Trespases and Offences. The eighth, of Predial Rights. The ninth handles the Business of publick Laws. The

(r) Liv. Hist. lib. 3. c. 34.

(s) Lib. 12.

(t) Lib. 34.

(u) A. U. C. 303.

teenth speaks of the *Jus Sacrum*, and of the Laws relating to Sepulchres, Ceremonies, and Oaths. The eleventh forbids the Patricians or Nobility to intermarry with the Plebeians or Commons. And the twelfth is a Supplement to all the foregoing Tables. Thus these Tables included a three-fold Law, which was in common, *viz.* The *Jus Sacrum*, the *Jus Privatum*, and the *Jus Publicum*. On this second Fund or Body of the Roman Law, which immediately follow'd the *Papirian* Law, the old Lawyers, at different Times, wrote several Glosses and Commentaries, by explaining these Laws of the Twelve Tables. Among these Interpreters of the Law we meet with *Sextus Ælius*, *L. Acilius*, *Lælius*, *Valerius Messala*, *Q. Antistius Labeo*, and *Gaius*, the last of all these, who lived under the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*. Several Persons have employed their Time in collecting these Laws of the Twelve Tables: As *Aymarius*, *Rivallius*, *Oldendorp*, *Anton. Augustinus*, *Baldwin*, *Contius*, *Hotoman*, *Rævardus*, *Crispinus*, *Calcagninus*, *Pighius*, *Marcilius*, *Lipsius*, *Dennis Gothofred*, and *Fran. Pitheu*, &c. and in methodizing these Laws, they have almost all of them pursued a different Order: But, among these, *Fran. Pitheu* seems to have reduced them to the best Method.

It has been already observed, That in the *Roman* Law, those Laws which were made by their Kings had the first Place, and then came the Laws of the Twelve Tables under the *Decemviri*. Having therefore before treated of both these Funds of Laws, I shall next consider the third Body of the *Roman* Law under their Consuls. For after the introducing the Laws of the Twelve Tables, a new Case sometimes happen'd, which was not found to be decided by any Law of those Tables: And hence it being necessary to make a Law on that Case, the *Romans* hereupon, after the Expulsion of their Kings, created certain Officers or Magistrates, which were called *Consuls*, because their Duty was to consult and take Care of the Commonwealth (x). The Consuls, for the Time being, caused the People to be assembled together, and inform'd them, that such a Case had happen'd, for which the Laws in being had made no Provision: Whereupon the *Roman* People, at the Interrogation of the Consul, decided that Case according to the Rules of Equity, as the Matter appear'd to them; and this Decision being made, was ever afterwards in the like Cases observ'd as a Law. And in concluding of this Law, there was the Intervention of the whole People of *Rome*, reckoning the Nobility and Commonalty together. And this was what we call a *Law*, in the strict and proper Signification of the Word *Lex*: For the *Latin* Word *Lex* comprehends not only all the six Parts of the *Roman* written Law, but also this first Part thereof especially so called; those being properly stiled *Leges*, which were enacted by the *Roman* People collectively. For, after the Expulsion of the Kings, the Legislature was lodged with the People, this being reckon'd by all Men as the *primum Caput* of Sovereign Power or Majesty, which was then in the People.

After an Accommodation was made of the Dissention that happen'd between the Senate and the People, the *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the People came in Play (y), which we may, in strictness, reckon the second Part of the *Roman* written Law: And by the *Hortensian* Law, the same Authority was given to these Ordinances as to other written Laws, after the Time that the Populace retir'd from Mount *Janiculus* in Disgust. For in Process of Time, on the Increase of the *Roman* People, a new Dissention arose between the Nobility and Commonalty, through the Weakness, Infotence, and Injustice of the *Decemviri* (z). To which we may add the

(x) D. 1. 2. 2. 16.

(y) D. 1. 2. 2. 8.

(z) D. 1. 2. 2. 24.

Case of *Appius Claudius*, who falling in Love with the beautiful Daughter of *Virginus Miles*, then Marriageable, and betrothed to *Icilius*, a Person of *Tribunitian* Authority, and not succeeding in his Amours either by Love or Money, at length hired *Claudius*, a Plebeian and one of his Clients, by stealth to carry her into Servitude, believing this to be the only way to procure the Enjoyment of her (a). This Matter was heard before the Judge: And when Nothing would do, her Father was by her Friends sent for out of the Camp, being then at War against the Enemy at *Algidum*. But *Virginus* perceiving that nothing would avail, he killed his Daughter with a Butcher's Knife, after *Appius* had declar'd her to be *Claudius's* Bondwoman or Handmaid. This Act coming to the Soldiers Knowledge, occasion'd them to retire to Mount *Aventine*, and to overthrow the Power of the *Decemviri* (b). Whereupon the whole Commonalty of *Rome* assembled and betook themselves to the said Mountain, and thus dividing themselves from the Nobility, they remain'd here with great Obstinacy, creating to themselves a protecting Officer, called a *Tribune* (c). And having thus abolish'd the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government of the *Decemviri*, *Lucius Valerius* and *Marcus Horatius* were created Consuls (d), who exercised a popular Consulship without Offence or Injury done to the Rights of the Fathers. At this Time (it being in some measure a Moot-Point in Law, whether the *Fathers* were bound by the Ordinances of the People) the first of these Persons made a Law, ordaining, Whatever the Commonalty commanded in the Tribes, should oblige the whole *Roman* People (e), as already related. This Law, called the *Horatian* Law, was afterwards confirm'd (f) by the Dictator *Quint. Publilius*; and from him stiled the *Publian* Law. But it being reviv'd by the Dictator *Quint. Hortensius*, when the Commons, by a third Mutiny, retir'd to Mount *Janiculus* (g), it was from him term'd the *Hortensian* Law. But though the Power of the *Decemviri* was taken away, as above hinted; yet the Consuls, before they went out of the City to wage War against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, propounded the Laws of the Twelve Tables a second Time for their Acceptance (h). And no sooner were they engraven in Brass, but they were immediately hung up and expos'd to publick View; though the Authority of these Laws was much diminish'd (as I shall observe by and by) by the *Arbutian* Law (i). When any Case emerg'd, which was not decided by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, this Tribune, assembling the whole Commonalty together, propounded the said Case to them for their Determination. And this Sentence, being made a Law among themselves, was called a *Plebisquite* (k). And thus the Commonalty remain'd for a certain Number of Years in a State of Separation from the Nobility. But in Process of Time the said *Hortensius* not only compos'd these Differences; but recalling the Commons from Mount *Aventine* and re-uniting them with the Nobility, enacted the *Hortensian* Law, ordaining, That these *Plebisquites* should have the Force of a general Law, as aforesaid: And, being thus incorporated into the *Roman* Law, they were reduc'd into a *Compendium* of other Civil Laws.

But, on the daily Increase of the *Roman* State, it appearing almost impossible to assemble the whole Body of the People, or (at least) to come together about the Affair of making Laws, without some Tumult and Commotion; it was therefore thought expedient, whenever any new Case arose, to trust the Senate with this Power in the Place of the People, and as their Representatives (l). Whereupon the City constituted an Hundred

(a) D. 1. 2. 2. 24.
(e) Aut. Gel. lib. 15. c. 27.
(f) Liv. Hist. lib. 3. c. 57.

(b) Dion. Hal. Liv. &c.
(i) A. U. C. 414.
(l) D. 1. 2. 2. 5.

(c) D. 1. 2. 2. 24.
(g) A. U. C. 466.
(h) D. 1. 2. 2. 9.

(d) A. U. C. 306.
(k) Liv. Hist. lib. 3. c. 12.

Men, committing the Government of the State to them, as their Deputies or Representatives: And these, being a Hundred in Number, were called *Senators*, from their great Wisdom and Age. And when any new Law was to be made, these Hundred Senators were only assembled upon a Decision of the Case then propounded to them: And this Decision of theirs becoming a Law, it was in *Latin* stiled *Senatusconsultum* (m), or, in *English*, a Decree of the Senate; and was in the like manner as a *Plebiscite* aforesaid, incorporated into the Body of the *Roman Civil Law*. The Decrees of the Senate, therefore, were those Laws which were made either in such Matters as were left to the Authority of the Senate, or else in such as became a Law as soon as they were confirm'd by the People. These Decrees were made on a Day certain, which was not a Comitial Day, (on which, by the *Papian Law*, the Senate could not be assembled,) after they had first offer'd up Sacrifices, and perform'd other divine Offices, and consulted the *Auspicia* (n). They were always proposed by the Consul in a full Senate, held in some august Place or other, as in some Temple or Court, &c. or else by such Magistrate as could call the Senate together: And they were decreed in the Senate by a Majority of Voices, and this either by *Rogation* or *Relation* (o). And thus the Decrees of the Senate, which was another Part of the *Roman Law*, had the Authority of Laws from that Power which remain'd in the Senate during the Time of the Emperors: For *Ulpian* observes, that the Emperors communicated this Ray of their Power to the Senate.

Afterwards, when the Consuls were frequently hinder'd from meeting the People, through the great Wars they made with their Neighbours and other Nations, being forced to absent themselves often upon this Account, the City was by this Means left without any Governors or others to administer Justice: Wherefore, that the City might not be without such Administration, the People created for themselves two Officers, commonly called *Prætors*. The one was stiled *Prætor Urbanus*, and the other *Prætor Peregrinus* (p): The first having the Cognizance and Determination of all such Causes as were commenced by the *Roman Citizens*, as the other had the Cognizance and Decision of such Causes as were commenced by Strangers and Foreigners. These *Prætors* (according to *Papinian*) had a Power given them of adding to, or supplying and correcting the *Civil Law* of the Twelve Tables (q), and were wont to propound some certain Edicts, either to be kept in the publick Registry, or else in their own Palaces, touching the Conservation of Justice: As the Edicts of *Pacta Servabo*, or *Quod metus causâ factum est, ratum non habebo*, and the like. These Edicts being afterwards approved of by the People, were incorporated into the *Civil Law*, and were called the *Pretorian Law*: And thus these Edicts having the Authority of Law, made the fourth Part of the *Roman* written Law, after they were propounded by the *Pretorian* Magistrates, with whom Jurisdiction was lodged, that the People might know by what Law they were govern'd; and, in Honour of the Magistrate, they were sometimes in *Latin* called the *Jus Honorarium* (r). But as the *Roman* Magistrates were only Annual (s), so were their Edicts and Laws only stiled *Annual* before the *Cornelian Law* (t), which made the same perpetual. The Edicts of the *Prætors* were compiled and reduced into Order by *Salvius Julianus*, under the Reign of *Adrian* the Emperor, as I shall remember hereafter.

(m) I. 1. 2. 5. (n) Liv. Hist. lib. 22. c. 11. Idem lib. 31. c. 23. (o) Liv. Hist. lib. 9. c. 8. Idem lib. 22. c. 60. (p) D. 1. 2. 2. 27. (q) D. 1. 1. 7. 1. (r) D. 1. 1. 7. 1. (s) I. 4. 12. 1. (t) A. U. C. 686.

But to return a little to the Laws of the Twelve Tables, which through the Brevity in which they were written, were not sufficient for the Determination of all Controversial Matters which might happen: And as these Laws sometimes stood in need of an Exposition, the Interpretation of the Lawyers was necessarily admitted, and became a Part of the old *Roman* Law. Hereupon began what we call the *Disputatio Fori* (u), and the Interpretation of the old Lawyers, fam'd for their great Learning and Prudence: The Laws being so few in Number and so general, that they could not be applied to all particular Cases, as aforesaid. Wherefore the Lawyers and Patrons of Causes endeavour'd to decide such a Variety of Cases by Pleadings at the Bar, and by their own Interpretations: And though these Determinations were not at first reduc'd into Writing, but depended on Tradition and Custom alone; yet they were of so great Weight and Authority, that the *Romans* referr'd themselves to these Decisions or Precedents as to a written Law (x). And by a common Name it was stiled the *Civil* Law, or in *Latin* called *Media Juris-Prudentis*; because it came in the Middle, between the Laws of the Twelve Tables and the *Imperial* Constitutions (y). The first of these Persons that expounded the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and adapted them to the Use of the *Forum*, was *Tiberius Coruncanus*: Then succeeded *Pub. Papinius*, *Scipio Nasica*, *Quint. Mutius*, and several others reckon'd up by *Pomponius* (z). Almost all these were Persons of the highest Rank and Distinction in the State, to whom the Care and Education of the young Nobility and Gentry was committed, and of such as fought after high Offices and Honours in the Commonwealth; and many of them were of the College of High-Priests; the *Romans* esteeming the Knowledge of the Law to be a Thing sacred. And herein they excelled the *Greeks*; because, among the *Romans*, only Persons of the highest Birth and Fortune in the State became Interpreters of the Law, not thinking it beneath them to purchase new Glory and Honour by the Profession thereof, after they had commanded Armies, and acquir'd great Renown by their victorious Triumphs over the *Roman* Enemies: Whereas among the *Greeks*, only Men of mean and obscure Condition profess'd the Knowledge of the Law. Now among the *Romans*, this Interpretation of their *Prudentes* or wise Men, was looked on as an unwritten Law; and was by *Justinian* himself called *Media Juris-Prudentia* (a). It was collected by *Pub. Mucius* into ten Books, by *Brutus* into seven, and by *M. Manilius* brought into three. The High-Priest *Quint. Mutius Scævola* first collected it into one Body, by reducing it to eighteen Books, upon which *Pomponius* afterwards wrote a Comment in thirty nine Books. But these Law-Disputations or Pleading at the Bar, introduced much Confusion and Uncertainty into the Law. For the *Civil* Law was so divided, that it partly consisted of Actions of Law, partly of the Interpretation of the *Decemviral* Laws, and partly of the *New Law* which was added to the Twelve Tables by way of *Appendix*. Now Actions of Law were nothing else but the Rites and Forms of all direct Actions, as they were prescribed by the Interpreters of the Law, and made use of in the Prosecution of every Man's Right (b). And these Actions the Ancients would have to be solemn and certain, that the People might not commence what Action they pleased (c). And these were the several Parts of the *Roman* Civil Law, whilst the Commonwealth continued a free State. But,

At length, when the Empire was conferr'd upon the Prince or Emperor *Augustus* by the *Lex Regia*, two other Parts were added thereunto; viz. the *Imperial* Constitutions, and the Answers of the Lawyers, in *Latin* call'd

(u) D. 1. 2. 2. 5.
39, &c.

(x) I. 1. 2. 3 & S.

(a) I. 3. 2. 3.

(b) I. 4. 6. pr.

(y) I. 3. 2. 3. Circ. Med.

(c) D. 1. 2. 2. 6.

(z) D. 1. 2. 2. 37, 38,

Responsa Prudentum. For after the People had by the said Law given the Empire to *Augustus*, it came to pass, that whatever the Prince ordained, either by his Letter, or commanded by Proclamation, in other Terms stiled an *Edict*, or decreed on the Cognizance of any Matter, had the Force of a Law, under the Stile and Title of an *Imperial Constitution* (d). And these Constitutions are in our Books call'd *Placita Principum*; because they were such as the Prince or Emperor was pleased to ordain according to his Will and Pleasure, in a discretionary way; by the *Lex Regia* the Prince alone being enabled to make Laws without the Concurrence of the People. And though the Prince himself (according to this Law) was exempt from all Civil Laws of this kind, since he could not be bound by the same Laws as private Subjects and Citizens were, according to that Maxim, *viz. Imperans & parens simul esse non potest*; yet the Prince or Emperor was bound by the Laws of God, by the Law of Nature, and the fundamental Laws of his own Kingdom. But those Interpreters of the Law are not well agreed among themselves, whether the *Lex Regia* by *Romulus*, or by the *Romans* under the Reign of *Augustus*, or that of *Vespasian* according to the Authority of *Dionysius Cassius*; yet it was establish'd at the earnest Request of the *Roman* People, and had its Beginning (I conceive) at that Time when *Augustus* would seem to decline the Empire: And herein several Persons agree with me, supposing this Law to have its first Existence under his Reign, and not under that of *Vespasian*. And, according to the Form of the *Lex Regia*, that Law was fram'd, which was invented in the Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Gregory XIII.* And herein is the Error of *Zazius* and *Salmonius* refuted, saying, The *Lex Regia* had its Rise in *Vespasian's* Reign, since the Lawyer *Paulus* stiles this the Law of *Augustus*. Indeed, we meet not with the Name of the *Lex Regia* before *Vespasian's* Reign; for then we have a Fragment of this Law, whereby the *Roman* Empire was given to *Vespasian*. Among the *Imperial* Constitutions, some are *Universal* (e) and are such as do bind the whole Body of the People to live in Subjection to the Prince. Others are *Personal*, and these only respect some particular Persons (f): As for Example, when the Prince or Emperor (perhaps in regard to some particular Men) grants a Privilege or Indulgence to them, either as Individuals, or else a Body Politick: Or, *secondly*, when he inflicts a particular Penalty, or the like: Or, *thirdly*, when he shews Mercy to some particular Men, *sine Exemplo* (g); as by a Charter of Pardon, or some other Act of Grace, extended to a Malefactor condemn'd to some special Punishment: For these Things are not to be drawn into a Precedent, nor do they reach beyond the Person himself to whom such Favour or Indulgence is granted: And therefore, I have said *sine Exemplo*.

It has been already hinted, That an *Imperial* Constitution is threefold; *viz.* a Constitution properly so called; a Privilege; and a Rescript. A Constitution was sometimes made in a Judicial manner; as when the Prince himself sat in Judgment, and passed Sentence in Person (h): And sometimes it was Extrajudicial; *viz.* when any Thing was ordain'd by way of Edict or Proclamation (as aforesaid), and this was done with the Advice of his Nobles or Privy Council. A Privilege, is the Right of a private Person or Thing: And if it respects a Person, it is a *Personal* Privilege; but if it regards a Thing, it is then stiled a *Real* Privilege. Of *Real* Privileges, we have many Examples in the Privileges of Cities and Corporations: And touching *Personal* Privileges, the Reader may inspect the *Code* (i). Rescripts relate to Judicial Matters, and only concern the

(d) I. 1. 2. 6. (e) Ibid. (f) Ibid. (g) Ibid. (h) C. 1. 14. 11. 1. (i) C. 10. 31. 61.

Administration of Justice : And then they have not the Force of a Law, unless it be in the very Case wherein the Rescript is sent : Yet, generally speaking, they are taken for all *Indulto's* of Princes whatsoever (k). Now the Laws of the Prince do obtain the Force of a written Law several ways. For if a Constitution be included in the Body of the Law, it always makes a general Law : But if it be not receiv'd into the Body of the Law ; then, if it be emitted by an Interlocutory, or if the Prince shall give a definitive Sentence, or, without Cognizance had of the Cause, with the Assistance of his Nobles Palatines, it only makes a Law to the Party, but not a general Law ; and such a Constitution shall only have Operation among the Persons between whom it was made ; for the Prince is not presumed to take away the Laws (l). But the Power of the Person making a Constitution shall not be question'd ; and whoever does it, incurs the Crime of Sacrilege (m). But we may dispute about the Prince's Will, *viz.* whether he design'd it, or not, or whether such Constitution was not procured from him by Obreption and Surprize. For a Prince is always presum'd to design that which is just, equitable, and conformable to the Laws. But if a Prince ordains or decrees any thing *ex certa Scientiâ, proprio motu, and de Plenitudine potestatis*, it takes away all Obreption and Surreption.

I have before hinted, That by a Change of Circumstances, the ancient Laws becoming obsolete, new Laws were introduced ; and that those which were properly stiled *Roman Laws*, were such as were enacted by the whole collective Body of the *Roman* People, at the Interrogation of a Senatorian Magistrate ; as were the Consul, Prætor, Dictator, and the like. These Laws being approved of in their Assemblies, on their Promulgation, obtain'd the Name of the Person that prefer'd the same : And Writers have distinguish'd them either *secundum Gentes*, or else according to the Subject Matter they treat of. Thus the *Horatian Law* was made by *M. Horatius Barbatus* in his Consulship ; and the *Hortensian Law* by *Quint. Hortensius* in his Dictatorship, as already remember'd : And hence the *Calpurnian, Julian, and Licinian Laws* had their several Names ; and so of other Laws. But in giving a Denomination to the *Roman Laws*, a due Regard was had to the *Gens*, and not to the Family.

But no sooner had the *Roman Commonwealth* changed its ancient Form of Consular Government, as it did under the Reign of *Julius Cæsar*, but that the *Roman Law* also put on a new Face, and became quite another Creature. For, as soon as *Julius Cæsar* had laid the Foundation of the *Roman Empire*, which his Successor entirely finish'd, all the Power which was usually granted by the *Lex Curiata* to the Consuls, &c. during the free State of the Commonwealth, as aforesaid, was now transferr'd and settled on him by the *Lex Regia*. Indeed, it has been disputed, who was the Founder of the *Roman Monarchy* ; some ascribing it to *Julius*, and others to *Augustus*. But touching this Matter, it may be observ'd, as *Justinian* himself remarks, in his Preface to the 47th *Novel Constitution*, That this may well enough be ascribed to both of them. For though *Cæsar* may be said to have laid the Foundation of this Monarchy after *Pompey's* Overthrow at the Battle of *Pharsalia* ; yet it met with some Interruption after *Cæsar's* Death, from the Triumvirate of *Lepidus, Mark Anthony, and Augustus*, and was not entirely confirm'd and establish'd 'till it devolv'd on the Person of *Octavianus*, commonly call'd *Augustus*. *Appian* (n), speaking of *Julius Cæsar*, writes thus, *viz.* " That *Octavius*, " his adopted Son, changed his Name, and (following *Cæsar's* Steps)

(k) C. 1. 19. Bell. Civ.

(l) C. 3. 28. 35.

(m) C. 1. 14. 11. C. 9. 29. 2 Gloss. ibid.

(n) Lib. 2. de

“ took upon himself the Government of the State, and strengthen’d the “ Monarchy, of which *Julius Cæsar* had laid the Foundation.” But *Xiphilin*, not without Reason, refers the Beginning of this Monarchy to the Time of the Battle fought on the Nones of *September* (o). But *Augustus* only left the Shadow of Liberty to the Commonwealth, though he would have been thought to have govern’d the same under the specious Name and Title of a *Consul*, *Censor*, *Tribune*, and the like; by which the State was heretofore guided and directed in the Time of its Liberty.

Yet notwithstanding this new Change of Affairs, the Reason and Authority of the ancient *Roman* Law still continued under the Reign of the first Emperors. Indeed, it first enter’d into *Cicero*’s Thoughts to compile and make a new System of Law, and accordingly he promised the World a Book concerning the same; though *Pompey* had attempted this Work with much Authority and Success before him, but fail’d in the Undertaking; through the War which happen’d between him and *Cæsar*. *Julius Cæsar* had also a Design of reducing the *Civil* Law to some certain Standard and Measure; and out of that immense Heap of Laws which lay scatter’d up and down without any Order or Method, to draw up into a narrow Compass the best and most useful Laws, and to comprize them in a few Books; but herein he was prevented by an untimely Death, whilst he was debating with himself on these Matters. *Augustus Cæsar* left the Commonwealth to be govern’d by the Decrees of the Senate, or, rather, by his own *Imperial* Constitutions, and also by their own Laws: And herein he was follow’d even by his Successors. And hence it is that we have so many *Julian* Laws, which were partly made by *Julius*, and partly by *Augustus Cæsar*. The Emperor *Vespasian* collected all the Decrees of the Senate and Ordinances of the People, which had been made from the Beginning of the City, and digested them into one Body of Laws. And the Emperor *Adrian*, through a Desire of establishing the Imperial Sovereignty, introduced a new Method of Law, by causing the Edicts of the *Prætors*, that were yearly propounded, to be epitomiz’d by the Industry of the Author *Julianus*, as above related; who, though he lopp’d off some, yet he added other Edicts or Laws of his own making. And this Edict was term’d *The Perpetual Edict*, because it was not subject to Change and Alteration; receiving a Validity for the Time to come, not from any Law of the *Prætor*, but from the Authority of the Emperor himself. And though the entire Edict be not now extant, yet some Persons have collected Fragments thereof from the *Pandects* and Commentaries of the Lawyers. Hence it came to pass, that the Laws properly so called, and the Decrees of the Senate, surceas’d under the said Emperor, and the *Imperial* Constitutions had their Rise from him, and were the only Part of the *Roman* Law in Force; though the Disagreements among the Lawyers did not then see an end. The *Prætors* every Year chose certain Judges upon Oath; which Judges were distinguish’d into ten Decuries. In the Beginning, I confess, Matters of Judicature only belong’d to the Senate, and thirty Men were every Year deputed by them for this End and Purpose: But *Caius Gracchus*, by a Law call’d the *Sempronian* Law (p), transferr’d this Power of Judicature from the Senate to the *Equestrian* Order. And the Consul *Quint. Servilius Cæpio*, by a Law enacted afterwards (q), would have all Matters of Judicature to be in Common between the Senate and the *Equestrian* Order, though it appears not in what manner they were in Common. *Marcus Livius*, a Tribune of the People, made a Law (r), from him call’d the *Livian* Law, commanding, That all Matters of Judicature should be equally lodged in the Hands of

(o) Sept. 15th, A. U. C. 721.

(p) A. U. C. 631.

(q) A. U. C. 647.

(r) A. U. C. 663.

the Senate and the *Equestrian* Order, commonly call'd, with us, the *Gentry*; and that three hundred Men chosen out of this Order should be added to the Number of Senators; and each of the Senators should in his Turn (Man by Man) chuse a Knight unto himself; and that out of all these, two *Decuries* should at length be chosen. But *Sylla*, by the *Cornelian Law* (s), brought back all Matters again into the Senate. Afterwards, these Matters were settled (t) on the *Roman* Knights or *Gentry*, by the *Prætor Aurelius Cotta*; they being given then to the Senate in Common, as above mention'd. But whereas the *Prætors* usually changed their yearly *Edicts* either on the score of their own private Advantage, or else in favour of some particular Persons, a Decree of the Senate was therefore, at length, made (u), obliging the *Prætors* to pronounce Sentence or Judgment according to their *Perpetual Edicts*: And this was confirm'd by a Law made (x) by *Caius Cornelius* a Tribune of the People. So that it was not thenceforward lawful for the *Prætors*, during the whole Year of their Office, to recede from that Law, which they had declared to the Citizens they would make use of, when they enter'd upon their Trust. And hence the *Edicts* of the *Prætors* were said to be *perpetual*, though indeed they were only *annual*.

There are several Persons, at this Day, that either compiled the *Edicts* of the *Prætors*, or else have commented on them; and among these was *Aulus Ofilius* a *Roman* Knight of an intimate Familiarity and Acquaintance with *Cæsar* (y): He left behind him several Books touching the *Civil* Law. For he first wrote a Book touching the Laws of the *Vicesima*, and concerning Jurisdiction; and, secondly, he was the first Person that compiled the *Edictum Prætoris*. For, before him, *Servius* only left two Books written to *Brutus*, in a very concise manner, on the *Edict* of the *Prætor* (z): But some imagine this to be the Work of *Adrian*, that he might seem to act contrary to *Trajan*, whose Glory and Reputation *Adrian* much envied, and was not able to bear. Therefore, when all these Laws were reduced to this *Perpetual Edict*, and to the Form of *Imperial* Constitutions, Commentaries were not only made on the *Perpetual Edict*, but the Lawyer *Titus*, who was *Julianus*'s Scholar, did even compile four Books of *Institutions*, under the Reigns of *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*, wherein is briefly comprised the whole Body of the *Civil* Law, as well as the *Perpetual Edict*; who, in delivering these *Institutions*, follow'd the Order and Method of the *Perpetual Edict*. *Anianus* a Privy Counsellor to *Alarick* King of the *Goths*, has given us a very depraved *Epitome* of these *Institutions*. *Ælius Marcianus*, who lived under the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*, and wrote sixteen Books, succeeded *Anianus* in this Undertaking. *Florentinus* wrote eleven Books of *Institutions*; and three are ascribed to *Callistratus*. We owe five Books of *The Received Opinions* to *Julius Paulus*, and two Books of *Institutions* likewise to him. *Domitius Ulpian*, besides two Books of *Institutions*, wrote a particular Book of *Rules* and *Maxims* in the Law, from whence we have still some extant Titles, which are often cited out of the *Ulpian* Code or Body of Law.

But to pass by several other ancient principal Lawyers that have wrote Books of *Questions*, *Answers*, and the like, the Name of *Papinian* was in high Esteem under the Reign of *Septimius Severus*, who (notwithstanding his great Fame for Learning) was put to Death by this Emperor, for refusing to approve of *Caracalla*'s Paricide committed on the Body of his Brother *Geta* (a). The Age in which the Emperor *Alexander Severus*

(s) A. U. C. 672. (t) A. U. C. 683. (u) A. U. C. 585. (x) A. U. C. 686. (y) D. 1.
2. 2. 44. (z) Ibid. (a) Spartian. c. 21.

lived, produc'd many Eminent Lawyers. For in this Age (besides *Ulpian*, who was killed by a Military Tribune (b), there flourished *Pomponius*, *Julius Paulus*, *Celsus*, *Callistratus*, *Marcianus*, *Modestinus*, *Proculus*, *Venturcius*, and others (c): From whose Writings *Tribonian* transcrib'd and inserted many Things in his own Works. And, moreover, 'tis to be observ'd, that the Fragments of these Authors have been collected by several Hands, as appears from the Proem to *Justinian's* Institutions. But the ancient Lawyers were not only employed about framing Institutions of Law, but also about the Books of the *Civil* Law and the *Digests* themselves, by laying together therein all the Decrees and Constitutions of the Law. *Ulpian* wrote a single Book of the *Digests* (d): And his Scholar *Herennius Modestinus*, after his Example, compiled twelve Books more, which he called the *Digests*. *Salvius Julianus* compiled ninety Books, which he stiled the *Pandects*. *Alfenus Varus* wrote forty Books of *Digests*, which the Lawyer *Paulus* abridg'd. *Juvencius*, the Son of *Celsus*, wrote thirty nine Books; and *Marcellus* wrote the like Number. *Quint. Certidius Scaevola* wrote forty Books of *Digests*; and *Masurius Sabinus* composed three Books of the *Civil* Law. See the Preface to the *Digests*, touching these and several other Writers of *Maxims*, *Sentences* of Law, and other Matters of this Nature, (which I shall here omit;) out of whose Writings were afterwards compiled what we now call the *Digests* or *Pandects*. Besides these *Institutions* and *Digests* compiled by private Hands, there were some Persons that collected the scatter'd Constitutions of the Emperors: And the Constitutions of particular Emperors were first collected by particular Men. After this *Julius Paulus* compiled six Books of *Imperial Sentences* (e) pronounced on the Cognizance of several Causes. *Lactantius* observes of one *Domitius*, that he digested and laid together several Rescripts of the *Roman* Emperors, made and publish'd by them against the Christians; saying, in his *Divine Institutions* (f), That *Domitius* in his seven Books, *Touching the Pro-consul's Office*, has collected all the nefarious Rescripts of the Emperors, in order to shew how such Persons ought to be punish'd, as acknowledge themselves to be Worshippers of the true God. And though several Persons will have this to be spoken of *Domitius Ulpian*; yet *Grotius* (g) will have it to be meant of another *Domitius* a Lawyer. *Papirius Juslus* wrote twenty Books of Constitutions, as we may read in the *Index* prefix'd to the *Digests*: And out of the first Book of these Constitutions is taken the Law (h) *Touching Services in the City*; and out of the second Book is taken the Law here quoted (i), which mentions the Rescript that the Emperor *Antoninus* sent to *Avidius Cassius*, which, according to History, must be understood of *Antoninus* the Philosopher. And hence I infer, that this same *Papirius* flourish'd under the Reign of the Imperial Brothers, *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Antoninus*; and made a Collection of their Rescripts. And *Grotius* (k) observes, that this was the Opinion of *Anton. Augustinus* as well as *Bertrand's* Thoughts.

But these *Imperial* Constitutions in the Space of five hundred Years, viz. from the Reign of *Augustus* to that of the Emperor *Justinian*, grew to so vast a Bulk, and became so numerous, that from hence the Lawyer *Gregorius* thought fit to make a Collection of all the *Imperial* Constitutions from the Time of *Adrian*, or (as others say) of *Augustus*, even down to the Reign of the Emperor *Dioclesian*; and this he did by his own private Authority alone: And about the Year 296, they were reduced under certain Titles; and from him the *Gregorian* Code had its Original. For

(b) Zozim. Hist. lib. 1. c. 11. (c) D. 1. 2. 2. Lamp. Vit. Alex. Sev. c. 68. (d) D. 12. 1. 24.
D. 40. 12. 34. (e) D. 35. 1. 13. (f) Lib. 5. c. 6. (g) Lib. 2. c. 8. (h) D. 8. 2.
14. (i) D. 2. 14. 37. (k) Lib. 2. cap. 8.

this Code is so called from the Name of a Student in the Law, that assisted in the compiling thereof, according to the Opinion of several Persons. But though all Writers almost are silent about this *Gregorius*, the Author of the aforesaid Code: Yet *Justinian* himself, in making a new Code, appeals to the *Gregorian* Code; and *James Gothofred*, in his *Prologomena* to the *Theodosian* Code, thinks this *Gregory* was a *Pretorian Præfekt*, living in the Reign of *Constantine* the Great (l); because the third Law of the *Theodosian* Code, *De Annonâ & Tributis*, and the second Law of the same Code, *About Contracts of Bargain and Sale*, do mention him; and so likewise does *Optatus Milevitanus* (m). But *Anton. Schuzlingius*, in his Notes on the *Gregorian* Code (n), conceives his Name rather to be *Gregorianus*; *St. Austin* saying to *Pollentia* thus, viz. *Legi apud Gregorianum*, or, I have read in *Gregorianus*, &c. And the Author of the Comparison between the *Mosaick* and the *Roman* Law, says, *Gregorianus Codem Libro & titulo tale Rescriptum dedit*. And 'tis said in the sixth Title, that *Gregorianus* has inserted even this Constitution *De Nuptiis*. *Pancirollus* (o) maintains the same Reading with these Men, and calls him *Gregorianus*.

The second Code we read of was that which was compiled by the Lawyer *Hermogianus*, who lived in the Time of the *Constantines*, and was the Author of this Edition, wherein are compriz'd all the Imperial Constitutions of *Claudius*, *Aurelian*, *Probus*, *Carus*, *Curinus*, and that vast Number of Constitutions made by *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. But though these Collectors lived under Christian Emperors; yet they were themselves Heathens, and seem to have collected these *Imperial* Constitutions with no other View, but only to prevent the same from being lost and abolish'd by the Constitutions of Christian Emperors. But there remains nothing now of these Collections besides some Fragments thereof: For the Emperor *Opilius Macrinus* earnestly endeavour'd to abolish the *Imperial* Rescripts, through a Desire that the Empire should have nothing to do with the ancient Law (p); looking upon it as a Crime, that the arbitrary Wills of *Comodus*, *Caracalla*, and other Monsters, should have the Appearance of Law in the Empire. *Constantine* the Great and his Children, introduced a new Method of Law: For after he had plainly changed the State of Religion and Government in the Empire, he publish'd several Laws touching the Immunity of Churches, Ecclesiastical Estates, Jurisdiction of Bishops (q), Church-Revenues, and the like (r): For, upon his Conversion to Christianity, he became much devoted to the Clergy, and, by his Weakness and Bigottry to Religion, he advanced the Power of the Priesthood above what was consistent with the Policy of a wise Emperor; and therefore no wonder the Clergy should retain such a Veneration for his Memory. He abrogated the ancient Law, and made several new ones, by substituting Christian Constitutions (s) in the Place of such as were made by Heathen Emperors heretofore in use; changing several Matters in respect of Testaments (t) and other Things (u): And though he might do some Good to the Christian Religion by his Laws for the Support of it; yet he did no Service to the State, when he aggrandiz'd Bishops so much. But his Son *Constantine* took away all those boasted Forms of Law, that carried so many Charms along with them; and those *Aucupia Verborum* (x) which pleased the Lawyers so much. The younger *Theodosius* not only confirm'd this by a new Law which he publish'd (y), abolishing all Formalities and Chicaneries of Pleading: But that he might in some measure destroy the Uncertainty of the

(l) A.D. 336. (m) Lib. 3. p. 32. (n) Ad. Tit. 1. (o) De Clar. LL. Int. lib. 1. cap. 61.
 (p) Jul. Capit. Hist. c. 13. De Vit. Macr. (q) C. 1. 4. per tot. (r) C. 1. 3. 1 & 2. (s) Euseb.
 de Vit. Conf. (t) C. 1. 2. 1. (u) C. 11. 47. 1 & 2. C. 8. 17. 1. C. 5. 13. 24. (x) C. 2.
 58. 1. (y) C. Theod. 1. 1. De om. Act. impetr.

ancient Law; he even order'd the Writings of some certain Lawyers to be only valid, *viz.* those of *Papinian*, *Sabinus*, *Julian*, and *Marcellinus* (z), &c. But the Emperor *Justinian* afterwards repealed (a) this last Part of the *Theodosian* Law.

The next Code I shall here discourse of was the *Theodosian* Code, which *Theodosius* the Younger caused to be compiled and collected (b) after the Model of the foregoing Codes, that the Lawyers might no longer abuse him for a Prince of Severity, as they pretended (c). The eight Persons made use of by *Theodosius* to assist him in the finishing of this Work, were *Antiochus*, the Consul; *Maximin*, who had been Chancellor or Treasurer to the Household; Count *Martyrius* the *Quæstor*; *Sperantius*, *Apollodorus*, and *Theodorus*, Counts of the Sacred Consistory; *Epigonius*, Count and Remembrancer to the Prince; and *Procopius*, another Count or Judge of the Empire; for the Word *Comes* anciently signify'd a Judge. After these Persons had, by Imperial Authority, collected this Code into sixteen Books, partly by abridging the *Imperial* Constitutions, and by reducing them under certain Heads and Titles, the Emperor by a *Novel* Constitution confirm'd the same (d). This Code, therefore, contain'd the Constitutions of the Christian Emperors from the Time of *Constantine* even down to his own Reign: And this Body of Laws was from him called the *Theodosian* Code. But in these several Codes, the *Imperial* Constitutions were found so repugnant to each other, and some of them superfluous, insomuch that the *Justinian* Code (of which by and by) was afterwards thought very necessary. But to proceed on the *Theodosian* Code: It sufficiently appears from the same, how careful that wise Emperor was in preserving the *Roman* Laws: Being esteem'd by all Persons to be one of the wisest of all the *Roman* Emperors. But in these *Imperial* Constitutions, the Wisdom and Goodness of God is very evidently seen, in giving to Mankind the most just and equitable Laws, by the Means of several of the most wicked Emperors: For *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Heliogabalus*, and others, may be deem'd Beasts and Monsters under human Shape. But the Constitutions of *Trajan*, *Valens*, *Decius*, *Gallienus*, *Dioclesian*, and others, do carry along with them great Justice and Prudence; and in their Rescripts we may discover such a religious Concern for adjusting Civil Controversies among Men, that all Nations in the World still admire them. And though many of these Emperors were Aliens and Strangers to Christianity; yet they often lent the Secular Arm in Defence of the Authority of lawful Councils and Episcopal Decrees. Now all Things (next to the Mercy of God) ought to be attributed to the Wisdom and Goodness of such Lawyers as had the Administration of publick Affairs under those several Emperors, and whose Writings we have now extant in the Books of the *Roman* Law.

Besides, for the Honour of the *Roman* Name, it may be observ'd in the *Imperial* Constitutions, That before *Constantine*'s Time, whilst the Imperial Residence was at *Rome*, the Imperial Rescripts were concise, and wrote in the most elegant and nervous Style imaginable; as may be seen from the Writings of such Lawyers as are recorded in the *Digests*. But after the Translation of the Imperial Seat to *Constantinople*, they became turgid, prolix, and fitter for the Mouth of an Orator than the Pen of a Prince or Legislator, as appears in the Constitutions of *Martian*, *Zeno*, *Anastasius*, *Justin*, and *Justinian*, which we may read in his Code: Being in no wise to be compar'd with the Laws of former Emperors, in Point of Prudence, Gravity, or Clearness of Style. And 'tis, moreover, to be noted (e), That

(z) C. Theod. L. 1. De Respons. Prudent. (a) C. 1. 17. 1. 5 & 6. (b) A. D. 438. (c) Nov. Theod. (d) A. D. 438. (e) Matt. de Afflict.

these Constitutions publish'd at *Constantinople*, did, through a Defect of Power in the Emperors, lose much of their Authority after *Constantine's* Time, because they were enacted after the pretended Donation which *Constantine* made of the Empire: Of which hereafter.

Lastly, From these three Codes of the *Imperial* Constitutions, and also from the *Novels* made and publish'd by *Theodosius* himself, and from such other *Imperial* Laws as were enacted after the compiling of the *Theodosian* Code, the Emperor *Justinian*, being in a particular Manner spurred on with a Desire of Glory, order'd a new Code to be compiled, which, from his own Name, he stiled the *Justinian* Code. For the Emperor perceiving, that the Knowledge of the Law began to grow very difficult and painful unto Persons, by reason of the infinite Number of Expositions and Commentaries thereon, did therefore, in the seventh Year of his Reign (*f*), resolve to apply some Remedy to the immense Labour of this Study, which *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey* the Great had long before thought on, (as already hinted,) and had compleated too, if the Civil Wars wherein they were engag'd had not prevented them. And whereas the Laws of those Emperors, especially them that reign'd from the Time of *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* to the Time of his own Reign, lay scatter'd up and down without any Method in the three Codes above-remember'd: And whereas these Laws, by an intolerable Dissimilitude, were found repugnant unto themselves, and many of them grown obsolete: Therefore *Justinian* did (by lopping off some, and adding other necessary Laws of his own) cause those Laws, which he conceiv'd useful, to be digested into one Body or Volume of Laws, and called the same by the Name of the *Justinian* Code, as aforesaid. And this Work he undertook and finish'd by the Assistance of *Tribonian*, *Dorotheus*, *Theophilus*, and several other Persons learned in the *Civil* Law; commanding them to cut off all the superfluous Prefaces made to the *Imperial* Constitutions: Though he himself has used these or the like Prefaces in his *Novels*. But these Compilers could not perform this Work in every Point, either in the *Code* or *Digests*, the Law being so prolix and difficult a Science. This Code the Emperor confirm'd and publish'd in the third, or (as others say) in the second Year of his Reign (*g*), on the seventh of the Ides of *April* (*h*), by a particular Constitution, as it was presented to him by the Compilers thereof; abolishing all former Codes; and, commanding this to be the only Book which should have the Force and Authority of Law in Matters relating to Judicature, he requir'd all Lawyers and Advocates to use the same in Pleadings and Determinations of Law-Suits, repealing all other Constitutions, in such a Manner, that whosoever should quote or make use of them, should incur the Pain of the Crime of Forgery. But this Code is not now extant among us.

Then, about five Years after the compiling this Code, *viz.* in the 12th Indiction (*i*), he order'd the Writings of an infinite Number of Lawyers to be abridged; which consisting of thirty thousand Verses or Sentences, were distributed into two thousand Books: These he caused to be reduced (*k*) into fifty Books, and gave them the Name of the *Digests* or *Pandects* (*l*), for the Reason hereafter to be remember'd. This is the best and most profitable Part of the *Roman* Law, as being full of very useful Knowledge, not only for Lawyers, but even for all Persons who pretend to any Share of Learning either in the *Classicks*, or in the *Roman* Historians, &c. In respect of these Writings of the Lawyers, every one speaks of them with the utmost Admiration and Esteem. *Laurentius Valla*,

(*f*) A. D. 531.
C. 1. 17. 3. 1.

(*g*) A. D. 529.
(*l*) C. 1. 17. 2. 1.

(*h*) April 9th.

(*i*) A. D. 535.

(*k*) C. 1. 17. 2. 1.

the greatest Critick among all the *Roman* Authors, assures us, That he had, with great Pleasure and Satisfaction, frequently read over the fifty Books of the *Digests*, which were extracted from several Volumes of the old *Roman* Lawyers; and that he knew not whether they excell'd in Gravity, Prudence, or Equity; or, lastly, in Accuracy and Dignity of Stile; each Book being so perfect and renown'd for each of these Things, that a Man would be at a Loss, to know which of them should be preferr'd herein. For in respect of Elegance of Stile and Pureness of Latin, without which, all Learning (especially in the *Civil* Law) is dark and obscure, nothing can be added or taken from the *Digests*, without rendring the same imperfect. And indeed, all the Interpreters of the *Civil* Law do so highly extol the Perfections which we meet with in these *Digests*, that they call these Books the most learned and eloquent Part of the *Civil* Law; the Authors thereof being great Masters of Eloquence, and stored with all other kind of Learning. *Anton. Faber* stiles them, The Brightest Part of the *Civil* Law; declaring, That as often as he mentions the Names of *Ulpian*, *Paulus*, *Scævola*, *Pomponius*, *Julian*, and *Papinian*, so often he is struck with Admiration; deploring his own Ignorance and want of Knowledge, after reading so many fine Lucubrations. And such an Esteem had *Cujacius*, that he pronounces him the most skilful Lawyer that ever was, is, or shall be hereafter; and that no Man will ever be again a *Papinian* in the Law. And *Baldwin* admonishes all Persons to revere the Divine Providence, for having raised a *Josephus* in *Egypt*, a *Daniel* in *Babylon*, a *Pericles* at *Athens*, and a *Papinian* at *Rome*, for the Light and Splendor of Justice, and for the Preservation of Civil Government. But yet, notwithstanding what has been said, all Persons must own, that the Compilement of the *Digests* was perform'd with too much Haste, and not manag'd with that Accuracy which an Undertaking of such vast Importance seem'd to require. For whereas the Books of the Law, in *Justinian's* Time, had been growing up for above a thousand Years to their immense Bulk, and were then swoln to that Size, that they consisted of no less than two thousand Volumes, as aforesaid; and, lastly, were so numerous, that they could not easily be read over in some Years, much less collated, digested, and reconcil'd within the Term pretended: Yet *Tribonian*, with his Assistants, conquer'd all these Difficulties in so short a Time as three Years, wherein the *Digests* were begun and finish'd, as also the first Draught or Edition of the *Code*, as well as the *Institutions*. For 'tis said, that *Justinian* confirm'd and publish'd the *Digests* in the seventh Year of his Reign, after they had been three Years compiling from the Writings and Answers of such *Roman* Lawyers as lived almost every one of them under the Emperors.

But no sooner had the Emperor finish'd this Work of the *Digests*, but he did (as it were) at the same Time cause the four Books of his *Institutes* to be compiled from the *Digests* or *Pandects*, and likewise from his own *Code*, as well as from several Commentaries of the old Lawyers: These *Institutions* being an Abridgment of the *Digests* and the former *Code*, (for the Emperor made another *Code* afterwards), and are, as it were, an Entrance into the Law, for all such Persons as would come at the Recesses of this holy Sanctuary, and would fathom the remotest Difficulties thereof. The *Institutions* are call'd the Elements and first Principles of the Knowledge of the *Civil* Law: Because, as Elements are the first Principles of all Things in Natural Philosophy that admit of Generation and Corruption; so are the Books of the *Institutions* the first Principles and Elements, in respect to the Study of this Law. And in this Sense is the Law of *Moses* and all the *Old Testament*, by the Apostle, call'd an *Element*; because we learn the Knowledge of the divine Law from thence, as it were, from
certain

certain Elements and Principles of Religion. And thus several Authors term Alphabetical Letters by the Name of *Elements*; because they are the Principles or Beginnings of Speech or Words. The Emperor *Justinian* begins his *Institutions* with a Constitution confirming the same, whereby he gives them the Force of a Law. But the *Epigraphe* or Inscription thereof, viz. *In Dei Nomine, Amen*, is omitted in *Haloander's* Edition of the *Institutions*, though it be often found in several Parts of the *Justinian Code*. This Book contains the Elements of the *Roman Law*, and it is wrote in a very easy, flowing Stile; and, as *Cujacius* observes, it is written in the most polite and ornamental Stile of all the Books of the *Roman Law*, wanting almost no Interpreter. And in this Book this is particular, viz. That no *Roman Lawyer*, after the Emperor *Gordian's* Reign, and the Time of the Lawyer *Modestinus*, is quoted therein for their Writings; unless it be the Paraphrase of *Theophilus* on the *Institutions*, whom some think to be one of those Persons whom *Justinian* employ'd in compiling the *Roman Law*. These *Institutions* were compiled by *Tribonian*, *Theophilus*, and *Dorotheus*; and were, for the most Part of them, taken out of the *Institutions* of *Caius* (m), and his Commentaries, as well as from the *Institutions* of other ancient Lawyers. In the *Digests* we meet with two of these *Caius's*, that are in the *Florentine Pandects* stiled *Gaii*: The one was *Caius Cassius Longinus*, the Author of the *Cassian Sect* or Faction; and the other was *Titus Caius* the Author of the *Institutions*. *Menage* (n) distinguishes them both very well, saying, That the last lived in *Adrian's* Reign, and particularly in that of *Antoninus Pius*. The Emperor *Justinian* mentions them both in his Proem to the *Institutions*, and likewise in the Proem to the *Digests*. The *Institutions*, though an Abridgment of the *Digests*, were publish'd, notwithstanding, a Month before the *Digests*, viz. in the seventh Year of *Justinian's* Reign (o). Whence some Men fancy, that the Law of the *Institutions* in some measure derogates from the Law of the *Digests*, whenever they disagree in any Point of Law. Again:

Some Time after the publishing of the *Digests* and the *Justinian Institutions*, viz. in the 13th Indiction (p), the Emperor attempted an Amendment of his former *Code*, and at length publish'd a new Edition thereof, with several Corrections and Amendments by way of a second Edition; adding several Constitutions thereunto entirely new, and which were not to be met with in the former Edition. And as he added some, so he likewise retrench'd and cut off several other Laws, which were, 'till then, in full Force and Vigour in all the *Roman Courts* of Judicature. And he has, moreover, in this new *Code*, inserted many Decisions of his own, as well as of other Men, in several Points of Law: Of his own Decisions adding no less than fifty in Number, join'd with several other *Novel* Constitutions; and herein reserving to himself a Power of making such other new Constitutions as he should think convenient for the publick Welfare, even after the publishing this new *Code*. And he afterwards order'd certain Constitutions to be enrolled, according to the Emergency of divers Cases judicially decided, from the eleventh to the fortieth Year of his Reign. And the Arguments and Subjects of these new Constitutions are brought under the Titles of this new *Code*; and are stiled *the Novels*, because they are *de novo* added to the *Imperial Law*. And this is that *Code* which we have extant at this Day, and which we constantly make use of among the other Books of the *Civil Law* in all the Universities and Courts of Judicature among foreign Nations; the former *Code* being entirely antiquated and suppress'd by the Emperor's own Order (q). Hence it is that *Justinian* sometimes

(m) Proem. Inst. §. 6. (n) Amœnitat. Jur. (o) A. D. 533. (p) A. D. 536. (q) C. 1. 1. 1. un.

in this *Code* mentions his *Institutions*, or *Institutes* (as they are barbarously call'd by illiterate Men), which were compiled after his first *Code*, and some small Time before the Edition of his second. And, on the other hand, in these Books of his *Institutions*, he frequently takes notice of certain Constitutions (as he says) extant in his former *Code*, whereas they are not now to be found, but are entirely lost, together with that *Code*. In this new *Code*, which was formed from the first *Code*, upon an accurate Review and Examination thereof, (that *Code* being compiled with too much Precipitation) the Emperor has caused fifty of his own Decisions to be therein inserted, as above hinted, which he had given upon all the Disputes that had happen'd among the old *Roman* Lawyers, touching the *Roman* Law. And to add a greater Sanction or Authority to this second *Code*, that it might not be thought an apochryphal Book, but a true and genuine *Code*, he has, in the Beginning, premised three Sanctions, written to the Senate of *Constantinople*. The first relates to the making of a new *Code* (*r*): The second respects the Confirmation of it (*s*): And the third concerns the Amendment of the former *Code* (*t*). The Emperor divided this his *Code* into twelve Books, after the Manner and Example of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, collecting the same from the three Codes commonly entitled the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian*, and *Theodosian* Codes; and from the *Novel* Constitutions of *Theodosius* the Younger, and other succeeding Princes and Emperors; as *Valentinian*, *Martianus*, *Leo*, *Majorianus*, *Severus*, &c. In this *Code* the Emperor has inserted all the *Imperial* Constitutions from *Adrian* down to *Theodosius*; cutting off all such Superfluities and Contrarieties as were found therein.

The fourth Book of *Roman* Law now in Use, is what we call the *Novels*. For after the Publication of the second *Code*, by reason of the great Variety of Matters, which were either not provided for in the former Books, or else wanted some Alteration and Amendment, the Emperor publish'd a new Law, as he himself had promis'd (*u*) to do; and as this new Law has its Rise from his new Constitutions, it was stiled the *Novels*. Most of these *Novels* were publish'd in the *Greek* Tongue: For only those were publish'd in *Latin* which were to have Force and Authority in the Western Empire (*x*); as the 9th, 11th, 23d, 33d, 34th, 35th, 41st, 62d, 65th, 114th, 138th, and the 143d. The Lawyers differ in Opinion about the Number of these *Novels*. The Glossators on the Law reckon only ninety-eight of them. *Julian*, in his Epitome, will have them to be an hundred twenty-five in Number; but then he only seems to have collected those which were made by *Justinian*. *Haloander* computes them to be an hundred sixty-five: Unto which *Gothofred* has added three out of *Cujacius*; so that the Number now is one hundred sixty-eight. This Diversity of Number seems to have its Rise from hence; viz. for that there were several *Novels* omitted by future Transcribers of them; because they only concern'd the State of certain Persons and Provinces; and therefore, as they were of no farther Use, many of them were neglected in the Schools, and Courts of Law, and only a Gloss wrote upon ninety-eight of them (*y*). Though all these *Novels* go commonly under *Justinian's* Name, yet they are not all his; for some are ascribed to the Emperor *Justin*; as the 117th, 140th, 144th, 148th, 149th; and others to the Emperor *Tiberius*, as the 161st, 163d, and 164th. Though *Justinian* publish'd the *Novels* in the *Greek* Tongue, not only for the Use of the Eastern Empire, but as a more lasting Language; yet it is a great Question, whether those Constitutions which are now remaining with us, are genuine.

(*r*) C. 1. 1. 1. (*s*) C. 1. 1. 2. (*t*) C. 1. 1. 3. (*u*) C. 1. 1. 1. un. §. 3. (*x*) Nov. 66. c. 1. §. 2.
(*y*) Hagem. de Auth. Jur. Civ. c. 8.

At this Day we make use of the *Latin* Version of them in our Courts of Law ; which Version some Persons ascribe to *Bulgarus*, who lived in the Time of *Irnerius* ; and others make *Berguntio*, a *Pisan*, and Contemporary with *Irnerius*, to be the Author thereof (a). But it appears more certain to me, that the first Version of them was made by an ancient uncertain Author, whom *Cujacius* (b) thinks to be a *Grecian*, who lived soon after *Justinian's* Time, and not long after the Publication of the *Novels*, gave the Western Empire a *Latin* Translation of them, though in a barbarous Stile ; but yet, according to *Justinian's* Order, literal and perfect (b). This appears from the Epistles of *Gregory the Great* (c), who lived soon after the Reign of *Justinian*, and often, in his Letters, quotes the very Words of this Version entire. We have this Version in the *Corpus Juris* subjoin'd to the Code, under the Name *Authentick*, to distinguish it from that Version of *Julian*, who epitomized his Version ; and it is said to have been receiv'd by *Irnerius* (d). About the Year 1140 these *Novels* were divided into nine *Collations* ; not by the *Greek*, but by *Berguntio*, or some other *Latin* Translator of them, without any Regard to the Time in which they were made, or to the Subject Matter of them (e). They were call'd *Collations*, *quasi collatæ ad alias*, as being collated with other Laws ; and were propounded either to explain, or else to abrogate the Laws of the Code (f). In these *Novels* we find no such Thing as any Method observ'd : For there are several Heads or Articles inserted in one and the same Constitution, different much from each other in the Argument, and one Part thereof so contrary unto the other, that the latter Part is derogatory to the former (g). Besides the Prologues and Epilogues thereof are very inept and impertinent : And, in short, there are several Words therein inserted, which are obscure and full of Tautology (h). Some will have the first *Latin* Version of the *Novels* to be that of *Julian*, long after *Justinian's* Time, which all Men commend. The second Version is that which *Accursus* and other Doctors of the Law make use of : And though *Alciatus* styles this a *barbarous* Translation ; yet *Cujacius* highly extols the Authority thereof, by reason of its Antiquity, being made (as *Molinæus* thinks) by some uncertain Author not well acquainted, perhaps, with the *Latin* Tongue. But as this Version is receiv'd among all Nations, both in their Universities and Courts of Law, (as aforesaid), it has the Authority of Law : And if any Controversy should arise about this Transcript, we must not always have immediate Recourse to the *Greek* Original thereof ; because this Version was made from a more perfect Copy of the *Novels* in the *Greek* Tongue, than we have now extant. The chief Editions of the *Novels* in *Greek* are two : The first being that of *Haloander* ; and the other that of *Scrimger*. *Agylæus* has supply'd and filled up the *Lacunæ* of *Haloander's* Edition from *Scrimger*. The *Novels* of *Leo* the Philosopher were never admitted into Use, and therefore I shall here say nothing of them.

And thus the Books to which *Justinian* reduc'd the whole *Roman* Civil Law, are now four in Number ; namely, 1st, The *Pandects*, otherwise called the *Digests*, containing fifty Books, wherein are recorded the Opinions and Sentences of several Men learned in the *Roman* Law. 2^{dly}, The *Justinian* Code, consisting of twelve Books, wherein are comprized the several Decrees and Constitutions of the *Roman* Emperors. 3^{dly}, The *Novels*, consisting of nine *Collations*, which are no other than a Supple-

(a) Alciat. Parerg. lib. 2. c. 47. (d) Lib. 3. cap. 36. Lib. 8. obs. 40. (b) Grav. de Ort. & Prog. Jur. 138. (e) Lib. 9. Epist. 53. 11. 2. 1. 38. (d) Alciat. Parerg. lib. 2. c. 47. (e) Hagem. de Auth. Jur. Civ. cap. 8. (f) Alvaret Proem. Feudal. (g) Nov. 127. c. 1. Nov. 115. c. 3. (h) Nov. 115. Nov. 118.

ment to the *Justinian Code*. And, 4thly, The *Imperial Institutions*, consisting of four Books. As these last are usually bound up with the *Pandects*, and being, for the most Part, only an Abridgment of the *Digests*, they are a compendious Introduction to young Students and Beginners in the Law. As for the *Feuds*, they are not of *Roman* Extraction, but only *Gothick* Customs of later Date, reduc'd into Writing by Men of succeeding Times. The first Part of the Law stiled the *Digests*, is so called from the *Latin* Verb *Digero*, which, according to *Cicero* (i), signifies *to put in order, by dividing*: And by this Name the Lawyers *Julianus*, *Corbit*, *Scævola*, *Servius*, *Alphenus*, *Celsus*, and *Marcellus* inscribed their Books. It is also sometimes term'd the *Pandect*, from these two *Greek* Words, viz. *παν*, which imports the same as *All* or the *Whole*; and the verbal Noun *δέκτος*, which is deriv'd from the Verb *δέκωμαι*, to contain, because it contains all the Decisions of the Law collected from the Questions and Resolutions of all the ancient *Roman* Lawyers, as they lay scatter'd up and down in the Law-Books. And this Title the Lawyers *Ulpian*, *Modestinus*, and others frequently made use of, according to *Aul. Gellius* (k). And in this Sense of *Aul. Gellius*, the *Pandects* are a Collection of Miscellaneous Subjects of all Kinds relating to the Law: For, says he, there are some Persons that have inscribed their Books by the Title of the *Pandects*, as being the Repositories of all kinds of Knowledge. Thus *Tully*, the Freed-man of *Cicero*, compos'd some Books of *Miscellanea* on various Subjects, which he inscrib'd by the *Greek* Title of *Pandects*; and in the *Latin* Tongue, according to *Gellius* (l), they are stiled *Digests*. The *Civilians* say, (and all Men that compare the *Pandects* with polite *Roman* Authors in point of Stile, must own,) that if the *Roman* Tongue were entirely lost in every other respect, it might be easily retriev'd again by the Writings of the *Pandects*; these Books being deliver'd in so pure and elegant a Stile. And that the greatest Part of the *Pandects* were written with such a Purity of Language, was owing to the polite and elegant Stile of the Compilers of them, and not to the Age in which they were written: And so much is acknowledg'd, even by those Criticks that have been so severe on the other Volumes or Tomes of the *Civil* Law. Several Persons reproach *Tribonian* and *Justinian* too, who, after the compiling of the *Digests*, order'd all the Writings of the Lawyers to be destroy'd, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables to be repealed, saying, That all Persons ought to lament this Loss. For *Alciatus* thinks, that *Accursius* and the Doctors had labour'd in vain, if all the Books of the Lawyers had continued extant and entire; since the Knowledge of the *Civil* Law might then have come to us much more pure and clear from the Fountains themselves, than we can now draw it from the muddy Streams and confus'd Commentaries of the Interpreters of the Law. *Jason* highly complains of *Tribonian*, for huddling up and reducing the *Roman* Law to so narrow a Compass. But some Men have a much better Opinion both of *Justinian* and *Tribonian*; rather believing these Books of the *Roman* Lawyers were lost by the Calamity of the Times, and through the IncurSIONS of barbarous Nations. For among those Cities which in respect of all others were the Guardians of the *Roman* Laws, the City of *Berytus* was swallow'd up by an Earthquake soon after *Justinian's* Death: *Rome* was frequently laid waste by the *Goths* and other savage People, that were profess'd Enemies to all human Learning as well as to these Books; and the City of *Constantinople* itself, after it had suffer'd some other Calamities, was oblig'd to submit to the Outrage and Violence of the *Turks*. But from the Death of *Justinian*, (according to the Writings of

(i) Lib. 1. de Orat.

(k) Lib. 13. c. 9.

(l) Noct. Attic.

the Fathers and the History of those Times,) the whole *Roman Empire* was so much harass'd by the *Goths* and other *Barbarians*, and underwent such Devastations every-where by Fire and other ruinous Disasters, that it ought rather to be ascrib'd to Divine Providence, that we have any Remains of the *Roman Law* left among us, as preserv'd by the Care of *Justinian* in the *Digests*; and which, according to the Conjectures of most Men, would otherwise have perish'd and been entirely lost. But *Tribonian* and his Fellow-Assistants are surely blameable in this respect, viz. That they finish'd the *Pandects* in three Years Time, when the Emperor had allow'd them ten Years for the compiling this Work, which he in his *Institutions* (m) calls *Opus Desperatum*, believing this Undertaking could not be well brought to Perfection in less Time: For no Time had been too much for turning over so many Volumes of important Knowledge as were made use of in this Work. And therefore, if any Thing seems imperfect, obscure, or any wise contradictory, in the *Digests*, it ought to be imputed to the Compilers, and not to the Lawyers from whose Writings the *Pandects* were composed. The Interpreters of the Law do also find Fault with *Tribonian* and his Assistants on another Account, namely, That the Method wherein the *Digests* are form'd, is not consonant; though (I think) they may be justify'd herein: The *Digests* being compiled in the same Order and Method as the *Perpetual Edict* of *Salvius Julianus* was. For the greatest Part of the *Roman Law* was taken out of the Commentators thereon, in order to frame this Edict; and this Rule *Tribonian* afterwards follow'd in compiling the *Digests*. And *Cujacius*, speaking of the *Digests*, says thus, viz. "That it is not so much owing to the Ingenuity of *Tribonian*, as to " that of *Julian*, *Hermogenian*, and the ancient Lawyers, that the *Digests* " are compiled with such wonderful Art and Coherence in Point of the " several Subjects therein treated; *Tribonian* only pursuing the Track they " had chalked out for him: And they that expect any other Method, are " weak and foolish in their Desires, not knowing what Method is, or (at " least) the Method observ'd in the *Digests*."

What I shall further offer touching this Volume of Laws called the *Digests*, is, That whereas there are often various Readings, which are complain'd of in this Book, and which cannot otherwise happen in transcribing from so many Copies in the Hands of several Persons; so it is a Doubt among all Men almost from this Disagreement of Copies, unto what Books they shall apply for a true Reading, since the *Vulgar Edition* of the *Digests* is the most corrupted, and differs so much from that which the ancient Doctors made use of after the Time of *Irnerius*. For there is one Edition of *Haloander's* which was form'd from the Books of *Politian* and *Bologninus*, who corrected their Copies (as they say) by the *Florentine* Original. And this is the next best Edition to the *Florentine*, and is commonly called the *Norway Edition*. Thus, besides the *Vulgar* and *Norway* Editions, there is a third, stiled the *Florentine Edition*, extracted from that Book of the *Digests* which the People of *Pisa* first procur'd, and which afterwards fell into the Hands of *Florence*, and is held in great Esteem and Veneration among all Men of Letters, as being the best Edition. This was formerly term'd the *Pisan Edition*, from the Place where the Manuscript *Exemplar* was lodged. And though some warm Disputes have been held concerning this Book, not only among Lawyers, but likewise among other Men of Learning, whether this same Book be the Archetype or Original Book written by *Justinian's* Order, or whether it be only a Copy transcrib'd from thence in *Justinian's* Life-time, or soon after his Death; yet

(m) Proem. Inst. §. 2.

all Persons hold it to be very ancient. *Politianus* affirms it to be the Original or Archetype itself: But *Anton. Augustinus, Cujacius, Andreas, Alciatus*, and others, think it not to be *Justinian's* Archetype, but only a Transcript from other Copies since the Emperor's Decease; there being some Errors to be met with in the *Florentine* Code. Yet 'tis the common Opinion, That all the Books of the *Digests* now extant in their Copies, were transcrib'd from the *Florentine* Code; and to this Book all Men have Recourse in Controversies about the Text itself: And thus the more ancient Doctors of *Italy* were wont to decide their Controversies by appealing to the *Digests* at *Pisa*, and conforming themselves thereunto. Lastly, *Justinian* would have this Book stiled the *Digests*; because the whole *Roman* Law was therein digested into seven Tomes or Parts (*n*): Which seven Parts made but one Volume so long as the *Justinian* Constitution remain'd in Force, whereby the Emperor forbids any Commentaries to be added to his Laws, lest a great Error or Confusion should arise from thence. But now, from the Glosses of *Accursius* and other Lawyers, it is swoln into three Volumes. The Emperor publish'd the *Digests* or *Pandects* on the 17th of the Calends of *January*, that is to say, on the 18th Day of *December*, according to Modern Computation, *A. D.* 533, or (as others say) 534.

The *Code* is among Lawyers reckon'd to be the second Part of the *Roman* Law; and is so called, by way of Excellency, from the *Latin* Word *Codex*, which, in *English*, signifies a Book, as the Holy Scripture is among Divines called the *Bible*, from the *Greek* Word *Βιβλίον*, importing the self-same thing: And this *Code* contains the Constitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, as they relate to every Part of the Law. The Compilement of the first Code was committed to the following Persons (*o*), viz. to *John*, that had been Chancellor or Treasurer of the Sacred Palace; to *Leontius*, that had been a *Pretorian* Præfect; to *Phocas*, *Magister Militum*; to *Basilides*, who had likewise been a *Pretorian* Præfect in the East; to *Thomas*, Chancellor or Treasurer of the Sacred Palace; to *Tribonian*, and *Constantine* Lord Almoner of the Household; to *Theophilus*, Judge or Count of the Sacred Consistory, (with us called the Lord Chief Justice); and to *Dioscorus* and *Præsentinus*, who were Advocates of the *Pretorian* Court. Their Commission bore Date on the Ides of *February* (*p*), as appears by a particular Constitution; and, it being publish'd on the 7th of the Ides of *April* (*q*), it was fram'd in little more than a Year's Time, and confirm'd by a particular Constitution (*r*), as already related. But as this Code was too hastily compiled, the Emperor order'd it to be review'd, as aforesaid; and from thence publish'd a new Code, which he, in *Latin*, stiled *Codex repetitæ Prælectionis*, or, in *English*, the second Code. This second Code was publish'd on the 16th of the Calends of *December* (*s*), *A. D.* 534.

The *Novels*, or third Part of the Law, are so called, not because they are a new Law, and different from the old, as *Cedrenus* would have it, but because they are the new Constitutions of the Emperor, which were publish'd after the second Edition of the *Justinian* Code.

Julian, Chancellor of *Constantinople*, about the Year 570, made an Abridgment of the *Novels*; and publish'd the same in the *Latin* Tongue; cutting off all the Prologues and Epilogues belonging thereunto. This Abridgment contains one hundred twenty-five of the *Novels*, and is divided into two Books, the first of which comes down to the sixty-third, and was by *Irnerius* and other Lawyers of those Times, publish'd under the Name

(n) C. 1. 17. 2. 1. Senat. Constant.

(o) C. 1. 1. l. un. (p) Nov. 19. A. D. 534.

(p) Feb. 15. A. D. 528.

(q) A. D. 529.

(r) A. D.

of the *Novels*. But this Abridgment, though it was wrote in a more pure and elegant Stile than the old Translation, is not receiv'd in Courts of Law. This Abridgment has been publish'd several Times lately (*t*), and is of some Esteem among learned Men. And thus I have done with the several Books of the *Roman Law*, as compiled by *Justinian's* Order, and afterwards publish'd by him. I shall, in the next Place, in pursuance of my Promise, consider how this Law lay almost extinguish'd with the Author himself, according to the Fate of all human Things ; and how it reviv'd and came into *Europe* again, after it had lain dead and buried, as it were, for some Ages under the Ruins of the *Roman Empire*, together with all other Parts of useful Learning.

For we read, that the *Roman Civil Law* met with various Alterations, and experienc'd several Changes, after *Justinian's* Time, in the Western Empire. For after *Constantine* the Great had translated the Seat of that Empire from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, the Authority of the *Roman Law* began to decrease apace in the West, by growing obsolete and out of use in a very sensible Manner, especially when *Rome* itself became a Prey to the Invaders of *Italy*. In the City of *Constantinople* itself, it scarce maintain'd its Ground forty Years after *Justinian's* Death, from the Sloth of the succeeding Emperors, and through their Envy to *Justinian's* Glory : But it came not into *Italy* and the *European Nations* till five hundred Years after *Justinian's* Reign ; being suppress'd by the *Lombards, Goths, Vandals, Franks*, and other barbarous Nations, traversing the Western Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, who pursu'd the *Roman Laws* as well as all other Learning with an implacable Hatred.

Now it will not be amiss here, by way of Digression, a little to remark, That the Laws of the *Visigoths* got an Establishment in *Italy* before the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*. For after the *Visigoths* had by Violence possess'd themselves of *Italy*, this loose and savage People began for some Time to live at Discretion without any Laws at all, till they became a little more civiliz'd, and then they introduced a Set of written Laws ; which, according to *Isidore*, they ascribe unto *Euricus*. And hence it appears, that though the more civiliz'd among them had Laws, inasmuch as *Atthaulphus* did (*u*) by a particular Edict ordain, That they should observe the *Gothick* in Conjunction with the *Roman Laws* ; and for that King *Attharick* order'd the self-same Law to be common both to the *Goths* and *Romans* : Yet, notwithstanding all this, it will be easily granted, that *Caricus*, who presid'd over the *Goths* in *Gallia Narbonensis* from the Year 465 to the Year 484, collected the scatter'd Parts of the *Gothick Law* into one Code or Volume of Laws ; and this Code the *Visigoths* made use of. Afterwards, about the Year 580, *Levigildus* much enlarged this Code, by adding to it several Decrees made by the Successors of *Caricus* ; and particularly those of *Chindefindus* and *Receswindus*, who were both of them everywhere esteem'd the Authors of amending the *Gothick Laws*. This Collection was therefore afterwards stiled a Collection of the *Gothick Laws* ; and among the *Spaniards* entitled *Fuero Juzgo*, or the *Jurisdiction of the Judges*. And this Collection of *Gothick Laws*, which *Pitbou* and *Lindinbrogue* have preserv'd and deliver'd down to us entire, were in Force for some Time ; yet the Remains of the *Roman Law* did (notwithstanding) still continue among the *Italians* in some measure. For these Remains were preserv'd (*x*) even by *Anian* a *Goth*, who, by the Order of *Alarick* the Younger, King of the *Visigoths*, compiled a Breviary of the *Theodosian Code*, out of the *Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian Codes* ; and out

(*t*) Ven. 1537. S. Lugd. 1560. S. Brug. 1565. 4. Bas. 1567. Fol.
(*x*) A.D. 506.

(*u*) Circ. An. 412.

of the Rules of *Ulpian*, the *Institutions* of *Caius*, and the receiv'd Sentences of the Lawyer *Paulus*. He revis'd and subscrib'd this Breviary, in order to put the obscure Part of the *Roman* Law into a clearer Light; and that it might be apply'd to the State of those Times. After this Code was made for the *Atures* in *Novempopulania*, in the twenty-second Year of King *Alarick's* Reign, Copies thereof were transmitted to all the *Comites* or Judges of *Alarick's* Kingdom, for the Determination of all Causes according to the Tenor hereof: Nor was there then in *Italy* any other Law, or Form of Law receiv'd. This Collection was in *Latin* intitled *Aniani Brevarium*, or *Corpus Theodosianum*, &c. But though *Alarick* was the Year following killed in Battle, and the Kingdom of *Theolofana* conquer'd by the *Franks*, who possess'd themselves thereof; yet *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, was admitted to Part of the Kingdom, who restor'd it to be govern'd by the *Gothick* Law. And hence it is, that this Body of Law has still retain'd its Force, particularly in *Narbone* and that Part of *France* which was subject to the *Goths*, till the use of the *Roman* Law was by a Decree of King *Chindiswind* abolish'd under a certain Penalty, and the Code of the *Visigoth* Laws introduc'd in its stead. His Son *Receswind* confirm'd this Decree, and afterwards King *Egica* committed the Amendment of the *Gothick* Laws to the *Spanish* Bishops, to be modelled according to the Rules of Christianity; the Decrees of *Chindiswind* only excepted. And thus the Authority of the *Gothick* Laws continu'd in Force throughout all *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France*, till *Sancho Ramirus*, his Successor, in the eleventh Century, introduc'd the *Imperial* Law: From whence *Alphonso* the Tenth compiled a Book intitled the *Partita*, which was the Foundation of the *Spanish* Law. In Imitation of *Anian*, the Referendary of King *Alarick*, (it seems) *Papian*, a *Burgundian* by Nation, compiled a Code or Book of the *Answers* of the Lawyers, consisting of forty six Titles, out of the *Roman* Law. This Code he, in some measure, compiled from the Breviary of *Anian*, the Rules of *Caius*, the Sentences of *Paulus*, and even from the Body of the *Novels* of *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, *Majorian*, *Leo*, and *Severus*. Herein he follow'd the Order and Method of the *Burgundian* Laws made by King *Gundenbald* (y); and seems to have compiled these Answers for this very End, viz. That he might by this Means prescribe a certain Body of Law after the *Roman* Model, unto all such as were contented to live by the *Roman* Law: And the *Burgundians* and other *German* Nations, that infested *Gaul*, granted this Liberty unto their Subjects (z).

Touching the Laws of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, we have nothing certain to depend on. For though *Jornandes* assures us, that *Dicenæus*, even in the first Century, compell'd the *Goths* to live according to their own proper and municipal Laws; yet this rather seems to be meant of the State of the *Getæ*, than of the *Goths*. But 'tis more certain, that *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths* establish'd the Authority of the *Roman* Laws, as appears from the Preamble of the *Theodoric* Edict or Decree, in these Words; viz. "Several Complaints have been brought before us, That the Laws are under Foot within some of our Provinces, and that the Authority of the Laws is not sufficient to keep off Injustice: Wherefore, studying the Peace and Quiet of the Generality of our Subjects, and setting before our Eyes such Things as often happen, and for terminating Cases of this Nature, We have order'd the present Edict to have Weight: And saving the Reverence due to the Publick, and all Laws, to be devoutly observ'd; which Laws the *Romans* and *Barbarians* ought to follow." Now 'tis certain, that under the Words *all Laws to be ob-*

(y) Lindenb. Prologem. Cod. L.L. Antiquar.

(z) Leg. Burg. tit. 60. l. 1.

served, &c. the Roman Laws are included. Hence Pope *Gelasius* also speaks thus (a) to King *Theodoric*; viz. "Certainly your Magnificence approv'd the Laws of the Roman Emperor, which he order'd to be kept in human Affairs, to be observ'd for the Increase of his Felicity; and, more- especially, as they respect the Reverence due to St. *Peter* the Apostle." But though *Theodoric* and his Successors publish'd several Edicts which were well enough adapted to the State of his Kingdom (b), yet they never seem to have been collected into any one Body of Laws. But no sooner had *Justinian* possess'd himself of *Italy*, by his Conquest of the *Goths*, but the *Justinian* Law began to gain Ground even all over *Italy*, though the pristine Knowledge of the Law among the *Italians*, which consisted in the *Ante-Justinian* and *Gothick* Law, was not immediately thereupon entirely abolish'd. But when the *Lombards*, in the Reign of *Alboinus*, had possess'd themselves of *Italy* (c), under the Command of their General *Narfetes*, they, after the Custom of other Conquerors, introduced their own *Lombard* Laws: And, about the Year 637, *Rotharis* first reduced these Laws into Writing (d); and *Grimoaldus*, afterwards, by Order of the said *Alboinus*, added some new Matters thereunto (e). Then, after him, King *Luitprandus* added several other Laws, which we read in manuscript Copies, and which are distinguish'd by Titles or Inscriptions (f). Hereunto were subjoin'd the Edicts of *Rachisus* and *Aistulphus*. And the Emperors *Charlemagne*, *Ludovicus Pius*, *Lotharius*, *Pepin*, *Guid. Otto*, *Henry*, and *Conradus* added several Things, which are inserted in the *Lombard* Law (g). *Lindenbrogue* has inserted this Body of the *Lombard* Laws in his Code of *Ancient Laws* (h), and has divided it into three Books, and distinguish'd it by several Titles; prefixing thereunto the Names of the several Kings and Emperors that were the Authors of these *Capitula*. But the Collector of these *Capitula* is not certainly known; though 'tis plain from hence, that the Work is not very modern, because this Collection of Laws is not only referr'd to in the Books of the *Feudal* Law, but also *Charles Cotta*, a *Sicilian* by Birth, who lived five hundred Years before, has made a Comment thereon. Some will have it, indeed, that this Collection was made by a private Hand, viz. by *Peter* Deacon of *Cassini*, about the Time of the Emperor *Lotharius's* Reign (i); because we meet with no Constitution herein more ancient than his Reign. But he so blended all Things together, and distributed the Chapters thereof in such a manner, that he has shewn no Regard to the Times when these Constitutions were made; though, according to some Men, several other Objections lie against this Collection of Laws; yet the same has ever been in so great Esteem and Authority, that several Lawyers have commented on them (k). And even hence it is, that the Relicks of the *Lombard* Law do still remain in Force among the *Italians* (l). But though the Laws of the *Lombards* did at this Time meet with some Establishment in the *Roman* Empire; yet the Remains of the *Roman* Law were still preserv'd, and (in some measure) observ'd as an additional Law unto that of the *Lombards*, whenever Custom, or some written Law, did not contradict the same: For the Authority of the *Roman* Laws was of no mean and vile Account among the *Lombards* and *Italians*, but only they did not so far stretch their Power, as to overthrow Usage and Custom. But the Exarchal Cities of *Italy*, (even after *Aristulphus* King of *Lombardy* had, in the eighth Century, put an end to the Exarchate, on the Expulsion of the *Greeks* (m), had a

(a) Dist. 10. lib. 12.
Longobard. lib. 2. c. 5.

(b) Lindenbr. Cod. LL. Antiquar. p. 239.

(c) Plaut. Diacon. de Juss.

(d) Pau. Diacon. ut supra. lib. 4. c. 44.

(e) Idem lib. 5. c. 33.

(f) Idem lib. 6. 58.

(g) Baiuc. Col. tom. 1. p. 320.

(h) Pag. 503.

(i) Conring. de Orig.

Jur. c. 22.

(k) Lindenbr. Prologom.

(l) Melch. Gold. Prologom. Coll. Conf. & Lim. Imp.

(m) Rub. Hist. Raven. lib. 4.

great Regard to these Remains of the *Roman Law* ; though these Cities, by degrees, revolted from the Empire, after this Period of Time : But yet (notwithstanding all this) they say, there still remain'd among the *Romans* some Use of the *Justinian Law* : For in the Laws of the *Lombards* we meet with frequent Appeals to the *Roman Law* (n). And *Baldwin*, in his *Prologomena* to his Comment on the *Institutes*, observes, That when the several Laws of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Lombards*, *Franks*, and other Barbarous Nations prevail'd in *Italy*, and in the Western Empire ; yet, even in that unquiet State of Affairs, some Remains of the *Roman Law* were still preserv'd at *Ravenna*, which for a long Time under the Exarchs of *Constantinople*, yielded Obedience to the *Greek Emperors*. And though the *Lombards*, together with their King *Desiderius*, were subdued by the Prowess and Valour of *Charlemagne* ; yet the Authority both of the *Lombard* and *Roman Law* still continued among the *Italians*, even whilst they were under the Dominion and Government of the *Franks* : And this Law the *Franks* retain'd within their own Territories, leaving it free to their own Subjects to live even by the *Roman Law*, if they thought fit. That which continued under the *French Emperors* lasted 'till the Reign of *Lotharius* ; but yet, in such a manner, that the *Theodosian Code* was rather used in *France*, when the Majesty of the *Roman Empire* began to decline and come to an end there. The *Italians* rather chose to use the *Justinian Code* than the *Novels* ; the Use of the *Digests*, with them, being almost abolish'd : whereby it came to pass, that these Books of the *Digests* lay, as it were, dead and bury'd through Disuse, and became almost a Prey to Worms, and other such-like Vermin.

But to return to the *Justinian Law*, from whence I have made this long Digression, I shall here, in the first Place, consider in what manner the Books of *Justinian* were receiv'd at *Constantinople* ; and then, in the Eastern Empire ; and afterwards, how they were brought into *Europe*, when the Law itself was almost forgotten. For these Books were, about forty Years after *Justinian's* Time, receiv'd into the Schools at *Constantinople* ; and, being wrote in *Latin*, were used in all the Courts of Law under the Imperial Reigns of *Justin*, *Tiberius*, and *Mauritius* ; and the Law was pronounced from them, for some Time, in the *Roman Language*, wherein the Decrees of the Magistrates, and all the Judicial Sentences, were enter'd and publish'd : And this Honour was done to the *Roman Language* ; because the vast Extent of this mighty Empire was entirely owing to the Wisdom and other Virtues of the *Roman People*. But the *Justinian Law* hardly prevail'd more than forty Years after this Emperor's Death in the *Latin Tongue* : For, about the Year 600, *Phocas* (on the Death of *Mauritius* the Emperor) succeeded to the Empire ; who, being a Prince of great Sloth and Imprudence, cou'd neither preserve the Laws as they shou'd be, nor repel the Invasions which the *Saracens* made in *Asia*. Under the Reign of this weak and indolent Prince the *Germans*, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Lombards* began to sap the Foundation, and to shake the Power of this vast Empire in *Italy*. After which Time the *Roman Emperors* were contented to be stiled by the Name and Title of the *Greek Emperors*, 'till such time as the City of *Constantinople* was destroy'd by the *Turks* : Some of these Emperors desiring to be call'd the Successors of *Constantine* the Great ; and others, the Successors of *Alexander*. But from the Time of *Phocas* to that of *Basilus Macedo*, who being brought to *Constantinople*, together with his Sons *Leo* the Philosopher, and *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, among the Captives to be sold there, was, through a rare Instance of

(n) Ex Leg. Luitprand. lib. 1. LL. Longobard. tit. 39. l. 2.

(o) Circ. An. 360.

Fortune (o), proclaim'd Emperor by the Arms and Acclamations of the Soldiers, and afterwards was by his Sons succeeded in the Empire : I say, 'till this Time the Books of *Justinian* were for two hundred Years in some kind of Use under the Emperors, and continued to preserve their Authority in the Courts of Law and the Universities. For the *Code* and the *Digests* were, either in *Justinian's* Time, or soon after, translated into the *Greek* Tongue by *Thalelaus* a Chief among the Lawyers ; as the *Institutions* were by *Theophilus* a Lawyer of *Constantinople*, who lived near the Time of *Justinian* ; and several other Books, out of which the *Digests* were taken, were also turn'd into *Greek*. For when the Use of the *Latin* Tongue had by Degrees forsaken the *Greek* Schools and Courts of Law, the *Greek* Lawyers began to introduce some Parts of the *Justinian* Law into their Courts; by translating them into the *Greek* Tongue ; and in the Eastern Courts of Judicature the Law was pronounced and given from these Books, and especially from the Constitutions of those Emperors that succeeded *Justinian* to the Time of *Basilus* aforesaid. And thus the Force and Vigour of the *Roman* Laws began very sensibly to diminish under these Emperors, who were sorely harass'd by the Arms of the *Saracens* in the Eastern Empire, 'till the said *Basilus*, a Prince of great Courage and Magnanimity, did, by his Arms against the *Saracens*, and other Enemies of the Empire, acquire a mighty Reputation, and no less Glory, by restoring the *Roman* Laws and Methods of Judicature. *Theophilus* translated the Imperial *Institutions* into *Greek*, as aforesaid, in some Places paraphrasing thereon, wherein he has explain'd several Rites and Customs among the *Romans* : but yet he has made this Paraphrase, in many Places, contrary to the Sense and Meaning of *Justinian*. We have these *Institutions* in *Greek* still extant among us, being twice lately publish'd at *Paris* by *Hannibal Fabrottus*, who has corrected the Text in several Places, from three manuscript Copies in the *French* King's Library, and has added thereunto the *Latin* Version of *Curtius*, and some *Greek Scholia* and Notes thereon. This Paraphrase is much extolled by *Viglius Zuichem*, saying, That he, receiving it written in the *Greek* Tongue from Cardinal *Bembo*, translated it into *Latin*. But as to the Translator of the *Code*, 'tis very uncertain whether he was the same *Thalelaus* that translated the fifty Books of the *Digests* into *Greek*, or not ; for there was one of that Name, who was one of the Collectors of the *Pandects*, and who has given us a literal Translation thereof in the *Greek* Tongue. The *Latin* Novels have been translated into *Greek* by several Hands, and, as already remember'd, epitomiz'd by *Julianus*. But the Imperial Constitutions, which were publish'd after *Justinian's* Time, made the chief Part of the *Greek* Law, being collected in the *Greek* Tongue. And hence it came to pass, that That Body of Law, as it was publish'd by *Justinian* in the *Latin* Tongue, was plainly laid aside, and the *Greek* Law arose in its Place, though, in the main, drawn from the *Justinian* Law. And so the Translation of the *Justinian* Law continu'd in Use 'till the above-mention'd *Basilus*, about the Year 867, caus'd a new Body of Law, as it were, to be compiled out of the *Justinian* Law ; though this new Body of Law varies much from the old one, both in respect of its Number of Books, and in the Titles thereof ; nor are these Books distinguish'd or divided into Laws, as the *Digests* are. The first Part or Period of this Work consists of forty-one Books ; and the second Part or Period, consisting of nineteen Books, was continu'd by his Son and Successor *Leo* the Philosopher : so that the Whole amounting to sixty Books, was publish'd by this Emperor, under the Title of *Libri Basilicæ*. At length *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, another of *Basilus's* Sons, about twenty or (as some say)

forty Years afterwards (*p*), revis'd and purged this Work, by publishing a second Edition thereof, and by reducing it to a better Form and Method. And this Work we now make use of upon some Occasions; though it rather seems to have been compiled with a Design of abolishing the Memory of *Justinian*. For *Basilus* himself, envious of the great Reputation which *Justinian* had acquir'd by new-modelling the Law, endeavour'd first to destroy his Book, by publishing an *Epitome* of the *Justinian* Law, under the Greek Title of Περχέρον Νόμων, or, *A Manual of Laws*; and then finding this wou'd not do, he publish'd this Work of the *Basilicōn*. After which Time the Books of *Justinian* became obsolete in the Eastern Empire, being never read by the Lawyers there, and seldom or never transcribed and copied. And hence it was, that in all that Multitude of Books which have been brought into the West since the *Turks* took *Constantinople*, there have not been found any Books of *Justinian's*; unless it be, perhaps, the *Novels*. *Basilus* compiled his Law from the Books of *Justinian*, (as already hinted), and from those Edicts which *Justinian* publish'd after the *Novels*, and from the Constitutions of *Justinian* and the following Emperors that reign'd 'till the Time of *Basilus*; many of which Edicts are publish'd by *Enimundus Bonifidius* and *Joh. Leunclavius* in their Books of the Eastern Law. And, lastly, they were compiled from the Books of the *Roman* Lawyers then found among the *Greeks*, and since brought among us. But yet these Books of *Basilus* lay conceal'd for a long Time, after the Fall of that Empire, 'till *Gratian Hervettus* publish'd seven of them in *Latin*; and *Cujacius*, who had most of them in his keeping, publish'd three others, borrowing great Light and Help from them in his Comment on the *Roman* Law, and especially in his Observations, which *Thuanus* styles a divine Work. And thus this Work of the *Basilicōn* remain'd to be the Foundation of the Laws of the *Greek* Empire, 'till that Empire was dissolved and came to end. For these Books, after the Death of *Basilus* and his Sons, were neither receiv'd in the Universities; nor were they allow'd of in any Courts of Judicature, no, not even in Matters of Practice.

Though this Work of the *Basilicōn*, as translated into *Latin* by the afore-said *Hervettus*, was publish'd in a very maim'd and imperfect Condition; yet the above-mention'd *Fabrottus* has given the World a more perfect and accurate Edition of it from the *French* King's Library, not only with a new Version thereof in seven Volumes in *Folio*, printed at *Paris*, but also with the *Scholia* and *Greek* Interpreters thereon; by which Means several Passages in the *Justinian* Law are clearly explain'd and illustrated. But even this Edition is imperfect in respect of nineteen Books; the entire Body of this Law being not now extant: For not only the 19th Book is now lost, but all the Books from the 31st to the 38th; and so likewise are the 43d and 44th, and from the 49th to the 60th. But *Fabrottus* has endeavour'd to supply this Defect from the *Synopsis Basilicōn*, and the *Glosses* thereon. To this last Edition is added the *Notitia Basilicorum* of *Jos. Suarez*, which conduces much to the Knowledge of this History, and to the Law of the *Greeks*. Some Persons ascribe these Books of the *Basilicōn* to *Leo* only, who, after these Books, publish'd one hundred and thirteen Novel Constitutions now extant, and only made use of in such Matters, for which *Justinian* has provided no Constitution at all: And others ascribe them to *Basilus* the Father, to whom even *Leo* himself ascribes them.

But though this Work of the *Basilicōn* is not of sufficient Authority in Courts of Law for the Decision of Causes, yet it is of admirable Use and

(p) Circ. An. Dom. 910.

Service for restoring the Text of the *Justinian* Law, since it often gives us a Paraphrase thereon. Wherefore, as this was the Foundation of the *Greek* Law, there have been several other Lawyers, besides such as are here mention'd, who have wrote *Scholia's* and Commentaries on these Books of *Basilus*, and have publish'd either Glosses or Paraphrases thereon, though they are not equal in Number to the *European* Commentaries on the Books of *Justinian*; among which we meet with some Glosses that have reach'd even our Times; as those of *Stephanus*, *Eudoxius*, *Isidore*, *Basil*, and other *Greek* Lawyers, which are added to the Books of *Basilus*, as the Glosses of *Accursius* are to the Books of *Justinian*. Among such as are of principal Note, we may also reckon these, *viz.* *Nicæus*, *Eustathius*, *Calocyrrus*, *Sextus*, *Leo*, *Domnius*, *Joh. Priscus* a Glossator on the *Novels*, *Hagiotheodoret*, *Doxapater*, *Gregorius*, *Garidas*, *Bestes*, *Theophilitzes*, *Patzus*, *Phobenus*, and *Demetrius* the Keeper of the Archives at *Constantinople*. *Cujacius* mentions several others; but then they are such Persons as seem to have lived before the Time of publishing the *Basilicæ*, as *Suarez* observes. A *Synopsis* or an *Epitome* of the Law, rather seem'd to please the *Greeks*: And hence it is, that we have several Abridgments made from this great Work, which were framed according to the Model of the *Institutions*. From *Basil's* Manual of Laws above mention'd, *Constantine Harmenopulus*, a Judge of *Theffalonica*, has compiled an Abridgment of the whole Law; and also from those *Imperial* Constitutions which came down to the Time of *Emanuel Comnenus*, who, being in Possession of the Empire, about the Year 1150, order'd an Abridgment of this Law to be made. But before the Time of *Harmenopulus*, the Lawyer *Mich. Attaliota* did (q), by the Order of the Emperor *Ducas*, publish another *Synopsis* of these Constitutions, which he stiled *A Compendium of a Compendium*; or, according to the *Greek* Title of it, call'd, Πόινμα νόμων ἡτοι μετὰ ματιμόν. About the same Time *Mic. Psellus* publish'd a *Synopsis* of Law in Political Verse; and then *Leunclavius* (r) aforesaid publish'd his *Ecloga Basilicæ* from the Library of *Joh. Sambuci* of *Pannonia*, afterwards Great Chancellor of *Poland*, who found this Eclogue at *Tarentum* in *Calabria*. For that Part of *Italy* which was formerly call'd *Old Greece*, and afterwards term'd the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, was for a long while subject to the Eastern Emperors: And then first it submitted itself to the *Lombards*, and afterwards to the *Normans*, who lorded it over *Italy* for many Years. Some say, that *Lacoponus* the Younger was the Author of the *Ecloga Basilicæ*, which *Sambucus* found at *Tarentum*. *Leunclavius* first publish'd this *Synopsis* with a *Latin* Version; and afterwards *Charles Labbé* republish'd the same, with Critical Observations and Amendments. Another Abridgment, or *Delectus Legum*, was made by the before-mention'd *Leo* and *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, and divided into twenty-eight Titles. *Leunclavius* has translated three Books of the *Paratitla* into *Latin*, wherein the Laws relating to *Persons* and *Things sacred* are borrow'd from the *Justinian* Law. From all these, and from the Constitutions of the Emperors succeeding *Basilus*, the Law was pronounc'd and practis'd in the Eastern Empire: The Books compiled by *Justinian's* Order being entirely laid aside and neglected, either through Envy to his high Reputation, or else through *Basil's* ambitious Designs of procuring a greater Authority to his own Laws and Books of *Institutions*; or, lastly, from the easy Use and Attainment of the *Greek* Tongue, wherein his Laws were written and publish'd; this Language being then the Mother-tongue of all the Eastern Empire. But after the Division of the Eastern and Western Empire, they only made use of their own Laws in the West, which they had received from the *Romans*.

(q) Circ. Ann. Dom. 1120.

(r) Ann. Dom. 1570.

Though some Men have endeavour'd to lessen the Envy and Ambition which *Basilus* had conceiv'd against the Books and Reputation of *Justinian*, by ascribing the Loss of *Justinian's* Books to a dreadful Misfortune then happening, there being no less than 120,000 Books lost in the Conflagration of *Constantinople*, under the Reign of *Zeno* the Emperor; and when *Berytus*, the most flourishing School of the Law, was swallow'd up by an Earthquake, as already related; Unto which two Losses we may also add the great Havock and Devastation which the *Goths* and *Vandals* made of all Books in *Italy*: Yet several Persons heavily charge *Basilus* and *Leo* both, with this criminal Ambition, and that not without good Reason, in the Opinion of most Men. But *Leo*, notwithstanding all his Calumny and Rancour to *Justinian*, can find no other Fault with his Books, but that the Composition thereof was not perfect enough to solve all Difficulties in Law, and that the Order wherein *Justinian* placed them, was not precisely accurate. But this Fault may even be retorted on *Leo* himself. And the Lawyers of the Western Empire do sufficiently defend *Justinian* in this Point; only blaming him in this Particular, *viz.* That he endeavour'd to suppress the Books of the old *Roman* Lawyers (as already hinted) after the *Digests* were finish'd: And hence (some think) that *Justinian* deservedly underwent this Fate and Punishment by way of Retaliation from *Basilus*.

About the same Time that the Eastern and Western Empires were divided by an Agreement, (made between *Charlemagne* King of *France* and Emperor of *Germany*, and *Irene* Empress of *Constantinople*), *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in Imitation of the two Emperors *Basil* and *Leo*, publish'd (s) his *Nomo-Canon*, or Table of the Laws of the Empire, extracted from the Constitutions of *Basil*, and from the Canons of the Eastern Churches; which *Theodore Balsamon*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, has since (t) illustrated with proper Annotations. And *Burchard*, Bishop of *Wormes*, after the Example of *Photius*, has compiled (u) the Canons of the Western Church; being follow'd in this Undertaking (x) by *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*; as *Ivo* himself was afterwards (y) herein by *Gratian* the Monk, who compiled that Book of the *Canon* Law called the *Decretum*. And thus the *Greek* and *Roman* Law continu'd to govern from the Time of these two Emperors, *Basil* and *Leo*, till the Reign of *Constantine* the Thirteenth, surnam'd *Palæologus*, being the last of the *Greek* Emperors: At which Time *Mahomet*, the *Ottoman* Emperor, taking *Constantinople* (z), the Eastern Empire was extinguish'd together with its Laws. For till this fatal Period of Time, the Dernier Resort of the Eastern Empire was held at *Constantinople*, the most celebrated Mart in all the World for the Study of the Law and all other Parts of human Learning, and for its great Concourse of Lawyers there, as *Æneas Sylvius* well observes.

But about two hundred Years after *Justinian's* Death, *Charlemagne* being chosen Emperor of the *Romans* by the People and Senate of *Rome*, and confirm'd in his Election (as 'tis said) by the Approbation of Pope *Leo* the Third, thought it his Duty hereon to attempt a Restoration of the *Roman* Law, which had been overwhelm'd in the West through the Barbarity of the *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Moors*, *Saracens*, and other savage People: But this Restoration he could not effect, though he earnestly labour'd the same, either through the continual Wars he was embroiled in, or else through a want of Books in the *Roman* Law, which his Lawyers could never purchase at any Rate. And thus did the Knowledge of the Law, with all other Parts of Learning lie dead and buried (as it were) under the Ruins of the *Roman* Empire, during the Reign of *Charlemagne* and the two succeeding

(s) A. D. 880. (t) A. D. 1143. (u) A. D. 1020. (x) A. D. 1080. (y) A. D. 1120. (z) A. D. 1452.

VOL. I. k Ages,

Ages, to the unspeakable Loss and Grief of all learned Men at present. And such was the Madness and Stupidity of those Times, upon the Church's prevailing over the State, and setting up for an Independency thereon, that we can hardly find any Prince or Pope that did any one Thing worthy of Remembrance, during this great Eclipse of Learning: And so it will always happen, when the Clergy get the Ascendant in any State or Nation; it being their Interest (as they conceive) to extinguish all Light and Knowledge in the World, that they may rule the Laity by a blind Obedience to their Power, as we see they do at this Time in all Places where Ignorance prevails on the rampant Power of the Church over the State, and particularly in those too illiterate Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Portugal*. But upon the Dawn and Appearance of Learning again about the twelfth Century, such was the Happiness of the *Roman Law*, that all other Sciences seem'd to revive with it under the Reign of *Lotharius* the *Saxon* Emperor of the West; who, about the Year 1127, in Confederacy with Pope *Innocent* the Second, waging War against *Roger* Duke of *Apulia*, or (as others call him) King of *Sicily*, and imploring the Aid of the Commonwealth of *Pisa*, (then a free State,) first discover'd and found out that Part of the *Civil Law* (a) which is contain'd in the *Digests* or *Pandects*, upon destroying the City of *Amalphis* or *Amalfis* near *Salernum* in *Apulia* (b), written in very ancient Characters or Capital Letters connected and running into each other, without any Interstice of Words or Distance observ'd between them. The People of *Pisa*, who assisted the said Emperor in this War with their Fleet, in Honour of their gallant Atchievements, begged this Book of him, as a Reward of the Service done him by their Navy. And thus it was given to the City of *Pisa*, there to remain as a Memorial of their good Service: Whither all the Doctors resorted, upon any Dispute about the Sense of the Law, in order to consult the same. But when the City of *Pisa* was reduc'd and taken (c) by *Caponius*, General of the *Florentine* Army, after a long Siege, it was remov'd from thence and carried to *Florence*, as a Part of his Triumph, where it is now very carefully and religiously kept in the Great Duke of *Florence's* Library, consisting of two Volumes bound in Crimson Velvet, and adorn'd with Silver Clasps and Plates: And hence these Books are stiled the *Florentine Pandects*, or the *Pandects* of *Pisa*. And this Book or *Code* of Laws was formerly in so great Esteem and Veneration, that whenever it was brought forth and expos'd to any Person's View, it was perform'd with the Solemnity of lighted Torches, and with a certain Number of Monks standing round about it uncover'd, in the Presence of the Great Duke or Chief Magistrate. Some Persons aver this Book to be the very Original, which *Justinian* publish'd in his Life-time, as before hinted: And this they infer from the ancient Characters wherein it was written. But *Anton. Augustinus*, and since his Time, *John Mabillon*, will have it to be written in *Greece* by the Hand of some private Person after *Justinian's* Death, though they both acknowledge it to be very ancient: And this Conclusion they make, because the *Amanuensis* has made use of Numbers and Characters, which *Justinian* prohibited under the Penalty of the *Cornelian Law*, and for that several Faults are found herein, which have been corrected by the *Exemplar* of some other Book, or else do still want Correction. But though I cannot think this to be the Original Manuscript; yet I readily agree with all other Persons in this Point, *viz.* That this Book now at *Florence* is the *Archetype*, from whence all other Copies have since been taken. Hence Recourse is always had to this Manuscript, when we meet with various Pleadings in the

(a) Coras. ad L. 2. D. 1. 2.

(b) Foliet. Hist. Genuens. lib. 9. ad An. 1406.

(c) A. D. 1406.

several Editions thereof. 'Tis the vulgar Opinion, that the said Emperor, upon finding this Book, did in a publick Manner introduce the *Justinian* Law into all Courts of Law and Universities, by abrogating the *Lombard* Laws: But as no Writer of any Credit makes mention of so memorable a Passage, we may infer this to be an erroneous Opinion.

On the Restoration of the *Digests*, all other Arts and Sciences (as already hinted) began to flourish again, and to get out of that Darkeness under which they labour'd for so long a Time: And the Books of the *Civil* Law were receiv'd into all Parts of the Western Empire, and were adorn'd with excellent Glosses and Commentaries, which were made with great Harmony and Agreement unto each other. There was at this Time (d) in the Court of *Maud* the Empress, one *Irnerius* (e), a Professor of the *Civil* Law at *Bononia*, who had studied the Law at *Constantinople* with much Reputation, and was Prime Minister of State to the Emperor *Lotharius* (f). By the Persuasion and Authority of this Person, *Lotharius*, in a publick Convention of the States held at *Roncalia* (g), order'd the *Roman* Law to be read and taught in all Universities of the Empire: And by an Edict appointed all Judicial Causes to be decided according to the Decrees of this Law. This *Irnerius* was the first Person that brought the *Code*, which contains the *Justinian* Law, and the *Pandeets*, back again into the University of *Bononia*, after they had been long found out, as aforesaid: And this he did at a Time when *Pepo*, who had done the same Thing before, continued to be of an obscure Reputation; teaching at *Bononia* with great Applause, and gaining many Auditors, whom he afterwards made Doctors of Law. These Persons propagated the Learning which they had receiv'd from *Irnerius*; and hence, by Degrees, the *Civil* Law was admitted into several Courts of Law and divers Universities. But as the Power of the Emperors sensibly increas'd the Force of the *Justinian* Law; so did *Irnerius*'s Scholars, not only by their Glosses, but also *vivâ voce*, expound this Law in the University of *Bononia*; variously promoting and tacitly confirming the same. And even such Persons as were bred up in the Schools of these Men, did also in their own Schools introduce the Study of the *Civil* Law, which they in a particular Manner recommended to other Universities, on the score of its great Equity. Yea, the *Italian* Universities did so far excel all others in the Study of the *Civil* Law, that, being thus famous, no Persons were admitted into any Princes Courts, or into any Courts of Law, nor into any Universities as Professors of Law, unless they were such as came from the *Italian* Universities: Nor were they admitted as Judges or Advocates, &c. in the Imperial Diets, unless they had studied the Laws in those Universities. And hence it was, that out of the Schools of *Irnerius*, there arose that famous Set or Period of Lawyers, which have instructed the learned World in the *Civil* Law. Among the chief of which were *Martin* of *Cremona*; and *Bulgarus*, an Opposer of the said *Martin*, who studied in the University of *Bononia*, and lived in the Reign of *Frederick Barbarossa*. Then came *Hugo à Porta*; and *Jacob Ugolinus*, the first Collector of the *Feudal* Law-Books. After him succeeded *Rogerius*, *Otto*, and *Placentinus*, who was a publick Professor of the Law at *Montpellier*. We next read of *Pyteus*, who taught the Law at *Bononia* and *Mutina*, and was the Author of the *Quæstiones Sabathinæ*, and a Scholar unto *Bulgarus*. *Albericus à Porta Ravennate*, was a Person more remarkable for his great Proficiency in the Law, than for his Morals and good Behaviour in the Conduct of Human Life. *Azo*, a Native of *Bononia* and Professor of the *Civil* Law at *Montpellier* in *France*; was *Albericus*'s Scholar, and reckon'd

(d) Circ. Ann. 1150.

(e) Abb. Arsperg. fol. 291.

(f) Ciron. lib. 5. Obs. Jur. Can. c. 5.

(g) A. D. 1136.

the chief Lawyer among those of his Time. This *Azo* was Master to *Baldwin* of *Bononia*, and to *Roffredus* of *Beneventano*. But these Men, though eminent Lawyers in their own Days, have yet, through their Ignorance of History, Antiquity, and true Philosophy, been guilty of several Errors and Mistakes in their respective Expositions of the Law.

These Persons have, in a different Manner, divided the *Justinian Law*. First, They divided the *Pandects* into two Parts: The second Part beginning about the End of the Law here quoted (*b*). But afterwards they, with other of the Doctors, divided the *Digests* or *Pandects* into three Parts. The first Part was called the *Old Digest*, reaching to the third Title, *De Soluta Matrimonio* (*i*). The second Part, according to this Division, was stiled *Digestum Infortiatum*, which ends with the Title *De Novi Operis Nunciatione* (*k*). And the third Part is intitled the *New Digest*, which closes with the End of the *Pandects*. But the only Reason for this Division seems to be, that they were willing to divide these Volumes according to their Bulk or Proportion. Wherefore the *Old Digest* comes down to the third Title of the twenty-fourth Book; the *Infortiatum* to the first Title of the thirty-ninth Book; and the *New Digest* to the End of the *Pandects*, as aforesaid. This Division is ascrib'd unto *Burgundio*, a Judge and Citizen of *Pisa*, who distinguish'd the *Novels* into nine *Collations*, as already remember'd: So that the *Old Digest* denotes the first Part; the *Infortiatum* imports the middle Part, and the *New Digest* points out the last Part of the *Pandects*. But 'tis still a Doubt among the Learned, why this second Part is stiled the *Infortiatum*: And as there are almost infinite Conjectures touching the same; so, I think, no good Reason can be given why it was thus called. Some, indeed, derive it from the *Latin Verb Infero*; because (say they) that Part of the *Digest* which treats of *Inheritances*, *Substitutions*, and the like, *plurimum infert*, or, in *English*, it brings much Grief to the Lawyer's Mill. Whereupon the Lawyer *Alexander*, in his Preface to that Title of the Law which concerns *Vulgar* and *Pupillary Substitutions*, says, That *Baldus* got fifteen thousand Ducats by the Business of Substitutions alone, as he himself inform'd *Raphael Cumanus*. But *Du Fresne* will have the Word *Infortiare* to have the same Signification as the Verb *Firmare*; and that it is here so called, because it is the middle Part of the *Pandects*, which is encompass'd and fortify'd with the *Old* and *New Digest*. *Ludovicus Romanus* thinks, that some Interpreter or other impos'd this Name on it, according to his own Fancy, without any just Reason at all; which Name being receiv'd by constant Usage, has been deliver'd down to us: And this seems to be the most probable Conjecture. In quoting the *Digests*, the Ancients, according to *Alciatus*, were wont to put a *Circumflex Accent* over the *Greek Letter* (π), in the Form and Manner here described: And *Hagemeir* entirely agrees with *Alciatus* in this Opinion. *Hubert*, in his Preface to his Readings on the *Digests*, says, That we denote or mark the *Pandects* with a double (*f*), as being a Corruption of the *Greek Letter* (π): For at this Day we either use a double (*f*) as thus written, *viz.* (*ff*), or else we make use of the Letter (*D*), to signify the *Digests*. Now, touching this Mark, and the Original of it, there are several Opinions different from each other, too many to be here inserted.

But to return to the more eminent Interpreters of the Law. In the thirteenth Century we meet with *Accursus*, a *Florentine* by Birth; who, at the Age of forty Years almost, applying himself to the Study of the *Civil Law* under *Azo* and *Odofredus*, became such a Proficient therein, that he far excelled his Masters in the Knowledge thereof. But, leaving his Pro-

(*b*) D. 35. 2. 82.(*i*) D. 24. tit. 3.(*k*) D. 39. tit. 1.

profession and Practice of the Law for some Time, he retir'd from the World; and, in the Space of seven Years (*l*), collected together all the particular Glosses, which the above-mention'd Lawyers and their Contemporaries had made on the Body of the Law; and (*m*) publish'd his Glosses on the *Digests* and *Novels*; and in two Years more, according to the Testimony which he gives of himself, he finish'd his Glosses on the *Code* (*n*); wherein he has, in a very concise manner, connected together all the similar Parts of the Law, and reconcil'd all those Passages which seem'd to differ from each other; obtaining from hence a mighty Reputation on the score of his great Judgment and Memory. But though he was so very industrious in explaining the Laws, so very acute and clear in finding out the Meaning thereof, and so very happy in reconciling them together, that he was on this Account stiled *Glossatorum Coryphæus*; yet, not being well skill'd in the History of the Times, and in the more elegant Parts of Learning, we often find him guilty of Errors, as others were before him. In Admiration of him, the succeeding Interpreters of the Law have, with equal Pains, apply'd themselves to the Explication of his Glosses, and other Terms of Law, (for which they are highly blameable): And thus, following him, (as they imagine) they have begun another Way of teaching the Law by prolix Commentaries, contrary to the Law and Sanction of *Justinian*, who had forbid any Commentaries to be added to his Laws (*o*). And hence arose a new Body of Law, with the Gloss on it, publish'd in a different Manner; which so far prevail'd, that these succeeding Interpreters rather employ'd their Time in explaining his Glosses, as aforesaid, than in expounding the Terms of the Law themselves; so that, by this Means, they corrupted not a little the Text of the Law itself. Yea, the Authority of the Gloss was in such Esteem, that all Causes were order'd to be determin'd according to the Sense thereof, whenever any eminent Interpreter of the Law, in his Opinion, adhered thereunto. But the Authority of the *Gloss* is at this Day much lessen'd in its Value. *Cujacius* (*p*), in short, prefers *Accursius* to all the Greek and Latin Interpreters of the Law; stiling those Opinions, wherein *Bartolus* and others deviate from him, by the Name of *Dreams*, &c.

After *Accursius*, no more Glosses were attempted on the Law 'till the Time of the Commentators in the fourteenth Century; for then began, as it were, a new Period of the Civil Law, when *Bartolus à Saxoferrato*, *Baldus*, and their Followers, sprang up; as did also, about that Time, *Alexander*, *Tartagnus*, *Bartholomæus*, *Salycetus*, *Paul. de Castro*, *Jason* the Great, *Cynus*, *Oldradas*, *Petrus de Billapertica* Professor of the Law at Orleans, *Raph. Fulgosius*, *Raph. Cumanus*, *Hippolitus*, *Riminaldas*, and other Italian Doctors (*q*), who wrote new Comments on the Body of the Law. But though these were Men of vast Subtlety in Point of *Genius*, yet they rather made use of a Scholastick Gravity, and were too prolix in their Style; yea, they proceeded in their Works without any Order or Method at all, being no ways versed in the proper Parts of Learning. But tho' all or most of these Persons were eminently skill'd in the Knowledge of the Roman Law: Yet it must be own'd, that *Bartolus* and *Baldus* (among them) far surpass'd all the rest in respect of Learning. *Bartolus* was born in the Year 1303, and profess'd the Civil Law at *Pisa* in Italy, and afterwards at *Peruzium*; which he has explain'd in his immense Commentaries with so much Judgment, in regard to his Age, being then but forty-six Years old, that he is celebrated by all Men as the best Expositor of the *Justinian* Law since the Days of *Accursius*: And all the Doctors assure us, that his

(*l*) Forst. Hist. Jur. Civ. v. *Accursius*.

(*m*) A. D. 1220.

(*n*) *Accurs.* Gloss. in l. 2. C. 9. 2.

(*o*) C. 1. 17. 1. 12.

(*p*) Lib. 12. Obs. 16.

(*q*) *Gravin.* n. 166, 167, 168 & 169.

Skill in the Laws was so wonderfully great, that, by a great Felicity of Parts, he far excell'd all others therein. *Baldus* of *Peruzium* was his Scholar, who profess'd the *Civil Law* at *Bononia* and *Tecino* for fifty-six Years with so much Judgment and *Acumen* of Wit, that *Jason* usually said of him, *That he was ignorant of nothing*. And *Phil. Decius* informs us (r), that no one ever equalled *Baldus* in Point of Authority. He liv'd to a very old Age, dying in the Year 1420. And truly, among these Men there seem'd to be nothing wanting, but that they should have lived in more happy Times (s) : For in those Days the Barbarity of the *Goths* and *Lombards* had in some measure extinguish'd the Use of the *Latin Tongue*, and almost all other Parts of Literature. And hence it is, that *Anton. Contius* (t) styles these Interpreters by the Name of the *Lombard Doctors*. Therefore, if they use a *Gothic Stile* in their Writings, or if we meet with any Fault in their Works, either through their Ignorance of History, or any other Part of Learning, it ought to be imputed to the Time wherein they wrote their Comments ; and their accurate Knowledge in the *Roman Law*, deliver'd down by them to future Ages with so much Judgment and Industry, ought to atone for these Defects in their Works.

The Lawyers, who follow'd these two great Lights of the Law, were *Angelus Perusinus* the Brother of *Baldus*, *Salycetus*, *Alexander*, *Paul de Castro*, *Franc. Aretinus*, *Jason*, *Decius*, and others, who taught the *Roman Law* with equal Judgment and Industry, as their Commentaries do sufficiently testify : But all these Persons too, stood in Need of the Elegance of the *Latin Tongue*, and wanted that Knowledge in the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, which the Lawyers of the following Age attain'd to. This want of general Learning, and the Unhappiness of their Stile, was, in a great measure, owing to the Destruction of *Constantinople*, as above recorded : For, after the Ruin of this City, all such Books as related to *Greek*, were, by way of Banishment, sent into the Western Parts of the World ; and, from an Emulation between the Eastern and Western Parts, the *Latin* Erudition began again to flourish, and the *Civil Law* receiv'd much Embellishment from this Accident. This Age of Commentators continu'd 'till the Time of *Andreas Alciatus* an eminent Lawyer of *Milan* (u), and of the University of *Pavia*, who was the first of any Note that restor'd the *Civil Law* to its ancient Splendor in Point of Stile, by removing that *Barbarism* with which it had been cloathed for so long a Time : His Commentaries, from the Learning therein contain'd, being much more ornamental in regard of Stile, &c. than those of the above-mention'd Lawyers. For he has illustrated the same not only from the Text of the *Roman Law*, but even from the Books of the *Roman Antiquities* too, and has compleated that Work which *Cassilius*, *Cumanus*, and *Fulgosius* had so unsuccessfully attempted. The School of *Alciatus* produc'd not only many excellent Lawyers, but several Commentators also, who, following the Example of their great Master just now mention'd, much improv'd the Knowledge of the Law by their learned Works (x). Among the *Italians*, we may reckon *Decianus*, *Menochius*, and *Pancirollus* : Among the *Spaniards*, there appear'd *Anton. Augustinus*, *Didacus*, *Covarruvius*, *Goveanus*, *Penellus*, and several others : Among the *French*, are *Budæus*, *Cujacius*, *Duarche*, *Tiraquel*, *Contius*, *Hotoman*, *Baldwin*, *Brissonus*, *Anton. and Pet. Faber* : And, lastly, among the *Germans*, we may note *Udalricus*, *Zazius*, *Hugo Donellus*, *Sichardus*, *Viglius*, *Zuickem*, and others ; who have all since adorn'd the *Roman Law* with so much Learning of all

(r) Dec. Conf. 283.

(s) Baldwin. in Prologom. in Inst.

(t) Lib. 1. Disp. Jur. Civ. c. 8.

(u) Ripamont. Hist. Mediol. lib. 10.

(x) Duck. de Auth. Jur. Civ lib. 1. cap. 5.

Kinds, that they may, without the least Imputation of Envy or Arrogance, contend with the Professors of all other Sciences. But, among these, *Cujacius* has done as much as all the rest (y) and has been since follow'd, herein by several of the Moderns; and among these, we may reckon his Scholar *Peter Pithou*, who ought not to sit the lowest in this Class of the Moderns. And though we are indebted to the former *Italians* for the true Use of the *Roman Law*; yet the Light, Elegance, and Ornament of it, is wholly owing to the Interpreters of the succeeding Age. For the old Expositors of the Law only left us the Fruits; but *Budæus* and the Moderns have rather given us the Flowers than the Fruits thereof, as the *Italians* themselves confess.

And thus the *Justinian Law* now appearing to be a much better Law than the Laws of the aforesaid Barbarous Nations, did not only shew itself within the Bounds of the *Alps*, but it even passed over those Hills, and began by Degrees to be introduced into the several Universities of *France* and *Germany* even in the 13th Century; (as already rehearsed) notwithstanding the Efforts of several Popes to prohibit the same, in order to advance the *Canon Law*, which makes so much for the Papal Power and Usurpation over Princes. And though it be contain'd among the Privileges granted by *Philip the Handsom* to the University of *Orleans* (z), That the Kingdom of *France* should be govern'd by an *unwritten Law*; yet the same King enacted, That this customary or unwritten Law, which Usage had introduced among them, should be practis'd according to the Form and Model of the *written*, meaning the *Roman Law*, and that this *customary Law* should be explain'd by it. Hence we may conclude, that the Authority of the *Roman Law* was not only great under the first Line of their Kings, but also under those of the *Carolingian Line*: And, the Use of this Law being preserv'd in *Aquitain* and *Narbonne* by the Kings of *France*, the Parts of *France* were hereupon stiled the *Roman Gaul*; and these said Provinces were likewise call'd the Provinces of the *written Law*, whilst other Parts of *France* were termed the *French Gaul*. And tho' the Use of the *Theodosian Code* prevail'd most in *France* for a While; yet no sooner was the *Justinian Law* entirely restor'd in *Europe*, but the Authority of this Law came also into *France*. And though the *French* do at this Time make use of their own *Municipal Laws*; yet they call in the Assistance of the *Roman Law*, in many Cases, which they call the *Common Law*, and is still practis'd there. Indeed, in *Spain* the *Roman Law* has been forbidden, by several of their Kings, to be quoted and made use of in their Courts of Judicature: Yet *Alphonso* the tenth King of *Castile* did, in a great measure, borrow his Collection of the *Partitæ*, which is the best Part of the *Spanish Law*, from the *Roman Law*. Wherefore, in all the *Spanish* Universities they make use of the *Roman Law* in all their Expositions of the *Partitæ*, though the same be not practis'd in their Courts of Law. The same Method is observ'd in *Portugal*, especially since the *Roman Law* has been taught in the University of *Coimbra*. But in *Germany* the *Roman Law* has met with a better Fate, and the Authority thereof is still preserv'd therein, with some Limitations only in respect of the Publick Law, wherein that Law is corrected by several modern Constitutions or Ordinances of the Emperors and the Electoral Princes. For in all the Circles of the *German Empire* the Princes have a Sovereign Power of Judicature, by Judges and Magistrates of their own chusing, according to the various Statutes, Constitutions, and Customs of their own respective Provinces: Yet all these Things are adapted to the Rules of the *Civil Law*,

(y) Thuan. Hist. lib. 99. p. 99.

(z) Ann. Dom. 1312.

and are held in Subordination thereunto, as being expounded thereby ; especially in the Supreme Court of the Empire. This Supreme Court was formerly held in the Imperial Palace, to which Appeals lay from all the Courts of the inferior Provinces, and in Causes concerning the *Regalia*, Honours and Fiefs of the Empire, and Suits in all Causes of greater Moment were tried here, till the Year 1495, at which Time the Imperial Chamber was settled at *Wormes* by *Maximilian* the First, and by the Imperial Diet or States of the Empire (a) : But, by a subsequent Constitution, this Court is now settled at *Spire* (b) ; unto which all the Electors, Princes, and Subjects of the Empire, yield Obedience, as to a Court of *Dernier Resort* (c), having a Concurrent Jurisdiction with the Emperor himself (d). Nor can the Emperor call a Cause from thence, nor does there lie any Appeal or Supplication from this Court (e) ; but yet the Party may pray a Review. But the Power of this Court only extends to Civil Causes ; a Criminal Accusation being only admitted there when the Peace of the Empire is violated (f) : For it takes Cognizance of no other Crimes ; nor does it receive Appeals in Criminal Causes ; such Appeals being prohibited in the Dominions of almost all the Princes (g).

In the Imperial Chamber, besides the Presidents which are Counts or Barons, there are thirty-six Assessors appointed, who are not admitted without having been Readers and Professors of the *Civil* and *Canon* Law for some Time in some University, or else having spent five Years (at least) in the Study of these Laws. And by the Constitutions of the Empire, they are enjoin'd to pronounce Sentence according to the *Roman* Common Law, when there are no Constitutions, Statutes, or Provincial Customs to the contrary : For these Assessors, upon entering into their Office, do swear to judge all Causes according to the Ordinances of the Empire, and (in defect of such Ordinances) to determine them according to the *Roman* Law. So that from hence it appears, that the *Civil* Law prevails very much in *Germany*. The Court of *Rotweiler* is more ancient by three hundred Years than the Imperial Chamber, being establish'd by the Emperor *Conrade* the Fourth (h), for the Circles of *Austria*, *Swabia*, and the *Rhine* : Besides all the Consistories in the particular Provinces of Princes and States of the *German* Empire : In all which Consistories, by the Constitutions of the Empire, Causes ought to be decided according to the *Roman* Law ; provided it be not derogatory to the Statutes, Customs, and Constitutions of these Provinces. And hence it is the Opinion of all the *German* Lawyers, That the *Roman* Law is still the *Common* Law of the Empire (i), and has yet Force in all the Imperial Territories, though it be limited in some respects by Municipal or Particular Laws ; and that not only Natives, but even Foreigners residing in the Empire, are subject thereunto. So that whatever is contain'd in the *Roman* Laws, remains still entire and uncorrected among the *Germans* ; provided it does not clash with the Municipal Laws of the *German* Nation. Hence the *Germans*, in making their Wills, are oblig'd to the same Number of Witnesses as is requir'd by the *Roman* Law (k) ; and an Appeal from an Interlocutory Sentence is not allow'd of in the Imperial Chamber, following the *Civil* Law (l). But though there were anciently several Municipal and Provincial Laws in *Germany*, which the Princes and People of that Nation made use of as a *Customary* Law, before the *Roman* Law was restor'd by the Emperor *Lotharius*, as

(a) Ordon. Camer. p. i. tit. 27.

(b) Imp. Jud. Cam. Ord. tit. 34.

(c) Mynf. Cent.

4. obf. 5.

(d) Steph. de Jurisd. lib. 2. p. 1. c. 3.

(e) Gail. lib. 1. obf. 29.

(f) Mynf. Cent.

2. obf. 98.

(g) Pacian. Conf. 1. n. 70.

(h) Lorch. Enchirid. Arr. n. 1337.

(i) Gilman.

Decif. Cam. Imper. 24. Wesemb. Conf. 23. p. 1. n. 1.

(k) Everard. in Loc. rar. leg. tit. 35.

(l) Gail.

lib. 1. obf. 120. C. 7. 63. 7.

aforesaid ;

aforesaid ; and though many of the said Usages and Customs do still continue with them ; yet in many Places they are now changed by the Prudence and Equity of the *Civil* Law ; and in all Cases they receive an Interpretation from this Law. In *Saxony*, indeed, the People chiefly make use of their own Law, as being very fond thereof ; and this Law, in a great measure, prevails in the Territories of *Lusatia*, *Silesia*, *Brandenburgh*, *Brunswick*, *Lunenbourg*, and *Hessia* : And out of the Empire, the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* (m) do embrace the same. For the *Saxons* were a severe and warlike People, who not only extended their Dominions by the Force of their Arms, but were strict and exact Observers of Justice ; punishing all Crimes with great Rigour, according to the Manners and Customs of their own Nation ; which made other Parts of *Germany* in love with their Laws, as being well adapted for the Preservation of the publick Peace. This *Saxon* Law is very ancient, and was so dear to the *Saxons*, that *Charlemagne*, upon the Conquest of *Saxony* after a long War, granted the Use thereof unto this brave People, when he made Peace with them : And thus the *Saxons* and other Dominions in *Germany*, do still retain the same. But it continued an unwritten Law for a long Time, until *Eccard à Repichaw*, a *Saxon* Nobleman and Lawyer, made a *Latin* Compendium of all the *Saxon* Customs, in three Books, which he stiled *Speculum Saxonicum*, or the *Saxon* Mirror ; and the Emperor *Otho* the First confirm'd this Work as a Body of Laws for them. But in the Interpretation of the *Saxon* Law, these Rules are commonly admitted, viz. 1st, That the same shall be expounded strictly, and shall not be extended to Cases therein not express'd (n). 2^{dly}, That in doubtful Cases, they shall receive their Interpretation from the *Roman* Law (o). 3^{dly}, That in all Cases omitted, and where that Law is defective, it shall be supplied by the *Roman* Law (p) : And for this Reason the Benefit of a *Cessio Bonorum* (q) is granted unto Debtors, which the Rigour of the *Saxon* Law does not allow of ; and the Oath of Calumny is restor'd to Use again in their Courts, which was grown into Disuse by the Customs of *Saxony*. And, Lastly, That, after the *Saxon* Law, there should be no other *Common* Law acknowledg'd there, besides the *Roman* Law (r). In *Italy*, though the Power of the *Roman* Emperors be now entirely extinguish'd there, yet *Rome* and *Italy* do still retain the Authority of the *Roman* Laws, and yield a voluntary Obedience thereunto, on the account of their great Wisdom. But in those Territories which the Pope has possess'd himself of, as *Ancona*, *Benevento*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Romandiola*, *Spalato*, and many other Cities and States, the *Civil* Law has been somewhat eclips'd, and ill receiv'd, by the undue Expositions of the *Canonists* in Favour of the Hierarchy ; yet by a Statute of the City of *Rome* it is provided (s), That in *Rome*, and the Territories thereunto belonging, Judgment shall be given according to the *Civil* Law, in all Civil Causes, without any Recourse had to the Canons, unless it be when the *Civil* Law is defective ; because the *Civil* Law there had its Rise, and from thence was deriv'd unto other States. And the *Roman Rota*, or Court of Chancery, does not follow the Equity of the *Canon* Law, but the *Civil* Law itself (t), unless some Case occurs wherein the *Civil* is corrected by the *Canon* Law ; as in the Punishment of Women marrying again within the Year of Mourning (u) ; because a Law corrected has lost the Force of a Law ; and therefore *Margaret de S. Cruce* marrying a second Husband within the Year of Mourning, was acquitted in the *Roman Rota* (x). And by a Statute of the City of *Ancona*,

(m) Celer. in Orat. de Jur. Saxon. (n) Goden. Conf. 15. n. 12. (o) Schnedwin. in 6. I. 3. 28.
 (p) Hartm. Pest. lib. 1. 2. 31. (q) Coler. Decif. 135. n. 12. & Decif. 117. n. 10. (r) Schrad.
 Con. 6. n. 31. (s) Stat. Urb. Rom. c. 42. (t) Seraphin Decif. 487. & Decif. 819. (u) Capr.
 Cor. 70. n. 12. (x) Farinac. Decif. Crim. lib. 2. Decif. 65.

all Civil Causes are first to be determin'd by the *Civil*, and secondly by the *Canon Law* (y). But at *Avignon*, where the Pope has an absolute Sovereignty by the Grant of *Joan Queen of Sicily* unto Pope *Clement the Sixth*, it is specially enacted, That all Causes shall be decided there by the *Canon Law* alone (z). But of all the People of *Italy*, the *Venetians* have in the least manner submitted themselves unto the *Roman Laws*: And as they have preserv'd their first Liberty against the Power of the *Roman Emperors*, so they now always make use of their own Laws, this being the highest Evidence of Liberty among all Nations. Wherefore some of the Doctors, speaking of the *Venetians*, say, That they are govern'd by Customs and unwritten Law; and others affirm them to be directed by the Law of Nature and of Nations (a): Upon which Account their Wills, if testify'd by two Witnesses, are valid; and their Sentences never pass *in Rem Judicatum*, because they will have them to be *de facto* revokable (b). But yet it cannot be deny'd, but that the *Venetians* worship and respect the *Roman Civil Law* for its wholsom Rules and Institutions; and therefore they make use of *Civilians* for their Assessors in Courts of Law (c), and send them in all their Embassies. The ancient City of *Milan* was for a long Time in Obedience to the *Roman Laws*, until the Government of the Kings of *Lombardy* was erected there; and then it was for two hundred Years in Subjection to the *Lombard Laws*. But upon *Charlemagne's* Expulsion of the *Lombards*, the *Feudal Laws* and Customs obtain'd under their Successors, who granted several Parts of *Italy* unto Persons, in Fief, under the Titles of Dukes, Marquisses, and Counts: And these Laws and Customs, being reduc'd into Writing by the Lawyers of *Milan*, under the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, they are at this Day made use of as a Body of Law by the *Milaneſe*. But yet these Laws are expounded according to the Sense of the *Civil Law*; and the Senate of *Milan*, consisting of a President and twelve Senators, all Professors of the *Civil Law* (d), are Judges in Matters of Controversy. Likewise in the Senate of *Mantua* they have seven Doctors of the *Civil Law* for their Judges; and are govern'd by the *Roman Law*, as their own Common Law (e). Thus also is the *Rota* at *Genoa* govern'd by their own Statutes, and by the *Roman Civil Law*; and have *Civilians* for their Judges, which are for the most part Foreigners (f), to avoid all Partiality and Affection, &c. So that from hence it plainly appears, that the *Roman Civil Law* is the Common Law in *Italy*; and that the *Italians*, next unto their own Statutes, are bound to observe this Law in the Decision of their Causes, and do supply and expound their own Municipal Laws thereby.

As *Great Britain* is divided from every other Part of the World by the Sea, so likewise it is divided from all other *European Nations* by the Practice of its Laws; our Kings having never granted so much Authority to the *Roman Laws* to be mix'd with their own, as other *European Princes* have done. Hence it has been said, that the *Roman Civil Law* has scarce ever been admitted among us: And there are some *French Writers* (g) of Distinction too, who aver, that the *Civil Law* is not in Use here in *England*. But this Error is easily accounted for; since they have seen no *British Commentators* on the *Roman Law*, which has been common to all other Nations: And as our Law-books are written in a Language unknown to them, they cannot learn what Use the *Roman Law* has among us. Now to know what Authority the *Roman Law* has among

(y) Ant. de Amat. Decif. Rot. Maren. 59. n. 4. (z) Hier. & Laurent. Decif. Aren. 68. (a) Castren. Conf. 424. lib. 1. (b) Felin. in c. 24. X. 5. 1. (c) Angel. Matheſi. de via & rat. Jur. C. 36. (d) Stat. Mediol. C. 414. (e) Burſat. Mantuan. Conf. 199. n. 41. (f) Flamin. Chartar. Decif. Ret. Jen. (g) Forcatul. de Gal. imper. lib. 7. Cheppin. lib. 2. De Doman. Franc. tit. 15. n. 5.

us, and how it was heretofore receiv'd, we ought to consider the several Changes of Government that have happen'd from the *Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans*: All which People did in their Times introduce several of their own Laws amongst us; so that now our Laws are a Mixture of all these Laws put together, as may be easily collected from the Laws of these several Nations. For if we contemplate the Books of the *Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman* Laws, we shall readily find, that our Ancesters borrow'd much from the Laws of these several Nations, and not a little from the *Lombard* Feudal Law introduced by the *Normans*. The *High Constable* and *Earl Marshal* take Cognizance of *Military Affairs* and *Martial Discipline*, (as well as of Causes relating to *Heraldry*) by some Rules of the *Civil Law*. The Court of *Admiralty* is guided by other Parts of it, with the Laws of *Oleron*, and the Maritime Constitutions, in the *Consolato del Mare*, for Matters arising upon the Sea, and relating to Sea Affairs. We have derived many of our Definitions, Divisions and Maxims, either from the *Roman* or *Feudal Law*. Our *Chancery* or Court of Equity has borrow'd the very Method of Trial from the *Civil Law*: The Complaint being by Bill, which amounts to a *Libel*, without particular Positions and distinct Articles; and the Defendant makes an *Answer* in Writing to it, but sets forth his *Defence* in his Answer, which has shortned the *Civil Law* Practice. There are Exceptions, Replications, Interrogatories, Witnesses privately examin'd, a Publication of their Depositions, a Sentence or Decree in Writing by a Judge without the Verdict of a Jury, as in the Practice of the *Civil Law*; and, if Occasion requires, there may be an *Appeal* in Writing to the Upper House of Parliament: All which Method of Practice in our Court of *Chancery* shews, that the *Roman Law* had some Footing among us. Indeed, some particular Customs relating to Descents of *Inheritances*, make a Difference between the *Civil* and some Parts of our *Common Law*; but the Succession to Personal Estates is evidently the same. But the Reader will more clearly see the Relation between these two Laws, when he considers, that the *Common Law* originally gave no methodical Account of Things purely rational, as of Obligations, Contracts, Crimes, Trespases, Last Wills and Testaments, and the like: But we are told ^(b), that these Things were deliver'd down to the *Britons* by their *Druids*; they having borrow'd the reasoning Part of these Titles from the *Civil Law*. But many of our *Common Lawyers* are apt to think that this is all their own from the Beginning, because they are in Possession of, and find it at present in their Books. But *Fleta* and *Bracton*, and the most ancient of their Writers, would look very naked, if every *Roman Lawyer* should pluck away his own Feathers. Of late my Lord *Coke* has frequently and in express Terms made use of the Maxims of the *Civil* and *Canon Laws*, and has taught the Way of Arguing from such Rules to others. But Mr. *West* having Occasion, in his Book of *Precedents*, to give a general Account of Obligations, Contracts, Offences, &c. has unskilfully epitomized and translated the Account from *Herm. Vultcius* ⁽ⁱ⁾, and pass'd it off for the pure *Common Law* of *England*. If there is that wide Difference between the *Common* and *Civil Laws*, in their Forms of Pleading, and Manner of Trial, this is only the *Stile, Practice, and Course* of the Courts: But there is a Mixture in the *Principles, Maxims, and Reasons* of these two Laws; and indeed, the Laws of all Countries are mixed with the *Civil Law*, which have arrived to any Degree of Perfection. 'Tis true, that the *Common* and *Civil Laws* had not the same Root and Stock; yet, by Inoculating and Grafting, the Body and Branches seem at this Day to be almost of a Piece.

(b) Cok. Preface to the 3d Rep.

(i) Vult. Jurisp. Rom. Contr.

For the *English* Law has receiv'd great Alteration, and is very much unlike itself, or, (as Mr. Selden expresses it) *in regard of its first Being, it is like the Ship, that, by often mending, has no Piece of the first Materials.* Upon a Review, I think it may be maintain'd, that a great Part of the *Civil* Law is Part of the Law of *England*, and interwoven with it throughout. I hope therefore, that the Study of it may be encouraged among us, as in other Nations, not only to support the Professors of it, but for the better understanding of the *Common* Law of *England*, and that the Laws of other Kingdoms may be known to us, or that those Rules of Argument (on which, at least, the private Affairs of Property depend) may further instruct our Gentry to serve the Publick in Foreign Negotiations, as well as in Council at Home. If we do not understand the *Terms*, which are frequently made use of in the Affairs of other Nations, they will be apt to despise us; for our Character often rises and sinks, in the Judgment of the Common People, according to the Figure that those Persons make which we send among them. And as Princes are not exempt from the Prejudices that attend on human Nature; so the Reputation of Wisdom and Knowledge (which sometimes follows our Ambassadors) does often insensibly prevail, when a formal Repetition of their Instructions will concur very little to the Success.

In *Scotland*, the Form and Practice of the *Civil* Law is observed in respect of the Judicial Proceedings of Causes, which we call the *Modus Procedendi*: But their Statutes and Acts of *Sederunt*, part of the *Regiam Majestatem* (suppos'd to be compiled by our *Glanvil*), and their Customs, do controul it chiefly in their Sentences or Judgments given. See *Mackenzey's Institutes of the Laws of Scotland* (k). In the *Low Countries*, commonly call'd the *Netherlands*, the *Roman* Law obtains a much greater Authority than in *France* and *Germany*, inasmuch as it every-where abounds with great Reason and Equity, and is well adapted to private Trade; it being formerly quoted in their Courts, as a Pattern of Justice and Equity in all the Dealings of human Life. It was afterwards receiv'd among them as the standing Law of their Country; and, regularly speaking, it has even at this Day the Force and Authority of Law, where the same is not corrected and alter'd by the Municipal Laws and Ordinances of the Countries. Hence it is, that the *States General*, in making Laws, do often refer themselves to the *Roman* Law, as the common and received Law of the Country; and the Senators or Judges of their Courts do swear to observe the same: And the People in *Friesland* do in the strictest manner adhere to the *Roman* Laws, preferring them to all other Laws whatsoever.

(k) P. 4 & 5.





A N


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Of the Several

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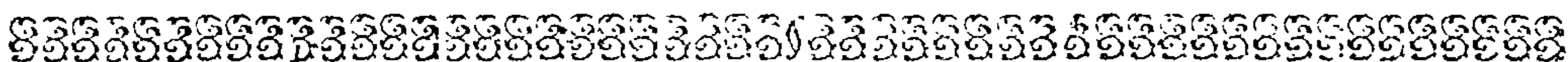
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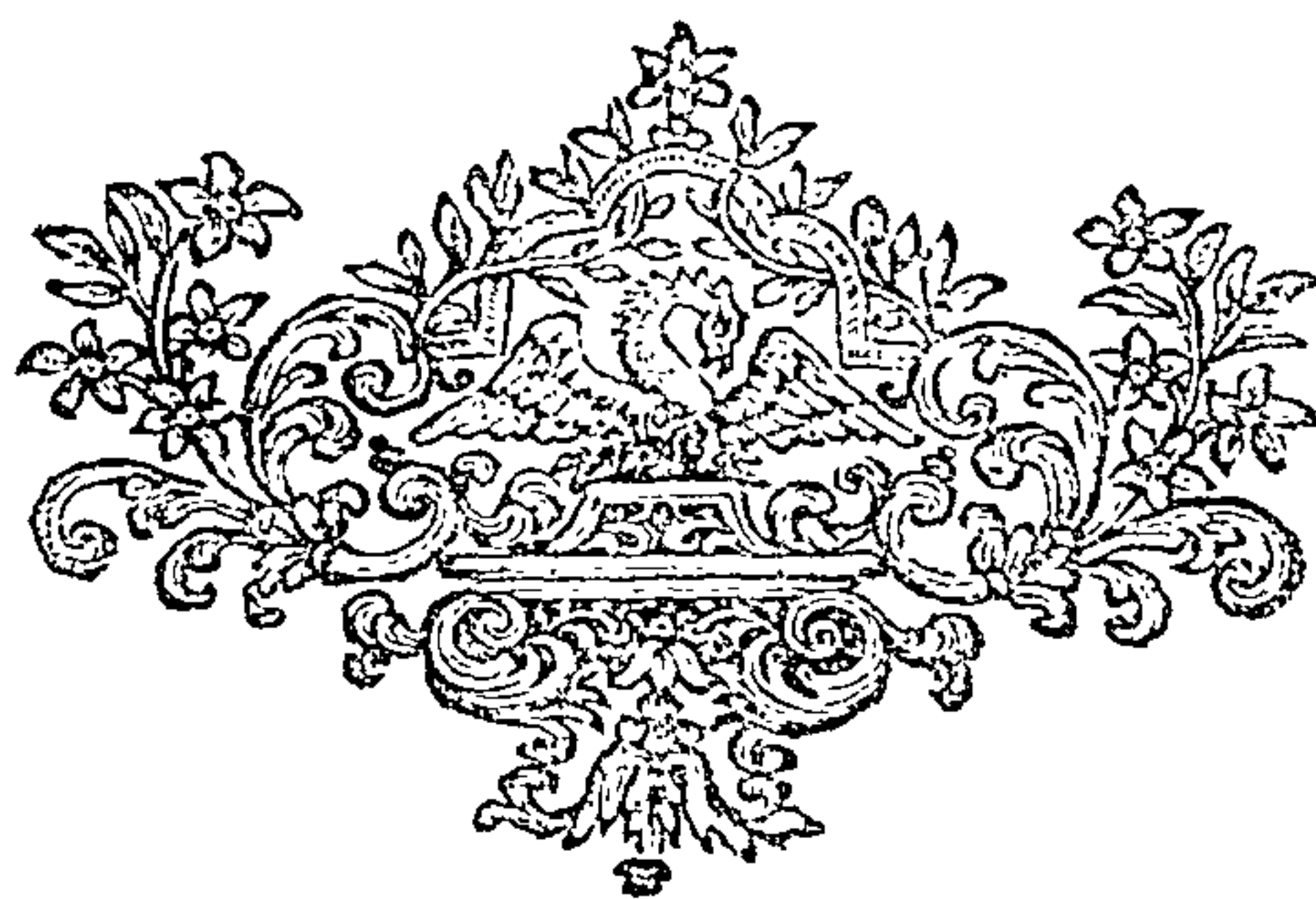
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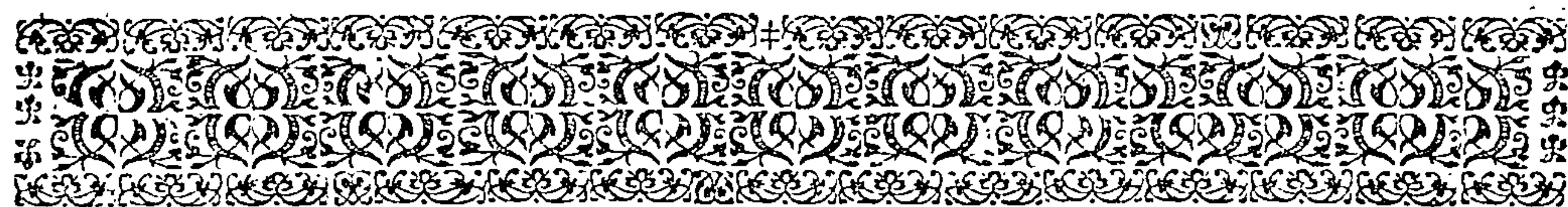
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AN EXPLANATION of the Marginal Quotations from the Books of the Civil and Canon Law.

And First, of the *Civil Law*.



*THE Institutes of Justinian, Book the first, Title the second, I. 1. 2. 3 & 4.
Section or Paragraph the third and fourth.*

*Digest, Book the first, Title the second, Law the third, and D. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Paragraph or Section the fourth.*

*Digest, Book the first, Title the second, Law the third. Pr. in Principio, D. 1. 2. 3.
and fin. in fine ejusdem legis. Pr. fin.*

*Digests, Book the first, Title the second, and Laws the third and D. 1. 2. 3 & 4.
fourth.*

*Meaning, Law the first, Section or Paragraph beginning with the L. 1. 33. Fur-
word Furtum ff. signifies the Digest, and the Words de Furtis denote the tum, ff. de
Title thereof. Furtis.*

*That is to say, Bartolus on the first Law of the Digests, Book the second, Bart. in l. 1.
and Title the fourth. D. 2. 4.*

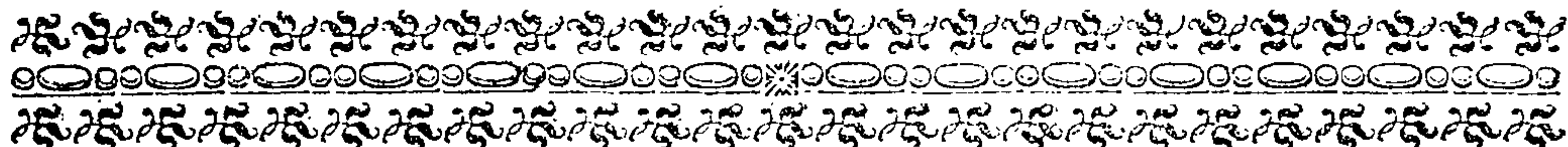
*Code, Book the first, Title the twelfth, Law the eighth, and Section or C. 1. 12. 8. 2.
Paragraph the second.*

*That is to say, Baldus on the fourth Law of the Code, Book the sixth, Bald. in l. 4..
and Title the tenth. C. 6. 10.*

The Novels, Constitution the eighty-ninth, and Chapter the ninth. Nov. 89. c. 9.

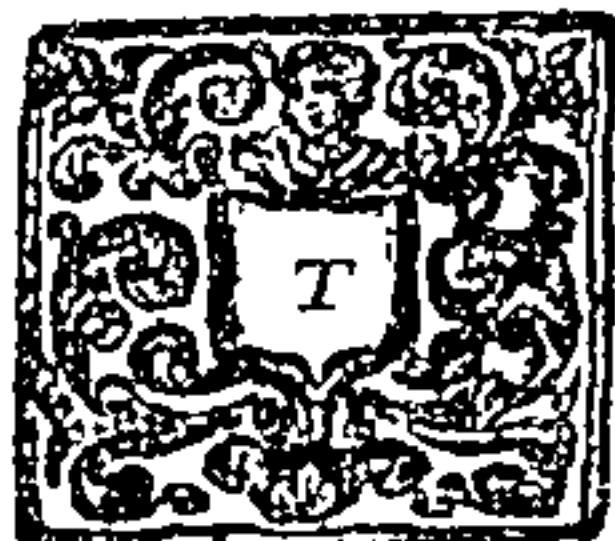
*Authentick, Collation the ninth, Title the ninth, and Novel the twen- Auth. 9. 9. 20.
tieth.*

All these Books of the *Civil Law* are sometimes quoted by the
initial Words of the Law itself; and by the Words of the Title :
As, *Qui totam Hereditatem, ff. De acquir. vel omit. Hered.*
that is to say, *The first Law of the Digest, Book the twenty-ninth,
and Title the second.*



Marginal Quotations from the Books of the Canon Law, explain'd.

X. 1. 9. 6. 4.



HAT is to say, Book the first, Title the ninth, Chapter the sixth, and Paragraph the fourth of the Decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth: The Letter (X) denoting the Decretals of that Pope.

VI. 3. 4. 23.

Book the third, Title the fourth, and Chapter the twenty-third of the sixth Book of the Decretals, by Pope Boniface the Eighth.

Cl. 2. 5. 2.

Book the second, Title the fifth, and Chapter the second of the Clementines.

Extra. 14. 3.

That is to say, Title the fourteenth, and Chapter the third of the Extravagants of Pope John the twenty-second.

Com. 3. 2.

That is to say, Book the third, and Chapter the second of the Communes.

Dist. 76. c. 2.

Distinction the seventy-sixth, and Chapter the second of the first Part of the Decrees: And if a V Consonant, or this Note be added, viz. §. it denotes the Verse or Paragraph of that Chapter, as Dist. 16. c. 2. v. 3. or §. 3.

16 Q. 7. 3.

That is to say, Cause the sixteenth, Question the seventh, and Chapter the third of the second Part of the Decrees.

Con. 1. 2.

Distinction the first, and Chapter the second of the third Part of the Decrees.

All these Books of the *Canon Law* are likewise sometimes quoted by the initial Words of the Law, or Chapter itself; and by the Words of the Title: As thus, *Ex specialis*, *extra de Judæis*; that is to say, *Cap. 17. Tit. 6.* of the fifth Book of Gregory's Decretals. For the word *Extra* imports these *Decretals*, as well as the *Extravagants*.



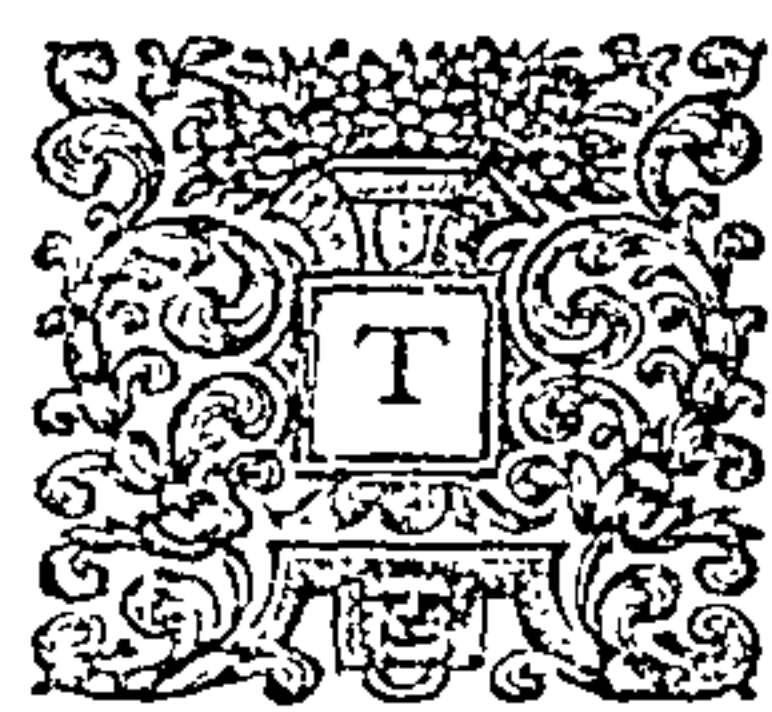


A NEW
P A N D E C T
O F T H E
Roman C I V I L L A W.

B O O K I.
Of L A W S in General.

T I T. I.

Of Justice and Right, both Publick and Private, from whence the Civil Law had its Beginning ; and of the several Divisions thereof.



THE Design of the following Work being to give the Reader a full and ample Account of the *Roman Civil Law*, I shall begin the same, as the Compilers of the *Digest* ^a have done ^a D. I. I. I. before me, with the Title of *Justice* and the *Law* in General ; which has its Rise from Justice, as a Daughter has her immediate Birth and Descent from her Mother : because Justice was before there was any such Thing as a positive Law ; and as soon as there was such a Thing as Justice, the Law immediately ensued thereupon. This Title I shall divide into Five principal Parts. In the *First* I shall give a Definition of Justice, and distinguish it into its several Branches or *Species*. In the *Second* I shall explain, what the Lawyers mean by the *Latin Word Jus*, which we in *English* call the Law ; and what they likewise understand by the Word *Jurisprudence*, or the Knowledge of the Law. In the *Third* Part of this Division I shall lay down the Order and Method, whereby Students may probably come at this Knowledge of the Law. In the *Fourth* I shall deliver some certain Precepts and Maxims of the Law itself. And in the *Last* Part I shall exhibit a general Division of the Law into the Law of Nature, Nations, &c.

^b D. I. I. 10. Now *Justice* is defined ^b to be a constant and perpetual Will or Disposition of giving unto every one, that which is his Right or Due: For as he cannot be said to be a just Man, who has not such a firm and immovable Purpose of Mind; so, on the other hand, he may be called a just Man, who has such a constant and fix'd Resolution of doing Justice, tho' he does not equally render to every Man his Due, thro' some lawful Impediment or Disability; the Will being a Habit of the Mind which is stirr'd up and dispos'd to do that which right Reason perswades. And to the End that Justice may be more successfully administer'd in every State or Commonwealth, the Law is to be learn'd and study'd ^c, which is nothing else but an Art which directs us to the Knowledge of Justice; or (as *Celsus* elegantly defines the Law) it is *Ars boni & æqui* ^d: So that Justice is nothing but Goodness and Equity itself; and the Law has Justice for its Mother, in the same manner as an Obligation is said to be the Mother of an Action.

Tho' Justice may be divided into what we call *Divine* and *Human* Justice; yet, in the Sense here to be treated of, as it has only respect unto Man, I shall only discourse of it under the latter Head, as it is a certain Kind of Political Justice; which barely tends to form the civil Manners and Behaviour of Men in this Life, and which requires an external Kind of Obedience and Honesty, to the End that the State may be govern'd in Peace and Quietness. And this Kind of Justice Philosophers make to be two-fold: The first being that which comprehends all other moral Virtues, and is, therefore, commonly stiled *Universal* Justice; and the other is that, which is deemed to be one of the cardinal or primitive Virtues in Morality, and is usually known by the Name of *Particular* Justice, as it is described in the *Institutes* ^e. I shall only here contemplate the second, which is contrary to every Injury that may be committed, and is divided into *Commutative* and *Distributive* Justice. The first has a Respect to Contracts among Men; and, as it is exercis'd in Commerce, is directed without any Regard to the different Conditions of Men, and observes a *Simple* or *Arithmetical* Proportion. And the second, as it is exercis'd in Beneficence and in governing Mankind, relates to the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments, according to the several Conditions and Qualities of Men, and according to the different Nature of Mens Merits or Demerits; and if there are many Claims, it observes a *Comparative* or *Geometrical* Proportion ^f. *Commutative* or *Expletory* Justice is wholly intent upon the Value or Price, or what is Due: But *Distributive* or *Attributive* Justice is directed to a Person as he is more or less useful or worthy, and no otherwise.

It has been observ'd, That the Law is an Art directing us to the Knowledge of Justice, or (in other Terms) *Ars boni & æqui* ^g, that is to say, a Collection of Precepts, teaching us, what is just and what is unjust, what is equitable and what favours of Iniquity: For the Word *Art* here signifies a System of certain Propositions, *viz.* which are known to us by Practice, and which lead Men to some profitable End of Life. The Law may also be called an Art, as it contains and describes every *Species* of the Law; as the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Civil and Prætorial Law, &c. And then it is put for a Coarcting Precept, which is either Positive or Negative. But this Account does not please some Men; since several Parts of a Profession are not Arts, but only Parts of an Art. The Words *Æquum* and *Bonum* in this Definition denote that, which is good, useful, and equitable. For 'tis to be noted, that *Bonum* is one Thing, and *Æquum* is another: There being some Things, which are good and equitable both ^h; some Things that are good, tho' not equitable, as in the Business of Usucapions ⁱ; and some Things which are equitable or expedient, and yet not good ^k. The Word *Bonum* may be referr'd to *Universal* Justice; and the Word *Æquum* to *Particular* Justice. The Word *Æquum* may be understood

understood of such as is so by Nature ; for the Word *Equity* denotes that Right, which is founded on the Law of Nature and right Reason itself ^{l. 1 D. 1. 1. 11.} But the Word *Bonum* has a Relation to that, which is good and profitable in civil Society, tho' sometimes it differs in some respect, as to its Appearance, from that natural Equity ^{m. D. 1. 1. 6.}

Jurisprudence is defined to be the Knowledge of Things Human and Divine ; of that which is just, and that which is unjust ^{n. D. 1. 1. 10. 1.} : or (in another Phrase) we may define it to be the Knowledge of the Written Law, whose Precepts instruct us in that which is good, just, and equitable. And 'tis call'd the Knowledge of Things Divine, not in the same manner as the Gospel gives us divine Knowledge, but because those *Ideas* which are born with us, (if any such there be), are Things truly divine. And, secondly, it treats of Things Sacred, Religious, and Holy, which are said to be Things of Divine Right, or such as are founded on the Law of God ^{o. D. 1. 8. 1.} That which *Ulpian* styles *Jus* ^{p. D. 1. 1. 1.}, or the Law, the same Person elsewhere calls *Jurisprudence* ^{q. D. 1. 1. 10. 1.} ; tho' the Law itself only differs from *Jurisprudence*, as an Art which subsists of itself differs from the Knowledge of an Art which cannot subsist alone and of itself : Therefore *Ulpian* has rightly given us a different Definition of *Law* and *Jurisprudence*.

Having thus defin'd what is meant by *Jurisprudence*, I shall next consider, how it is to be learn'd and obtain'd by such as desire to be acquainted with the Law : For those Persons ought not immediately in the Beginning to commit themselves rashly to that vast Ocean, but to set out in their Searches after this Knowledge from self-evident Principles, and from the Elements of the Law. For all Arts (as *Justinian* observes in his Proem to the *Digests*) have a certain kind of Infancy, saying, That in all Studies and Points of Learning, the Institutions of Science require the first Place. And therefore he adds That, for the first Year, Scholars ought to apply themselves wholly to the Institutions of the Law : For Persons ought to begin their Studies with Things easy and of the least Difficulty in them, to the End that they may come to the Knowledge of Things more abstruse and of greater Consequence. For no one becomes a Proficient on a sudden ^{r. 1 Q. 1. 8. 12.} And therefore, those Things are to be taught them, which are least discouraging, and best adapted to the *Genius* of the Scholar. Hence, lest Students in the Law should be at first perplex'd and burden'd with too great a Variety of Matters, and be thus frighten'd from this Study, the Elements of the Law are first to be taught in a plain and simple manner, according to this Rule, *viz. Qui vadit-plane, vadit sanè*. Wherefore, he that would make any Progress in the Study of the Law, ought, in the first Place, to read *Justinian's Institutions*, as being the first Elements of the Law, made by the Emperor's Order, for the Benefit of Youth who have a mind to apply themselves that Way : They cannot be too often read, nor too perfectly learn'd, since they contain an Abridgment of the whole OEconomy of the *Roman* Law. To succeed herein, the Definitions and Titles are first to be learn'd by Heart : Then the Text is to be read over carefully, with the Notes made by *Finnius* thereupon. After which, it will be very easy to reap Advantage from the *Commentaries* made in the Schools. The Paraphrase of *Theophilus* will be of great Help towards a right Understanding of the Text, by Means of the several Cases therein reported upon most of the Paragraphs. As to the Text of the *Institutes*, we must not be satisfy'd with once reading it ; we must turn it over and over, and, as far as possible, retain it : For 'tis the Text, that is the chief Object of their Application, who desire to make any Progress in the Study of the Law. The Style of the *Roman* Law, especially in the *Digests* and *Institutes*, is so fine and pure, the Terms are so proper and well-chosen, that there is no making Use of any other, without running the Hazard of forsaking their true Meaning,
or

or (at least) rendring them obscure. One Thing, which Beginners ought especially to avoid, is the reading of Abundance of Books : They ought to chuse the best, to read them often, and endeavour to understand and retain their Substance. Above all, they ought not to meddle with large Commentaries, which are rather apt to confound than help Beginners.

As to the Precepts of the Law, which was the *Fourth* Thing to be consider'd, the most general are these Three ; viz. *To live Honestly ; Not to Hurt another ;* and, *To give unto every one his Due* ^s. For all Laws are deriv'd from these Three Tenets of Doctrines, as from their proper Fountains ; there being no Law or Reason but what may be reduced to one of these Precepts. The First Precept is, An Honest Life, and a Sober Behaviour : And though, in a large Sense, this may comprehend all other human Duties ; yet, in a strict and proper Acceptation, it seems only to relate to the individual Person of every Man ; teaching him so to govern all his Thoughts, Words, and Actions, as right Reason perswades him to do ; and not rashly or negligently to think, speak, or do any Thing contrary to the Rules of Decency and Honesty ; but in all Actions of Life, not only to consider what is lawful, but likewise what is agreeable to right Reason ^t. The other Two Precepts have a Regard rather to our Behaviour with other Men, and chiefly respect the Conservation of human Society. But tho' the Second Precept, which forbids all Offences in civil Life, properly seems to respect the Body of our Neighbour ; yet, according to *Aldobrand* ^u, it may be understood of any other Injury, in what manner soever a Man's Person or good Name, which is compar'd unto Life itself, is evilly treated or offended ^x ; or the Goods and Estate of another, which is the Life and second Blood of Man ^y, is injured. And as it is not lawful for one Man to offend another, unless it be in a Man's own Defence ; so every Man is forbidden to offer any Violence to his own Body ^z ; [for no Man is Lord of his own Life and Members ^a] ; and therefore, he who does by any Malice fore-thought, or thro' Fear of Shame and Punishment for a Crime, greatly wound or hurt himself with Death, is capitally punish'd ^b. Hence a Person may not suffer himself to be imprison'd, or bind himself by a Contract, to the End that such a Punishment should be inflicted on his Body, unto which he is not liable by the Law, as to have his Body quarter'd, or put to the Rack ^c, &c. Therefore Sureties, who do in criminal Causes promise to exhibit the Defendant's Person, cannot bind themselves to undergo a corporal Punishment, if such Defendant should run away, so that they cannot produce him, as I shall observe hereafter under the Title of *Sureties*. But if a Person shall wound or lay violent Hands on himself, thro' Madness, or any Disease, or thro' Impatience of Pain, or Irksomeness of Life, he shall not be punish'd : But a Person pretending no such Thing shall be capitally punish'd ^d, as aforesaid. The Third Precept concerns the Estate and Substance of our Neighbour, forbidding one Man to deceive another in the Business of Contracts, and the like : And this commands us to give every one his Due, whether it be Rewards or Punishments ; and in this Sense it includes *Distributive* Justice, and relates to the Magistrate ; as it does also *Commutative* Justice, which only respects private Dealings among Men.

The *Fifth* Thing to be consider'd was, A general Division of the Law, which *Justinian* distinguishes into two Parts or *Species* ^e, viz. into the Law *Publick* and *Private*. The *Publick* Law is that, which concerns the general State of the Commonwealth, or the *Roman* Government in particular ^f ; and it has a Respect to Religion, Magistrates, the Right of War, Leagues and Alliances, &c. Tho' by accident and consequentially it may redound, by a happy Administration, to the Advantage of private Men. For, by the *Publick* Law here, I do not mean the Law in respect of its Form, for that

^s D. 1. 1. 10. 1.
I. 1. 1. 3.

^t D. 50. 17.
197.

^u In §. 3.
I. 1. 1.

^x D. 39. 2. 9.

^y D. post Text
in l. 14. C. 2.
7. v. *Vitem*.

^z I. 49. 16. 6. 1.

^a D. 9. 2. 13.

^b D. 49. 16. 6.
187.

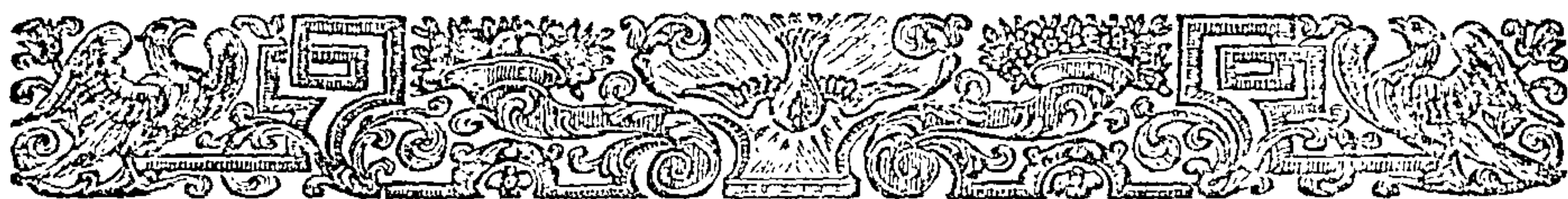
^c Ang. in §. 7.
D. 44. 16. 6.

^d D. 49. 16.
6. 1.

^e I. 1. 1. 4.
D. 1. 1. 1. 2.

^f I. 1. 1. 4.

that it was made by Publick Authority, as we make Laws in our Parliaments, [for in this Sense the whole Civil Law is Publick], but in respect of the Object or End thereof; for that it concerns the Church, Clergy, Magistracy, and other-like Publick Functions. The other *Species* of the Law, which we may call *The Law of private Men*, is that, which principally regards the Advantage of private and particular Men ^g: And as it is occupy'd in giving every Man his own, it must of Necessity be proportionable to the Rules of Equity and Justice. This treats of the Distinction of Persons and of Things, and includes the Business of Contracts, Successions, Judicature, Actions, and the like; which Things chiefly belong to the Advantage of private Men, tho' they may also consequentially tend to the Welfare of the Publick; since it is the Interest of the State to have rich and wealthy Subjects, in order to support itself against foreign Enemies, provided this Wealth does not center in a few rich Citizens. And of this private Right or Law I shall chiefly discourse in the Sequel of this Undertaking, as this Right is either founded on the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, or on Civil Institutions ^h; therefore I shall divide this private Right into the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and the Civil Law ⁱ, as the Emperor *Justinian* has done, after he has given us some Account of Justice and the Law in General. ^{2 I. 1. 1. 4. D. 1. 1. 1. 2. I. 1. 1. 4.}



T I T. II.

Of the Primary and Secondary Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and of the Civil Law, according to the largest Acceptation of the Phrase, otherwise call'd a Positive Law; and of the Way and Method of Enacting and Abrogating Laws among the Romans, &c.

HERE it is to be observ'd, That God had no sooner created Man after his own Image, but that he gave him a full Discovery of the first Law, commonly call'd The Law of Nature; which I shall distinguish into the *Primary* and *Secondary* Law of Nature. The first is that which is common not only unto Men, but also unto all other living Creatures ^k: And this is nothing else but a bare Instinct, or natural Inclination; as Self-preservation, the Desire of Liberty, the Conjunction of Male and Female for Procreation-sake, the avoiding of such Things as are hurtful, seeking after such Things as are necessary unto Life, repelling Force with Force, the taking Care of an Off-spring, &c. But herein I only follow the Distinction of the Lawyers, who, I think, use the Word *Jus* very improperly in this Division; since the aforesaid Examples are rather natural Appetites or Affections, than Rules of Law, being such Inclinations as are born with us: For as there is no such Thing as Reason in Brutes, there cannot be any such Thing as Law or Right with them. But this the Doctors call the *Primeval* or *Primary* Law of Nature, to distinguish it from that other Law, which is truly and properly the Law of Nature, as being only adapted unto Men; and as this Law is founded upon natural Reason alone, it distinguishes Man from brute Animals. *Cicero* defines this *Secondary* Law of Nature to be right Reason implanted in Man by Nature; commanding

¹ Cicer. de
Leg. lib. 1.

^m D. 41. 1. 1.

ⁿ I. 1. 2. 2.

^o D. 1. 1. 1.

manding those Things which ought to be done, and forbidding the contrary ¹. Thus Religion towards God, the Love of our Parents, and the Duty which we owe our Country, and the like, may be said to be Instances of this *Secondary Law of Nature*. But this *Secondary Law* the Lawyers often stile *The Ancient Law of Nations* ^m, as being that which natural and unimprov'd Reason has establish'd among all Nations, and is observ'd by all People. For this Law is common unto all Men ⁿ, and proper unto Men alone ^o. At the Time when this Law began, there were no Positive Laws or Constitutions among Men, but they liv'd in such a natural State, that all Things were in Common, without the Distinction of *Meum* and *Tuum*: And according to this ancient Law, Men lived for a certain Time, whilst there were but few Inhabitants upon Earth. But afterwards, as Men increas'd in Number, the Malice and Wickedness of Men likewise increas'd with them, so that they were not able to live by this Law of Nature alone: Whereupon Men came to several Acts of Concord and Agreement among themselves, being such Rules as were founded upon right Reason, for establishing Peace and Quiet among each other, and for the Defence of their natural Subsistence; and then began those Distinctions of *Meum* and *Tuum*, which have been the Occasion of such Mischief ever since, *Whatsoever thy Foot shall tread on, let it be thine*; and all Nations did, by common Consent and Agreement, make certain Constitutions, forbidding one Man to enter the Possession of another. Hence arose Wars, Captivities, Services, and the like. This we may call the *Secondary Law of Nations*, which proceeded from Necessity, and the Natural Judgment of Men, tho' not simply so, but from Customs and Usages had among all Nations, and wherein they agreed for the common Good of all Mankind in general. *Livy*, speaking of the *Gauls* ^p, calls it *Jus Humanum*, for that it was every-where receiv'd by the greatest Part of Mankind. The Doctors call it the *Secondary Law of Nations*, as it is distinguish'd from the Natural Law, which is also sometimes stiled the Law of Nations, and sometimes the Divine Law ^q, because it was implanted in us by God himself. And thus the Law of Nations is that, which the Result of common Reason has establish'd among Men, and is observ'd in all Nations alike, tho' it be not reduc'd into Writing, or promulgated in the Form of a Law. Upon this Law is founded the Distinction of Mens Rights, the Building of Houses, the Erecting of Cities, the Forming of Societies of Life, the Deciding of Controversies by Judgments of Law, the Business of War, Peace, Contracts, Obligations, Successions, and the like.

^p Lib. 5.

^q I. 1. 2. 11.

^r I. 1. 1.

The *Civil Law* is distinguish'd from the Law of Nations, and, taken in a large Sense, and is that Law, which every particular State has establish'd for its own proper Use. It partly consists of those Laws and Customs which are peculiar to the State, and partly of the Law of Nations ^r. Thus we say, the Civil Law of *Rome*, the Civil Law of *Athens*, &c. by which we mean the Municipal Law of this or that State and Commonwealth. The Civil Law of any State is that, which does not entirely recede from the Law of Nature and of Nations, and which is not in every respect the same, or ministerial thereunto: For if we add any thing unto the Common Law, or take any thing from thence, we thereby make it a Law peculiar unto ourselves. But in a more strict Acceptation, the *Civil Law* is the Law which the old *Romans* made Use of, and is, for the great Wisdom and Equity thereof, at this Day, as it were, the Common Law of all well-govern'd Nations, a very few only excepted: The Principles of the *Civil Law*, in this Sense, being only an Emanation from the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*. And certainly, tho' sundry other Nations, by the Light of Nature, have many wholesome Rules and Maxims in their Municipal Laws; yet

yet if all the Constitutions, Customs, and Laws of all other People and Countries were put together, they are not comparable to the Law of the *Romans*, either in Point of Equity or Wisdom, nor in Gravity and Sufficiency. Hence it is, that most other Nations (saving our own), tho' they do not wholly receive the *Roman* Civil Law for their Law, yet they so much admire the Equity of it, that they interpret their own Laws by it, as *Peckius* observes in his Treatise *De Regulis Juris* s.

^s Reg. 28.

Now all Persons that live under any Government at all, are govern'd either by written or unwritten Laws, which last are usually call'd Customs; more of which under the next Title. There were some Nations, we read of, that only made use of written Laws, as the *Athenians*; others, that did not make use of written Laws, but only of Customs, as the *Lacedemonians*; and others, that made use of both written and unwritten Laws, as the *Romans*. The Word *Lex* is properly understood of a written Law; tho' Writing be not necessary to the Being of a Law, but only made use of for the Proof and Evidence thereof; and it is oppos'd unto an unwritten Law ^t, which we call Custom, as aforesaid. The Orator *Demosthenes* defines a Law to be that Rule, by which all Men, dwelling in that Commonwealth where it rules, ought to govern their Lives and Actions, and to which they ought to yield Obedience, not only for many other Reasons, but for this in particular, *viz.* because (says he) it is of the Invention and Gift of the Gods, tho' the same be decreed by the Authority of wise Men: And he therefore calls a Law, The Gift of the Gods; because Princes make Laws by the Divine Permission. But the Lawyer *Papinian* defines a written Law to be a Constitution made with great Prudence and Deliberation; commanding Things just, honest, and reasonable; and forbidding the contrary, under the Restriction of Punishment, whether the Offence against the same be committed wilfully, or thro' vincible Ignorance ^u. And the Law restrains Offences, by punishing such Persons as commit them; to the End that the Punishment of such Offenders may become a Dread and Terror unto all others that commit the like. And this Punishment is call'd the *Sanction* of a Law. *Chrysippus*, the chief of the *Stoick* Philosophers, will have the Law to be the Queen of all Things both Divine and Human, as it presides over good and bad Men, by giving unto each according to his Works; for it is a Rewarder of the Good, and an Avenger of the Evil.

^t Cicero. de Leg. lib. 1.

^u D. 1. 3. 1.

From what has been offer'd, it appears, That the Power of the Law is manifold: For sometimes it commands, as the *Julian* Law of Adultery does, when it orders the Accuser and the Accused, and their Advocates, to be present at the Time when Bondmen are put to the *Rack*, in the Cause of Adultery. Sometimes it forbids, as when it prohibits the real and immovable Estates of Minors to be alienated without the Judges Decree. And thus a Law commands that which it enjoins, and forbids that which it would not have to be done. A Law sometimes permits, as it does a Soldier to use his Exceptions against a Sentence: And sometimes it punishes, as it does Offences committed against the same. A Law or Constitution, that forbids any Thing certain and in particular, forbids all Things that are derived from the Thing thus forbidden: For a Prohibitory Law is not restrain'd to the Case therein express'd, but may be extended to all such Matters as follow from such a Case; and thus the Law, in this Case, admits and receives an extensive Signification. For Example; All Evils arise from Concupiscence: And therefore it follows, that if Concupiscence be forbidden, all Evils are forbidden. For the avoiding of an Absurdity, a Law may be extended to a Case not express'd therein, if it has a Parity of Reason with the Case express'd ^x.

^x D. 22. 5. 13.

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It is the Nature of a Law, To ordain and have a Respect unto Things which may happen hereafter, and not to Things past; unless there be a *Proviso* in the Law, That it should be extended to Things past, or now depending *y.* And a Law ought rather to be adapted to Things which frequently happen, than to such Things which come to pass but very seldom, *y C. 1. 14. 7.* *Præter opinionem hominum*, and out of the Course of Nature *z.* A new Law, when it corrects a Matter, is extended to all the Consequences of an old Law; as when a Person qualify'd to take a Degree, assumes the Quality of such a Degree, he is deem'd qualify'd for all Things that are consequent unto the Quality of such Degree. But the Amendment and Correction of Laws ought to be avoided as much as possible. If one Law be corrected; other Laws, which tend to the Explanation and Interpretation of it, are also understood to be corrected by it: But a new Law sometimes interprets an ancient Law. General Laws are understood to take away particular local Customs and Statutes, when the Prince or Legislative Power is made acquainted with them, as they are presum'd to be, but not otherwise. A Law founded on the Nature of Things, cannot be changed by the Prince, or any Sovereign Power whatsoever: For tho' a Prince may change particular Laws, and make Laws derogatory thereunto; yet he cannot alter a Law that is founded upon natural Equity and right Reason. Thus if any one bound a Freeman with a Design to make him a Slave or Vassal, knowing him to be a Freeman, he could neither have the Possession of such Freeman, nor could he have the Goods of such Person, which he acquir'd, tho' such Freeman should become his Prisoner by Conquest; because a Law cannot alter the Nature of Things. Whenever a Law is correctory, and carries a Penalty along with it at the same time, the Masculine Gender does then comprehend the Feminine *a*, as in most other Cases it does. When one and the same Law has several Meanings and Significations, such Law ought not to be quoted for the Decision of Causes; and the same may be said of any Statute. The Laws often quote the Antients in the Decision of Causes; and the Authority of the Antients is sometimes, among Lawyers, deemed to be good Law, and sound Reason *b*. The common Opinion of the Lawyers is presum'd to be true; and Judges, in pronouncing Sentence, ought not to depart from it, when the Meaning of a Law is doubtful *c*: For this is a Presumption, which arises from the great Authority of the Doctors and Professors of the Law. For when a Doctor is an honest Man, and well-skill'd in the Laws, he is, for this Reason, presum'd to declare the Truth thereof. But this Conclusion admits of a Limitation, and has not Place, when the common Opinion is evidently false, and may be convicted by more probable and better Arguments, which is left to the Discretion of a learned and upright Judge to determine; for he may submit himself to the Judgment of a fewer Number of Doctors *d*. Secondly, This Conclusion is understood to be true, according to *Baldus*, when the common Opinion is strengthen'd with the Authorities of several learned Doctors *e*: but then the Number of these Doctors ought to be of such Persons as are very eminently remarkable for their Honesty and superior Knowledge in the Laws; for a Multitude of simple Scriblers ought not to be regarded, but only the Gravity and Arguments of such honest Men as are Persons of consummate Learning *f*.

In the Business of Deciding Causes by Precedents, as it sometimes happens, every Judge is a Law-giver, by drawing the Law *de Similibus ad Similia*, as he fancies: But this is a dangerous Way of proceeding, and only serves to confound the Law, and not to do Right and Justice oftentimes. Precedents are indeed useful to decide Questions in some Cases: but in Cases which depend upon fundamental Principles, from which Demonstrations may be drawn, Millions of Precedents are to no Purpose.

Not

Nor are Precedents of any great Account or Consequence, especially when they are but few in Number: Tho' Precedents founded upon great Reason ought to be regarded: Yet an extrajudicial Opinion, given in or out of Court, is no good Precedent; for it is no more than the *Prolatum* or Saying of him who gives it; nor can it be taken for his Opinion, unless every thing at Pleasure must pass as the Speaker's Opinion. An Opinion given in Court, if not necessary to the Judgment given on Record, is, according to *Vaughan* ^g, no Judicial Opinion at all; and, consequently, no Precedent: For the same Judgment might have as well been given, if no such, or a contrary Opinion, had been brought; nor is such an Opinion any more than a *Gratis dictum*. But an Opinion (tho' erroneous) concluding to the Judgment, is a Judicial Opinion; because it is deliver'd under the Sanction of the Judge's Oath, upon mature Deliberation; which assures us, that it is, or was (at least) when deliver'd, the Opinion of the Deliverer.

I have said, That the Judging by Precedents, is a dangerous Way of Proceeding, and cannot be defended by right Reason. For, *First*, The Conformity of one Sentence to another, to wise and rational Men, argues nothing as to Right or Equity, but only concludes a Concurrence in Opinion, both of which may be erroneous and mistaken; which is a sad Case, when we come to judge of Mens Lives, Interests, and Estates, by former Judgments. *Secondly*, As in Adjudged Cases, taken merely as such, there is often want of Reason to persuade, so there is also a want of Authority to oblige. For what Force can the Judgments or Sentences of any Predecessors have, to bind those who shall succeed them in the same Judiciary; since Judges of equal Power cannot exercise Rule over one another? Nor indeed can any one tie up one's own self ^h: And therefore ^h D. 36. 1. 13. 4. we often see, that, upon the same Fact, one Judge determines one Way, and another the contrary; so it happens too, that the very same Men judge the same Fact, at divers Times, in a different Manner. See *Aerodius*, of Adjudg'd Cases ⁱ. For, indeed, the Judgments of Men may grow more perfect by Age, Study, and Experience, than they were when they gave the first Judgment: And those that succeed, may be by many Degrees more eminent in Wisdom, Reason, Knowledge, and Experience, than those that sat in the same Tribunals before them; for there is in this World an undoubted Rotation in all Things. Knowledge and Understanding does not shine so prosperously in some Times as in others; and Time, to Posterity, may discover that to be an Error, which our Ancestors thought a Truth. *Thirdly*, There must be but little Weight laid upon foregoing Judgments, even of the highest and most exemplary Tribunals of Men; nor can they be such fit Patterns for our Imitation, when we consider what Uncertainties they lie under, what Fatigues they are subject to, and what Artifices, Subtilties, and Inventions are too frequently used to corrupt and poison them. Sometimes the greater Part weighs down the lesser. Where many Judges are to pronounce Sentence, and some one or two of them are eminently qualify'd above the rest; that which the greater Number concurs in only, must prevail: But if the Wise be Dissenters, there is more of Number than of Weight or Knowledge in such a Sentence. Many other Reasons may be given against Judging by Precedents, which I here omit.

Tho' all Persons whatsoever, living within the Territory and Jurisdiction of a Prince who has the Power of making Laws, be obliged by such Laws ^k, even the Prince's Household; yet Persons, living out of such Jurisdiction, are not bound thereby through a Defect of Power in the Legislator ^l. Wherefore Foreigners, who come into such a Prince's Dominions only for the sake of Travelling, and the like, and have not a fix'd Dwelling and Abode there, are not bound by the Laws of such a Prince ^m, ^m C. 10. 39. 7.

as his Subjects are, whilst they remain there, unless the Words of a Law are framed to this End and Purpose, or some Reason of State requires it ; as when Persons trade and traffick there, or commit any Trespass and Offence in such Prince's Dominions ; because then Strangers, who make Contracts, or commit Offences, do, *eo ipso*, tacitly oblige themselves to the Laws and Jurisdiction of the Magistrate of such Place. For a Magistrate may, in his own District, prescribe a certain Form and Law unto Contracts, Judicial Proceedings, Last Wills and Testaments, and other the like Matters : In all which Cases Strangers are oblig'd by the Laws of a foreign State, so long as they deal there ⁿ. For Peace and Tranquillity could hardly otherwise be preserved in a State, if Strangers were not oblig'd to conform themselves to the Laws thereof. See *Corasius de Juris Arte* ^o. So in *France*, the King, *Jure Arbinatus*, i. e. *Alibi Natorum*, seizes the Estates of Aliens and Strangers, when they die there, unless they have a Privilege granted to be exempt, as the *Scotch*, *Dutch*, *Switzers*, &c. have ; or unless they marry a Native, and have Children by her. See *Perezius* on the *Justinian* Code ^p. Therefore all Persons but the Prince alone are subject unto the Laws of a State ; for the Prince is excepted and exempt from the Law ^q. For as the Force of a Law consists in Commanding and Correcting ^r, no one can compel or coerce the Prince, because he has no Superior. Nor can the Prince so command or prescribe a Law unto himself, as that he may not recede from thence ^s. But yet it becomes a Prince, [I speak here of a Prince vested with absolute Power, as the *Roman* Emperors were], to live according to the Law, and to approve of that Law which he has made, by his own Life and Actions ^t. *Bartolus* says, That a Prince is only subject to the Laws *de debito honestatis*, for Decency-sake : but yet he allows it to be otherwise, where the Form of Government is limited in respect of the Prince's Power. In *England* the King may sue, and be sued, and the Execution of the Sentence is against his Attorney-general. A good Prince desires no more to be granted to him in Point of his own Actions, than he is willing to grant unto his Subjects ; and a good Prince always makes good Subjects by his Example. *In imperio maximus, major in exemplo sit*, says the *Roman* Orator. Therefore, tho' the Laws of the *Roman* Empire exempted their Princes from the Solemnities of the Law ; yet they thought nothing so much the Business of a Prince, as to live according to the Laws, and to observe the same ^u.

I have before hinted, That the Power of the Prince does not extend itself to the Laws of Nature and Right ; for he is equally subject to them as a private Person ; and the Laws of Nature carry more Power with them than the Sovereignty of any Prince. And the same may be said of the Law of Nations : Hence it is, according to *Bartolus* ^x, that a Prince is effectually obliged by all his Contracts and Conventions enter'd into with any one ; for otherwise no one would have any Dealing or Commerce with him, through a fear lest he should break his Faith and publick Word, which once given, he ought to preserve sacred and inviolable ; since nothing is more agreeable unto Nature, and better suits the Dignity of a Prince, unless such Contracts are made very much to the Prejudice of his Subjects, whose Fortunes and Estates ought not to be diminish'd by the unjust Conventions of their Prince ^y. But if a Prince, in his Contracts, be circumvented by Fraud and Deceit, he stands upon the common Footing with other Men, and may renounce the same, or rescind it by his Power, according to the Law of Nations, if Satisfaction be not made him : But if such Pacts and Covenants are just, and such as respect the publick Good of the State, he ought not only to observe them, but they bind his Successor after his Demise, and ought to be observ'd by him, who represents the Deceased ; for that they were not enter'd into *Nemine Proprio*, but in the Name of the State :

But

But it is otherwise, if such Pact or Covenant be entred into as a private Man and in his own Name: For then as the Obligation arising from thence is Personal, it does not descend to his Successor; because *par in parem non habet imperium* ^z.

^z Felin. in C.
^{1.} X. 2. 19.

Where one and the same Determination has a Respect unto several Things, that are determinable by the same Law, it ought (according to *Bartolus*) ^a to be understood to determine all Things equally and after the same Manner. There is a Difference between Dispositions of Law, and Dispositions or Orders of Men; because he that is bound by an Order or Disposition of Law, if he acts contrary thereunto, is oblig'd and made liable *in solidum*; for the Law totally obliges so far as it may. But it is otherwise in an Order or Disposition of Man; because a Testator cannot oblige an Heir, unless it be only so far as the Affets extend ^b.

^a In L. 4. D.
^{28.} 6. 2.

^b C. 3. 32. 14.

A Constitution is so called from the Latin Verb *Constituo*, which is the same as *simul Statuo*: And as it is referr'd to the Constitution of a Prince, it is called a Constitution, *quasi communis & simul Statuitio*; because the Law ought to be common to all, and not enacted against particular Persons. For if a Constitution be made against any certain particular Person, he, against whom such Constitution is made, may lawfully resist the same, if he pretends to have received any Hurt or Damage thereby, tho' such Constitution shou'd expressly in general Terms forbid the contrary. For tho' a Constitution speaks in general Terms; yet if it may be gather'd and inferr'd from Conjectures, that it was made and published in Hatred of some particular Person, then an Appeal will lie from such a Constitution; for a Person shall be relieved against a Fraud, even in the making of a Law. A Constitution may be taken *strictly* and *largely*. In the first Sense hereof a Constitution is properly that which is decreed and ordain'd by the Prince or Emperor: But in the largest Acceptation thereof, it is used to signify every kind of written Law, *viz.* for the written Law of inferior Persons, as well as that of Princes or Emperors. Or else, *Secondly*, A Constitution may be so named from the Word *Con*, which is the same with *simul*, and the Verb *Statuo*, to ordain; because the Prince, in making a Constitution, calls together his Judges and Nobles, and consulting with them, takes their Advice. But if the Word *Constitution* be taken in a large Acceptation thereof, it is so called from the Word *Con*, which denotes the same as *Communiter*; because the whole Congregation being assembled together, do in common statute the same.

Whether Writing be of the Substance of a Law or Constitution, there have been various Opinions of the Lawyers: But the prevailing Opinion is, That, regularly speaking, Writing is not of the Substance of a Law or Constitution. A special Constitution is not abrogated and taken away, unless it be by another special Constitution derogatory thereunto. The Authority of the Prince depends on the Law; and therefore whatever Constitution a Prince ordains, he is presum'd to do it as acting upon a just Motive. Rescripts, Edicts, Pragmatick Sanctions, and the like, may be comprehended under the Appellation of the Prince's Constitution, according to the Rubrick of the Law here quoted ^c. *Edicts* are those Decrees of the Prince, which are made by him *proprio Motu*, without having any Matter come before him for his Determination, and they ought to be for the Good and Welfare of his Subjects. But the Prince's *Decrees*, which may also be call'd Constitutions, are such Determinations as are made on the Decision of some Causes, as almost all the Constitutions in the *Justinian* Code are.

^c C. 1. 14.

A *Statute* is, in Propriety of Speech, such a Law which every City or State ordains for its own peculiar Use upon extraordinary Occasions, which is called a *Municipal* Law ^d; and it is also termed the Law ^d of ^d ^{I. 2. 1.} ^{Gloss. & DD.} ^{of} ^{ibid.}

of the Place where a Statute has its Force. A Statute is sometimes styled the *Common Law*, sometimes a *Municipal Law*, sometimes a *Constitution*, and sometimes the *Prætorian Law*, according to the Person or Persons that establish it. If a Statute be made by the Prince, or *Jure Principatus*, it is called a *Constitution* ^e. A Statute made by the State ^f or a City is styled a *Municipal Law* ^f, and is perpetual, if such State or City recognizes no Superior ^g: But if such City acknowledges a Superior, it is called a *Prætorian Law*, and is limited to a Year. And thus the Statutes of Officers and Magistrates, who are only for a Time, continue in Force during the Time that such Officers remain in their Office, and no longer; and the Action arising from thence is only temporary. When a Statute ordains the same thing as the Common Law enacts, it is called the *Common Law*, and not a *Statute* ^h. By the Common Law, I here mean the Imperial Law, which is common unto all Places subject to the *Roman Empire*. And now tho' the *French King* does not acknowledge the Emperor as his Superior, yet he retains and lives by the Imperial Laws; and all Statutes and Municipal Laws there receive their passive Interpretation from this Common Law. A Statute may only be made by the People or Commonalty of a City, and not by the Officers or Counsellors thereof; unless it appears, that the People or Commonalty have transferr'd this Power on their Officers, or some particular Persons ⁱ. A Subject or Citizen is presum'd to know and be acquainted with the Statutes of the Place, where he is a Subject or Citizen ^k: But this is to be understood of a Citizen or Subject by Birth, and not of one who has only dwelt there for some small Time of late ^l; and a new Citizen is pardon'd, if he does any Thing that is permitted by the Common Law, tho' it be prohibited by a Municipal Law ^m. A Statute contrary to the Common Law is valid in several Respects: Thus a Statute is valid whereby one Person may acquire any Thing for another, or make a Covenant for him, tho' the Person for whom the Thing is acquir'd be absent, which is contrary to the Common Law ⁿ. The Words of Statutes are to be taken truly and properly, and not by Fiction and Impropriety of Speech: For Statutes receive a restrictive Interpretation, lest a Person should thereby be unduly punished. A Statute made by a Magistrate, binds and obliges the Magistrate himself: And a Statute *in penam* ought not to be converted *in præmium*.

As every Statute ought to be reduc'd into Writing, so it is hereby distinguished from a Custom: For a Municipal Law is two-fold, *viz.* Written and Unwritten, as elsewhere noted. Our ancient Law-Books, indeed, do not make use of this Word *Statute*, but call a Statute by the Name of a Municipal Law: Yet in our modern Laws, especially in the Constitutions of the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, after the Book *de Usibus Feudorum*, &c. was publish'd, we have frequent mention made of Statutes and Customs establish'd against the Liberties of the Church; and from these Constitutions the *Authenticks* are derived and taken. Yet sometimes a Statute may be taken for a general Law or Custom, and may be said to be an Ordinance, which is *quasi stabliliter ordinatum*, a Law firmly established: For Statutes ought to be firmly observed; and we ought not to depart from the Words thereof, because Statutes are Matters of *strict Law*. And they may be also called *Statutes*, because they are made in Defence of the Publick State and Commonwealth: And tho' Actions have their Beginning from the *Civil Law*, yet Obligations have their Rise from the Law of Nations. I say, That such Statutes as are made contrary to the Disposition and Order of the Common Law, are Matters of *strict Law*, because they are in Derogation to *Common Right*: But such as are totally made in Imitation of the Common Law, or which wholly agree with it, are not *stricti Juris*, but

but ought to be govern'd according to the Form of the Common Law. And thus Statutes ought to be strictly understood, when they are derogatory to the Common Law: And they are said to be derogatory to the Common Law, when they correct and alter the same. Statutes which alter and correct the Common Law, ought not to be extended beyond the Case wherein they expressly speak; nor ought they to be extended by an Identity of Reason: And hence it is, that Statutes excluding Women from the Inheritance of an Estate, (Males being extant) are to be strictly interpreted; because the excluding of a Daughter may be said to be a sort of Disinheritance by Statute Law, which Disinheritance of Law is as odious as a Disinheritance of Man.

Statutes receive their Interpretation *ex æquo & bono*; that is to say, they ought to be expounded according to Equity and good Conscience: And therefore what some Persons deliver is not a safe Doctrine, *viz.* That Statutes ought to be observ'd *ad unguem*, and according to the Letter; because they require an equitable Construction. For tho' it be said, That a Statute only ordains so much as is expressly contain'd therein, and no more; yet this only obtains, when such Statute is made in Derogation to the Common Law; for in such a Case it is to be understood simply and according to the Letter. But this is otherwise, if the Words of a Statute are General; because then that Generality ought to receive its Interpretation from the Common Law, and to be so understood, that the Common Law be corrected by it as little as possibly it may. General Statutes are to be restrained to that which is reasonable, and to receive their Interpretation *per punctum rationis*: And these Things especially obtain, when the Reason of a Statute does not appear, and when we endeavour to avoid a Damage or Inconvenience thereby. Nay, the Words of a Statute, tho' they ought to be taken truly and properly, and not by way of Fiction or Improperly, may be understood Improperly, in order to avoid an Absurdity, or doing an Injury to the Right of a third Person: For no Statute, Ordinance, or Constitution, ought to be understood in such a Manner as to introduce Iniquity or an Absurdity. But, regularly speaking, Statutes are to be understood and explain'd as they lie, *ad unguem & literam*; so that Statutes written in General Terms, ought to be taken and understood in a General Sense: And if the Reason and Design of Statutes be not express'd, the Words of them ought to be more regarded than the pretended Reason and Design of them. When the Reason of a Statute is not express'd and set down therein, the Sense and Meaning thereof may then be inferr'd and made by some probable Conjecture, lest some Absurdity, Iniquity, or other Inconvenience, should flow from thence. And this Conjecture ought to be such as may prevail on wise and just Men, and not such as may be reprehended by them. Yea, a Statute ought rather to be judged unprofitable and superfluous, than that it should unduly impose any kind of Detriment or Damage on Man. And hence is that vulgar Saying true, *viz.* That Statutes ought not to be *Judaically* understood; meaning, captiously, fraudulently, and with a Design of doing an Injury to some Person: It being the Property of the *Jews* to defraud and deceive such as had Dealings with them.

[Statutes or Acts of Parliament here in *England* ought to be constru'd according to the Intention of the Law-makers; and the King's Judges ought to expound the same according to the Rules of the Common Law known here in *England*: And the Preamble of an Act of Parliament is the best Expounder of such a Law. And where an Act of Parliament restores the Common Law, it is to be taken there in a favourable Sense: But private Acts are to be understood and taken strictly. The Common Law Judges here in *England* are the sole Expositors of Acts of Parliament, tho' they concern Spiritual Matters, according to *Serle's Case* in *Hobart's Reports* p. p. Pag. 437. But herein, I think, they ought to have a due Regard to the Sense of the *Civil* or *Canon* Law, if the Common Law be silent therein.]

It is not necessary for him, who alledges or quotes Statutes in a Court of Judicature, to produce the whole Book of Statutes : For, in the Production of Statutes, it is sufficient for him to produce that Statute which conduces to his Purpose, or makes for his Cause in Hand. And hence also, it is not necessary to produce the whole Articles *sub rubro*, but enough to produce that Article which makes for the Cause. But it is not now lawful to produce Part of a Statute in Judgment : For unless the whole Statute be produced, a Part or Portion of a Statute thus produc'd avails nothing ; because a right Judgment cannot thereby be made of the whole Statute, unless it be by a Sight and View of the whole Matter thereof : For there is sometimes something at the latter End of a Statute, which restrains and tempers what goes before. Where a particular Punishment is directed by a Statute or Act of Parliament, such Punishment ought to be pursued, and no other can be inflicted on the Offender. Where there is a Prohibitory Clause in a Statute, and another which gives a Penalty, as in 23 *Hen. 8. cap. 9.* and the Party will go on the Prohibitory Clause, he is not confin'd to the Manner express'd in the Statute : but if he will proceed on the Penalty, he must then pursue what the Statute directs. When a Statute or Act of Parliament is Penal, it ought to be constru'd according to Equity, and not in a rigorous Manner. A subsequent tolls and destroys a former Statute, which has not a derogatory Clause in it, if these two Laws or Statutes are contrary to each other : but a subsequent Statute does not repeal a precedent one, which has a derogatory Clause in it, unless there be some special mention made therein of the first Statute. And thus a second Statute does not toll and destroy the first, when it is therein provided that something ought to be precisely observ'd, unless there be special mention made in the second Statute of the first. A Statute, exceeding the Bounds of the Legislator's Power, or which is made by such Person or Persons as have no Power of making the same, is null and void, *ipso Jure*.

Cities and other incorporated Towns and Bodies Politick, as Colleges and other approved Societies, may make Statutes. Thus an University of Scholars, or any other Arts or Trade, as Bakers, Colliers, &c. may make Statutes to oblige their own Members : but it has been a Question, whether they can annex a Penalty thereunto. Yet the common Opinion holds, that they may impose a Penalty in respect of their own Rights, and within their own Jurisdiction. A Constitution or Statute made by Lay-men, according to the Papal *Canon* Law, does not oblige the Church, or the Lands of the Church ; it being a Law which exceeds the Bounds of the Legislators Power, (as the *Canonists* say), and consequently is void, *ipso Jure*. A Statute or Decree made in Hatred to any particular Person, may be appealed from, as being unjust.



T I T. III.

Of Customs, Rescripts and Privileges, their Nature, Force and Duration, and how the same are circumscribed and abolished.

HAVING in the foregoing Title chiefly treated of Written Laws, I shall here discourse of Custom, or an Unwritten Law, in the first Place, as it includes and gives a Right unto Men. And it may be well observ'd,

observ'd, That tho' Custom has been deem'd more ancient than the Written Law ; yet the Written Law is more certain and better known than Custom, and it deserv'd to be first spoken of in the Order of this Work. Some indeed will have the Written Law to be more ancient than the Unwritten Law, among human Laws ; yet most of the Lawyers lay it down for a certain Principle, that the Customary Law is of greater Antiquity than the Written Law : For tho' Men liv'd in Common, before Laws were reduced to Writing ; yet it does not follow from hence, that Custom had the Place of a Law, but the Personal Command of the Prince was instead of a Law, which is neither a Written Law nor a Custom. The Law of Custom was more ancient among the *Lacedemonians* than the Written Law among the *Athenians*, from which the *Civil* Law of the *Romans* drew its Original. But as this Enquiry touching the Antiquity of Written Laws, and of Customs, is more nice than profitable, I shall proceed to explain, what is meant by Custom, and then lay open the Conditions it requires, and the Causes and Reasons of it, and afterwards say something of its Effects ; and lastly, I will speak of the Abrogation and Change of it.

Now *Isidore* defines a Custom, to be a certain Right, which has its Institution from Usage, and the Manner of Men, and is taken for a Law, when the Law is defective ; and he seems to have borrow'd this Definition from *Tertullian* ¹, where he says, That Custom, in Civil Matters, is taken for a Law, when there is a Failure of Law. But, from this Definition, or rather Description, a three-fold Difficulty immediately occurs ; *viz.* First, About the *Genus* ; for Custom rather seems to be a Matter of Fact, than a Matter of Right : Therefore, it is not what we call a Right, but a Fact or Action often repeated. Wherefore, to mend the Matter, *Isidore* presently subjoins, That it is so call'd, because it is in common Usage, or of the Manners of Men. Now 'tis plain, that Usage is a Fact, and not a Right, and therefore it can be no good Definition : And thus we are to call it a Question of Fact, and not of Law, when it is doubtful whether it be a Custom, or not. The *Second* Difficulty is, touching the Word *Manners* ; because the Thing defined seems to be put in the Definition : For *Mos* and *Consuetudo* seem to be the same Thing, and only to differ in Name. And the *Third* Difficulty respects that Part of the Definition, where a Custom is taken for a Law ; because this does not belong to the Essence of a Custom, but to its Effect. But these Differences rather arise from an Equivocation of Terms : And therefore, for the better understanding of the Matter itself, we ought to explain the Signification of them. The Terms are *Custom*, *Usage*, and *Manners* ; which agree well in the Acts comprised : And tho' they have a Kind of Affinity and Connexion, yet they have their Difference : For the Word *Usus*, among the School-men ², denotes that Act, whereby the Will freely executes that which it makes choice of : but in the common and Law Acceptation, the Word *Usus* signifies a Frequency or Repetition of the like Acts ³. Hence the Word *Usus* has its Rise from those Things, which a Man has constantly done for some Length of Time. Secondly, The Word *Mos* has not only a relation to reasonable Men, but also to brute Animals ⁴ ; for, in Scripture, Men are said to act after the manner of brute Beasts ; and thus the Word *Mores* is sometimes taken in a good, and sometimes in a bad Sense. But to this I answer, That the Word *Mores* is attributed unto Beasts, by Analogy or Likeness, as they, by natural Inclination, observe the same Kind of Reason with Men ; for the Word *Mos* has only a regard unto free Acts. Hence only a free Act bears the proper Denomination of a *moral* Act ; because a free Act is both praiseworthy and blameable. But I have said enough of this Matter ; and therefore I shall leave it to the School-men and Etymologists to fight it out.

¹ Lib. 2. Orig. cap. 10.

² De Coron. Mil.

³ Thom. 1. 2. Quæst. 16.

⁴ D. 1. 2. 1.

⁵ Thom. 1. 2. Quæst. 58.

The Lawyers, and particularly *Azo*, define a Custom to be an Unwritten Law, introduced by the continued Usage of the People, and such as has its Rife from Length of Time only ^x: And as it is in Imitation of a Written Law; so, where a Written Law fails, it has the Force of a Law. But *Bar-tolus* does not like this Definition, therefore he defines it to be a certain Law founded on the Usage of Men; which is observ'd and practis'd as a Law, when the Law is deficient: But this (I think) is rather a Law Definition, than a Logical one. By an Unwritten Law here, I do not mean, that Customary Laws may not be reduced into Writing; because it often happens, that Customary Laws are, for Convenience, put into Writing in Procefs of Time, as the Feudal Law and Common Law of *England* are; but only that Writing is not of the Effence of Custom. To introduce a Custom, then, nothing more is requir'd than the tacit Consent of the People in a free State for some Length of Time, and a reasonable Beginning: For, in order to establish a Custom, it ought also to be founded on Reason, or (at least) it ought not to be contrary thereunto ^y. A Custom differs from a Written Law; because this last is founded on the exprefs Consent of the People alone; whereas the other is founded on their tacit Consent, and on a Repetition of uniform Acts: but I do no-where certainly find in our Law-books exprefs'd, how many Acts are sufficient to induce a Custom, nor what Length of Time is requir'd thereunto; and therefore this Matter is to be left to the Decision of the Judges ^z. And so, whether a Custom be founded upon Reason, is to be discuss'd and consider'd by the Judge, who ought to examine it according to the Rules of Nature, or of Nations: For if it be entirely contrary to the Law of Nature, or does professedly thwart the same, it is unjust, and favours of nothing but Tyranny, and therefore ought not to be pursued, or follow'd. But a Custom rightly founded has all the Virtues of a Law; and, for this Reason, *Baldus* ^a calls it a *tacit* Law; and it ought to be regarded in the Decision of all Causes where a Written Law is not found, or is found, but not in use. And thus a Custom introduced, as it is a *Species* of the Civil Law, has the same Force and Effect as a Written Law ^b; for it is in Imitation of a Written Law, (as afore-said) and is observ'd as such in all Things ^c. As to the Continuance of Time, in respect of a Custom, if it be *præter Legem*, it ought to be founded on a ten Years Prescription; that is to say, it ought not, in such a Case, to be determin'd otherwise during all that Time: But if it be *contra Legem*, and repugnant to some positive Law, a Term of forty Years Prescription is requir'd to establish such a Custom, especially according to the *Canon* Law ^d. The Consent of the People in the Business of a Custom, is evidenced by a Frequency of Acts; whether they be Judicial, or Extrajudicial, it matters not ^e; and it is likewise proved by Length and Continuance of Time ^f.

The Lawyers make a Difference between Custom and Prescription. For Custom, say they, is a settled Right, which arises from immemorial and common Usage, and is generally extended to all the People of that State or Country where it obtains, and is not of any special Advantage limited to this or that Place therein. But Prescription is a kind of Private Right, which has a Respect to Particular Places or Persons; and it is directed to their Advantage or Disadvantage in a special Manner ^g. Prescription may be immemorial as well as Custom; tho', generally speaking, Prescription is limited to a certain Number of Years, as 40, 50, 100, &c. Immemorial Custom has the Force of a Privilege; but a Custom prescribed may be taken away by another Custom: For as later Laws do abrogate former Laws, so also does a later Custom destroy a former ^h.

A Custom, which in other Terms is call'd an Unwritten Law, (as already hinted) is that which has its Beginning from the Manners of any People, and is continued by their tacit Consent, or the Will of the greater

Part of them ⁱ. And it may be divided into a general Custom, such as is ¹ D. 1. 3. 32. observ'd in all Parts of the Empire, as the *Feudal* Customs are; or else in a particular Custom, which is only observ'd as a Law in this or that Province or City. The Force of a particular Custom consists very much in the Proof thereof, inasmuch as it is an Unwritten Law, and depends upon Fact: But a General Custom, which is notorious, does not stand in need of Proof; for the Judge ought to take Notice thereof upon bare pleading the same. A General Custom, which a Prince knows and tolerates, generally speaking, tolls a Law; but the Particular Custom of any Place does not abrogate a Law, tho' it be introduced *ex certâ scientiâ*, and may be observ'd in that Place ^k. But a subsequent Law tolls a Particular ^k D. 8. 4. 13. Custom, unless such Custom be specially reserv'd thereby ^l. Where-ever a ^l I. 1. 2. 9. Special or Private Custom fails, Recourse is always had to the General Custom of the Country. The Quality of every Custom ought to be regarded and consider'd.

All such Persons as may make Statutes, may also introduce a Custom ^m: ^m Bart. in L. For the tacit Consent of the People has the same Operation in this Respect ³². D. 1. 3. as their express Consent ⁿ. Therefore, a Corporation, that has not the ⁿ D. 1. 3. 32. Power of making Statutes, has not the Power of introducing a Custom: ^{D. 12. 1. 3.} And because the Law has granted this Power of introducing a Custom unto every State ^o, the Knowledge and Authority of the Sovereign or Superior is not necessary to introduce it; for if it was, it would be seldom or never introduced. But a Custom cannot be introduced against an express Prohibition of Law. As a Custom succeeds in the Place of a Law, a Prince is bound thereby, as he is also by a Law ^p: But yet some falsely ^p C. 1. 14. 4. maintain, That a Prince is not bound by a Custom of his own Subjects, but only by a Custom founded on Natural Reason. And tho' it be in the Power of the Prince or Emperor to toll and destroy a Custom by a contrary Written Law; yet it is not in his Power to introduce a Custom; because a General Custom does not depend on the Power of one Man, as it is not the Act of one Person, but of many.

A Custom is not valid, unless it be founded upon Reason: For every Custom ought to be reasonable, as before related. Now a Custom founded upon Reason, is extended from a Case express'd in Law, to a tacit Case, or a Case imply'd, wherein we meet with the same Reason: As thus, for Instance, it being a Custom that the Son of a Vassal, being a Monk or Religious, ought not to succeed to a Feudal Estate. And hence it is the same Thing, tho' the Person be not a Monk, but a Canon Regular; because *de similibus ad similia*, it holds good in Law. But tho' a Custom be extended to the like Cases, yet it ought not to be extended to the like Persons, according to *Roland* ^q.

As the first principal Effect of a Custom is the Introducing of a Law, (of which I have already spoken); so the second Effect thereof is the Interpreting of it; and it may likewise be made use of in Expounding Contracts, and Last Wills and Testaments. Now a Custom, which is the best Interpreter of a Law ^r, must be such a Custom as is *secundum legem*: For a ^r D. 1. 3. 37. Custom, which is *præter legem*, does now suppose a Law; and that which is *contra legem*, is derogatory to a Law. Therefore, only a Custom *secundum legem* can interpret it. And the Reason of this Effect is, because a more express Will, and a greater Authority, is not necessary to the Interpretation of a Law already made, than to introduce a new Law. Now a Custom for the Interpretation of a Law may be valid two Ways: *First*, In *ratione signi & testis*; because, when it is such, a Custom touching the Observation of a Law, points out and testifies, that such was the Mind of the Legislator, and no otherwise. But under this Method a Custom cannot render an Interpretation certain and infallible, because it is only a kind

^q Conf. 94. N.
¹⁷. Vol. 2.

of human Conjecture: And as it is very probable, it conduces much to the Doctrinal Interpretation of it; and the greater and more lasting a Custom has been, by so much the more probable the Conjectures will be, wherein no certain Rule can be assign'd, but it must be left to the Discretion of a prudent Man. Hereunto we may add, That not only a Custom, which respects the Observation of a Law after it is made, but even such a Custom as was previous thereunto, is of great Help to understand the Meaning of a Law. For as a Law ought to be made according to the Custom and Genius of the Country, we may make a probable Conjecture from the ancient Manners of the State, in what Sense such Law was made. *Secondly*, A Custom may interpret a Law as a concurrent Cause to introduce and establish such an Interpretation, and the Obligation of a Law in such a Sense.

• D. 1. 3. 38. For the Emperor says s, That *in Ambiguities, which arise from Laws, Custom or the Authority of Cases that have been always adjudged in like Manner, ought to have the Force of Law.* And thus the Emperor observes in the Law quoted, That the Ambiguities of a Law may be expounded either by *Custom*, or by the Authority of adjudg'd Cases, (for there are those two Parts in that Law to be taken Notice of.) The Word *Always*, in the latter Part thereof made use of, is to shew, that a Law is not to be interpreted by all sorts of adjudg'd Cases whatsoever, but only by such as have always had a Concurrence in the like Cases without any Variation. And as *Custom* here has no definite Time ascrib'd to it, so neither has the Authority of *adjudg'd Cases*.

The Third principal Effect of a Custom is, That it may abrogate a human Law, whether it be Civil or Canonical: And this all the *Civilians* and • D. 1. 3. 32. *Canonists* are agreed in. For it is said t, That *Laws may not only be repealed by the Suffrage of the Legislator, but also by the tacit Consent of all the People by a Disuser.* Touching this Matter, the Case is clear in Free States, that recognize no Superior: But the Difficulty is in respect to the Civil Laws of Sovereign Princes; which Difficulty may be solved (according to some) two several Ways. *First*, In saying that these Laws are not made *absolutely*, but only under a tacit Condition, if the People are willing to retain them: And here a new Consent of the Prince (say they) is not necessary to an Abrogation, but the same is included in the very Mode and Manner of making a Law. But this Way of Abrogating we reject, by joining the Power of the Prince together with that of the People, with us call'd the Legislative Power. The People may indeed reject a Law by a Non-user, and the Prince may connive or consent to it, but this is no Repeal of a Law made. Some Persons distinguish between the Abrogation and the Irritating of a Law, saying, That the Irritating of a Law is, When the whole Law is hinder'd from having the Force of obliging, before it be fully constituted: As when the Law requires the Confirmation of the Prince, in order to give it the Force of obliging, and such Law is not confirm'd by him; or when a Law made by the Prince is not accepted of by the People, according to the Opinion of those, who think such an Acceptance necessary. But this last Instance admits or supposes a Falshood: For the Law of the Prince, before the Acceptance of the People, is a true Law, if the Prince has the full Power of making a Law; and that Change, which is made by the Opposition of his Subjects, belongs to an Abrogation made by Custom. Some Persons will have it, That a Penal Law, imposing a Penalty *ipso facto*, cannot be Abrogated by a Custom prescrib'd, tho' such Custom be reasonable; because (say they) as soon as it is violated, the Person incurs the Penalty of the Law. But this Exception is groundless, and contrary to Reason, and therefore rejected: Because a Custom against a Law may be reasonable, as is self-evident, and may sufficiently shew the tacit Will of the Legislator for Abrogating such a Law.

A Custom

A Custom contrary to Law, regularly requires the Knowledge and Sufferance of the Sovereign, as well as the Knowledge of the People : But the specifick Knowledge of the Prince is not necessary, but his general Knowledge is sufficient ^u. But such Knowledge is not requir'd in respect to a Custom, which is not contrary, but only *præter Jus* : And it is the same thing in respect to an immemorial Custom ; because the Knowledge and Sufferance of the Sovereign is therein presum'd ^x. It is not necessary to prove the Knowledge of the People or Sovereign by Witnesses, but enough that the Witnesses depose touching the Frequency of the Acts from which such Knowledge is inferr'd ; because this Matter is to be left to the Discretion of the Judge. This Knowledge and Sufferance is sufficiently prov'd, if the Prince's Officers, in the Place subject to such Custom, have known and suffer'd the same. A Person alledging a Custom which is contrary to the Common Law, is oblig'd to prove the Reasonableness thereof ; for such a Custom is presum'd to be unreasonable, in that it is contrary to the Common Law.

^{* Oldr. Conf. 172.}

^{* Decian. Con. 124. lib. 3.}

In Things which are *meræ facultatis*, that is to say, merely in a Man's Power, and in Things which are granted in a gratuitous manner, a Custom is not to be introduced : For if any one entertain his Friend a thousand times, and shou'd as often invite him to Dinner ; yet a Custom is not hereby introduced, in such a manner as that he shou'd be oblig'd to entertain him for the future, whenever he came to that City or Place. And if any one should go to a Mill for a thousand Years (if he liv'd so long) for the sake of grinding his Corn, a Custom is not so induced by this Frequency of Acts, as always to oblige him to go to such a Mill. And if a Country-man has for a long Time, every Year, been wont to give a Capon to his Landlord, by way of Present, at such a Feast, he is not hereby oblig'd to give him one for the future. And it is the same thing, if a Prince should often grant to his Ambassadors a special Right, by doing some Things reserved unto himself, he does not hereby introduce a Custom for Ambassadors to do and attempt these Things without a special Grant : But if such Grant had been made Time out of Mind, perhaps, it wou'd be otherwise.

It has been said, That every Custom is founded upon Reason, or (at least) it ought not to be without Reason : Therefore a Custom deriv'd or drawn from Error, does not obtain in the like Cases ^y. Hence *Tertullian*, ^{y D. 1. 3. 39.} in his Book *De Coronâ*, calls Custom the Interpreter of Reason. The Judge or President of a Province, upon Cognizance had of a Cause, ought to determine the same according to the Proof of a Custom, which is frequently made use of, in the same Act of Controversy, in such Province or Town ^{z : z C. S. 53. 1.} For an extraneous or foreign Custom is no Relief. We ought not to argue from a Custom, in a foreign or extraneous Case ; but it ought to be in the like Kind of Controversy.

A special Custom cannot take away a general Law ^a ; but it may toll ^{a C. S. 53. 2.} a special Law ^b. According to the *Feudal Law*, Usage and Custom do ^{b D. S. 4. 13.} supersede the *Roman Law* ^c : But it is not every Usage that establishes ^{c F. 2. 1.} a Custom, but only such as is attended with a Repetition and Frequency of reasonable Acts ^{d. C. S. 53. 1.}

A Custom is not proved from different or dissimilar Acts : Because if it has been observ'd several ways, it cannot be call'd a Custom ; for that, according to *Bartolus* ^e, it requires similar and uniform Acts.

^{e In 1. 2. D. 24. 3.}

When the Matter in Debate is touching the Proof of the Beginning of a Custom, or when the Witnesses depose touching Length of a Custom, two witnesses are then sufficient ^f : But if the Custom itself be in Question, then it ought to be prov'd by all Persons where such Custom obtains ^g. But ^{f D. 22. 3. 12. g D. 22. 3. 28.} lest such Proof should be extended *in infinitum*, the universal Term *Omnes*, ^{fin.} in the Law, is referr'd to the greater Part of the People ^h : yea, ten are ^{h D. 50. 1. 19.} sufficient,

D. 47. 8. 4. 3. sufficient, since this Name makes a Multitude i. Witnesses produced to prove a Custom, ought to give Evidence touching Three Things; viz. 1st, touching the Usage of the People; 2^{dly}, touching the Frequency of the Act; and 3^{dly}, they ought to speak touching the Length and Diuturnity of Time. Tho' Length or Diuturnity of Time is differently reckon'd, according to the Doctors; yet it most commonly obtains, that in respect of a Custom, which is *præter* or *contra Jus*, ten Years Space is sufficient: For the Law calls Ten Years Time, by the Appellation of *Longa consuetudo*, and *Diuturnitas temporis* k. For the *Institutes*, touching *Usucapions*, say, That Length and Diuturnity of Time is concluded by Ten Years; and *Panormitan*, in his last Chapter, touching *Customs*, avers this to be the received Opinion of the Doctors.

[If a Custom be contrary to the Ecclesiastical Law, or infers any Loss or Damage to the Church, then Forty Years are required; as in Causes, which are specially reserved to the Prince, an Immemorial Prescription is necessary, to establish a Custom against the Prince's Prerogative: But many Persons aver a Hundred Years to be necessary for this End and Purpose l.]

¹ D. 43. 20. 3.
4. Bald. in C. 2.
C. 7. 22.

This Legal Time, whereby a Custom obtains the Force of a Law, has its Beginning from the Time of the first publick and notorious Act. And those Acts ought to be Judicial Acts, or such as are dispatch'd in publick Places, or by publick Persons, or by the People themselves in a Community assembled; and an Act of this Kind ought to be conformable to Reason, and to be supported thereby. The Currency of Time for the Establishment of a Custom, ought to be with a *Continuando* to the End of the Term prescribed, unless all the intermediate Acts, or the greatest Part of them, even from the Beginning, until the End of the Time appointed, be conformable to the Beginning. For if a repugnant Act intervenes within ten Years, past Acts do not confirm the Custom begun, but ought to begin *de novo* from the Act which supports the Custom m. Witnesses ought not only to speak to the Frequency of Acts, but the Judges ought also to consider the same; since one Act at once does not fully and plainly declare the Consent of the People: For in such a Time prescribed, so many Acts are necessary, as may probably convey the Custom to the Knowledge of the People. And this happens several Ways, according to the Quality of the Fact, the Diversity of Time and Place; and is left to the Discretion of the Judge, who ought to pronounce according to these Things. In a Judicial Custom there ought to be two Judicial Acts, inasmuch as the Judge ought to have pronounced twice touching the same Act: But if it be an Extrajudicial Custom, viz. a Custom made use of out of Court, then two Acts are sufficient, with a legal Currency of Time, if those Acts are remarkably known to the People, and such as may easily come to their Knowledge. But if those Acts are only private Acts, and such as come to the Peoples Knowledge with some Difficulty, many Acts, in this Case, ought to be proved, in order to settle an establish'd Custom n. And in case two Acts are sufficient to prove a Custom, the Advocate ought to draw his *Libellate* Articles thus, and the Witnesses ought to depose thereon accordingly, viz. That such an Act happen'd twice in ten Years; and that the Act is of such a Nature, that it may be easily known to the People o. Touching Acts of this Kind, the Depositions of the Witnesses ought to be such, that it may probably appear there was the Peoples Consent, or (at least) the Consent of the greater Part of them intervening, viz. from the Words and Method of the Depositions; to the End that the Judge may know that the Acts were notorious (at least) to the greater Part of the People: And thus the tacit Consent of the People may appear p. When I say that two Acts are sufficient to introduce a Custom, I mean, that the tacit Consent of the People may be discover'd from Acts of this Kind,

^m Bart. in C.
32. D. 1. 3.

ⁿ Bald. in C. 32.
D. 1. 3.

^o Zan. in C. 32.
D. 1. 3.

^p Bald. in C. 32.
D. 1. 3.

without which Consent no Custom can be introduced: For this Consent is the proximate Cause, or the *causa causans*, from whence a Custom arises. Hence it is, that tho' there may be many Acts reported by Witnesses, their Depositions are of no Effect to introduce a Custom. This tacit Consent is proved, if the Witnesses depose thus, *viz.* That such an Act, which supposes that Custom, was done in the Presence of such and such Persons, and was known to such and such, and that the same are the major Part of the People &c. But 'tis not enough to prove a Custom, for the Witnesses to say *simply*, that there is such a Custom; for by this Means they depose touching the Law, and are not Witnesses of the Fact, as they ought to be, but set themselves up for Judges.

¹ Rosat. in
L. 2. C. 7. 22.

A *Privilege* includes and signifies two Things in the large Acceptation of the Word, *viz.* *First*, The Right itself, or the Grace and Favour granted to the privileged Person; and, *Secondly*, The Charter or Instrument, whereby a Prince grants unto any Person a special Grace or Favour, which Charter or Instrument is sometimes in our Books call'd a *Rescript*, *Indultum*; and, in Canonical Privileges, a *Bull*: Tho' these Names have a larger Signification; because not only Privileges, but other Effects, may be wrought by them, as I shall shew hereafter. I will at present discourse of a Privilege in respect of the Right and Grace itself granted.

Cicero, in his Oration *pro domo sua*, defines a Privilege to be a private Law, or Right, conferring some Speciality or other upon some particular Person, or Body Politick ¹; and, according to another Author, it is called ² DD. in Rub. a particular Law or Right, whereby a private Man, or a particular Corporation, is exempted from the Rigour of the Common Law. It is sometimes used in our Common Law for a Place that has a special Immunity granted to it. The Word *Law*, here in our Definition, is put by way of *Genus*; and the Word *private* is added, to distinguish it from other Laws: For other Laws are common unto all Persons, but a Privilege is peculiar unto some Men alone. But some object, that this *Genus* is repugnant unto a *Genus*, because it is the Essence of a Law to respect the Community; and it is not a Private, but a Common Law. But 'tis to be noted, that a Privilege is not called a Private Law, because it lays an Obligation on one Person only; for a Privilege also respects a Community, even as to the Obligation which it induces, and as to the Good and End which it ultimately intends, as I shall shew hereafter. Therefore it is called a Private Law, because it grants a Special Right, besides a Common one, unto a Particular Person or Community: And thus the last Part of the Definition is declarative of the former. *Secondly*, 'Tis to be observ'd, that every Privilege is not a Law, properly speaking, and, as a Law, is taken in a rigorous Sense; because it is the Essence of a Law to be perpetual: But every Privilege is not perpetual; and, therefore, that which is not perpetual is not properly a Law. And this chiefly obtains, when a Privilege is granted for a determinate Time: But if it be granted *absolutely*, it has such a Perpetuity, that it is not determin'd by the Death of the Person that granted it. But a Privilege granted *durante bene placito*, which may be revoked at the Will and Pleasure of the Granter, is at an end on the Death of the Person that granted the same. Therefore, a Privilege granted *ad bene placitum*, lasts and continues till such Time as the Granter revokes the same: Because as a *bene placitum* is subject to no Law, it dies and expires with the Person himself, the Will of the Granter being dissolv'd and extinguish'd by his Death. Yet, by modern Usage and Custom, it has obtain'd, that such Privileges are not now revok'd by the Granter's Death; because that which is not expressly changed, is not prohibited to stand and remain in Force. Nay, the Prince himself cannot revoke Privileges once granted,

* C. 1. 14. 2. unless they are forfeited s, (for they may be lost and forfeited) and then such Revocation is rather an Act of Law, than of the Prince.

^c 3. Diff. There is a Difference between a *Privilege* and a *Benefice*; because a Privilege is a Matter of strict Law, as being contrary to the Common Law; and it is called a Privilege *quasi privata lex* ^t, as already hinted: But 'tis otherwise in a Benefice, which is interpreted in a larger manner than a Privilege is. A Privilege and a Custom are Things equivalent, and compared unto each other, according to *Baldus* ^u; and do equally found a Jurisdiction; and Custom and Prescription are the best Interpreters of Privileges. There are some Privileges that are General, and others that are Special:

* C. 1. 14. 2. But yet Privileges are Special, and not General Laws ^x; for they only have a Regard to those Matters and Persons, for which they are granted. Privileges are called Personal Sanctions; and they are stiled Personal, and not General Constitutions, because they respect the Business of one Man alone. A Privilege that is granted to a Man in Respect of his Person, does not descend and pass to his Heir ^y; for Personal Privileges are not extended ^z 1. 1. 1. 6. beyond their own proper *Individuum*, or the Person that enjoys them ^z.

^a D. 24. 3. 13. *Alexander*, in treating of Privileges as they are extended to Successors, (for so real Privileges are) has handled the Matter with so much Obscurity, that the reading his Comment on the Law ^a only serves from an Uncertainty to make the Matter more uncertain: Wherefore, I shall here chuse to follow *Baldus*, who says, *First*, That a Privilege granted to a Man's Person, is limited to such Person, and dies with him ^b. But this Conclusion

^b Bald. in L. 13. D. 24. 3. in L. 14. D. 50. 17. of *Baldus* is otherwise, if the Cause of such Privilege may be verif'd in the Man's Children; because in such a Case Personal Privileges are extend-

^c D. 24. 3. 13. ed even to Children ^c. *Secondly*, This is otherwise, if a Privilege granted to a Person be granted *propter causam*, on the Account of some Reason or other, and not on the Score of his Person, as *Baldus* distinguishes; because then it is extended to other Persons, wherein the same Reason dwells: But if a Personal Privilege be granted merely *propter Personam*, it is not

^d D. 26. 7. 42. then extended to others ^d. Thus a Privilege granted in respect of any certain Quality, lasts as long as such Quality endures; and a Privilege granted to any one, seems to be granted to him in Respect of the Quality of his Person. Privileges granted to a privileg'd Person, ought to be extended to Persons of his Family, and to such as are subject to him. Thus, for Instance, a Person living with a Scholar in the University, enjoys the same Privilege: For it is a known Rule in Law, that a Privilege granted to Scholars, seems to be extended to all those that dwell with such Scholars in the University, as to Servants and other Domesticks.

A Privilege is not presum'd, but it ought to be set forth and proved, since it is a Matter of Fact, and such as is *extra jus commune*, viz. foreign to the Common Law: And he that alledges and sets forth a Privilege, ought to prove the same in the best manner he may. But a Privilege is not proved by the Use of a Privilege, but by a just and legal Title unto such Privilege, as by the Prince's Grant or Charter, &c. For in Privileges, properly speaking, there lies no Prescription, because he that avers a Privilege, alledges *malam fidem*, unless he proves a good Title to such Privilege. The Title of a Physician here in *England* does not privilege a Person that is chosen Constable of a Parish; for there is a Difference between an Attorney or Barrister at Law, and a Physician: Because the former enjoy their Privilege by reason of their Attendance in publick Courts, and not on the Account of private Business in their Chambers; but a Physician's Business is a private Calling only. The Intimation or Insinuation of Privileges ought to be made in the Presence of a competent Judge, or before a Notary, or two Witnesses: And Privileges not intimated to the Party, are of no Advantage to a Man in his Cause. A Privilege, granted contrary

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to the common Course of Privileges, is presum'd to be false and surreptitiously obtained: And a Privilege procur'd contrary to the Utility of the Publick, is not valid. And moreover, it is to be observ'd, that the Privilege of one Person does not destroy and take away the Privilege of another upon equal Footing: Nor ought a Privilege to be granted to one Person, to the Hurt and Prejudice of another. A Privilege granted unto Students, is understood of such Students as do belong unto some University, or general Place of Study ^e, as the City of *Milan* or *Oxford* is. All Privileges which are granted unto Minors, are also granted unto Idiots and Women. A Privilege indulg'd and granted unto several Persons, does not seem to be granted unto one against another of these Persons. The general Words of a Privilege ought to be taken strictly, and to receive a Limitation according to the Common Law ^f. A Privilege, which prohibits the Cognizance of a Cause, is not valid; for Privileges ought to be understood in such a manner as not to injure Common Right.

^e Bald. Conf. 77. Vol. 5.

^f C. 3. 2. 35. Pr. C. 1. 2. 1. Gloss. ib.

Privileges are Benefits and Matters of Grace, which are granted on the Account of Duty and good Offices; and therefore, a contumacious and undutiful Subject may be rightly deprived of the Privileges granted to him on the Score of Duty and Obedience, for his Contumacy or Disobedience: Because the Contumacy and Disobedience of Subjects towards their Liege Lords and Sovereigns, is an Offence of an heinous Nature, being cloathed with the utmost Ingratitude; and, for such an Offence, Privileges are lost and come to an end, since an Offence gives no Immunity unto Delinquents. For the Authority of Crimes ought not to receive any Growth and Incouragement from a Pretence of Privileges granted, since they do hereby shake the Foundation of the Publick-weal. But Privileges granted to an University, or Corporation, are not lost and forfeited by the Contravention of particular Persons therein; unless they be encourag'd or connived at, by the ruling Power, in their Crimes and Excesses: For, generally speaking, the Offence of particular Persons ought not to prejudice a Body Politick, or Corporation, without the aforesaid Incouragement or Connivance given. The Loss and Deprivation of Privileges, wherewith contumacious and disobedient Persons are usually punish'd, ought, undoubtedly, to be reckon'd among the lighter kinds of Punishments; for Privileges are suppos'd to be granted to Citizens and Subjects of a dutiful and benevolent Disposition, (as before hinted) and to such as will shew some sort of Gratitude for them, and not to Mal-contents and Rebellious Persons. Therefore, if the Motive, or final Cause, of granting such Privileges ceases, the Privileges ought to cease *. Hence it is, that Privileges granted to Scholars in Favour, and on the Account of their Studies, do not take Place, and extend themselves to false, idle, and loitering Students, tho' they be admitted into the Matriculation of the University, and the Catalogue or Register of Scholars. Thus a Monk does not enjoy the Privileges of a true Monk, that is to say, the Privileges of his Order, from wearing his Habit only; because the Habit does not make the Monk, but it is his Profession, and a Discipline suitable to such a Profession. A Soldier, that is discharged and cashier'd from his Military Service, loses and forfeits his Privileges of a Soldier, since they are only accessory to the State of War †. Tho' a Person seems to renounce his Privilege, *ipso facto*, by any Act of his done contrary to such Privilege; yet it is the Opinion of some Lawyers, that a Man does not seemingly renounce his Privilege by any one Act done by him contrary to such Privilege; for a Privilege is not taken away by one Act. Tho', regularly, every privileged Person may wave and renounce his Privilege, granted to him either by the Law or by the Prince, of impleading another, or of being impleaded himself, in some certain Court belonging to such Privilege, so that the Leave or Consent of the ordinary Judges is not requir'd,

* Bart. in L. 43. D. 28. 6.

† Bart. in L. 5. D. 5. 6. in L. 42. D. 29. 1.

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the Parties Consent being sufficient ; yet in case of mixed, it is otherwise. For tho' private Consent makes him a Judge, who presides over a Jurisdiction ; yet the foregoing Rule proceeds no farther than this, *viz.* That then the Privilege of such Court concerns Favour, and is granted for the Advantage of the Person's waving his Privilege.

A Privilege is either *real*, *personal*, or *mix'd*. The First is that which is granted to a Place, as to the two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* ; *viz.* That no privileg'd Persons thereof may be call'd to *Westminster-hall*, upon any Contract made within their own Precincts, or elsewhere, *Infra Regnum Angliæ*, upon the Account of any personal Plea whatsoever ; or be prosecuted in other Courts. See the Charter of *Henry the Eighth* g. Nor can any one belonging to the Court of *Chancery* be sued in any other Court, unless it be in some certain Cases excepted : For if he thus be sued, he may remove the Suit by a Writ of Privilege, grounded on the Statute of *Edward the Third* h. But the Quality of a Privilege, by the Change of the Person's being in another Condition, is also changed ; and, consequently, the Privilege is lost and extinguish'd thereby : As when a Man leaves the Court of *Chancery*, and follows another Court ; for personal Privileges ought not to be extended to extraneous Persons. A *personal* Privilege, is that which is granted to any Person, either contrary to, or besides the Course of the Common Law. For Example : A Member of Parliament may not be arrested, nor any of his menial Servants, during the sitting of Parliament, nor for any certain Time either before or after a Session. This Kind of Privilege follows the Person to whom it is granted ; and dies with him, if the final Cause of granting such a Privilege be extinguish'd, as I have before remember'd ; for where such final Cause is not extinguish'd by the Death or Means of the Person to whom such Privilege is granted, it remains. An Immunity or Privilege granted to Persons, dies with the Persons to whom it is granted ; but, being granted to Things, it never dies i. Thus also, a personal Disposition is extinguish'd with the Person. A Privilege determines at the end of any one's Office or Administration, if such Privilege be granted to the Person as an Administrator k. As that is more easily taken away, which is valid *Jure speciali*, than that which is valid of *Common Right* ; Hence it is, that a Privilege is more easily destroy'd than the Common Law. If there are two Persons, that are privileged with an equal Privilege, he is preferr'd who contends or litigates *de damno vitando* : But if both Parties contend and litigate about avoiding some Damage, the Law prefers the Defendant's Cause to the Cause of the Plaintiff : But if they are privileged with an unequal Privilege, the more powerful Privilege is then preferr'd l.

Rescripts of Princes, are those Forms or Letters, whereby they give an Answer either to the Addressees of Persons present, or else to the Consultations of absent Magistrates, touching what they wou'd have to be done in such an Affair m. Or else we may define it to be the Emperor's Letter sent to particular Persons, in Answer to their Enquiries touching the Law n : But if it be sent to a Corporation or Body of Men that have consulted him, his Letter is then call'd a *Pragmatick* Sanction o. The Prince's Rescript, in respect of the Parties to whom it is sent or granted, has the Force of a Law, but it is not extended to any other Person. There are some Rescripts which are granted by way of Decision, and are *Decisory* Rescripts : And such a Rescript of the Prince is look'd upon as a Case of Law or Statute ; and therefore ought not to be disputed or call'd in Question, but ought to be specifically observed as it ordains ; because it is presum'd to have been issued *ex certa Scientia*, tho' the Clause of *ex certa Scientia* be not express'd therein p. A Rescript, in a doubtful Case, is presum'd to contain

contain Matter of Justice, and not of Grace and Favour ; and he who avers it to be a Matter of Grace, ought to prove it. A Rescript is also taken for the Prince's Commission, whereby he orders something to be done, and the like ; and sometimes it signifies a Charter, whereby he makes a Grant of any Thing. The expressing of a certain Form, in a Rescript, or a Commission for Trying a Cause, does not so bind a Judge delegated by such Rescript or Commission, but that he may, according to *Decius*, admit of all legal Exceptions in a Cause : And the *Gloss* says, That all Words inserted in such a Rescript or Commission, ought to be in Pursuance of Equity, even contrary to the Propriety of such Terms, or tho' the Forms themselves do not admit thereof. But *Alciatus* disputes this *Gloss* ; because, in a Disposition, the Testator's Mind is not regarded, if the Words of the Will do not admit thereof ; wherefore (says he) the same holds good in a Rescript or Commission. The Rescript of the Prince is not valid, that is granted against the Utility of the Publick, or the Advantage of a private Person ¹ ; nor that which is granted contrary to the Law of God, or ² C. 1. 22. 6. the Publick Law ; or which is extorted out of the Hands of the Granter. Nor is a Rescript valid, whereby a Minor has the Administration of his Goods granted him ¹ ; and much less where he has the Administration of ¹ Oldr. Conf. 326. n. 4. a Dignity conferr'd on him. Nor is a Rescript valid, whereby a Person is deprived of his Goods, without a Citation and Justification had of him ; because such Rescripts are not usually granted, when a just Prince sits on the Throne, but such Prince is presumed to be deceived and circumvented in granting the same ; wherefore, it ought to be supereded. Rescripts and Privileges granted contrary to Law, with a Clause of *Non obstante* therein, viz. when the Prince says, *Notwithstanding any Law to the contrary*, are valid, according to the *Civil Law* ; because the Prince may (according to the *Civil Law*) dispense with Laws and Statutes of his own making.



T I T. IV.

Of the Interpretation of Laws and Statutes, according to the Sense of the Civil Law ; and of the Power of Dispensing with Laws, and the like.

TOUCHING the *Interpretation* of Laws, it is First to be observ'd, That all Written Laws ought to be aided and supply'd, as much as possible, by such an Explanation as best suits the Mind and Intention of the Legislator ^s, where the Words of such Laws are doubtful : And the Law ^{D. 50. 16. 6.} provides, That it shall be in his Power to interpret a Law, in whose Power it was to make or ordain the same : but in such Cases, as come into Judicature, the Judges have a Power of Interpreting, for the Decision of Causes ¹, ¹ C. 3. 1. 8. deriving this Power from the Prince, or the Law itself.

Now the several *Species* of Interpreting Laws, are four in Number, viz. *First*, The Interpretation of the Prince, or Sovereign Power, is said to be a *general* Interpretation, because it is extended unto all Persons : whereas the Interpretation of the Judges, is only adapted to the Persons that have their Cause before them, and binds none else. *Secondly*, The Interpretation of the Prince, or the Legislator, is said to be necessary ; because we are necessarily obliged to follow the same : And such Interpretation ought to be

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reduc'd

reduc'd into Writing ; because all Laws (according to some Mens Opinion) ought to be reduced into Writing ; Writing being, with them, the Substance of a Law or Statute. And therefore, this Kind of Interpretation being deemed as a Law, it ought certainly to be reduced into Writing. *Secondly*, There is another *Species* or Way of Interpreting a Law which is made by Custom ; and Custom is the best Interpreter of Laws ^u, because there is the tacit Consent of the People. Now, this Interpretation is *general*, as being extended to all Persons and Places where such Custom prevails ; and it is also stiled *necessary*, after the aforesaid manner, because we are obliged to follow the same : yet it is not reduced into Writing, because Custom subsists by human Memory alone. The *Third Species* is that, which is made by the Judge, being stiled a *Judicial* Interpretation : For the Judge may, in doubtful Matters, expound and interpret Laws, in relation to such Causes as are decided by his Sentence, as already hinted. And this *Species* of Interpretation is not *general* ; because other Judges are not bound to pronounce according to a Precedent founded on his Sentence : For they ought to judge according to the Laws, and a well-inform'd Conscience of their own, and not according to Precedents ^x, which may be ill-grounded, perhaps. Yet this *Species* of Interpretation is also termed *necessary* ; because the Litigants are obliged to yield Obedience thereunto, and to observe the same. And this *Species*, in respect of the Judge's Sentence, ought to be reduced into Writing. The *Fourth Species* of Interpretation, is that which is made by some Master, or Doctor of Law : For every Master, or Doctor, may interpret doubtful Matters, or Points of Law, as arising within his own Faculty, wherein he has, or (at least) ought to have a thorough Learning and Experience. And this Interpretation of the Doctors is neither *general*, *necessary*, nor need it be reduced into Writing : For the Interpretation of a Doctor, does not necessarily bind us to follow the same ; but we only so far rely on it, as Law and Reason approve thereof.

An Interpretation of Law ceases, when the Will and Intention of the Legislator clearly appears : And, in a doubtful Case, an Interpretation ought rather to be made for the Validity of the Act or Matter interpreted, than for the Invalidity and Destroying thereof ; for an Interpretation ought always to be made in such a manner, as not to render the Act or Law itself elusory. Sometimes a Matter is interpreted in a large Sense, as in Contracts ; sometimes in a larger Sense, as in Last Wills and Testaments ; and sometimes in the largest Sense, as in respect of Defamatory Words. When I say the *largest Sense*, I mean the most favourable. But a Privilege ought not to be interpreted in a large Sense, because it is contrary to the Common Law, as I have already observed under the Title of *Privileges*. In the Interpretation of a Law, it is to be noted, That a *Prohibitory* Law, that is to say, a Law which forbids any thing to be done, is not restrain'd to the very Case therein, for it reaches to all Cases of the like Nature ^y ; and, consequently, by this Means, a Law receives an extensive Interpretation.

Touching the Rules and Method of Interpreting Laws, it is to be known, That every Law consists and is made up of Two Things ^z ; *viz.* 1st, of the Words whereby a Law is expressed and declared ; and, 2^{dly}, of the Sense and Meaning of such Law. The Words of a Law, are those Signs and Characters wherein a Law is penn'd and written, and by Means of which the Law itself is convey'd to our Minds and Understandings. And the Sense and Meaning of a Law, is the Mind and Intention of the Legislator himself ^a ; that is to say, That which the Law intends, and wou'd have done, or not have done. And this is a certain Maxim in all Laws, That whenever the Words of a Law differ from the Design and Intention of it, we ought to follow the Design and Intention of such a Law ^b. Now, the Sense and Meaning of a Law, which, in other Terms, I call the Intention

of

of it, may be found and known to differ from the Words of it two several Ways, *First*, If the Sense and Meaning of it is more limited and restrain'd than the Words themselves couched under such a Law. *Secondly*, When the Design and Intention of such a Law is of a larger Extent than the Words themselves will properly bear : And these two, in other Terms; we call a *restrictive* and *extensive* Interpretation. The Sense and Meaning of a Law may be discover'd to be more limited and restrain'd than the Words thereof, four several Ways ; *First*, By some Exception specified and mentioned in the same Law: As when a precedent, or subsequent Exception, does qualify, govern, and moderate something that is more general in such a Law ^c. *Secondly*, It may be discover'd from the Reason given and made use of in such a Law : For if the Reason of the Law ceases, the Law immediately ceases and comes to an End ; there being no farther Occasion of it ^d. *Thirdly*, It may be discover'd from the Equity thereof; and this Equity ought to be the chief Reason and Essence of every Law ^e. *Fourthly*, If there be a Law, which is written in very general Terms, it governs other Laws, wherein there are special Exceptions. ^{D. 12. 1. 20. D. 2. 14. 32. C. 3. 1. 8. D. 1. 3. 18. D. 41. 9. 12.}

The Meaning and Intention of a Law is known to be of a larger Extent than the Words themselves, three several Way, *viz.* *First*, As we say, *Ex contrario, viz.* When Matters contrary to what is enacted and ordain'd, is understood to be intended by the Law ^f. *Secondly*, *Ex consequenti*, (as we phrase it) Namely, when a Law forbids that which follows, upon some certain Points therein laid down and enacted. *Thirdly*, By way of Interpretation, as when we proceed to Consequences in those Things wherein there is the same, or else a Parity of Reason ^g: Provided always, there be nothing introduced by these three Ways, which is contrary to the Common Law ^h. The Law is extended to similar Cases, either by the Interpretation of a private Man, where the Reason thereof lays the Matter open and clear ; or else by the Prince's Constitution, where the Reason thereof is dark and obscure ⁱ. But what I have noted here, ought only to be observ'd when it evidently appears, that the Intention of Laws differ from the Words thereof. But, in a doubtful Case, it is far better to observe and adhere to the Words themselves ^k. But what if the whole Sentence be dark and obscure in itself, and by this Means the Design and Intention of the Law obscure ? Now such an Obscurity either consists in an Ambiguity of each particular Word, or else in the Construction of the whole Sentence itself, where there are indeed two Sentences ; or else, *Lastly*, It consists in an Uncertainty of Things or Persons ; where all Rules of Law, which treat of Interpretation, are to be adapted thereunto. In this Case we ought, *First* of all, to observe what Things go before, and what are subsequent thereunto ^l. *Secondly*, We ought to consider, Whether that which is express'd, be utter'd without any Flaw or Impropriety of Speech ^m. *Thirdly*, We ought to have Recourse to Custom and former Laws, which is the best Interpreter of all Laws ⁿ. And, *Fourthly*, In doubtful Cases we ought to prefer the more benign and better Meaning to that which is less so ^o. 'Tis a general Rule in Law, That wheresoever there is an Enumeration of Particulars of several Ranks and Degrees, beginning with the higher, and ending with the lower, and in the Close a general Expression (of *others*) is added and joined with them, those *others* must not be understood to be of a higher Rank, and superior Degree, to that which is last mention'd in the Law, but must be either of the same Degree, or a lower : And thus we have it in my Lord Coke ^p, as well as in the Civil Law. But if the Enumeration goes upwards, beginning with the lower, and ending with the higher Degree, the Case is then otherwise ; as when it is said *Barons, Earls, and other Peers*, here Marquesses and Dukes will be comprehended. When a Law is made in Favour of any one, it ought never to be interpreted

preted in Hatred or Prejudice of him. Interpreters of Laws do make Laws by their Interpretation thereof.

I shall next consider the Business of *Dispensing* with Laws. Now a Dispensation is nothing else but a Relaxation of the Force of some Human and Positive Law, either in part or in the whole, for some certain Space of Time, upon Cognizance had of the Cause, (as some will have it) by him who has the dispensing Power lodged in him: Though, I think, this last part of the Definition ought not to be tacked to it; because a Dispensation may be had without such Cognizance. I say, of *Human and Positive Law*; because the Law of Nature and the Law of God cannot be dispensed with by Man: For tho' he may interpret the Law of God, where the Sense thereof is doubtful to human Understanding; yet he cannot dispense with, and exempt a Person from the Obligation thereof even in *Foro externo*, where the Sense of the Text is clear and certain. He may remit the Temporal Punishment indeed, but he cannot pardon and take away the Guilt thereof. The Dispensing with a Law, is an Act of Jurisdiction; and it supposes that such Law did oblige before it was dispensed with: And such a Dispensation is made either to take away the present or the future Obligation of such a Law, but it cannot have a Retrospect to Trespases committed before such Law was really dispensed with; for that would draw Mischief on the Commonwealth, and might encourage Iniquity. I say, in this Definition, *for a certain space of Time*; because if a Law was relaxed or dispensed with in Point of Obligation for ever, it would be an Abrogation of such a Law, instead of a Dispensation. The Prince may grant a Dispensation to a whole Community, that they should not be precisely obliged to observe such a Law for a whole Year, and the like; and this is properly a Relaxing of the Force of a Law, but not a Taking of the same away: For as soon as such Time is expir'd, the Obligation of the Law immediately returns without any other Constitution, or Promulgation thereof; and this (I think) may as well be call'd a Suspension of the Law, as a Dispensation of it. If the Prince grants to one Person, or to another, that he need not observe the Law, and call such Grant an *Exemption* from the Law, when it is granted without any Determination of Time, Perpetually, or for Life: For if it be granted for a Definite Time, it will be a partial taking away the Bond of such Law, and will be a mixture of Suspension and Exemption. Sometimes a Dispensation is granted in respect of one Act only, and then also by way of Suspension for a very short Time, unless the Act has a permanent and perpetual Effect, as Legitimation, and the like, which are properly Exemptions from the Law, and are reckon'd among Privileges. From whence it follows, that see how many Effects the Law has, so many Effects may be attributed to a Dispensation, according to this Maxim, *viz. Quot Modis dicitur unum oppositorum, tot dicitur & reliquum.*

The Person, with whom this Dispensing Power is lodged, is the Prince or Sovereign Magistrate, who ought to exercise the same with great Caution and Prudence, as a faithful Shepherd of his People: For this Power is reserv'd to him for great and weighty Reasons of State alone, and not for private Affection of Persons, and to the Detriment of the Publick Community; and, therefore, the final Cause of Dispensing, ought to be just and honest, *viz.* such as is adequate and proportion'd to the Law. There are some Princes that have a full and absolute Power of making Laws *simply* vested in themselves, such as the *Roman* Emperors had, and these may dispense with all Laws, which only concern *Mala prohibita*, and not *Mala per se*; because *ejus est relaxare, cujus est ligare*: But if there be another Part of the Constitution joined with them in enacting Laws, they cannot do

do it without the Concurrence of that Part of the Constitution ; especially if it concerns the Interest of particular Men. As for Instance, where the Law gives a Penalty or Forfeiture unto the Prince, and a like Penalty unto the Party that sues, the Prince may pardon the Forfeiture given to himself, but cannot remit that Part of it which is given to the Party. In ancient Times, Dispensations were seldom or never granted ; but, whenever obtain'd, it was upon important and urgent Occasions : But after the *Canon Law* was introduced, they became frequent by *Non obstante's*, and other knavish Distinctions of the Court of *Rome*, and its Followers, the *Canonists*. So that then Princes, learning from so subtle a Master as the Pope, soon overbore Legal Institutions by dispensing with them, and would no longer be fetter'd with such Cobwebs as these. They then set up to be Masters over the Laws, and would no longer be Servants and Ministers to them, as they ought to be.

As a Law is made for the sake of the Community, it is in its Nature perpetual, and does not cease through any Defect of the Efficient Cause, unless it be otherwise provided in such Law : For it is not determin'd by the Death of the *Legislator* or his Successor ; and, consequently, is not taken away by Succession of Time alone, because it ought to be made and constituted indefinitely. But if it be sometimes made for any definite and certain Term of Time, that is extraordinary : And then such Law has in the Bowels and Constitution of it, a kind of Revocation annexed thereunto at the End of such Time. Nor does a Law cease through a Defect of those Things or Persons for which it was made, unless such Defect be perpetual. For the Community of a State or People is in its own Nature perpetual, and is preserv'd by a continued Succession. And tho' such State or People should be entirely rooted out, which seldom happens, and does not come under a moral Consideration, yet the Laws themselves remain. And, therefore, a Law can only cease by a change of the Object, about which it is : Which Change (Physically speaking) may happen several ways : But at present I shall only consider such Change as may happen in the Matter of a Law in respect to the Reason of it, which renders it Obligatory : But if the Reason of it perseveres, it shall not cease upon a Failure of the Object of it. Where the Reason of Things is the same, there the Decision of the Law ought to be the same also : For a Diversity of Law arises from a Diversity of Reason : A Parity of Reason has more Force than an Argument drawn a *contrario sensu*. That which Natural Reason dictates, is looked upon as a Law, and is even sufficient of itself, tho' there be no express Law in the Case : For the best Arguments not only for the Interpretation of a Law, but even for the Decision of Causes, in Failure of an express Law, are those which are derived from Natural or Right Reason. When a new Case happens, touching which the Law has made no Provision, and a Statute ought to be made thereupon ; we ought to have Recourse to the Prince, who, with the Deliberation of the Senate, ought to proceed to the making of a Law, and then let him cause such Statute to be reduced into Writing *. Whoever reads this Imperial Constitution in the *Code*, will find it the Sense of the Emperors in those Days, that the Prince could not make Laws by his sole Power.

* C. 1. 14. 8.



T I T. V.

Of certain Decrees of the Senate, necessary to be known here, for the better understanding the ensuing Work, as the *Senatusconsultum*, *Macedonianum*, *Syllanianum*, *Tertyllianum*, *Trebellianum*, *Turpilianum*, *Velleianum*, &c.

A Decree of the Senate, in *Latin* called *Senatusconsultum*, was that Law (as I have heretofore observ'd) which was made by the *Roman* Senate, on the Recommendation or Request of some *Senatorian* Magistrate, without the Concurrence of the Populacy : And these Decrees had often their Distinctions or Titles from the Name of the Consul or Magistrate that recommended them. And hence we have the *Senatusconsultum*, *Claudianum*, *Libonianum*, *Orficianum*, *Pegasianum*, *Syllanianum*, *Tertyllianum*, *Trebellianum*, *Turpilianum*, *Velleianum*, &c. from *Claudius*, *Libonius*, *Orficius*, *Pegasus*, *Sylla*, *Tertyllius*, *Trebellius*, *Turpilius*, and *Velleius*. These Decrees we frequently meet with in the Books of the *Roman* Law ; and as we shall have often occasion to mention them in the following Work, it will not be amiss to say something of them in this Place, in order to prepare the Mind of the Reader. And first of the *Senatusconsultum*, *Syllanianum*, and *Claudianum*.

By this Decree of the Senate, Legacies are not to be paid unto all Persons *indiscriminately* : For it forbids them to be paid unto such as render'd themselves unworthy of Legacies. And all Persons are hereby deemed so, who have by Mal-engine open'd, publish'd, or copied the Will of a Person killed by Violence, Poison, or any other clandestine

- ^a D. 29. 5. 1. Means ^a, before Enquiry has been made touching the Death of the Person, ¹⁷ & ¹⁸.
^r D. 29. 5. 3. By *noxious* Servants, or Bondmen, I here mean such, who either killed, or ¹⁷.
^s D. 29. 5. 1. did not aid and assist their Masters according to their best Abilities ^s. If an ^{pr.} & ^{L.} 19. Heir, or Legatary, willingly open'd the Will, before such Enquiry was made, he forfeited the Legacy left him, and it was apply'd unto the
^t D. 29. 5. 5. Exchequer ^t. But if any other Person did it, to whom nothing was ¹.
^u D. 29. 5. 25. bequeathed, he was condemned in one hundred *Aurei*, or Crowns ^u. If ². the Testator was found to be privily murder'd, the Will might be then publish'd, and the Heir might take the Heirship on himself, but yet it was then incumbent on him to prosecute the Crime according to Law, and to
^x D. 29. 5. 5. bring the Criminal to Judgment, if discover'd ^x ; and if he neglected to ^{fin.} do it, he not only forfeited the Heirship, but also whatever was bequeathed
^y D. 29. 5. 15. him in the Will ^y. This Decree, to prevent secret and hidden Murther, was not made under the Emperor *Marcus*, as some have imagin'd, but in the Time of *Augustus*, when *Dolabella* and *Syllanus* were Consuls : For the
^z D. 29. 5. 13. Decree of the Senate, mention'd in the 13th Law ^z, was later than the Time of this *Syllanus*.

The *Senatusconsultum Claudianum* was made in the Reign of *Claudius Cæsar*. But why it was called by the Name of that Emperor, I am at a loss to know, (for it is not clear) because the Decrees of the Senate were not filed from the Name of the Emperors, but from the Names of the Consuls ^a, as aforesaid. But we read in *Tacitus*, that *Claudius* prefer'd a Law

^a L. 1. 2. 5.

Law unto the Senate, touching the Punishment of Women, that joined themselves unto Bondmen in Marriage, or otherwise ^b : And the Senate ^b Tacit. 1. 12. hereupon decreed, That a Woman of an *ingenuous* Condition, who so fell in Love, without the Knowledge of the Bondman's Master, thereby seem'd to become his Bondwoman, and that the Children born from thence should be look'd upon as *Liberti*. By this Decree of the Senate, therefore, the Master of the Bondman, after three Intimations given to the Freed-woman, that she wou'd not marry his Bond-man, might lay these three Intimations before the *Prætor*, and request him, That he would, by his Decree, assign the Woman over to the Master, with all her Goods and Chattels ; and thus the Master acquir'd the Woman, with all her Substance ^c. This Decree of ^c C. 7. 24. 1. the Senate was afterwards abolish'd by a Law of *Justinian*, which permitted the Master to give his Bond-man due Correction, and to separate him from such Freed-woman. And this was good Law, in respect of a Woman that marry'd or joined herself unto another's Bond-man : But if she marry'd, or had carnal Knowledge of her own Bond-man, she was punish'd in a severer Manner ^d. But, by the modern Law, a Woman neither loses her Liberty, ^d C. 9. 11. 1. nor her Substance, by such a Conjunction, but is rather permitted to contract Matrimony with her Bond-man or Servant ; and such a Bond-man shall become a Free-man and a Citizen of *Rome* ^e. But now all this Business of ^e Arg. C. 7. 6. 1. Bond and Free is become obsolete, and taken away by the Christian Law.

Touching the *Senatusconsultum Tertullianum* and *Orficianum*, it is to be observ'd, That the Law of the Twelve Tables gave no Right unto the Mother and her Children, of succeeding each to the Inheritance ; because they are not joined unto each other by any Kindred or Tie of Agnation. But afterwards, by the *Senatusconsultum Tertullianum*, (which was made in the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian* ^f), it was provided, That the Mother, ^f 1. 3. 3. 2. if she was a Person of an *ingenuous* Disposition, and had three Children, and a *Libertine*, if she had four Children, should be admitted to succeed to the Goods of her Intestate Children ^g. And so, on the other hand, by ^g 1. 3. 3. 2. the *Senatusconsultum Orficianum*, (which was made in the Time of the Emperor *Marcus* ^h), these Strictnesses of Law, in respect of Succession, ^h 1. 3. 4. pr. were taken away, and Sons and Daughters were admitted to succeed the Mother : And afterwards, by the Constitutions of the Emperors, Grandchildren of each Sex succeeded the Grandmother ⁱ. Before these two ⁱ 1. 3. 4. 1. Decrees were made, the Law of the Twelve Tables was so strict, that it only prefer'd the Males, and excluded those of the Female Sex.

The *Senatusconsultum Turpilianum* has a respect to Judicial Matters of a criminal Nature, either on the Part of the Accuser, or else on the Part of the Accused. On the Part of the Accuser, it respects Calumny, Tergiversation, and Prevarication ^k. A Calumniator is said to be him, who know- ^k D. 48. 16. 1. ingly and with an evil Purpose charges another with false Crimes ^l : But ^{pr.} he who, *bona fide*, accuses another, does not immediately become a *Calum- ^l D. 48. 16. ^{1. 1.} niator ; because he fails in the Proof of such a Crime ^m. For an Enquiry ^m C. 9. 46. 3. into the Matter, is left to the Judge who takes Cognizance thereof, who ought, upon Acquitting the Defendant, to consider the Purpose of the Accuser, and enquire with what Intention the Accuser was led to proceed to such Accusation ; and if he finds him to be justly mistaken in the Matter, he ought to acquit him : But if he finds him guilty of evident Calumny, he ought to punish him ⁿ. The Punishment of Calumny, heretofore, by ⁿ D. 48. 16. 1. 3. the *Lex Rhemnia*, was Pecuniary ^o : But afterwards, by this Decree of the ^o 1. 4. 16. pr. Senate, (which is now grown out of Use), the Person, who was thus guilty ^{&c} ^{1.} of Calumny in Matters of Judicature, was render'd infamous ^p, and was to ^p C. 9. 40. 3. undergo a Retaliation ; that is to say, he was to suffer the same Punishment ^{&c} ^{8.} as the Defendant should have done, if he were convict ^q. But all Accusers ^q D. 48. 16. 1. 8. were not punish'd as Calumniators ; for there were some Persons, touching*

whose Calumny no Enquiry was ever made, as a Mother who prosecuted
 † C. 9. 46. 2. the Death of her Child †, and a Son who avenged the Death of his Father ‡,
 § C. 9. 46. 4. and the like Persons. A *Tergiversator*, is he who entirely desists from
 † D. 48. 16. 6. his Accusation; or he who delays the same, tho' he does not desist †.
 & 13. Those Persons, who were guilty of Tergiversation, were, by this Decree
 † D. 47. 15. 3. of the Senate, fined in Five Pounds of Gold †. A *Prevaricator*, is he
 who conceals Crimes that are true, by Collusion had with the Defendant,
 or Person accused, 'who admits of false Excuses, and suppresses his own
 * D. 47. 15. 1. Evidence * : And such an Accuser was severely punish'd, as I have else-
 D. 50. 16. 2 12. where noted, under the Title of *Calumny and Prevarication*. But the
 Punishment of this Decree of the Senate ceased in respect of a *Tutor*, who,
 on the Death of his Pupil, desisted from the Accusation, which he had
 † D. 48. 16. 14. commenced on his Pupil's Account †. It also ceased in him, who desisted
 from an Accusation, upon the Death of the Person accused, if his Crime
 † D. 48. 16. 15. was such as was ended by Death †. And, lastly, it ceased, if the Crime
 † D. 48. 16. 13. 1. was pardon'd †. But more of this Decree of the Senate hereafter.

The *Senatusconsultum Trebellianum* had its Name from *Trebellius Maximus*,
 † D. 36. 1. 1. 1. who was Consul with *Annæus Seneca* in the Reign of *Nero* † : And it relates
 to Heirships given in Trust. *Ulpian* gives us the Words of this Decree, in
 the *Digests*; whereby it is provided, That Actions which are usually given
 to or against Heirs, should be given to and against them, after the Heirship
 is restored to them by Virtue of a Trust, or *Fideicommissum*, as it ought to
 † D. 36. 1. 1. 3. be by Virtue of the Testator's Will †. Hence it appears, that, by Virtue
 of this Decree, an Action lies for and against a *Fideicommissarius*, or an
 Heir in Trust; that is to say, the Judge or *Prætor* may admit him to bring
 his Action, and likewise compel him to defend a Suit commenced against
 him. Before this Decree of the Senate, even written Heirs did not care to
 take the Heirship on themselves, either through Fear of Law-suits, or some
 † D. 36. 1. 1. 3. other Pretext †; especially Heirs in Trust, who were often demanded, either
 to restore the whole Inheritance; and therefore, these Trusts were extin-
 guished. In the Time of *Vespasian*, when *Pegasus* and *Pusio* were Consuls,
 the Senate permitted a Person, on whom a Demand was made to give up
 the Heirship, to restore the same to the real Heir; but he might retain a
 fourth Part, even out of those Things which were left by way of Trust, in
 order to indemnify himself † : And this Decree was stiled the *Senatus-*
 † 1. 2. 23. 5. *consultum Pegasianum*. But afterwards *Justinian* transferr'd the Force of
 this Decree into that of the *Senatusconsultum Trebellianum*; which gives the
 simple Heir, as well as the Heir in Trust, a Fourth of the Inheritance, to
 indemnify himself against the Actions of Creditors †. This *Trebellius*, the
 † 1. 2. 23. 5. Author of this Decree, is mention'd by *Cornelius Tacitus*, in the 14th Book
 of his *Annals* †. I shall next speak of the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum*.

And here it is to be noted, That Women contracting in their own Name,
 and on their own Account, are effectually obliged, by the *Civil Law*, to
 perform and stand to such Contracts in their own Persons, even tho' they
 are in a State of Marriage : But if they intervene and become Sureties for
 others, they are not liable to an Obligation, according to the *Senatusconsultum*
 † D. 16. 1. 12. *Velleianum*, by reason of the Weakness and Frailty of their Sex †. And
 † 1. & 2. the Law not only relieves them, if they are circumvented and deceived,
 † D. 16. 1. 6. but it also relieves their Sureties, Proctors, and such as act for them † : But
 it does not give such Sureties and other Agents Relief, if a Demand is made
 upon them, by bringing an Action against such Women, but it renders the
 † D. 16. 1. 16. whole Obligation void, and disallows thereof †. But if Women themselves
 † 1. 16. are guilty of Fraud, and deceive other Persons, this Law or Decree gives
 them no Help, of what high Order or Quality soever they be; for their
 † D. 16. 1. 30. high Rank and Order shall be no Protection unto Fraud †. Not only one,
 but every *Species* of Contract, is comprehended under this Decree of the
 Senate,

Senate, and in what manner soever they have thus interven'd, at their own Peril, by taking on themselves another Person's Obligation ^m. If a Woman ^{m D. 16.1.2.4. D. 16. 1. 9.} be convened upon such an Intervention or Obligation, she may plead this Decree by way of Exception: But if she has paid any Sum of Money to her own Wrong, by means of the like Intercession of Suretiship, or has perform'd any Promise or Stipulation in the Behalf of others, she must have a Personal Action to recover the same again, together with the Fruits and Profits thereof ⁿ. This Exception was introduced not only in Favour of ^{n D. 16.1.32.1.} married Women, but also in Favour of others ^o. But a Woman is not ^{o D. 12. 6. 40.} aided by this Exception, if she shall within two Years after such Intercession or Binding herself, oblige herself again, and the like; because then she cannot be said to do this by any kind of Levity, but fraudulently, if she has once pleaded this Exception ^p. Nor shall she be relieved, if she does ^{p C. 4. 29. 22.} either *judicially* or *extra-judicially* renounce the Benefit of this Decree; provided the Notary puts her in Mind of this Benefit belonging to her. This Intercession or Obligation, is also rescinded by an Action in Equity before the *Prætor*. This Title of the Law, touching this Decree, is abrogated in *France*, by a Royal Edict, and also by a Municipal Law at *Thoulon*. See *Tholosani Syntagma juris* ^q. But in *Holland* it still obtains, unless a ^{q Lib. 24. c. 3.} Woman renounces the Benefit thereof, or publicly exercises Trade and Merchandize ^r. A Woman cannot renounce the Benefit of this Decree, ^{r Groenv. de LL. abr. in C. 4. 29.} unless it be by the means of a Publick Instrument; which Practice is still observed in *Friezeland*, tho' not in *Holland*.

The *Senatusconsultum Macedonianum*, was so called from one *Macedo*, an infamous Usurer, who was the principal Occasion of making the same. For he (among other Things) was accustom'd to lend Money unto Children, under the Power of the Father, to supply their Luxury and riotous Course of Living; and hence administer'd Occasion to them often to kill their Fathers, when they had not wherewithal to pay their Debts. By this Decree of the Senate, no Action or Demand could be made on the Account of such a Loan, even after the Father's Death ^s; provided the Creditor ^{s D. 14. 6. 1.} knew, or might know, that the Person to whom he lent Money was under the Power of a Father ^t. For if such Creditor was deceived by a just ^{t D. 14. 6. 16.} Simplicity or Ignorance, as because the Person borrowing (perhaps) affirm'd or pretended to be the Father of a Family ^u; or if a Minor lent Money ^{u D. 14. 6. 3.} to a Minor, the Force of this Decree of the Senate ceased ^x. And so ^{x C. 4. 28. 1. & 2.} likewise did it, if a Son under the Power of a Father had what we call the *Castrense Peculium*, viz. an Estate gotten in the Wars, and the like, so far as such *Peculium* extended: For in that Respect he represented the Person of a *Pater-familias* ^y. This Decree of the Senate had a Respect to ^{y D. 14. 6. 2.} both Sexes under the Power of a Father ^z, and of what Dignity soever the ^{z D. 14. 6. 9. 2.} Persons borrowing were ^a. And it did not only give Relief to such a Son borrowing Money, but even to his Surety: So that an Action, which accrued on the Account of such a Loan of Money, might be defeated by an Exception, or pleading of this Decree in bar thereof ^b: And thus the ^{b D. 14. 6. 7. pr.} Creditor did not seem to have any Right of Action, since he might be ousted of it by a perpetual Exception ^c. But this Decree only obtain'd in ^{c D. 50. 17. 112.} respect of Money lent, and not in regard to other Concerns, if there was no Fraud committed therein, in order to render this Decree vain and elusory ^d. This Decree of the Senate does not only give Relief unto a ^{d D. 14. 6. 3. 3.} Son under the Power of the Father, but also to the Father, and Heir, and Surety ^e, who stood upon the same Bottom with the Borrower. It was of ^{e D. 14. 6. 9. 3.} great Service to the State at the Time when made.



T I T. VI.

Of Rules and Principles of Law, commonly called Maxims; and in what Manner they are limited and restrained by Exceptions.

THIS Title, touching the several Rules and Principles of the ancient Law, is borrow'd from several Parts of that Law, contained in the Books of the ancient Lawyers. For a *Rule*, in the Sense of the Word, as I shall use it here, is collected from the Law itself, and is nothing else but a short and comprehensive Manner of letting Persons into the Knowledge of the Law, and whereby some Decision of Law is declar'd and laid open to us. Wherefore, we may define it to be a short Decision of Law, which in itself comprehends several Cases of Law: Or else it may be thus defin'd, *viz.* To be a brief and general Determination of Law; namely, When many Cases of the like Nature are concluded in a short Sentence of Law, not by a special Recital of the Cases, but by Assigning the Reason of the same; as I shall shew by some Examples hereafter. So that from what has been said, a Rule of Law is that, which declares the Law to be what it is: Not that a Law is taken from a Rule, but because it becomes a Rule, from a Law that is previous thereunto. It is usually conceived either under an *universal* ^a, or else under an *indefinite* ^b Sign, which is equivalent to an *universal* ^c; or lastly, under such Words, which if they do not comprehend all Things, yet they comprehend many Things, which happen often and for the most part.

It has been said, that a Rule does not make a Law, because it is taken from a Law, that has already a good Existence ^d: Which is true in Respect to those Things which precede the Rule, and from whence the Rule is formed; but 'tis otherwise in Respect of other Cases, which are not found determin'd before the Rule subsisted, in all which Cases a Rule makes a Law ^e. And thus the *Regula Catoniana* makes a new Law; which Rule says, That Legacies, which are ineffectual *ab initio*, are not confirm'd by any Tract or Course of Time, tho' the Cause of the Impediment be removed ^f. So that from what I have just now hinted, it appears, that in such Cases as are not already determin'd and adjudg'd, he is said to have founded his Intention, who has a Rule that makes for him ^g; and a Sentence ought to be pronounced according to such a Rule or Maxim in Law; unless it be proved, that the Case does not come up to such Rule. Yet a Judge may recede from such a Rule, as I have already remember'd under the Title of *Equity*, when Equity persuades him so to do; that is to say, when there is an Exception against it, and it is faulty in some particular Point ^h.

But a Rule loses its Force and Power, as soon as an Exception is propounded, which deviates from a Rule; for there is no Rule, which is so firm and general, but that it sometimes admits of an Exception in some few Cases, and that Exception in those Cases vitiates the Rule: As that the President of a Province may punish a Person with Death ⁱ, and not with Deportation or Banishment ^k, tho' the Punishment of Death or the Sword be a greater Punishment than Banishment. And thus a Mother or Grandmother may be a Guardian ^l, tho' Tutelage or Guardianship be an Office belonging to Men, not to Women ^m. And as an Exception toils the

the Force of a Rule, so it also confirms it in all Cases not excepted ⁿ. A ^a Bart. ut Sup. Person, that alledges an excepted Case, ought to prove the same; because it is not presumed, where there is a Rule of Law. And, therefore, when there is a Rule, that a Person contracting in a certain Place, should be conven'd and impleaded there, if he may be found, and there is this Exception, *viz. unless the Person that has contracted shall withdraw himself*; the *onus probandi*, that he did withdraw himself, lies on him that asserts it; because this is an Exception against a Rule ^o. Thus a Statute, which declares the Validity of a Will without Witnesses to it, when it is subscribed and sealed, requires the Person to prove such Will to have been sealed, if the Seal be destroy'd, because his bare Averment is not good against a Rule of Law, which requires Witnesses to the Will. A Rule is known from an Exception, by an Order or Disposition of Law, being either General or Special: Because, if the Enacting or Dispositive Words of a Law be General, it may be said to be a Rule; but if they are Special, as when the Law speaks by the Word *Quædam*, *Quandoq*; and the like, or in a Special Manner, then it is not a Rule. But as the Words *Interdum*, *Quandoq*; &c. do make an Exception, or exclude a Rule, according to *Bartolus* ^p; so the Word *Plerumq*; or the like, express'd in a Law, makes ^r In L. 5. D. a Rule. And, therefore, when the Law says, That Fire *for the most part* ^{20. 4. Pr.} happens through the Fault of Inhabitants ^q, or Tenants, it makes it so ^a D. 1. 15. 3. 1. far a Rule in Law, that Fire is presum'd to happen through the Fault of an Inhabitant.

A Rule collects and infers the like Cases, by a short Narration of Law, *viz.* when it propounds a General Method, which Lawyers follow in the Decision of various and several Causes ^r; or when (for Memory's sake) it collects certain particular Matters, which occur in divers Places of the Law, into one Head or Sum: And, therefore, *Sabinus* calls it *s causæ* ⁵ D. 50. 17. 23. *conjectio*: Borrowing the Metaphor, or Expression, from Orators or Pleaders of Causes, who, in the Beginning of their Pleadings, briefly declare and lay before the Judge the Sum and Substance of their Harangues, that they may render the Judge more attentive, and thereby better instruct him in the Cause itself. It is a certain Rule in Law, that every Person ought to confine himself to the Business of his own Profession, and not rashly involve himself in the Affairs of other Men, which do not belong to him, lest Human Offices should be disturbed by the promiscuous Acts of Men, which often create Discord and Confusion ^t. Of this Rule we have an ¹ C. 6. 23. 23. eminent Instance in a Person, who of his own Accord, and without a Commission or Proxy, defends a Minor in a Court of Judicature, and is condemned in the Cause: For he may be convened in an Action *ex Judicato*, and cannot defend himself by an Exception, that *he did this on the Minor's Account*; because he meddled with that which did not belong to him, and therefore must blame himself.

It is a Rule in Law, That a Benefit or Favour cannot be conferr'd on a Man against his Will ^u, since every one may renounce a Right or Favour ^u D. 50. 17. 69. introduced in Favour of himself ^x. Thus a Woman may renounce the ^x C. 2. 3. 29. Benefit of the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum*; and a Minor may omit Restitution *in integrum*, if he be injur'd ^y. This Rule obtains in Benefits ^y D. 4. 4. 41. granted unto any one by Law, meerly in respect of his own Person: But it admits of a Limitation, if it be granted to a Man in respect of other Persons as well as himself; for then it may be conferr'd on a Man against his Will. Thus if a Man pays a Sum of Money unto a Creditor in the behalf of a Debtor against his Will, it is a Limitation of this Rule, because it is the Interest of the Creditor to receive his Due, as well as it is that of the Debtor to be discharged from the Debt ^z: But he who pays a Debt for ^z D. 46. 3. 23. a Debtor against his Will, shall not recover the same again on the Debtor, & 53.

but

^a D. 17. 1. 40. but must blame himself, that he thus paid it ^a. Again : Thus a Person may, against his Will, be elected unto Honours and Dignities in the State ; because it is the Interest of the Publick to confer Honours and Rewards on deserving Persons ^b. And hence it is also receiv'd, that any one may appeal for a Person unjustly condemn'd to a capital Punishment, even against the Will of the Person condemn'd ; because no one is to be heard who is willing to destroy himself ; and it is the Interest of one Man to preserve another, if possible, by an Affection of Kindness ^c.

Again : It is a Rule in Law, That every Man, according to the first Principles of Nature, has a Right to defend himself ; and such a Legal Right ought not to be taken away ^d : And therefore, a Person judicially impeached may defend himself against the Plaintiff's Action, even by divers Exceptions of Law ^e. But this is otherwise, if the Law forbids several Exceptions to be propounded, which it does *in pœnam mendacii* : For the Law punishes a Person, who is guilty of a Lye or Falshood in his exceptive Pleading, and will not suffer him to have Recourse to the Aid of a second Exception, if he gives in a false Plea at first. As when the Defendant denies himself to be a Debtor upon a Bond ; and the Bond being proved, he would have Recourse to a Pact *de non petendo* : In this Case, he shall not be admitted to his second Defence, if he should plead such Pact, or Payment of the Debt ^f. And 'tis the same thing in respect of him, who first denies a Debt, and then would plead Compensation of such Debt, in a Matter not Liquid. Again : He, who has deny'd a Pawn to be the Property of the Debtor, shall not afterwards, by way of Exception, say, that he has a prior Obligation in respect to such Pawn ^g.

^{2dly}, Whenever any Doubt or Ambiguity occurs in human Dealings, we ought to have recourse to this Rule for the Interpretation thereof ; *viz.* First, We ought to consider and follow that which is acted and agreed upon between the Parties contracting : For, regularly, that is said to be done, which the Parties Words do point out ^h ; since no one is presumed to have utter'd that, which he has not first conceiv'd in his Mind ; and we ought to abide by the Words, 'till such time as the Mind of the Person that utters them appears to be contrary to them ⁱ. In Matters that are obscure, we ought to consider that which is more probable, or that which is wont to happen for the most part : For if the doubtful Intention of the Parties contracting cannot be inferr'd from the Signification of Words, then we are wont to interpret that which is done from the Nature of the Contract, from the Quality of the Thing, the Condition of the Persons, and to infer it from other Circumstances. Thus, among Persons contracting, that is presumed to be done, which, according to the Nature of the Contract, is wont to be done or given ^k. Therefore, if old Wine be lent, it is not lawful to return new Wine for old Wine ; because it is tacitly imply'd in the Contract of a Loan or *Mutuum*, that the *Mutuum* ought to be return'd in the same Kind, Goodness, and Quality as it was lent ^l. Secondly, The doubtful Intention of the Parties dealing, may be interpreted according to the Custom of the Place where the Act is done and executed : For, as Custom is the best Interpreter of Laws ; so it is also of all Contracts and other Businessses whatsoever. Hence it is, that if any Doubt arises what and how much the Seller ought to pay on the Score of Eviction, who has simply given Caution touching Eviction, without expressing the Sum or Quality, we ought immediately to have recourse to the Custom of the Country wherein the Thing was purchas'd ^m ; because in Actions *bonæ fidei* there is a tacit Implication, that we ought to be govern'd by Custom ⁿ.

^{3dly}, It is a Rule or Maxim in Law, That those Things which are of no Advantage when they are single, are of no Service when they are multiplied ^o ; which Rule obtains, in the excusing of Tutors and Curators ; because

because Pupils are much favour'd in Law : But it is otherwise in the Business of Proof, which ought not to be restrained, according to *Anthonianus* p And thus, what I have already said in this Title, being sufficient, ^{p Cen. 276.} as I purpose to shew the Nature of a *Rule*, and its Limitation, I shall hasten ^{n. 4.} to the Title, touching the Use and Authority of the *Roman* Civil Law : But, first, of *Equity*.



T I T. VII.

Of Equity in General, both Natural and Civil ; and how it is distinguish'd from the Rigour of a Written and Positive Law.

SINCE Judges do sometimes, according to the Laws, make use of meer Justice and Rigour of Law, and sometimes of Equity, as the Circumstances of the Cause, Person, Time, Place, &c. require ; I shall therefore here speak of Equity, which an upright Judge ought always to have in view, when he is not commanded to follow strict Law. Now *Equity* is nothing else but a Mitigation made of some Written Law, whereby we follow and execute the Intention, Reason, and Will of the Law, upon a Discovery thereof, by laying aside the stricter Letter of it, and having recourse to Natural Justice only : For we do hereby remit the literal and grammatical Sense of it, and either restrain or extend the same, as the Cause and different Circumstances thereof require q. So that Equity is ^{q D. 47. 9. 4.} nothing but Justice temper'd and sweeten'd with Mercy ; or, according to others, a rational Method of Proceeding founded upon Mercy, and not on Rigour of Law ; for, sometimes, strict Law is a great Injury unto the Litigant, or Person contending : And thus Equity is the Correction of a Law, made in that Part where the Facts will admit of it. As when an Act of Parliament is made, That whosoever shall do such a Thing, shall be a Felon, and suffer Death ; yet if a Mad-man, or an Infant of tender Years, that has no Discretion, shall commit the same, they shall not be adjudged Felons, nor suffer Death therefore ; because Laws are adapted to those Things which frequently happen, and not to those which seldom happen r. ^{r D. 1. 3. 5.} From hence appears the Difference that is between *Law* and *Equity* : For *Law* is a Decision of Right, which is made according to the strict Rules of Law ; but *Equity* is a Temperament of Mercy, receding from the common Rules of Law. There was a Law among the *Romans*, That every one, who scaled the Walls of the City in the Night-time, should be condemned to Death ; and in Time of War, it happen'd that a certain Person thus scaled the Walls, in order to discover the Enemy to the *Romans* ; and, by the Judgment of all the Senate, he was not only discharged from the Sentence of Death, but had a great Reward for it ; and yet he had broken the Words of the Law, but not the Intent thereof, as the wise Fathers adjudged it. Thus, by the Laws of *England*, Breaking of Prison, is Felony in the Prisoner, if he be committed for Felony s, according to the Statute ^{s Plowd. Com. 4. Edv. 6.} *De Frangentibus Prisonam* : yet if the Prison be set on fire or burn'd, and they which are therein shall break Prison, in order to save their Lives, this shall be excused by the Law.

Now, *Equity* is two-fold, *vis.* *Natural* and *Civil*. I call that by the Name of *Natural* Equity, which depends on, and is supported by Natural

Reason; and that I call *Civil Equity*, which is deduced from, and govern'd by such Civil Maxims, as are adapted to the State of any Commonwealth, whether it be *Roman* or any other whatsoever ^c. *Civil* and *Natural Equity* do sometimes clash and interfere with each other, and *Civil Equity* prevails over the other, as in *Usucapions* and the like. Some have divided Equity into a *Written* and an *Unwritten*, Equity: But this Division I shall not meddle with in this Place, having taken Notice of it elsewhere. Equity not only corrects a Law, which favours of Iniquity, or when the Law in such a particular Case commands an Act which is founded upon Iniquity; but also, when it commands a Thing, which is too difficult and hard to be fulfilled: As when it commands Fasting, and Sickness would ensue to the Person that thus fasts in compliance with the Law; for in each Case the Law is or may be peccant, by commanding an Evil, or a Thing immoderately severe. Therefore, in both these Cases the Judge ought to pass by the Words of the Law, and to follow the Intention of the Legislator, which is not presum'd to be unjust, or cruel. *Equity* has Place not only in *Affirmative*, but also in *Negative* Precepts. As for Example, There is a general Prohibition in the Laws of *England*, that it shall not be lawful for any one to enter into another's Freehold, without Leave of the Owner, or without Authority of Law; yet this Exception lies in Equity from the said Prohibition, according to Reason, *viz.* If a Man drives Beasts on the Highway, and they happen to get into his Neighbour's Corn, and he, to bring the said Beasts out again, that they do not any Hurt, goes into the Ground and fetches them out, he may, in this Case, justify his Entry into the Ground by Law. Again, Notwithstanding the Statute of *Edward* the Third, whereby it is ordain'd, That no Man shall upon Pain of Imprisonment give any Alms unto any sturdy Beggar, that is well able to labour: Yet if a Man meets with a sturdy Beggar in very cold Weather, and so lightly apparelled, that if he has not Cloaths given him, he must probably perish with Cold, and he gives him Cloaths to save his Life, he shall be excus'd. See *Doctor* and *Student* ^u.

^a Cap. 16.

In *Opposition* to Equity, we have what the Lawyers call *Strictum Jus*: Which Phrase, according to *Budæus*, is peculiar unto Lawyers; denoting such pure and exact Law as is full of Rigour, and almost amounts unto Iniquity itself; and this is sometimes stiled *Strict Law*, sometimes a *Subtlety of Words*; and sometimes the *Quirks* or *Finesses* of the Law, in *Latin* term'd *Apices Juris* ^x. Again, Rigour of Law is sometimes called *Strict Reason*, and a *Subtlety* of Law, and also *Nimia Subtilitas* ^y: But the Comedian says, that this *Summum jus* is *Summa injuria*; and *Columella*, in his Book *de Re Rusticâ*, calls it *Summa Crux*: Wherefore, by several Texts of Law, we ought to prefer *Equity* unto strict Law ^z. *Servius Sulpitius* and *Gallus Aquilius* are highly extolled by several of the Lawyers, because they would have Matters adjudged according to Equity. See *Duaren. Wesembeck*, and others. But a Judge ought not, generally speaking, to recede from a Written Law on the Account of an Unwritten Equity; because a Judge ought not to seem to be a Person of greater Clemency than the Law itself. Sometimes Rigour of Law, and the Law itself, are put for one and the same; and then this last Conclusion holds good: But when they are different Things, and when a Rigour of Law is put for an Excess of Right, it is otherwise; as when, for some Reason or other, and in Terror of Offenders, it exceeds the common Rules of Law.

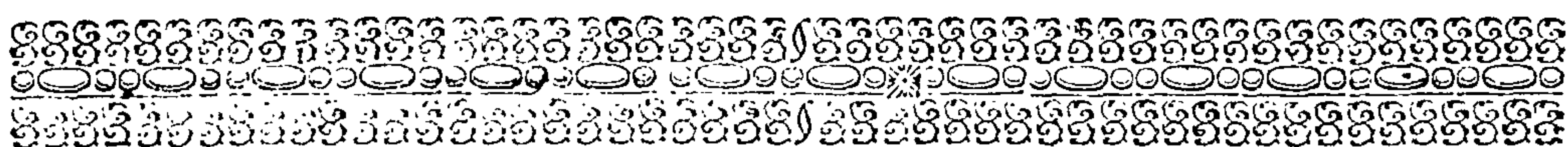
^x D. 17. 1. 29.

^y D. 28. 2. 13.

^z D. 28. 2. 13.

The Lawyers give us Three Rules, in order to shew us when Equity ought to be observ'd, and when not, *viz.* *First*, When there is no such Thing as a Written Law, or a Written Equity subsisting. *Secondly*, When we have one of these in Writing. And, *Thirdly*, When both of these is in Writing. In the First Case, when neither of them is in Writing, the Judge

Judge ought most certainly to follow Equity. In the Second Case, when only one of them is in Writing, that which is in Writing ought to be observ'd, if possibly it may be done with good Conscience. *Thirdly*, If the Law be written in General Terms, that is to be observ'd which is written in Special; because *Species derogat generi*; and so *e converso*: But if both are Specially or Generally reduced into Writing, *Equity* does not obtain in respect to the Law of Nature, simply and properly so called; but only in regard to the Law of Man, or some positive Law: For the Law of Nature is an immutable Law, and cannot be changed by the Sentence of the Judge or Prince. But it may well enough be extended to a positive Law: For though it be forbidden by a positive Law for a Man to marry his Sister; yet he may do this for the Preservation of his *Species*.



T I T. VIII.

Of the Rubricks and Titles of Laws; and how they serve to explain the Laws themselves.

A *Rubrick*, in the common Usage of Speech, denotes the Title or Inscription of any Law or Statute; because anciently the Titles of Laws and Statutes were wont to be drawn and painted *rubro colore*, viz. in red Letters; and hence, among the Ancients, the Word *Rubrick* was used to signify the Law or Text itself, as in *Persius*.

Excepto si quid Masuri Rubrica vetavit.

Others think it so called from the *Prætor's* inscribing his *Album*, or Book of Records, with red Letters. The Lawyers, says *Quintilian*^a, referred^a Lib. 12. themselves, *ad Album & Rubricas*. And hence *Juvenal* expresses himself, viz.

——— *Causas age, perlege rubras
Majorum leges.*

A Rubrick is usually added for Demonstration sake: And as a Rubrick is also in *Latin* called an *Index*; so in *Greek* it is stiled *Ἑλεγχος*. A Rubrick ought not to introduce any new Ordinance or Disposition of Law, or Fact, lest it be taken *præter voluntatem Authoris*, viz. not according to the Will of the Author or Legislator: For Rubricks, of their own Nature, seeming to relate to the subsequent Text, do therefore receive a Restriction or Declaration from the Text^b, and not the Text from the Rubrick, generally^b D. 28. 5. speaking. And if at any Time we observe a Rubrick to have an ordaining or dispositive Quality, such Quality proceeds not from the proper Nature of the Rubrick, but from some Reason extrinsically accruing. As for Example, as often as the Context is not entire, as it is not in several Titles of the *Code*, to which *Code* the Emperor *Justinian* has added and subjoin'd many *Greek* Laws, at this Day not to be found and met with therein. For it being probable, that the Rubrick did agree with the Text, we may draw a probable Inference from the Rubrick, touching what was heretofore in the Text, as *Bartolus* argues from a *Species* not unlike hereunto. Again, 'tis the same Thing, when the Rubrick agrees with the Text, and both Text and Rubrick are extant: For then nothing hinders, but that the Text and Rubrick may be quoted for Law. Besides, whenever the Rubrick of any Law or Statute is clear from the generality of the Words thereof, but the subsequent Context is doubtful and obscure, such Context shall then be declar'd and expounded by the Words of the Rubrick

^c D. 18. 2. 16. Rubrick c. For one Part of the Law explains another : And as Things subsequent are best interpreted by Things precedent ; so the Law itself receives an Understanding from its Rubrick, when such Rubrick is clear and perfect. And that Interpretation ought to be made use of, which is most consonant unto, and best agrees with the Rubrick.

^d 3. Q. 9. The Pope order'd this Method to be observed in compiling the Laws and Canons of the Church ; and, therefore, they were distinguish'd by Rubricks : But 'tis not lawful to argue from the Rubricks of the *Decrees*, which are the first Part of the *Canon Law* ; because they are not Authentick ^d, nor were those Rubricks publish'd by *Gratian*, but by some other Hand ; and, moreover, because some of those Rubricks are found to be false and corrupted. But, in the *Decretals* and *Clementines*, Rubricks are said to have a Force and Authority, when they have what the Lawyers and Logicians term *perfectam orationem*, viz. when they make a perfect Sentence or Proposition : And an Argumentation drawn from such a Rubrick is lawful and valid, if it proves and shews the Legislator's Intention. A Rubrick to any Law, containing Cases not express'd in the Text, makes the Text to be understood in a more extended and comprehensive Manner, and it amplifies the Text.

A General Rubrick is the Cause, that the Text ought to be understood in a General Sense : But a Rubrick, having a Special or Particular Text, is not understood in a General Sense, unless it be in Cases wherein the same Reason appears. Tho' a General Rubrick be looked upon as a Law, so far as it agrees with the Reason of the Text ; yet such General Rubrick ought to be restrain'd by the Text, whenever any Iniquity would result from the Generality thereof. A Rubrick, that makes a perfect Sentence or Proposition, is sufficient Proof for the Decision of Causes, tho' it has no Text now found belonging to it : But whenever a Rubrick is found to be contrary to the Text, or Body of a Law, the Text itself is to be regarded.



T I T. IX.

Of the Roman Civil Law ; how far it prevails in England, and wherein we are abridg'd and put beside the Use and Practice thereof by the Common Law, even contrary to the ancient Usage of it, and the true Meaning of the Laws of this Realm, and the Statutes in this behalf provided : And lastly, wherein we might be admitted to the Practice of many Things in the Civil Law, without any Prejudice to the Common Law ; and so both Laws might know their proper Bounds, and not one be jumbled and confounded with the other, (as at this Day) to the great Vexation of the Subject.

AMONG the several excellent Titles of the *Roman Civil Law*, so full of Wisdom, and of such great Variety in respect of the Matters contain'd under them, so well adapted for every Moment and Purpose of State, both in Peace and War, as nothing can be more necessary for the Service of a People, the Professors thereof have very little Use of this Law within

within this Part of the Realm, call'd *England*; unless it be in the two Universities of this Land, *viz.* that of *Oxford*, and also that of *Cambridge*: to whom our Kings have granted a larger Liberty in the Practice of this Law^e, than to any other Place in the Kingdom, for the sake of training-up^e Anno 14 H.8. young Men there in a riper Knowledge of this Profession; that, going Abroad, they might be the more ready in all Matters of Negotiation and Commerce, when the State or Prince should have Occasion of them to treat with foreign Nations, when they are called thereunto; the Laws of this Nation being of no Use at all in these Matters, by reason of the Difference there is between their Law and ours. So that now a very few Titles are left to the Practitioners of the *Civil* Law to deal in, and most of them very seldom, and rarely in Use, unless it be in the two Universities aforesaid, and in the Court of Admiralty, as I shall observe in the Sequel of this Work. Wherefore, I shall here, under this Title, shew wherein the Practice of the *Civil* Law, so far as it is in Use amongst us, may be increased to the Benefit of the Subject, and the Profession itself enlarged without any Prejudice to the Common Law, which I much reverence in many Particulars.

Now, the *Civil* Law, as received here among us, has respect either to the ordinary Cognizance of *Marine* Matters, some of which are of a Civil, and others of a Criminal Nature; or else to the Cognizance of *Martial* Causes, which are also of a Civil and Criminal Kind; tho' the Civil Law has been much restrain'd of late by the Statute Law, in respect to the Cognizance of *Martial* Causes. I shall, *First*, speak of *Marine* Civil Causes of ordinary Cognizance among us, according to the Rules of the *Civil* Law. By *Civil* Matters, here, I mean such as concern either the free Use of the Sea itself, or else the Rights that Men have to Trade and Traffick thereon, or the Bargains, Sales, or Contracts, both *proper* and *improper*, that are made or done beyond or upon the Main Sea, or any Creek thereof, or within as much Space from the Sea as the greatest Winter-wave runs over, upon the Account of any Matter belonging to any Negotiation or Merchandize, or any other Thing appertaining to Trade and Shipping. And,

First, for the Sea itself; The Law holds it to be Common, and that every one has a Right to Trade and Traffick thereon^f; provided it be^f D. 14. 2. per done without any Prejudice to the State or Prince unto whose Territory^{tot.} the Sea is adjoining. The like may be said for the Shore itself, that it be either for the refreshing of themselves with Water or Victuals, or for the repairing of their Ships, or buying any Thing necessary, or else it be for the uttering of any Commodity they have, or for the buying of any Thing of the People upon whose Land they touch. In all which Cases it were barbarous to repel any one coming in a peaceable manner; tho' it may happen, upon some Jealousy of the State, that Resistance may be made, either because the State has some great foreign Enemy, whose continual Invasion they fear, or because the Sea-coasts are much infested with Pirates: But when it is made manifest by Flag, or otherwise, that they are no other but Friends, or well-meaning Men, they are to be admitted and entertain'd with all Kindness. More of which hereafter, under the Title of *Ships*, &c.

In respect to Contracts in *Marine* Causes, some are Contracts indeed, or *proper* Contracts; and others are *improper*, or, as it were Contracts. *Proper* Contracts are, all Bargains and Sales whatsoever, made between Merchant and Merchant, for any Commodity, Freight or Traffick in the Ship, or any Sale or Bargain made of the Ship, or any Thing thereunto belonging, as Masts, Cordage, Anchorage, Victuals, or any other Thing of the like Nature necessary for the employing of the Ship. But those Things come under the Name of *improper* Contracts, which are such perpetual Rights as

are between the Purser or Master of the Ship, and the Passengers; or between one Passenger and another. The perpetual Right, which is between the Purser or Master of the Ship, and the Passengers, is, That the Purser or Master be answerable for all such Wares or Goods as are brought into the Ship, whether deliver'd to himself, or any of his Mariners: For he ought not only to be just and honest himself, but likewise to employ the ministry of honest People about him ^g; and therefore, the Master of the Ship is no less bound for their Persons, than for his own ^h. The Passengers, again, are honestly and readily to pay the Master of the Ship their Freight-money, and all such other Charges of Diet, and other Provisions, as they have put to; wherein, if there be any Default of any Side, the Law affords an Action call'd *Exercitoria* ⁱ, whereby the one or the other may be relieved. These, and many other Matters, do belong to *Marine* Causes, especially if they are transacted on the Sea: But, by Prohibitions, the Courts of *Westminster* have got some of those Causes within their Jurisdiction, how justly I shall enquire by and by. And so much at present, of such Civil *Marine* Matters, whereof the *Civil* Law here in *England* usually holds Plea and Cognizance, or (at least) ought to do. I shall next speak of Criminal *Marine* Matters, which belong to the Court of Admiralty, but still by way of Commission from the Prince: And the First of these Causes is that horrid Crime of *Piracy*, detested of God and Man; the Actors wherein, *Tully* ^k calls Enemies to all Mankind, and to whom neither Faith nor Oath is to be kept.

^g D. 4. 9. 7. 4.

^h D. 14. 1. 1. 2.

ⁱ D. 14. 1. 1. 7.
& 17.

^k Lib. 3. Offic.

^l Bart. in L. 14.
C. 1. 9.

Now, a *Pirate* is a Sea-Robber, who, to cherish himself, either by Subtilty, or open Force, sets upon the Merchants and others trading by Sea, and dispossesses them of their Goods and Lading, if he gets the Upper-hand, and sometimes deprives them of their Lives, and sinks their Ships. But here we must note, That Matters of Reprisals are no Piracies, though often-times there happens no less Outrage in them, than in the other Case; for that Reprisals are done by the Prince's Commission granted to the Subject, for a Redress of some Injury done to Himself, or his Subject, by some foreign Prince; and tho' Amends have been requir'd by Law, yet cannot be had; whereupon Licence is given to the Subject to relieve himself, by what way he can, against the other Prince, or any of his Subjects, by taking so much Goods of his, as himself was endamaged: Which Course of Proceeding is held, among Princes, lawful, for the sake of bringing them to do Justice, where it is lawfully demanded ^l. Before 27 *Hen. 8. cap. 4.* all Treasons, Murders, and Felonies done on the High Sea, or in any Haven, River, Creek, Port, or Place where the Admirals have or pretend to have any Jurisdiction, were to be determin'd according to the Course and Direction of the *Civil* Law: But by this Statute, and that of 28 *Hen. 8. cap. 15.* all those Offences committed upon the Sea, or in any other Place where the Admiral claims to have Jurisdiction, shall be now enquir'd into, try'd, heard, and determin'd in such Places and Counties within the Realm, as shall be limited by the King's Commission, in like manner as if such Offences were done at Land. And such Commissions (being under the Great Seal) shall be directed to the Lord Admiral, his Lieutenant or Deputy, and to three or four such others as the Lord Chancellor shall name. The said Commissioners, or three of them, have Power to enquire of such Offences, by twelve Men of the County, so limited in their Commission, as if such Offences were done at Land within the same County; which Way of Trial by Twelve Men, is according to the *Feudal* Laws of *Lombardy*, from whence this Method of Trial by Juries seems to have been borrow'd. And every Indictment so found and presented shall be good in Law; and such Order, Process, Judgment, and Execution shall be used, had, done, and made thereupon, as against Offenders for Murder

Murder or Felony done at Land. Also, the Trial of such Offences (if they be denied) shall be had by Twelve Men of the County, limited in the Commission, (as aforesaid), and no Challenge shall be had for the Hundred: And such as shall be Convict of such Offences, shall suffer Death, without Benefit of Clergy, and forfeit Lands and Goods, as in Case of Felonies and Murders done at Land. But this Act shall not prejudice any Person or Persons (urged by Necessity) for taking Victuals, Cables, Ropes, Anchors, or Sails out of another Ship that may spare them, so as that they pay either Ready Money or Money-worth for them, or give a Bill for the Payment thereof, *viz.* if they be taken on this Side the Streights of *Morocco*, within four Months; but if beyond, within twelve Months. When any such Commission shall be sent to any Place within the Jurisdiction of the *Cinque Ports*, it shall be directed to the Warden of the the said Ports, or his Deputy, with three or four such other Persons as the Lord Chancellor shall name: And the Inquisition and Trial of such Offences there, shall be made and had by the Inhabitants of the said Ports, and the Members of the same. The 28. *Hen. 8. cap. 15.* is Verbatim the same with the 27 *Hen. 8. cap. 4.* save only that it extends as well to Treasons, and all other capital Offences, committed within the Admiral's Jurisdiction, as unto Felons, Robberies, and Murders there done.

So that, from what has been said, it appears, That the Jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty, as the Matter and Proceedings therein, are now confined, by the Laws of this Realm, to Things done upon the High Seas only, as Depredations and Piracies committed thereon; (touching which, I shall hereafter give the Reader a particular Title); Offences of Masters and Mariners upon the High Sea; Maritime Contracts made and to be executed upon the High Sea; the Captures of Prizes, and Matters of Reprisal upon the High Sea, and the like. But touching Contracts or Things done within the Bodies of *English* Counties, or upon the Land beyond the Sea, tho' the Execution thereof be in the same measure upon the High Sea; as Charter-parties, or Contracts made even upon the High Sea, touching Things which are not in their own Nature Maritime, as a Bond or Contract for the Payment of Money; so also of Damages in Navigable Rivers within the Bodies of Counties, Things done upon the Shore at Low-water, Wreck of the Sea, &c. these Things, I say, now belong not to the Admiral's Jurisdiction: And thus the Common Law, and the Statutes of *Richard* the Second^m, confine and limit the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty to Matters of a Maritime Nature, and such only as are done upon the High Sea.

13 Ric. 2.
cap. 15.
15 Ric. 2.
cap. 3.

Some of our common Lawyers will not have the Court of Admiralty to be founded on the Authority of the *Civil* Law, but that it had its Power and Jurisdiction from the Laws and Customs peculiar to this Realm, in such Matters as are proper for its Cognizance; and, they say, this appears by the Process of this Court, *viz.* the Arrest of the Defendants Persons, and the Attachment of their Goods; and likewise by those Customs and Laws Maritime, whereby many of its Proceedings are directed, and which are not, in many respects, conformable to the Rules of the *Civil* Law; such are those ancient Laws of *Oleron*, and other Customs introduced by the Practice of the Sea, and the Stile of the Court. But these Men are much mistaken in their Judgments and Imaginations, perhaps from the little Knowledge they have in the History, or from a less Acquaintance with the *Civil* Law, (as I shall evince in another Title, when I come to treat of the Court of Admiralty in a more particular manner). And thus much of the Causes, which do ordinarily belong to the allow'd Cognizance of the *Civil* Law within this Land.

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It now follows, that I should say somewhat of those Things, wherein the *Civil* Law deals incidently, and by Authority of the Prince, and is not the *ordinary* but *extraordinary* Object of the *Civil* Law; however, they cannot be well manag'd by such as have no Knowledge in this Law, whereof there are three Sorts. The First concerns Matters of Foreign Treaties between one Prince and another. The Second is the ordering of Martial Causes, whether they be Civil or Criminal in an Army. And the Last is the Proceedings and Judgments had upon Coats of Arms and Ensigns of Honour, and the Decisions made upon Challenges of the Rights of Honour and Precedency, where any of them is in Controversy. For in respect of the first, whereas all other neighbouring Nations round about us, and with whom we have to do, are govern'd by the *Civil* Law, and as all Treaties are to be decided by Law, (both in regard to those Things which are in Dispute, and to be concluded by Law, and in respect of such Matters as are to be determin'd by Consultation and Agreement) surely no one can be so proper as a *Civilian*, to whom their Law is known, as well as to themselves: And if (perhaps) he understands not their Language, yet he understands the Language wherein the Laws themselves are written, and is the fittest Tongue for Treaties between Princes and Princes, because it is a common Language to be learn'd by all the Western Part of the World; and hereby every Prince retains his own Majesty in Parlying, as it were, in his own Language, and not be forced to speak in another Prince's Tongue, which, no doubt, is a great Disadvantage to him that shall treat; because every Nation has some proper Idiom, not so well discern'd by the Book-speaker, as perceiv'd by the Natives of the Country where it is spoken, and wherein a Stranger may easily be deceiv'd. How much Foreign Princes esteem the Skill of a *Civilian* in these Matters, may be easily understood hereby, *viz.* That for the most part they never send any Embassy for treating upon any League or Matter of Commerce, but one or more in the Embassy are *Civilians*. And if the Care of these Things be so great with them, surely we ought not to have a light Regard thereunto: For by what Laws their Leagues and Negotiations are wont to be directed, by the same must ours be order'd; so that in this Point one kind of Learning must serve for both; for otherwise one Nation will not be convinc'd by the other what their Capitulations are. And certainly such as, over and besides their own Experience, have the Knowledge of the *Civil* Law, have a double Advantage above another Man that wants the same Help. *First*, Their own Understanding, which for the most part is of like Proportion with that of other Peoples: And, *Secondly*, Their Skill in the Laws themselves, which are the Quintessence of Wisdom above other Human Learning, and were wholly compos'd on the mature and deliberate Resolutions of such Emperors as then govern'd the World, or else were the Judgments of such wise Men as were most eminent for Knowledge in worldly Affairs under them. But who, when he sees a Sword in its Scabbard, knows whether it will cut or not, tho' the Form thereof be a Presumption that it will? But draw it out, and try the Blade thereof, and you will then see the Sharpness of it. I make no Application hereof, since my Meaning may be well enough known by my Words. But in these Matters the Wisdom of the State knows best what is to be done, and I only remember what other Nations do, leaving the rest to the grave Consideration of those who are to furnish out, and send Embassies.

The Second Court, wherein the *Civil* Law has its Use in this Kingdom, is the Court Martial, or Military Court, anciently held before the Constable and Marshal, as the ordinary Judge in this Case, or otherwise before the King's Commissioners of that Jurisdiction, as delegated Judges. The Matter of their Jurisdiction is declar'd and limited by the Statutes of the

8th of *Richard* the Second, Cap. 5. and by the 13th of *Richard* the Second, Cap. 2ⁿ. And not only by those Statutes, but their Jurisdiction ^{8 Rich. 2. c. 5.} is also declar'd and limited by the Common Law itself, as it is said, as ^{13 Rich. 2. c. 2.} follows, *viz.* *First*, Negatively: For they are not to meddle with any thing determinable by the Common Law. And, therefore, since Matter of Damages, and the Quantity and Determination thereof, is of that Cognizance, the Constable and Marshal's Court cannot, even in such Suits as are proper for their Cognizance, give Damages against the Party convicted before them; but at most can only order Reparation in Point of Honour, as by ordering the Convict *Mendacium sibi ipsi imponere*, to give himself the Lye: Neither can they, as to the Point of Reparation, in Honour, hold Plea of any such Words or Things, wherein the Party is relieveable by the Courts of the Common Law. *Secondly*, Affirmatively: For their Jurisdiction extends to Matters of Arms, and Matters of War, *viz.* *First*, As to Matters of Arms or Heraldry, (for by Arms I here mean Heraldry,) the Constable and Marshal had the Cognizance thereof, *viz.* touching the Right of Coat-Armour, Bearings, Crests, Supporters, Pennons, &c. And also touching the Rights of Place and Precedence, in Cases where either Acts of Parliament, or the King's Patent, (he being the Fountain of Honour) have not already determin'd it; for in such Cases they have no Power to alter it. Those Things were anciently allow'd to the Cognizance of the Constable and Marshal, as having some Relation to Military Affairs; but so restrain'd, that they were only to determine, and give Reparation to the Party injured in Point of Honour, but not to repair him in Damages. But of this Part of this Court, which relates to Coats of Arms, and Points of Honour, I shall speak hereafter under a Title by itself, and only here discourse of Matters of War.

And, therefore, *Secondly*, as to Matters of War, it is to be observ'd, That the Constable and Marshal had a double Power, *First*, A Ministerial Power, as they were two great ordinary Officers, *anciently*, in the King's Army: The Constable being, in effect, the King's General, as the *Magister Militum* was among the *Romans*, and the Marshal, or *Comes*, (as the *Civilians* stile him) was employ'd in marshalling the King's Army, and keeping the Lists of the Officers and Soldiers therein; and his Certificate was the Trial of those whose Attendance was requisite. See *Littleton* 9. By the ^{o Sect. 102.} *Roman Law*, he was the General's Companion. But this Power is now at an end with us; and, therefore, I will say no more about it. Again, *Secondly*, The Constable and Marshal had also a *Judicial* Power, or a Court wherein several Matters were determinable, as the *Magister Militum*, or General, had among the *Romans*, and the *Comes Militum* was his Assessor. As, *First*, Appeals of Death, or Murder committed beyond the Sea, were heard before him, according to the Course of the *Civil Law*. For Martial Causes are either Civil or Criminal, as already related, and both are determinable by the *Civil Law* in other Countries, tho' only the latter with us in a Court Martial. *Secondly*, The Rights of Prisoners taken in War, were anciently adjudged in this Court of the Constable and Marshal, tho' this is now grown out of Use among us also. *Thirdly*, The Offences and Mischances of Soldiers, contrary to the Laws and Rules of the Army, were of the Cognizance of this Court: For, preparatory to an actual War, the Kings of this Realm, by the Advice of the Constable (and Marshal,) were always wont to compose a Book of *Rules* and *Orders*, for the due Order and Discipline of their Officers and Soldiers, together with certain Penalties to be inflicted on the Offenders, and this was called *Martial Law*. We have extant in the Black Book of the Admiralty, and elsewhere, several Exemplars of such Military Orders, and especially that of the 9th of *Edward* the Second, composed by the King, with the Advice of the Duke of *Lancaster*,
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and others. But touching the Business of Martial Law, tho' we have copied the *Romans* much, these Things are to be observed; *viz.*

First, In Truth and Reality it is not a Law, as the *Roman* Law was, but something indulg'd, rather than allow'd as a Law; the Necessity of Government, Order and Discipline in an Army, is that only which can give those Laws a Countenance: *Quod enim necessitas cogit, defendit.* *Secondly*, This indulg'd Law was only to extend to Members of the Army, or to those of the opposite Army, and was never so much indulg'd, as intended to be (executed) or exercised upon others: For others, who were not list'd under the Army, had no Colour of Reason to be bound by Military Constitutions applicable only to the Army, whereof they are not Parts; but they were to be order'd and govern'd according to the Laws to which they were subject, tho' it were a Time of War. *Thirdly*, That the Exercise of *Martial Law*, whereby any Person should lose his Life, Member, or Liberty, may not be permitted in Time of Peace, when the King's Courts are open for all Persons to receive Justice, according to the Laws of the Land. This is, in Substance, said by the Petition of Right, in King *Charles* the First's Reign ^p, whereby such Commissions and *Martial Law* were repealed, and declared to be contrary to Law: And accordingly was that famous Case of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, who, being taken at *Pomfret* ^q, the King and divers Lords proceeded to give Sentence of Death against him, as in a Kind of Military Court, by a summary Proceeding; which Judgment was afterwards reversed in Parliament ^r.

^p 3 Car. 1.

^q 15 Edw. 2.

^r 1 Edw. 3.

^s Pag. 42.

In this Military Court, commonly call'd a *Court-Martial*, or *Court of Honour*, if it be concerning Armorial Ensigns, &c. the *Civil* Law has been used and allow'd in such Things as belong to their Jurisdiction, as the Rule and Direction of their Proceedings and Decisions, so far forth as the same is not controlled by the Laws of this Kingdom, and those Customs and Usages which have obtained in *England*, which, even in Matters of Honour, are in some Points derogatory to the *Civil* Law. But this Court has been long discontinu'd, according to my Lord Chief Justice *Hales*, in his *History of the Law* ^s, upon great Reasons of State.

As to *Civil* Martial Causes, which I do not find here were ever determinable in this Court here in *England*, they are where either the Captain or the Soldier demands something that is due, and with-held from him, as his Stipend, his Apparel, which, among the *Romans*, was due twice a Year, *viz.* the Summer Apparel from the First of *April* to the First of *September*, and the Winter Suit from thence to *April* again: His Diet, which, among the *Romans*, was two Days hard Bisket, the third foster Bread; one Day Wine, another Day Vinegar; one Day Bacon, and two Days Mutton. I shall have Occasion to speak of those Things more largely under the Title of *Soldiers*, where I shall handle their Privileges and Immunities, and speak of their Faults as proper to themselves, and common to others. But to return to the *Roman* Civil Law, as it may or ought to be receiv'd in this Kingdom: And thus, in the next Place, it follows, that I should shew wherein the Practice of the *Civil* Law may be increased, to the Benefit of the Subject, without any Prejudice to the Common Law.

I shall begin with the Piety of Fathers towards their Children, and the Duty of Children towards their Parents, which is the Beginning of all Commonwealths: For even Nature itself has taught us that, not only in the most brutish People that are, but has even settled it in the most savage Kind of Beasts that are, the one to cherish that which it has brought forth, and the other again to love that which has brought it forth: And yet, what Law is here in *England*, which provides for the one or the other, unless it be the 43d of Queen *Elizabeth*? and that Law only concerns poor Folks Children, (whereas otherwise they must be a Burthen to the Parish):

Parish) : But for the Parents themselves, or other Children that are cast off, either by the Negligence or Unnaturalness of one towards the other, there is no Provision at all made : yet, by the *Civil Law*, there is a Purveyance made, whereby both the Father is compelled to acknowledge his Child, ^{1, 2 D. 25. 3.} (if there be any Variance between the Husband and Wife, upon any Jealousy or Suspicion of Adultery, if the same cannot be proved by the Woman's own Confession, by Witnesses, by the Act itself, or some other violent Presumption ^u), and to nourish and maintain the same : but if the ^{u D. 25. 4.} Fault appears against her, and it be so sentenced by the Judge, then he may refuse both the one and the other. But for other Children, touching whom there is no such Doubt, the Parents may be constrain'd to maintain, cloath, and feed them, and to set them out a Portion of their Goods, according to the Estate and Faculty of their Parents, and according to the Merits of their Children. And as the Father is in this manner bound unto the Child ; so the Child again is obliged unto the Parents, to provide for their Sustainance, as far as his Ability will extend : for it is very unnatural that the Parents should want, so long as the Children have Means to relieve them. In both which Cases, if either the Parents refuse to admit of their Children; or the Children refuse to yield Comfort unto their Parents, the Judge may, by the Interposition of his Authority, enjoin each to maintain the other according to their Ability, and as it shall seem meet in his Discretion : Which, if either of them should deny to yield, the Judge may, by a Distress of their Goods, taken and sold to the Value thereof, compel them to perform his Order ; and yet that only in case of Maintenance, and not to discharge Debts, wherein either of them stand bound unto their Creditors.

If a Man here in *England* dies, and leaves his Wife his Executrix, she, upon her after-Marriage, may carry away all his Estate unto her second Husband, who gives and spends thereof as he pleases, without any Regard had to the Children of the first Husband, by whom all or most of those Goods came ; insomuch, that often-times those Children, when they come of Age, and are gone abroad into the World, have nothing to begin the World withal, whereby many of them come to Beggary, and others to more fearful Ends ; (for Necessity is a hard Weapon) ; nor is there any Means within this Realm to relieve this Mischief, for ought I can learn : But by the *Civil Law* there is a very good Remedy ^x ; for, by that Law, ^{x C. 5. 9. t. 2.} neither the Woman surviving her Husband, nor the Man surviving his Wife, having Issue between them during the Marriage, have the Property of those Goods which either of them brought the one to the other, and are left behind by the Deceased ; but the Property is vested in the Children of the Deceased : The Person that survives, had only the Use and Benefit of them during his or her natural Life. Which Course, if it were taken here in *England*, many poor Fatherless and Motherless Children wou'd be in a better Condition than they are at present ; for then, tho' their present State were hard, their future would be better, as being secured to enjoy their Fathers and Mothers Right. Nor could such Men or Women which marry, or are married with Persons of this sort, much complain if this Law was establish'd here : For tho' they have not a Perpetuity in another's Estate by this Means, yet they will have a long and beneficial Fruition thereof, even so long as the Party, in whom they were interested, did live. But, for the Return thereof unto the right Owners, the Law is so scrupulous, that if the Husband or Wife marry, it will have him that is to marry the Widow, bound, with good Sureties, for due Restitution of the Part of the Deceased, to be made unto the Children of the former Marriage.

Another Inconvenience there is in Executors among us, Coufin-german to the former, which goes altogether uncontrouled, whereby I conceive there is no Law in this Land to correct it, viz. The Trifling of Executors in paying of Legacies and Bequests, under Pretence of Debts unknown, which they pretend they must provide for, in order to indemnify themselves: Whereby many Legacies are never paid, but stand (as it were) suspended till the Day of Judgment. Against this the *Civil* Law has provided two Remedies: One by exacting Bond of the Executor, that he ^{y D. 36. 1 3.} will pay the Legacies without Fraud or Deceit ^{1. 2 & 3.} y, according to the Will of the Deceased: The other, that if he refuses so to do, the Judge may then ^{z D. 35. 3. 4.} put the Party Complainant into the Possession of that which is demanded ^{z.} For it is not enough for the Heir or Executor to pretend a Debt, to the end that he may stay the Legacy which he has in his Hands, but he must make it plain and manifest to the Judge, that there is such a Debt owing, and that a Suit thereupon is either already begun, or very likely to be begun in a short Time, without Fraud or Collusion, otherwise many of those Pretences may be vain and elusory ^{a.} And in case there be any such just Cause of Fear indeed, or there be such a Suit in Truth commenced on the same, the Executor may secure himself or his Surety from the Legatary, viz. That in case the Debt be evicted of him, he shall repay to the Executor what he has received ^{b.} Wherein, though it may be said to be safer for the Executor to secure himself, by keeping the Legacy still in his Hands, than to trust it upon Surety, or other Caution, because those Provisions are often frail: Yet since this kind of dealing is injurious to the Legatary, and the with-holding thereof, for the most part, has no honest Defence, it becomes the State that such ill Dealing be redressed. For by this Means, Mens Wills, which are their last Ordinances, shall have that End which the Testators themselves intended; which if they had known in their Life-time, their Executors would not have perform'd, they would never have put them in Trust as they did ^{c.} Besides, hereby the Names of Executors, which are now charged with manifold Imputations by the ill Dealing of some, will be restor'd to their former Credit, which was to discharge the Trust reposed in them by the Person deceas'd: For the Will of the Deceased cannot be defrauded without great Sin.

Another Mischief there is in Executors and Administrators, not only uncontroulable by the Law of this Land, but rather allow'd and justify'd by it; and that is, when they have once got the Authority into their Hands, and appraised all at the lowest Rate, they will sell off all at the highest Price they can, and answer the poor Children and Legataries (for whose Good they were appointed Executors) at the Value in the Inventory only, contrary to all Right and Reason. For by the Law, an Executor is to sell nothing of those Things which are left unto the Children or Legataries, but such Things only which by keeping cannot be kept, or which being kept will be chargeable to the Heirship; or otherwise the Testator was so indebted, that his Estate must be sold for the satisfying of his Creditors; or lastly, that he himself order'd by his Will that something should be sold. But for such Things as may be kept, and by keeping will not grow worse, he ought precisely to preserve them, especially where the Testator has bequeathed any Thing in Kind. And if he sells any of those Things which he ought not to sell, he must sell it by the Order of the Judge interposed in this behalf, and upon just Cause proved before him; wherein, if it after appears that the Judge was abused by any false Allegation or corrupt Testimony, the Sale is void, and the Minor, when he comes to his full Age, or within five Years after, may reverse and recover that which is thus sold by Collusion, out of the Hands of him to whom it was sold, as being done against the Authority of the Law. And that

that we may the better understand how precise the Law is in this Point, and what Things it allows may be sold without the Decree of the Judge, I will set down the Words of the Law itself, speaking of Tutors and Governors of Pupils, whose Place is supply'd by Executors and Administrators, so far forth as they have the Tuition and Government of Minors during their Non-age. And it is a Law of *Constantine* ^d, reproving a ^d C. 5. 37. 21. former Law of *Severus* the Emperor, which gave leave to Tutors and Curators to sell all the Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Apparel, and other rich Moveables the Testator had, and to bring the same into Money, which turn'd greatly to the Disadvantage of many Orphans: Whereupon *Constantine*, after he had first order'd, that nothing should be sold of the Pearl, precious Stones, Utensils of the House, and other necessary Stuff and Ornaments of the same, says thus, *viz.* Neither shall it be lawful for them, (meaning Tutors or Curators) to sell the House wherein the Father died, and the Child grew up; for it is sufficient Woe to the Child not to see his Ancestor's Images not fasten'd up, or else pull'd down: Therefore, let the House, and all other his moveable Goods, remain still in the Patrimony of the Child; neither let any Edifices or Buildings, which came in good Repair with the Inheritance, suffer Decay or Ruin by the Collusion of the Tutor: But rather, if the Father, or he whoever the Minor was Heir unto, has left any Building in decay, let the Tutor, both by the Testimony of the Work itself, and the Faith of many Men, be compell'd to repair it. For by this Means the yearly Rent will bring in more Profit to the Minor, than the Price of the Things being deceitfully sold will do the Minor any good. Nor does the Law only make Provision against Tutors, but also against immodest and intemperate Women, that of entimes engage unto their new marry'd Husbands, not only their own Estate, but even the Estate and Lives of their Children. Further, it crosses the Course of putting the Childrens Money to Usury, (tho' it was anciently thought, that therein consisted all the Strength of the Patrimony.) For that Course is seldom long, scarcely stable and continual, and that thereby many Times the Money being lost, the Childrens Estate came to nothing: And, therefore, his Conclusion is, that the Tutor should sell nothing without the Order of the Judge, saving the Testator's old Apparel, or those Things which by keeping could not be kept from Corruption, and such Cattle as were superfluous. Whereby it appears, how careful that Age was, not to give Way to Executors by Sale of the Testator's Goods to make Gain of Orphans. Neither is this Age better than that; but that which was feared then, may be provided for now by the like Authority as was then.

In this Land, a Man dying, and leaving Legacies to his Children, and his Wife Executrix, or dying Intestate and taking Letters of Administration, and in her second Marriage bringing all the first Husband's Estate, and her Childrens Portions, unto her second Husband, and then dying; I say, there is no Remedy by the *English* Law against the Husband, to recover the said Legacies, and Portions due to the Children, out of his Hands; because he is neither Executor nor Administrator, and that he came not to those Goods by Wrong, but by the Delivery of the Executrix whom he marry'd. But yet, by the *Civil* Law, there is a Remedy ^e, and ^e D. 12. 1. 32. that by this Claim that the said Goods came unto his Hands, and that there is no Reason any one should be made rich by my Goods against my Will. For Legataries have no Action against any as Administrators in their own Wrong, or as Hinderers of the Performance of the Last Will of the Deceased, but Executors only, and they then alone, when the Party having it, holds it by Wrong, and not by lawful Delivery, which in this Case is otherwise.

Again, By the Law of this Realm, there is no Provision to preserve the Estate of a Prodigal Person from Dissipation, unless the Father provides against this Mischief, by some other good Order in his Life; but he is suffer'd to spend and waste his Goods, till there be nothing left, (as tho' the Prince and State had no Interest in such a Subject, to see that he did not waste his Estate, and abuse his Goods) whereby many great Families come to Ruin; and many Children, whom their Fathers have carefully provided for in their Life, come to Shame and Beggary. This seems to be a great Discouragement to Trade and Industry; for who will labour and take Pains for a riotous Son? But the *Civil* Law has given a Remedy against such Profusion of Expences. For that Law counts a Man thus impotent in his Deeds, however sensible he may be otherwise in his Words, to be like unto a Madman, and sets a Curator over him ^f, for preserving and well-ordering of his Estate, as if he were a Child or a Madman; and such Curator has Power over him and his Estate, until he returns to a sober way of Life, and then the Office of a Curator ceases. This is practis'd in wise Countries, to discourage Riot, Luxury, and Profusion, which must end in the Ruin of every State sooner or later. The like does the *Civil* Law to a Widow or sole Woman, who lives in a riotous Manner, having no Regard to her Fame or Estate ^g.

^f D. 27. 10.

^g D. 27. 10.

I find an old Practice anciently used in our Ecclesiastical Courts, for restraining of Executors or Administrators from dealing covenously in an Executorship or Administratorship, when there are more Executors named in a Will than one, or more Administrators deputed by the Ordinary in the Administration than one; which Practice were well, if it were recover'd and brought back to its former Use again. For now, as Things stand, oftentimes one knavish Fellow named an Executor in a Will, or appointed Administrator by the Ordinary, with some other well-meaning Persons, by getting a Start of the rest in the Business, ingrosses all into his own Hands, and without the Privity or Concurrence of the others, sells, releases, and disposes all at his own Pleasure, contrary to the Mind either of the Testator, or the Ordinary, who would not have named so many in the Will or Administration, but to the Intent that all might or should execute and administer, and one communicate their Acts to the other. The contrary whereof is many Times very prejudicial, to those who are to take Benefit by the said Will or Administration, who for want of a due Performance of this kind of Proceeding, are defrauded of all that which in Right or Reason should have come to them, either by the Testator's Will, or by the Benefit of the Law. And yet there is no Remedy for this in Law, as far as I know: For that all these making but one Person in Law, the Law gives no Action to the one to sue the other. But yet the ancient Practice of the Ecclesiastical Law, founded on the *Civil* Law, has given a Remedy, which would redress all this Grievance or Mischief, if it were called again into Use, and might go without Controlment, as the Equity of the Cause requires. And the Remedy is this, *viz.* That other of the Executors or Administrators as are interverted thus from the Execution of the Will, or the Administration, by the Subtlety of any like Executor or Administrator, should implore the Assistance of the Judge, and pray him, by Virtue of his Office, to call in such meddling Executor or Administrator, and order him, under a severe Penalty, not to proceed any further in the sole Execution thereof, but communicate all his Acts and Dealings to the rest of his Co-executors, &c. Which, if it were so order'd, would cause many Mens Wills and Administrations to be better perform'd than they are at present; and render many poor Orphans Estates more sure and certain, than commonly they are in such Executors or Administrators Hands.

And

And certainly, in this Case, there is some good Use of Supervisors in dead Mens Wills, (which several make a meer Jest at, by calling them the *Candle-holders* ; as tho' they could do nothing else in the Execution thereof, but hold the Candle whilst the Executors tell over the Money of the Deceas'd), if they might be permitted to put in Practice that Authority which the Law gives them ; and that is, when they find any Executor to deal fraudulently in the Execution of the Testator's Will, wherein they are named Supervisors, or to engross all the Estate of the Deceased into his Hands, they may call him to a particular Account, that it may be seen how the Administration stands, and that each Executor may communicate unto the other all particular Receipts and Disbursements : Which if any one shall refuse to do, then may the Supervisor complain thereof to the Judge, as tho' such Executor dealt not honestly in the Execution of his Office, who tho' (perhaps) in the Beginning, they could not take hold of him for the true Execution of the Will ; because the Testator had made choice of him, and therein approved of his Honesty, and for that no Man hath requir'd Caution for any Legacy bequeathed in the Will, (in which Case the Judge might take Bond of him for such Legacies as are bequeathed in the Will) ; yet the Judge may, in this Case, if he finds him justly suspected of Fraud and Deceit, remove him, according to a Parity of of Law ^b. For neither the Testator himself, if he were living again, ^b I. I. 26 t. t. would endure him in this Case, but would blot his Name out of his Will : Nor ought the Judge to suffer him, whose Care it is to see that dead Mens Wills take Effect according to the Testator's Meaning. All which Things the *Civil* Law has provided for, and infinite other Things of the like good Order, wherein the *English* Law is defective, if the *Civil* might be allow'd to be put in Practice without Impeachment. And thus far touching those Things wherein the *Civil* Law might be encouraged, without Prejudice to the Common Law, because the latter Law has no Cognizance thereof. And yet I do not produce these as the only Causes, wherein the *Civil* Law may be licensed to deal, over and above the Practice of those Things which it has already obtained ; but that these are few, among many others that might be sorted out, if our Legislators thought fit to enlarge the Profession of the Civil Law.

The last Thing I shall consider, is, The Necessity of retaining the Practice of the *Civil* Law within this Land, as now used, or ought to be used. It is a Matter confessed on all Hands, that, in every Government, two Things sway the whole State, *viz.* Peace at Home, and War Abroad : which, as they have their Seasons, so they have their Causes and Effects ; the one from Counsel at Home, and the other from Discipline Abroad : neither can the one or the other of these be maintain'd, without their proper and peculiar Laws. Besides, every one knows, That in Peace, there is as much need of Vent by Sea, for the Advantage of the State, either by an Importation of those Things which we want at Home, or by an Exportation of those with which we abound ; neither of which can be had or enjoy'd without their proper Laws fit and appertaining to a foreign Trade. And what Law is there, that orders these Matters, but the *Civil* Law alone, which gives a Form to Navigation, and all Occurrences that happen by Sea, whether they be in or about Navigation itself, or Maritime Contracts that are made in, or upon, or beyond the Sea ? For Foreigners will not traffick with us on the Bottom of our own Municipal Laws, which are unknown unto all other States ; and therefore it is necessary to establish some more universal Law ; and we have no such extant besides the *Civil* Law, or the Law of Nations, to be found in the Books of the *Civil* Law.

As a Form of Law is requisite in Peace at Home, and Marine Affairs Abroad, that every Thing may have its due Effect, according to the Right thereof ;

thereof ; so it is also necessary on Warlike Exploits on the Sea ; that every Action should have its Bounds and Limits, whereby Justice may be administer'd. And if this is to be observed, where lawful War is held between Prince and Prince, that every one be not left to his own arbitrary Will and Pleasure, it is much more expedient to be put in Use in Piracies, and other Sea-robberies, where the Innocent is spoiled, and the Spoiler is enriched ; the Redress whereof is only to be had by the Law of the Admiralty, unto which the Princes of this Land have granted that Authority: But by the Means of monstrous Fictions, and other Subtleties of Law, which are of Credit unto no Court, tho' they may sometimes bring Grist to Mill, we have had our Court of Admiralty often restrain'd in former Times, by very unwarrantable Prohibitions from the Common Law Courts. But it is to be hoped, that from the present Wisdom and Knowledge of the Sages in the Law, this Abuse will be less frequent for the future. For if Jurisdictions are thus confounded by an arbitrary Power, it will not only disparage the Authority of the Law, which ought always to be supported with Honour and Justice ; but it will be a Burden and Grievance to the poor Subject, who knows not where to have Recourse for Relief in case of Need. And thus I have finished this Title, which I have dwelt the longer on, by reason of the great Importance of it.



T I T. X.

Of Words, and the proper Signification of Them and Things, as used in the Books of the Civil Law, and other Municipal Laws.

WORDS are invented and made use of to express and declare the Mind of the Persons that utter them ⁱ ; and therefore, in the first Place, we ought to consider what his Will and Intention is : And this is best known, from that which the Words themselves point out to us, by the Acceptation of them. For Words, of themselves, are meer Sounds destitute of all Notion and Idea : And these Sounds or Words we make use of, to denote that Thing which is the Principle of Thought in us ; and we ought to make use of them as they are commonly taken and understood. Therefore the Signification of Words, is either taken from the common Usage of Speaking, or else from the Propriety of the Words themselves, or, lastly, from the Intention of the Party that utters them ^k. But, according to some, Words are taken in a four-fold manner, or four several Ways. ^{1st}, strictly, and according to the Propriety of them : ^{2^{dly}}, according to the common Usage and Custom of Speaking : ^{3^{dly}}, improperly, and according to the Abuse of them : and ^{4^{thly}}, by way of Interpretation. The first Species is to be thus understood, *viz.* That in every Matter or Cause whatever, even in a Penal Case, Words ought to be so far extended and understood, as the Propriety of the Discourse will bear and admit ^l ; unless we may presume, that the Author did not so intend to have them understood ; for then they may be restrain'd by open Conjecture. And, secondly, this Assumption is made good upon several Accounts. ^{1st}, from the Thing itself ; as when the Matter in Controversy is of so light a Nature and Importance, as that it is not worth while to observe a general

Disposition

Disposition of Law : *2dly*, from the Person ; as when the Laws inflict a certain Penalty on an Offence committed ; and it would be an Act of Iniquity, if Men of the highest Rank and Degree should be restrain'd and coerced by it ^m. For as there are several Things ordained upon the Score ^{m Rom. Rep. §. Viro.} of Friendship, Affinity, Hatred, Poverty, great Excellence, &c. so there are several Cases wherein we recede from the general Rules of Law : *3dly*, from the Quality and Nature of the Business ; as when Necessity perswades, or when there is any Danger in Delay, or any Absurdity would follow from thence, or if the Matter should come to that Pitch which the Author very much abhors and detests, and the like. And in all these the foregoing Cases, Words may be taken improperly. And, in this Part of an improper abusive Signification of Words, are contain'd even those, which are figuratively spoken ; because Figures belong to the Organ of Speech, and are coherent to the Propriety of it. *Thirdly*, It is to be observ'd, That the common Way or Usage of Speech is even of more Force and Validity than the Propriety of Words ⁿ : For Words are Declaratory, and made use ^{n D. 50. 16. 134. 0 X. 5. 40. 6, 7, & 8.} of to know the Mind and Intention of the Person that utters them ^o, as above-remember'd. And hence it is, that we ought not so far to adhere and abide by the Words of the Law, as to depart from the Mind and Intention of the Person that expresses them : For the Mind of the Law-giver ought rather to be consider'd, than the Words of the Law itself. And as this common Usage has obtain'd, through the Stile and Conversation of learned Men, it ought, without doubt, to be received : And hence it may be said to be proper, on the Account of their Authority. Otherwise it has respect either to an Abuse and Impropriety of Speech ; or else is liable to an Interpretation of Words : Of which next of all.

Now, the Interpretation of Words, is a Declaration of the ambiguous and obscure Will of the Person that makes use of them. See *Alexander*, in his *Consilia Juris* p. 'Tho' every Man is the best Interpreter of his own Words ; yet, where Words are doubtful and ambiguous, we always ^{p Conf. 78. n. 12. lib. 5.} interpret them against the Person that utter'd them ; because he might have express'd himself in a more clear and certain manner. But if any Obscurity of Terms happens in Judicial Matters, the Interpretation is to be made in the Plaintiff's Favour. But an Interpretation of Words, ought to be made, as near as possible, according to the Mind and Intention of the Party that utters them : Yet where a Witness expresses himself in an ambiguous manner, the Judge ought to interpret his Words against the Party producing him. The Words of a Statute ought to be taken and expounded according to the common Way and Mode of Speaking ; tho' it should be provided by such Statute, that they shall be taken according to the Letter. Verbs of the Subjunctive Mood, which may be verify'd in the Preterperfect and Future Tense, and are doubtful and ambiguous in this respect, are in Laws and Statutes, and in Last Wills and Testaments, taken in the Future Tense. And if any ambiguous Word shall be placed in one Part of a Last Will and Testament, it shall receive and have its Interpretation from the same Word more fully and expressly declared in another Part of the same Testament ; since one Part of a Last Will and Testament is ever explain'd, in a doubtful Case, by another Part thereof. The Words of a Last Will and Testament ought to be understood in a large, and not in a strict Sense, unless the Testator speaks strictly and properly. And the Words of a Last Will and Testament, if they be utter'd and express'd in a general manner, ought to be restrain'd according to the probable Meaning and Intention of the Testator ; and ought also to be understood, by observing a right Way and Method of Speech, and in the better Acceptation of them. Words, in a doubtful Signification, ought to be understood in a Natural, and not in a Civil Sense ; and we

recede from the Propriety of Words, in order to follow the Mind and Intention of him that utters them, as already hinted. Words put in the Singular Number, ought only to be referr'd to one single Case : but Words in the Plural Number may also be verify'd in the Singular. *Verbal* Nouns, that is to say, such Nouns as are derived from Verbs, have a two-fold Signification, *viz.* *Active* and *Passive* : And thus the Word *Violenter* may be understood either in an *Active* or *Passive* Signification, according to the Qualities of the Persons to whom it relates, and also according to the Nature of the Thing touching which it is utter'd and made use of. I have said, That Words in the Plural Number may also be verify'd in the Singular : And hence the Word *Person*, signifying a Community or Body Politick, is not comprized according to the proper Signification of the Term : And hence it is, that Notaries in Procuratorial Instruments say, *Contra quamcunque personam vel universitatem*. Words in a Last Will and Testament, ought to be understood in a Natural, and not in a Civil Sense : For since the Mind of Man is Natural, the Testator's Words, in a doubtful Case, ought to be reduced to a Natural, and not a Civil Understanding. Nor is it Equity, that a Fiction or feigned Sense should be introduced to overthrow the Testator's Will : For a Fiction is not regarded, when the Matter in Controversy is touching the Interpretation of the Testator's Will. The Words of a Testator and a Legislator do admit of the like Construction in Law. All Words ought to be understood in the same manner as they are spoken and utter'd, and ought to be taken *cum effectu* : But yet the Thing itself ought to be well consider'd, and look'd more upon, than the Words which express the Thing ; for the Sense is more to be regarded than the Words ^q, as already observed.

^q D. 50. 16.
219.

^r D. 37. 4. 1.
D. 1. 18. 3.

^s D. 32. 1. 78.
pr.

Words spoken or utter'd, generally ought to be understood in the general Signification of them ^r : And such general Words comprehend every particular Species contain'd under them ; that is to say, they are verify'd in their particular Species, and distributed by each Species ; as the Word *Animal*, which is a general Term, is distributed by Man and Beasts, &c. General Words, that are obscure, are declar'd and explain'd by precedent Words that are clear : And Words are said to be clear, when the true Sense and Meaning of them is easily understood. General Words put by way of Accessory, are restrain'd by their Principal. Words, which are general and universal, and even such as are negative, ought not to be taken and understood indistinctly : For there is no Word so universal, which may not, from due Circumstances, be taken in a Civil Sense and Meaning, and receive a Limitation and Restriction. Thus Words, how general soever they be express'd and set down in a Contract, ought to have Operation only according to the Nature of the Contract, and the Nature of the Thing deduced in the Contract. When there is any Ambiguity, Obscurity, or Generality in the Words of a Contract, or Last Will, these Words may be resolved by the daily and constant Use of such Words or Terms. Confused and indeterminate Words are made clear, and have a determin'd Sense, from the Nature of the Subject of them ; and such general Words are reduced and restrain'd to the Understanding and Terms of the Common Law. When a Law or Statute expressly requires any Thing to be done, then such general Words, from whence we may necessarily infer such Thing to be done, are sufficient : But if a Law or Statute requires any particular Tenor or Words, or a certain formal Way of Expression, that special Form and Tenor of Words ought to be observ'd ; it being not sufficient that the Thing be done by Terms equivalent, and *per viam intellectus*. And thus, sometimes, a special Form of Words is required, and sometimes included in the Generality of Words. Words put *simply*, ought to be taken *in meliori sensu* : And an equivocal

equivocal Term, in a doubtful Case, ought to be understood in *digniore* *partem*. We ought to abide by general Words, if they are so general that they cannot be restrain'd without a manifest Calumny or Absurdity ^{t. c D. 46. 4. 6.}

Dispositive Words, that is to say, Words that *directly* affirm a Thing, ought to be regarded and believed; but not *Narrative* or *Enunciative* Words, *viz.* such Words as affirm a Thing *indirectly* by the Bye, and by way of Incident, have not so much Weight laid on them. For Example, If I affirm, That *Titius*, who is the Son of *Sempronius*, owes me One Hundred Pounds: These Words, *Titius owes me One Hundred Pounds*, is the Substance of what I affirm *directly*, and are the *Dispositive* Words: But those Words, *who is the Son of Sempronius*, are the *Narrative* and *Enunciative* Words, which are spoken *indirectly*, and by the Bye; and it may be to the Purpose, whether that be true or false. *Enunciative* Words are Proof in favour of a Dower, and of a *pious* Cause; and in Contracts, as well as Last Wills, they Ordain and Dispose. The *Narrative* Words of an Epistle, are Proof in Prejudice of the Person who wrote the same. *Enunciative* Words do induce a Disposition beyond the proper Signification of them: Nor do *Enunciative* Words, that are pronounc'd or utter'd *conditionally*, induce any Disposition or binding Act ^{u.}

^u D. 28. 5. 19.

I shall next consider the Signification of Words in Respect of *Copulatives*, *Disjunctives* or *Alternatives*, and *Negatives*; because the Lawyer has frequent Occasion to use them, and they often occur in Laws. And first of *Copulatives*. Now it is the Nature of a *Copulative*, that both Parts thereof should be verifi'd: But in Respect of a *Disjunctive*, it is sufficient if either Part thereof be true. But these Words, *Et*, *Vel*, and the like, are sometimes used improperly: A *Copulative* being resolv'd into a *Disjunctive*, and a *Disjunctive* sometimes resolv'd into a *Copulative*, if the Subject Matter imports or requires it. For Words ought to be subservient to the Intention of the Party that utters them, and not the Intention be bound up by the strict and rigid Signification of Words, as before hinted. If the *Copulative*, &, or any other *Copulative* Word, be placed between Things impossible, so that both of the Things copulated cannot be true together and at the same Time, the *Copulative*, & or *and*, is then resolv'd into a *Disjunctive*. As for Example, If a Testator should say, *viz.* *I would have my Will to be valid Jure Testamenti & Jure Codicilli*, (for it is certainly valid *Jure Codicilli*, if it be not valid *Jure Testamenti*.) Here it is impossible, that it should be valid as a Testament and a Codicil both; because in a Testament the Appointment of an Heir is necessary, but such an Appointment is not requir'd in Codicils. Or else, *Secondly*, A *Copulative* is placed between two Things or more, which may be together true, and then the Extrems which are copulated are not entirely of different Natures: And, if so, then the *Copulative* is properly placed there, because it is the Nature of a *Copulative* to join Things altogether different; and that each Thing copulated principally comes into the *Copulative*, and happens true. Or, if the Extrems are of a different Nature or Kind, then if one of them accrues to the other as an Accident, the *Copulative* is thereby resolv'd into an *Expositive*, so that the Substantive is expounded like the Adjective; as *Pateris Libanus & Auro*, that is to say, *in aureis Pateris*. And 'tis the same Thing, when a *Copulative* happens as a Determination of something going before: As when it is said, that a Pact is *duorum placitum & consensus*, where the Word *Placitum* is expounded *actively*, *viz.* *Placitus consensus duorum*. But if one Thing be not added to another by way of Accident, or a *Copulative* be placed between a *Genus* and a *Species*, or between a *Species* and an *Individual*, or is placed between two Things separate, and yet common, and is then either used extrajudicially, or in Things altogether voluntary: I say, in all these Cases the *Copulative* stands properly, and 'tis necessary

necessary that each of the Things copulated be verify'd and render'd true. As when I promise you Ten Pounds, if *Titius* shall be made a General of an Army, and *Sempronius* a Count: I am not bound by my Promise, unless

^x D. 45. 1. 63. both Things come to pass ^x. And this is to be understood, when the *Copulative* is made *Affirmatively*: But it is otherwise, if it be made in the *Negative*; because then it is requisite, that neither of them happen. As

^y D. 45. 1. 63. for Instance, I promise you Ten Pounds, if *Titius* shall not be made a Consul, nor the Emperor come into *Italy* ^y. But if we are judicially impleaded, and it is then doubtful whether the Judge or Prince commands two Things *copulatively*, or if the Party has propounded any Thing *copulatively* in Judicature in his Libel or Articles, shall both the Extreams then be requir'd to be true? In this Case we ought to distinguish, *viz.* That either many Things copulated tend to the same Effect, or have different Effects in Tendency: If they tend to procure different Effects, then one of those Things copulated is not sufficient to obtain and comprehend all Effects: But if many Things copulated tend to obtain one and the same Effect, then the Party is either obliged to prove both, and it is not enough to prove one of them, though otherwise it had been sufficient of itself; because he ought to blame himself, that he has bound himself to prove

^z D. 22. 3. 14. both ^z. And this is true, unless the Interest and Advantage of the publick State be concern'd in the Controversy; because a Party cannot oblige himself to both, when the Right of the Publick may be prejudiced thereby. So that, if he should be then compelled to prove both, the Judge, in virtue of his Office, is to oppose the same, by declaring that it shall be sufficient for him to prove one of them: And this proceeds *ex Officio Judicis*. Or else he has not oblig'd himself to prove both of the Things thus copulated: And then, when either of them accrues as a Quality to

^a Bart. in L. 33. D. 42. 1. the other, it is enough to prove either ^a. 'Tis also the Nature of a *Copulative* to require the Concurrence of all Persons and Things copulated. For Example, If any one promises to arrest *Stichus*, and *Damas*, and *Erotes*, and if he does not arrest them, he promises to forfeit or pay One Hundred Pounds: If he does not arrest them all three, he then entirely forfeits the penal Stipulation; because he stipulated, or made his Promise *copulatively*.

A *Disjunctive* is that Term which is placed between two Contraries, by the granting or affirming of one of which you take away the other, and by taking away one of them, the other stands good and is affirm'd: And this is done by the help of these Words, *Aut*, *Vel*, or the like. But a *Sub-Disjunctive* is that Term, which divides different Things, whether they may stand together or not. *Contraries* are those Things, which are repugnant and diametrically opposite to each other, without any *Medium*: But what we call *Diversa*, or different Things, are those which have a *Medium*; as to sit and walk, for the *Medium* is to lye down or stand. And 'tis the same Thing, if they are mutually repugnant; as the *active* and *passive* Quality in a Man. But whenever the Sense is join'd together, whether the Words are disjoin'd or not, it is a *Sub-Disjunctive*, according to *Bartolus* ^b.

^b In Rub. C. 11. 1. A *Disjunctive*, placed between a *Genus* and *Species*, is taken for the same as, *id est*: And sometimes it is taken for a *Conjunctive*, when it happens between a *Genus* and *Species* ^c. A *Disjunctive* or *Alternative*, is sometimes pronounc'd by the Law; and sometimes it is pronounc'd by Man. When it is pronounc'd by the Law, it is either an *Alternative* of several Facts or Terms, thro' the Means of which some certain Thing is principally order'd by the Law; and then it stands properly in its own Nature, and is verify'd in each Part of itself: Or else it is an *Alternative* of several Qualities or Punishments in respect of the same Fact, or Thing, order'd; and then such *Alternative* either contains a Repugnancy, and

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is then taken *improperly*. But when it does not contain a Repugnancy, it then stands properly, and is verify'd in one Thing alone. And this Distinction proceeds in an *Alternative* pronounc'd by the Common Law. But in that *Alternative* which is pronounc'd by a Statute, it is to be noted, that it stands *properly* and *strictly* in its own Nature; because Statutes are Matters of *strict Law*, and ought to be understood *properly*, as the Words import. In the second principal Case, *viz.* When an *Alternative* is pronounc'd by Man, it is then either put between Things or other Qualities on which a Disposition is made, or else between Persons on whom a Disposition is conferr'd. In the first Case, it is either used *disjunctively*, which in its own Nature disjoins both the Sense and the Words, as the Word *vel*, or the like, and then it stands *properly*, and, regularly speaking, it is enough if one of the *Alternatives* intervenes; or it is put as such a *Disjunctive*, which, tho' it disjoins the Words, yet it conjoins the Sense, as the Words *seu* or *sive* do.

Words of the Present Tense are not extended to Things future d. ^a D. 41. 1. 89. *Flavius* leased or demised unto *Hermes* his Vineyard for ten Years, on Condition that *Hermes* paid him ten *Scudi* every Year. Three Years after *Flavius* stipulated with *Hermes* in this Manner, *viz.* *Do you promise to pay what you owe on the Account of the Vineyard demised to you?* *Hermes* answer'd, *I do promise it.* In this Case only thirty *Scudi* are due for the three Years past, and not a future Pension. For if I would stipulate for a Pension or Rent of the Years to come, I ought to say in the Stipulation, *Do you promise to pay that which you shall owe on the Account of such a Demise?* Or, *Will you be a Debtor to me on such an Account?* And then, by an Answer made in the Affirmative, a future Pension will be included.

The Relative *qui*, or *who*, is sometimes *Restrictive* and sometimes *Declarative*. *Restrictive*, When it is said, That all Persons *who* are govern'd by Laws; meaning, as if there were some Persons that were not govern'd by Laws, but by Customs. That Relatives restrain, we learn from the Law here quoted e. That Scholars *who* carry Arms are punishable: Here the Relative *qui*, or *who*, is put *declaratively*. Which, that you may the better understand, consider two Words. *First*, That the Relative *qui* does not restrain, but is declarative in a Sentence, if the *Relative Quality* accrues in all the Verbs, as in the Law cited in the Margin f, *viz.* when the Emperor ^f C. 1. 1. 1. speaks of Christians, saying, *Cunctos Populos quos una fides.* The Relative *quis* or *qui*, join'd to a Verb of the future Tense, induces a Condition, unless it be when the Intention of the Party ordaining has a respect *ad esse*: But if it be join'd to a Verb of the present Tense, it includes a Demonstration g.

The Masculine Gender very often includes the Feminine; and thus it reaches to both Sexes h, not according to the Propriety of Speech, but by ^h D. 50. 16. Extension. And because this Extension is receiv'd by common Use, this ¹⁹⁵ Rule is observ'd almost in every Case; unless when it appears, that the Intention of the Speaker was or is otherwise; for *diversa ratio diversum jus suadet*. Therefore, if the Children of banish'd Men, under the Name of *Filii*, be expell'd the State or City, this does not affect the Daughters, but only the Sons; for there is no Danger from these, by reason of the Imbecility of their Sex i. The Word *Homo*, a Man, is a common Name, ⁱ Bald. in L. 1. and comprehends both the Masculine and Feminine Gender; though, ^{D. 11. 4.} generally speaking, the Feminine Gender is comprehended under the Masculine, as just now said, yet this is not always true, especially in penal and odious Cases: For in these Cases a Woman is not included under a Word of the Masculine Gender, unless the Act, or Offence, be of an indifferent Nature, which may be equally committed by a Woman as well as a Man; for then a Woman shall be comprised under a Word of the Masculine Gender.

Gender. Again, The Word *Parens*, a Parent, is a common Name; and as it comprehends both Genders, it denotes a Father and Mother: But sometimes this Word is taken in a larger Sense, and then it signifies the Father, Grandfather, Great-Grandfather, and so onwards of all superior Relations in a right Line; and it also includes a Mother, Grandmother, Great-Grandmother, &c. ^{k. D. 50. 16. 51. D. 2. 4. 4. 2.} Yet, in a strict Acceptation of the Word *Parents*, only such Persons are included, as are *usque ad Tritavum*, to the Grandfather's Great-Grandfather; and the rest are stiled *Majores* ^{l. D. 38. 10. 10. 7.}, or Ancestors. But by the Name of *Parents*, according to the common Meaning of the Word, we only understand the Father and Mother: And thus it is understood in respect of that Diligence, which they ought to exercise over Children or Infants baptized, in bringing them to be confirm'd by the Bishop. But if these Persons are negligent or wanting (perhaps) in their Duty, the *Canonists* will have this Office, or Duty, to be extended even to the Great-Grandfather's Great-Grandfather, especially, since the Care of Children belongs to all Persons within that Degree, so long as Children shall remain in their Power.

We have three *exceptive* Terms, or Words, in our Law-Books, *viz.* *Præter*, *Nisi*, and *Præterquam*; which are all Conjunctions: But the Words *sine* and *absque* are not *exceptive*, but do rather import a certain Separation than an Exception; as you read the Law *absque Petro*, without Peter, that is to say *separately* from Peter, which does not imply, that Peter does not read it. And 'tis the same Thing in respect of the Word *sine* ^{m. D. 48. 8. 22. D. 26. 7. 32.}. 'Tis to be observ'd, there is this Difference between *exceptive* and *taxative* Words, *viz.* That a *taxative* Word propounded affirmatively, points out the *Species*, or one *Individuum*, and removes the whole other *Genus*: As, only Peter reads; that is to say, that Peter and no other reads. But *Exceptive* Words, on the contrary, do make a *whole*, because they only remove one *Species*, or one *Individuum* from the *Genus*: As when I say, No Man runs, unless it be Peter; for this Universal remains true in all but Peter only.



T I T. XI.

Of Definitions, Divisions, Genus, Species, Difference, and the Qualities of Things, very necessary for a Lawyer to be acquainted withal.

IT has been already observ'd in a foregoing Title, That Words are the Organ or Means of conveying one Man's Thoughts and Intention unto another; and as all Languages are full of Words of the same Nature, which not having more than one Sound, yet the Signification of *Ideas* are entirely of a different Kind: So that from hence arises an Equivocation of Words; and as this Equivocation of Words, and the confounding of Terms which bear a different Sense, are often the Occasion of great Error in the Mind of Man, the *Logicians* have, therefore, found out an Expedient to prevent this Mischief; which Expedient they stile by the Name of a *Definition*. Therefore, for the sake of young Students in the Law, and others who have not made themselves acquainted with the Artificial *Logick* of the Schools, I will here give them a Title of *Definition, Division, Genus,*

Genus, Species, &c. so far (perhaps) as it is necessary for them to know, that they may not be imposed upon by the Fallacies and Chicanery of other Men. By an Equivocation of Words, as above hinted, I mean, when one and the same Word signifies one or more Things; and by confounding of Terms, I understand the using one Term for another; both of which are frequently practis'd, especially by ignorant and wrangling Disputants.

A *Definition*, according to *Accursius*, is a Part of Speech, which denotes and points out the Substance of a Thing to us; and it properly consists of a *Genus* and a *Difference*. The *Genus* is that, which may be affirm'd or predicated of many Species or Particulars contain'd under it: As Man is a rational Animal; where *Animal* is the *Genus*, and *Rational* the *Difference*: For as several particular living Creatures are comprehended under an Animal, so Rationality distinguishes a Man from all other Animals. There are several Kinds of *Definition*; one of which is call'd a *nominal*; and another of which is stiled a *real* Definition, or a Definition of the Thing. But it is noted, that a *nominal* Definition goes before a *real* Definition: For you cannot define a Dog, unless you first settle, whether you speak of an Animal, or of the Dog call'd the *Dog-star*; for the Word *Dog* is an equivocal Term. Here the Definition of the Word, call'd a *nominal* Definition, and made use of by *Geometricians* with much Benefit, is cautiously to be distinguish'd from the Definition of the Thing. The Definition of Words are at Pleasure, as Words themselves are, provided they be explain'd to us by a Definition of them. But Definitions of Things are not so, because they have a certain determin'd Idea annex'd to them. For every Sound being of itself and in its own Nature indifferent, to signify any Thing, it is lawful for me, for my own particular Use, provided I advise others of it, to determine a Sound of any Thing precisely without the Mixture of any Thing else. But it is quite otherwise with the Definition of Things. For it does not depend upon the Pleasure of Men, that *Ideas* should include whatever they wou'd have them include: Because if, in defining of *Ideas*, we add any Thing which they do not comprehend, we fall into inevitable Error. For an Example of one and the other: If, in despoiling of a *Parallelogram* of all other Signification, I apply it only to denote a *Triangle*, I may do this without any Error in doing it; provided I only take it in this manner; and I may affirm, that a *Parallelogram* has three Angles equal to two right Angles. But if I leave the vulgar *Idea* annexed to this Word, to signify a Figure whose Sides are parallel, and yet affirm that a *Parallelogram* is a Figure consisting of three Lines, in regard this would be a Definition of the Thing, it would be absolutely false; it being impossible that a Figure consisting of three Lines only, should have its Sides parallel. But Contentions ought not to be rais'd about the Definitions of Words, because Words are arbitrary; and the Person ought rather to explain his Meaning, than to wrangle about them. For you cannot deny, that a Man has not given the Signification to a Sound, which, he says, he has, after he has given Notice of it, nor that it has not that Signification according to the Use he makes of it. But we may contend about the Definition of Things, because they may be false, (as already shewn).

In every Definition, the Essentials or Substantials of the Thing designed ought to be insert'dⁿ; otherwise it may be rather stiled a *Description*^{a Bart. in L. 1. D. 28. 1.} than a *Definition*: And hence it ought to contain the *Genus*, under which the Thing is defined, (as before remember'd). And, *secondly*, it ought likewise to contain the *Differences*; that it may thereby appear, that it differs from other Species contained under that *Genus*: As appears in all Laws, wherein a Definition is put as a *Genus*. Things Fictitious and Imaginary cannot be defined in a proper manner; because a Definition

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is an Oration or Sentence explaining the Nature and Essence of the Thing defined : And therefore, if the Thing to be defined has not any true and real Essence and Nature, it cannot properly be defined. And this, moreover, is confirm'd ; for that a true and accurate Definition ought to consist of a *Genus* and a *Difference*, as aforesaid : But Fictitious and Imaginary Entities have no proper *Genus* and *Difference*. And hence we may infer, that Privations and Negations cannot properly be defin'd ; because they are not true and real Entities, nor have they any proper *Genus* and *Difference*. Every good Definition ought to agree with the Thing defined, and to be convertible with it. A Definition in Law is very dangerous ; and therefore, the ancient Lawyers rather chose to make use of *Descriptions* than *Definitions* : A Description being an imperfect Definition, and not according to the Rules of a Definition. A Description gives us some Knowledge of the Accidents or Qualities that are proper to it ; and so determines it, that we may frame such an *Idea* or Notion of it, as distinguishes it from other Things. Thus we describe Plants, Fruits and Animals, by their Shape, Bulk, Colour, and the like Accidents : And these are the Descriptions most used by Poets and Orators. There are also Descriptions made by the Causes, Matter, Form, and the End, &c. as when we define a Clock to be an Engine compos'd of several Wheels, whose regular Motion limits the several Hours.

o Bart. in L. 13.
C. 9. 2.

p D. 34. 7. 1.
D. 4. 3. 1.

There are Three Things necessary to make a Definition good ; *viz.* It ought to be Universal, Proper, and Clear. *First*, It must be Universal ; that is, it must contain the whole Thing defined : Wherefore, the common Definition of *Time*, to be the Measure of Motion, is not good : For 'tis very probable, that Time may be the Measure of Rest, as well as Motion ; since we say, a Thing has been so long at Rest, as well as, that it has been so long in Motion. *Secondly*, It must be Proper ; *viz.* It must agree with the Thing defined, as aforesaid : Wherefore the Definition of an *Element* to be a *simple corruptible Body*, is erroneous : For the heavenly Bodies are no less simple Bodies than the Elements, by the Confession of the Philosophers ; and therefore, we have no Reason to believe but there are Alterations in the Heavens, analogous to those that happen upon Earth. *Thirdly*, It must be Clearer than the Thing defined ; *viz.* it ought to render the *Idea* of a Thing defined, more plain and distinct, and make us, as much as may be, understand the Nature of it, and conduce to give us a Reason of its chief Properties ; which is that which is principally consider'd in Definitions, and which is wanting in the greatest Part of *Aristotle's*. And thus much is sufficient touching *Definitions* : Wherefore I shall next speak of *Division*, the Second Thing propos'd to be handled in this Title.

Division, is the Partition of the Whole into all that it contains : But as there are two Sorts of the *Whole*, so there are two Sorts of *Divisions*. There is one *Whole*, compos'd of several Parts, which are really distinct, whose Parts are called *integral* Parts ; and the Division of this *Whole* is properly call'd *Partition*. As when we divide a House into its Apartments, a City into its Wards and Quarters, a Kingdom into its Provinces, Man into Body and Soul, and the Body into Members. The only Rule, for making this Partition as it ought to be, consists in the accurate numbring of the Parts, so that nothing be omitted. The other *Whole* is call'd by another Name, *All* ; and its Parts are subjective or inferior Parts : For that this *All*, or *Omne*, is a common Term ; and its Parts are the Subject contained in its Extent. As the Word *Creature* is the *All* of that Nature, whose inferior Parts, as Man and Beast, which are comprehended in its Extent, are subjective Parts. This Division properly retains the Name of Division, of which there are Four Sorts ; *viz.* 1st, When the *Genus* is divided by its *Species* :

Species : As, that *all Substance is either Body or Spirit*, and the like. *2dly*, When the *Genus* is divided by *Differences* : As *every Animal is either rational or irrational*. All Numbers are either even or odd, &c. *3dly*, When a common Subject is divided by the opposite Accidents, of which it is capable ; or according to the Diversity of Accidents and Times : As *all Bodies either move, or stand still*. *All Men are either sick or well*, &c. *4thly*, When the Accident is divided into various Subjects : As when *Happiness is divided into that of the Mind or Body*.

In this Division, these Rules are to be observed ; *viz.* 1st, It ought to be entire ; and the Members of it must contain the whole Extent of the Term divided. Thus *Even* and *Odd* comprehend the full Extent of Number ; there being no Number which is not Even or Odd : Nor is there any Thing that plunges us more into false Argumentation, than want of observing this Rule ; and that which deceives us, is, That, many times, there are Terms, which appear so opposite, that they seem to admit no *Medium*, when really they do : Thus between Ignorant and Learned, there is a certain Mediocrity of Knowledge, that excepts a Man from the Rank of the Ignorant, tho' it does not advance him among the Learned : Between Night and Day there is Twilight ; and so of other Things. The 2^d Rule is, That the Members of the Division be opposed ; as *rational* and *irrational*. However, it is not necessary, that all the Differences that make the Division, should be positive Members ; it's sufficient that one be so, and that the other be the *Genus* alone, with the Negation of the other Difference ; for from hence arises the most certain Opposition of the other Members. Thus a Beast is distinguish'd from Man, only by Want of Reason, which is nothing positive. The 3^d Rule being a Consequence of the 2^d, is, That one of the Members be not so inclosed in the other, that This may be affirm'd of That, tho' (perhaps) it may be included another Way. For a *Line* is included in the *Superficies* ; and the Term of the *Solid*, as a Term of the *Solid*. But this does not hinder, but that the Extent may be divided into *Line*, *Surface*, and *Solid* : For it cannot be affirm'd, that a *Line* is a *Superficies*, nor that the *Superficies* is a *Solid*. Lastly, It is to be observ'd, That we do not make too many Divisions ; for that confounds and amuses the Understanding. *Whatever is cut into Dust, is confused*.

Since the *Civil Law* often mentions a *Genus* and a *Species*, which the Doctors (notwithstanding) in respect of Obligations, do either explain in a very frigid manner, or else do confound and blend them together in such a way, as, on this Account, we find several Errors scatter'd up and down in their Expositions ; I will therefore here, in a more distinct and perfect manner, treat of this Matter, for the Benefit of all Lawyers whatsoever. Now a *Genus*, according to the Acceptation which *Porphyry* gives of it, in his Introduction to *Logick*, and as much as tends to the Knowledge of the Law, may be taken in a four-fold Sense or Manner. *First*, It is said to be that, which has no certain Name affixed to it ; and being tied to no determinate Quality, it is left as an anonymous Thing. For thus a Last Will is found in a *Genus*, which is neither a Testament, properly speaking, nor a Codicil, nor a Donation *Mortis Causa* : Nor is it called by any other special Name, but is simply left under the general Appellation of a *Last Will* ; which the *Gloss*, on the Law here quoted in the Margin 4, makes mention of. And thus the Word *Genus*, in the 9 C. 2. 3. 19. Books of the *Civil Law*, is not strictly taken, in a Logical Sense and Manner, to comprehend several *Species*, but often used for a certain *Quality* or *Difference*, and for an Accidental *Circumstance* : And if that Quality be a Quality of an effused Nature, it then comprehends several Things ; and is, among Lawyers and Rhetoricians, stiled a *Genus*. But if the Qualities and Differences be less general, then they assume and take the Name of

* Bart. in L.
12. D. 33. 7.
46.

† Curt. Jun.
Conf. 239.

a *Species*. Among the Rhetoricians, that is call'd a *Thesis*, which the Lawyers term a *Genus*. An *Hypothesis* is a Quality founded upon a Supposition which rather comes nearer a Fact: And this we call a *Species* of the Fact, after the manner of a more determinate Quality. 2dly, A Logical *Genus* properly taken, is, whatever is predicated *de pluribus in specie differentibus* *; that is to say, whatever contains several Things in itself, which differ in their *Species*, when this happens by a Term of Universality, as a *Flock*, *Instrument*, *Peculium*, and the like; or by adding some universal Sign, as *Omnes reas meas*, where the Word *Omnes* denotes an Universal. A *Genus* is put in the Definition of every *Species*, (as before remarked); and by a *Genus*, every *Species* is represented in its distinct Kind. A *Genus* only differs from a *Species* in Quantity, because a *Genus* includes more than a *Species*. As the Word *Animal*, which is a *Genus*, includes both Man and Beast, which are the *Species* of an Animal. Thus the Disposition of a Statute, which includes a *Genus*, includes also its *Species*: And a Disposition, which enumerates some *Species* after a *Genus*, includes also some other *Species*, which are not express'd, when such an Expression is made by Words of *Ampliation*, or by the Word *Maximè*. Yet the Expression of a *Genus* has not a greater Operation than an Expression of particular *Species*; because a *Genus* is resolved into particular: But it is otherwise in an Universal, or in the expressing of some Universal. But, *Thirdly*, A *Genus*, among Lawyers, is often taken for a *Predicable*; and a *Species* for an *Individuum*; tho' sometimes a *Species*, even with them, is also taken for an inferior *Genus*: For a *Genus*, among them, may be said to be that, which, among Logicians, is called a *Species*. Thus Lawyers call'd a *Quality* by the Name of a *Substance*, which, among Logicians, is only a Matter *Secundæ Intentionis*. A *Genus* cannot perish by Fire, or any other fortuitous Accident †: For a *Genus* is neither a moveable, nor an immoveable Thing, but only existing in the Understanding: But a *Species* may so perish, because it may exist *extra Intellectum*, as in a Thing moveable. A *Genus* cannot be the *Difference* of a *Species*; nor is a *Genus* predicated of a *Difference*: For a *Difference* is posterior unto a *Genus*, and prior unto a *Species*. A *Genus* is predicated of all the *Species* contained under such *Genus*; and whatever is affirm'd or predicated by the *Genus*, is also affirm'd and predicated of its *Species*. A *Genus* is prior unto a *Species*, and also of a larger Extent: And therefore tho' a *Genus* contains its *Species*, yet the *Species* does not contain the *Genus*. Tho' by denying the *Genus*, the several *Species* of such *Genus* be also denied thereby; yet by affirming the *Genus*, the *Species* of the *Genus* are not thereby affirm'd. A *Genus* and a *Species* are in the same Predicament; and the whole Nature of a *Genus* is contain'd in every *Species*; nor has a *Species* any Thing which is repugnant to a *Genus*. A *Genus*, which cannot be verify'd, unless it be a *Species*, does not induce any Uncertainty.

Now a *Species* is said to be that, which is predicated of many Things, which differ in Number; or else that which contains in itself several Things, which differ in Number, tho' the Lawyers, sometimes, improperly call this Logical *Species* by the Name of a *Genus*. 'Tis to be observed, that a *Genus* which follows an Enumeration of divers *Species* or Particulars, is restrain'd to the like *Species* there express'd; and thus the preceding *Species* restrain the following *Genus*, (as I have already related). For Example: If I give a certain Farm or Estate unto *Titius*, and all the Appurtenances thereunto, or all Things which I have there, Spiritual Rights are not thereby comprehended in such a Gift or Grant; because they are not of the same or like Nature with the Things granted: But this Generality ought to be restrained to Temporal Things alone, on the Account of the preceding *Species* of Temporalities. For in a strict Matter,

as a Gift is taken, Words are not understood in so large a Sense as to deviate from the proper Signification of them ^{r.} And tho' in Testaments we admit of a larger Interpretation than in Gifts; yet a *Genus*, that follows an Enumeration of *Species*, is restrain'd to *Species* equal to, and of the same Nature with the *Species* express'd. Thus, if a Testator bequeaths Wines and Sweets, all Sweets of another Nature than Wine are excepted, and in nowise included in such a Legacy by reason of the preceding *Species*; as Sweet Wines, and the like; and only Sweet Potables are therein comprehended ^{s.} But it is otherwise, where a *Genus* is pronounc'd or utter'd without a *Species* following the same. But it is not universally true, That a *Species* adjoin'd to a *Genus*, restrains a *Genus*; for the Text is sometimes against it: As where it is said, that if I bequeath unto any one a Fee or Farm stocked, and express some *Species* contain'd under that *Generality*; in this Case, I say, that *Species* does not restrain the *Genus*, but it only seems to be inserted *ex Superabundanti*: And that it is a Cause or Means only of tolling a Doubt. But yet this is a Matter of much Weight and Difficulty, because the *Civil Law* seems to treat of it several Ways.

A *Difference* is that, whereby one Thing is discern'd or distinguish'd from another: And it is either *accidental* or *essential*. An *accidental* Difference is that, whereby Things differ from each other in respect of their Accidents or Qualities, either from other Things, or even from themselves. An *essential* Difference is that, which, being added to a *Genus*, constitutes a *Species*, and distinguishes that *Species* essentially from all other *Species*. And as a *Difference* constitutes the *Species*, and distinguishes it from other *Species*, it ought to have the same Extent with the *Species*: And, therefore, *Difference* and *Species* ought to be predicated of one another; as thus, *whatever thinks, is a Spirit; because every Spirit thinks*. For every *Genus* has under it two *Species* at least; as *Body* and *Spirit* are the two *Species* of Substance. Therefore, there must be something more in the *Ideas* of *Body* and *Spirit*, than in the *Idea* of Substance, to distinguish them by. And that which we see more in *Body*, is *Extension*; and what we see first in *Spirit*, is *Thought*. Hence the *Difference* of *Body* will be *Extension*; and of *Spirit*, *Thought*. But it often happens, that in several Things there is no Attribute that offers itself, which agrees so fully with the whole *Species*, as to agree only with that *Species*, and no other. In this case, the way is to join together several Attributes; and the Assemblage not being to be found in any other *Species*, it constitutes the Difference. Lastly, It is to be observ'd, that it is not always requir'd that both the Differences dividing the *Genus* should be positive; it being sufficient that only one be such. Thus two Men are sufficiently distinguish'd, if one be said to follow an Employment which the other does not. Again, Thus Man is distinguish'd from Brutes; for Man is a Creature *endued with a rational Soul*; but Brutes are *meer Animals*: Yet the *Generical Idea* of Brutes contains nothing in it *positively*, which is not found in Men; only we add to that *Idea* a Denial of that to be in them, which is in Man, *viz.* a *rational Soul*. *Porphyry* makes a *Difference* to be threefold, *viz.* *common*, *proper*, and *most proper*. The first is, when a Thing differs by some Accident which may be separated, either from another Thing, as when we say, that *Titius* differs from *Mævius*; because *Mævius* sits, but *Titius* stands; the one is silent, but the other talks. Or else from itself; Thus, *Hector* seem'd to *Æneas*, when he appear'd in a Dream, to differ from that *Hector* who return'd laden with the Spoils of *Achilles*. A *proper* Difference is that, when a Thing differs from a Thing by an inseparable Accident, as by its Property which always adheres to it. Thus a Crow differs from a Swan, because the one is White, and the other is Black: And each of these may be stiled an *accidental* Difference. But the *most proper* Difference, according to *Porphyry*, is what

we call the *essential* Difference : As when a Man that is endued with Reason, is said to differ from Brute Animals.

The Word *Quality* is in our Law-Books used in several Senses, *viz.* For that Difference in Things, which declares the *Species* thereof, and makes a Thing to be certain and determinate ^{t.} *Secondly*, It is taken for the State and Condition of an Argument, or any Business, according to the Subject of it ^{u.}; and in this Sense it is used among Pleaders and Orators. *Thirdly*, ^u D. 22. 5. 21. It points out the *Species* and Value of Money ^{x.}: And, *Fourthly*, It declares the Nature and Heinousness of any Crime. In Pleading, there are some Qualities that are necessary, and others that are not so. The former are to be express'd in every Libel or Action; as, I demand of such a Pupil Ten Pounds, because I lent him so much with the Authority of his Tutor : And this Quality is necessary to obtain a Victory in the Suit. But touching such Qualities as are not necessary, as they do not render the Process void, if they are omitted; so if they are express'd, and not prov'd, they ^y D. 14. 3. 13. do not vitiate a Process ^{y.} These Qualities in a Cause, are often filed the Circumstances of a Suit. When a Quality is inherent to a Thing, according to the Nature thereof, it is not necessary to deduce and set forth that Quality in the Libel : But a Libel, being founded upon a certain Quality, falls to the Ground, if that Quality be not prov'd. Again, A Punishment inflicted on the Account of some Quality in the Offence, when such Quality ought to be present and appear, is not incurr'd, if such Quality be absent, tho' such Quality supervenes *ex post Facto* : As when a Punishment is inflicted on a Man, that *knowingly* contracts Wedlock with his Aunt, such Punishment is not incurr'd, if he thus contracts Marriage with her through Ignorance, or not knowing her to be his Aunt, though he should afterwards know her to be such, and yet perseveres in the Contract. If the Quality of a Thing be changed, it diversifies the Thing itself : But it is well enough, if some Things do agree in the *Genus*, tho' they differ in Quality. Where the two Qualities concur, *viz.* a *Permissive* and a *Prohibitive* Quality, the *Permissive* Quality is always preferr'd.

Though every Quality be an Accident, yet every Accident is not a Quality, taken in a Logical Sense : For among *Logicians* there are Nine sorts of Accidents, of which a Quality is one ; and it denominates a Man or Thing to be such as it is, as White or Black, Learned or Ignorant, &c. Now an Accident is nothing else but a Circumstance ; and it is called an Accident, because it may be present and absent to a Thing, without destroying its Subject ; as Whiteness or Blackness may be present or absent to a Thing, and the Thing still remain. So a Dowry may be present and absent to Matrimony, without destroying the Subject, which is Matrimony. Again, *Profit* and *Loss* are the Accidents of Partnership ; for Partnership may be carry'd on without either. And thus I have done with the Principles or *Præcognita* of the Law, and shall proceed in the next Book to speak of Persons, the first Object of the Law.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.





B O O K II.

Of PERSONS, the first Object of the Law.

T I T. I.

Of the State, Quality, and Condition of Man in his natural Capacity.



S Facts, from whence the Law arises, do sometimes respect Persons, sometimes Things, and sometimes Actions, I shall, therefore, with the Lawyer *Canus*^a, divide the whole Law^a D. 1. 5. 1. into these three chief Heads, and treat of them severally in the following Work: For we may refer the whole Law, which we make use of, to these three Heads or Objects. But *Apellus*, no mean Lawyer among the rest, thinks, that the first Head is not a proper Object of the Civil Law, and will have it to be nothing else but a Circumstance; as Time, Place, Quantity, Quality, Event, and the like are. I will not here canvass his Opinion, but rather chuse to follow the Doctrine of the *Imperial* Institutes, which divide the Law into these three Objects.

I will here begin with the Right of Persons, which the *Digest*^b terms^b D. 1. 5. *Status hominum*, or the State and Condition, which Mankind is found to^{per tot.} be in, in respect of Liberty or Slavery, &c. For the word *State* signifies nothing else but the habitual Quality or Condition of a Person, as that he is either a Freeman or a Bondman, a lawful Son, or a Bastard, or a Person *sui* or *alieni juris*, and the like. And thus *Donatus* upon *Terence* observes, That the word *State* has a respect to the Habit of a Man's Person, as the word *Stature* has a regard to his Body: So that the State of a Man, properly speaking, appertains to that Condition of his Person, wherein he was born, and stood as it were *ab Origine*^c. Of this State there are^c D. 28. 1. 15. ^{Gloss. ib.} three things to be considered: The first relates to the Liberty or Freedom of a Man; the second concerns his Family; and the third respects the Nation or Country, unto which he belongs, as a Subject or Citizen^d. And^d D. 12. 1. 4 1. ^{Gloss. in v. status.} in these three several Conditions I shall consider Man, either *absolutely* or *relatively*, in the following Titles. I shall here survey him first *absolutely* or *simply*, as he is a Man in his natural Capacity, without any regard had to Domestick or Civil Society. And then in the five next Titles I shall take a View of him in relation to others, as he has both a natural and a civil Capacity.

Now under the word *Man* or *Person*, in respect of Sex, we reckon both
° D. 50. 16. 15. Man and Woman to be comprehended, (for so the word *Homo* ° in the
Text signifies,) and likewise an Hermophrodite, who, according to the Pre-
° D. 1. 5. 10. valency of its Sex, is deemed to be a Man or Woman^f: And in a doubt-
ful case, Hermophrodites are reputed as Males; and, according to *Bal-*
§ Inl. 12. 1. 6. *dus* ^g, they are capable of *feudal* Estates. The Law further takes notice of
55. n. 10. 11. the Male Sex, whether castrated, or frigid and impotent: But of this here-
& 12. after. A Man is said to be *perfect*, that wants nothing in his Form, which
is common to human Nature; and *imperfect*, if he suffers, or be an Eunuch
h I. 1. 11. 9. born^h. Monsters, that are not born according to human Shape, as having
two Heads, and the like, are not reckoned as Children in regard to their
i D. 1. 5. 14. Parents Estatesⁱ: But yet they are of advantage to the Mother in respect to
k D. 50. 16. the *Jus trium Liberorum*^k. Those Persons that are in the Womb, are
135. looked upon as Persons already born, whenever any Benefit accrues to
l D. 1. 5. 7. & them, or comes in question^l; for Life begins from the first Infusion of the
26. Soul, and even when the Infant is in the Womb: But yet Children in the
m D. 1. 5. 7. Womb are of no advantage unto other Persons^m; because personal Privi-
n D. 24. 3. 13. leges are only extended to those to whom they are grantedⁿ. The Birth
of a Child is by Law adjudged to be *legitimate*, if it comes within the
o D. 1. 5. 12. tenth *Lunar* Month, or forty Weeks, and after the Month complete^o. It is
& Gloss. ib. also allowed, that a Woman may have five Children at a birth; because she
has so many Receptacles in her Womb. The Condition of Women is worse
p D. 26. 7. 42. than that of Men in several Particulars^p: For that the Mother has not the
q D. 1. 5. 9. power over her Children as the Father has^q; nor can Women adopt Chil-
dren, unless it be through the Indulgence or Grant of the Prince in com-
r I. 1. 11. 10. fort to them for the loss of Children in the Wars^r, &c. nor can they bear
s D. 50. 17. 2. publick Offices in the State^s, and the like, unless there be a Custom or
peculiar Privilege in favour of them. But in some respects their Condition
t C. 2. 45. 2. is better than that of Men^t: Of which more largely hereafter under the
Title of Women in their civil Capacity.

The Life of Man is of so great a Value, that the Law pardons every
u D. 48. 1. 1. thing which is done in Defence and Preservation of it^u. The Term of a
Man's Life is usually computed to the space of a hundred Years: And
we have a pretended Reason given by *Dioscorides* the Physician, why this
Term of Years should be looked upon as the longest space of Man's Life,
viz. because the Heart of Man, for the first fifty Years, grows two Drachms
every Year; and from fifty to a hundred decreases as many, says he:
And hence, according to him, it happens, that the Life of Man does not
exceed a hundred Years. This seems to me to be a meer Figment and In-
vention of his own Brain; because the contrary is true in Fact; Men
living to a much longer Period of Time: And yet the *Egyptians*, as re-
v Lib. 11. corded by *Pliny*^v, were of the same opinion with this eminent Natura-
c. 37. list. And *Varro* likewise observes^v, that this Term of a hundred Years
v Varr. de was thought by the *Romans* to be the longest Period of Man's Life; in-
Ling. Lat. somuch as the Cryer at the *Ludi Seculares* was wont to call the People to
those Sports and Pastimes, *which no Man yet had ever seen*, nor ever
would see again. These Sports were held but once in a hundred Years.

The next thing, which I shall contemplate, is, the Age of Man in re-
spect to its several Degrees or Stages. Now the word *Age* in *Latin* stiled
Ætas, does not only belong to Persons, but even to Things and Seasons,
as will appear from what I shall add hereafter. In respect of Persons, ac-
cording to the Imperial Constitutions, and the Lawyers, this is called Age,
which includes *Infancy*, *Childhood*, *Puberty*, *Youth*, *Manhood*, and *Old*
Age; or, according to others, Man has six Ages. The first is stiled *In-*
fancy, *quasi fandi impos*, for in the Law the Infant is supposed not to
speak

speak till he is seven Years of Age, because he understands not what he says: And thus *Infancy* ends in the seventh Year complete, both in Male and Female. The second is the *Pupillary Age*, in *Latin* stiled *Pueritia* or Childhood: And this in Females determines in the twelfth, and in Males at the fourteenth Year complete. The third is termed *Puberty* or *Ætas adulta*, that is to say, the growing Age: And this, according to the *Civil Law*, is compleated at twenty-five Years, and is then called full Age^w, ^w D. 50. 5. 2. and not before. But, by the Grant or Indulgence of the Prince, a Man may become a Major at twenty Years of Age, and a Woman at eighteen^x: ^x C. 2. 45. 2. Yet in some particular Cases a larger Term of Years is required in Men; as thirty^y, forty^z, fifty^a, sixty^b, or seventy^c. According to the Laws of ^y Nov. 137. some Countries, regularly speaking, full Age is at twenty-one, as in *Eng-* ^{c. 2.} *land* and *Scotland*; in other Countries at eighteen, as in the Kingdom of ^a C. 1. 3. 4. *Naples* and *Sicily*, by a particular Constitution. See *Joh. Arnono de Dif-* ^a D. 38. 1. 35. *ferent. Juris Cesar. & Regn. Sicil.* and in some other Countries not till ^b D. 50. 6. 3. the twenty-eighth Year of their Age. The fourth Age is stiled *Youth* or ^c C. 10. 3. 1. 10. *Juventus*: And this is bounded at fifty Years. The fifth Age is stiled *Manhood* or *Ætas Senilis*, which I will interpret *Gravity*: And this continues from fifty to seventy. And the sixth Age we may properly call *Senectus* or *Old Age*: which is not limited by any Term of Years. Puberty may be said to be threefold. For the Time of *Puberty* is in our Books sometimes said to be *plenum*; as when a Person arrives at fourteen Years of Age^d. *Secondly*, it is said to be *plenius*; as when a Person comes ^d I. 1. 22. 6. to seventeen Years of Age: At which time he may be an Advocate, if he thinks fit^e. *Thirdly*, the time of *Puberty* is sometimes said to be *ple-* ^e D. 1. 1. 3. v. *nissimum*; as when any one is willing to adopt or arrogate a Person into his ^{Pueritiam.} Family. A Person is by the *Civilians* said to be *Pubertati proximus*, or to border upon *Puberty*, who is ten Years and a half old^f; and such a Per- ^f Gloss. in l. son is capable of a malicious Design, and of doing an Injury^g, and may ^g I. 3. 20. be liable to an Action of *Deceit*: For in *Delictis*, such a Person is deem- ^g D. 50. 17. ed as a Person of full *Puberty*^h, but then he ought to be more gently ^h D. 47. 2. 23. punish'd than one of riper Years. But some of the Doctors think, that this Matter in respect of a Pupil's Malice, ought to be left to the Discretion of the Judge; since in Children, one Person comes to Ripeness of Understanding before another; and such as are educated in the City, sooner learn the Business of Fraud and Subtlety than such as are bred up in the Countryⁱ, and one Country or Climate produces Children more versute and ⁱ Dec. in cunning than another^k. The Ancients judged of *Puberty* in Males, not ^l 1. 11. 1. only by the Number of their Years, but also by the Habit and Disposition ^{D. 50. 17.} of their Bodies, as the *Canonists* do now in respect of Matrimony. But the ^k Gloss. in l. 4. Emperor *Justinian*, looking upon it as an immodest thing even in old Wo- ^{D. 41. 3.} men to have the Inspection of Mens Bodies, did therefore order, that *Puberty* in Males should begin immediately after fourteen Years of Age complete^l, and in Women after twelve Years complete¹. ¹ I. 1. 22. pr.

Servius Tullius, the sixth King of the *Romans*, according to the Testimony of *Aul. Gellius*^m, divided the Age of Man only into three different ^m Lib. 10. Degrees or Stages of Life, viz. into *Childhood*, *Youth* or *Manhood*, and ^{c. 28.} *Old Age*. The first extended to seventeen Years of Age: And when a Person was of this Age, and fit (as he conceived) for the Service of the State, he entred him on the military List; and thus he continued till he was forty-six Years of Age, and was called a young Man or a Junior; but after this last Age, he was stiled an old Man or an Elder. So that, according to his Division of Age, Persons were term'd *Pueri* till seventeen Years of Age, *Juvenes* till forty-six, and after that during the Remainder of their Lives they were called *Senes*. The Lawyer *Ulpian*ⁿ follows the Divi- ⁿ D. 2. 15. ^{8. 10.} sion

sion of *Servius Tullius*. But, generally speaking, among the *Romans*, the Division of Age was into *Youth* and *Old Age*. *Youth* being from the Age of seventeen, till the Age of forty-five, called the *military Age*; and *Old Age* after forty-five, till the End of a Man's Life. And as the first of these is sometimes stiled a *robust* ° Age; so the other is sometimes termed the Age of *Infirmity* °. *Varro* will have the Division of Age to be according to the following Degrees or Stages of Life, extending the first to the Age of fifteen; the second to the Age of thirty; the third to the Age of forty-five; the fourth to the Age of sixty; and the fifth to the End of every Man's Life. The first he calls the Age of *Puerility*. The second the Age of *Adolescence*, or the *growing Age*, from the *Latin Word Adolescendo*; because during that time, Man's Body is always growing. The third he stiles *Juventa*; because till the Age of forty-five Men are able *juvare Rempublicam*, to aid and assist the Commonwealth in the Business of War. The fourth he terms *Senium*, from the *Latin Verb senesco*; because the Body of Man begins to grow old. And the fifth he calls *Senectus*; because at that Age the Body sinks and labours under the weight of old Age. But in the Sequel of this Work I shall rather follow the Lawyers than the Grammarians and Physicians; and divide Age into the six aforesaid Periods of Life. The Age of *Puberty*, *Ulpian* stiles *Ætas Prætextata* °: For from fourteen till seventeen Years of Age the Children of all Persons of Quality wore the Robe or Gown called the *Prætexta*, which at the last Age they changed for the *Toga Virilis*, or the Habit of a Man. ° The Age which follow'd *Puberty*, was the *just Age* °, sometimes called *lawful*, and sometimes *perfect* or *full Age*; though the *Ætas justa* is sometimes taken for the Age of *Puberty* °. On the other hand, Non-Age ° or the Age of a Minor, is in *Latin* stiled *Ætas imperfecta* °.

There are many Advantages accruing to Age: As Precedency in some respects; and Exemption from Offices, and the like in others, hereafter to be noted. Both the *Civil* ° and *Canon* Law give great Deference and Submission to old Age: nor ought we to wonder at it, though it be despised in some Countries, since old Men may be well presumed to have more Prudence and Wisdom than raw young Men, having acquired Knowledge unto themselves by long Use and Custom, and from the Experience of Things. And this is so far true according to the *Code* °, That if any one shall say, that an old Man has not more Prudence than a young one, he is bound to prove it by fifteen Witnesses °. Hence it is, that if several Witnesses are found contrariant to themselves in their Depositions, those shall be preferr'd by the Judge, who excel the others in Point of Age, provided they be of equal Integrity °. Secondly, among the Privileges of old Age, we may reckon this as one, *viz.* That old Men cannot upon any account be put to the *Rack* or *Question*, nor vexed with any kind of Torture; yea, not even with the *Ferula* °: For if an old Man has *de facto* been put to the *Rack* or *Torture*, and has thereby made a Confession of some Crime, such Confession shall not affect or prejudice him °. The *Lacedemonians* had so great a regard for old Age, that even their Ambassadors would not sit down in the Presence of an old Man standing.

The Age of a Person may not only be proved by Witnesses, but also by Instruments, according to the *Gloſs* °: And a Register-Book makes a full Proof of a Person's Age, especially if it be sworn, that such Register is faithfully kept. Though a Mother may be admitted to prove the Age of her Child; yet she does not make the Proof, which another Witness does °. A Person, who affirms himself to be a fit and qualified Person in respect of Age, to obtain any Office, and the like, ought to prove his Age: and a Man may prove his Age by the Testimony of a Neighbour or a Kinsman, if

if he be older than himself. Though, generally speaking, every Person is presumed to be a Minor, unless the contrary be proved^b; yet in the case^b *D. 4.4.43.* of Restitution *in integrum*, a Person is presum'd to be a Major, unless he proves himself to be a Minor; and the Reason is, because his Minority is the Foundation of his Intention, which every one ought to prove. So again, if a Person be condemned of a Crime by the Aspect of his Body, which is a good Presumption of a Man's Age, he ought to prove himself not to be of a proper Age for such Condemnation, if he would excuse himself^c.

^c *D. 4.4.25.*

The fourth thing I shall here observe regarding a Man in his natural Capacity, is his State of Health, which may be lost two several ways, *viz.* by a Distemper of the Mind, and a Disease of the Body. A Man may be said to be disordered in Mind three several ways. As *first*, by *Ideocy* or an entire want of Understanding, as the Fool is; which may happen to a Person either by Nature, or by some vehement Sickness or Indisposition of Body, which affects the Mind, and destroys the Faculties of the Understanding. *Secondly*, by *Madness*, which is also a Disease of the Mind, and is usually occasion'd by some irregular and impetuous Hurry of the animal Spirits, commonly called a *Frenzy*. *Celsus* says, there are three Kinds of Frenzies. The first is that which happens from a Fever, in which case the sick Person rambles in his Discourse, and talks he knows not what, without speaking his own Thoughts. The second proceeds from Grief and great Trouble of Mind, without any Fever at all. And the third Kind, is, when Men grow fanciful and whimsical by false Images or Appearances of Things, and lose their Understanding; as in the Spleen and deep Fits of Melancholy. But of this by the bye. *Thirdly*, A Man may be said in Law to lose his Understanding by *Prodigality*, (for the Law likens a *Prodigal*, who knows no End or Measure of his Expences, unto a *Madman*; and makes almost the same Provision for him, as it has done for a *Madman* or an *Idiot*, interdicting him the Administration of his Estate^d; and the Judge assigns him a Curator till he becomes prudent and discreet^e.) The Law nulls all Obligations, Alienations, and Contracts, which he is engag'd in, unless it be such as tend to his advantage^f: In which respect his Condition is better than that of a *Madman*; because a *Madman* has no Will or Understanding at all, but is like a Man that is absent or asleep, or like an Infant^g: whereas the *Prodigal*, as a Minor, has some Seeds of Discretion in him, and is only compar'd to a *Madman*, when he acts like one by squandering away his Estate. There are two sorts of real *Madmen*; those that are *continually* out of their Senses, who are not allowed to do any Act, and are never punish'd for the commission of any Crime, or Breach of the Laws^h; and those whose Madness does sometimes abate, and admit of *lucid* Intervals. These are under the same Circumstances with other Men, and during that time have all the Advantages of the Lawⁱ. They have power, during an Intermision of their Madness, to make a Will and all legal Contracts, notwithstanding a future Return of their Madness. But of *Madmen*, *Prodigals*, and *Idiots* I shall hereafter more fully discourse under a particular Title.

^d *D. 28.1.18.*

^e *D. 27.10.1.*

^f *D. 45.1.6.*

^g *D. 50.17.5.*

^h *D. 1.18.13.*

^{sc} 14.

ⁱ *D. 28.1.20.*

^{4.}

A Person is said to be diseased or unsound in respect of his Body, who labours under any *Disease* or *Imperfection* of Body, (for the Law distinguishes between *Morbus* and *Vitium Corporis*, making the word *Morbus* to signify a temporal Imbecillity of Body, but the word *Vitium* to denote a perpetual Impediment:) and thus an Imperfection is rather a perpetual Defect of some natural Organ or Faculty of the Body, than a Disease. *Cicero* in the fourth Book of his *Tusculan* Questions, makes this distinction, saying, that the word *Morbus* signifies a Corruption of the whole Body: But the word *Vitium* points out an Illness, when some Parts of the Body

are attended with some Defect or Weakness; as Blindness, Deafness, Lameness, &c. See also the second Book of *Galen's* Therapeuticks^k, and the fourth Book of his Symptoms^l. *Sabinus* the Lawyer defines a Disease to be a Habit of Body contrary to Nature; rendring the Body unfit for the End and Use which Nature design'd it for^m. But this only by way of Criticism. A Disease may be said to be either *fontick*, or not. A *fontick* Disease is that, which renders a Man unfit for any Businessⁿ; as a Fever, Palsy, &c. And such a Disease is a good Plea or Excuse for a Man's not obeying the Judge's Summons. A Disease which is not *fontick*, as Deafness, Dumbness, Blindness, Lameness, &c. does not afford such an Excuse, if a Proctor or Defensor may be had. A Disease not *fontick* is perpetual, or for a time only^o. If the three first Defects are perpetual, they hinder a Man from doing some Acts of Law, as I shall observe hereafter in its proper place. And thus much for the present, touching Man in his natural Capacity.



T I T. II.

Of the State, Quality, and Condition of Man in his relative Capacity, according to the Law of Nations.

THE relative State or Condition of Man depends either on the Law of Nations, or else on the Civil Law of this or that Community. According to the Law of Nations, the State of Man is either a State of Freedom, or a State of Servitude^p, in other Terms called a State of Bondage and Slavery; and as such I shall treat of it under this Title. Hence the ancient Law of Nations distinguished all Men into Freemen or Bondmen; and herewith did the *Roman* Civil Law agree. I call it the ancient Law of Nations; because Slavery, as it was anciently practis'd among the Heathens, not suiting with the Christian Religion, (which looks upon all Men alike, as proceeding from one common Parent, and created for one and the same end) is now in all Christian Nations worn out and abolished. For it seems to be against Christian Charity, and that Brotherly Communion which we stand obliged by to another, to exercise such an absolute Dominion over any, whom Nature and Religion have made our Equals. Those hard and severe Laws of Servitude, therefore, which were in use among the old *Romans*, whereby Slaves were excluded from the Participation of all Civil Right whatsoever^q, and could not so much as marry, nor have any Estate of their own, nor bring any Action in their own Name; must needs now fail of their Use and Vigour, as being an incongruous State.

Freemen or *Liberi*, are so called from the *Latin* word *Libertas*, as having a free Power and natural Liberty of doing whatever they judge proper to be done; unless they are either hindered by some Force, or forbidden by some Law to act in this manner^r. And *Cicero* in his Offices defines Liberty or Freedom to be a power of living according to the way a Man would wish to live: *Libertatis proprium est sic vivere ut velis*, says he. And the same Person, again, in his Paradoxes says, That Liberty is the Power of living according to a Man's Wish. Bondmen or Vassals are in *Latin* stiled *Servi* from the word *Servitus*; and they were they, who had not this Liberty, but were by an establish'd Constitution of the Law of Nations, (contrary to the Law of Nature) made subject to the Dominion and Property of another Person. For in the beginning, Nature knew no such distinction as *Bond* or *Free*; these Names of Distinction being only imposed on Men by Fortune, after Bondage was introduced by the Law of Nations.

By the Law of Nature, the State and Condition of all Men was one and the same: All Men being born to Freedom till Mankind afterwards, by Captivity^c, departed from hence, and entered into a State of Bondage.^{c I. 1. 3. 3.} For Servitude or Vassalage first proceeded from Wars, which were introduced by the Law of Nations^s; after Things ceased to be in common, and^{s I. 1. 3. 2.} Property was established among Men. Then it was the *Nimrods* and mighty Hunters of the World were opposed by force; and Men entered into mutual Leagues of Defence against these devouring Monsters, which produced Conflicts and Contentions among Nation and Nation, Society and Society. And as Men were made Prisoners by the conquering Party, this power, which one Man had over another as his Bondman, was first granted by the Gentiles as a Benefit, and on the score of Humanity, for the Preservation of such, who, surviving the Slaughter of the War, came into the Hands and Power of the Conquerors: And from hence the Prisoners thus saved were in *Latin* stiled *Servi, à Servando*^t. And thus those Persons that were^{t I. 1. 3. 3.} so taken by the Enemy in Wars, according to the Law of Nations, were also stiled *Mancipia, quia manu capiuntur*. So that from what has been said, it is not lawful for us, according to the Law of Nations, to kill our Enemy, after he is taken Prisoner: which many Persons think to be only true, when he is brought within our Camp, Garrisons, or other Presidial Jurisdiction. For it is an Act of the greatest Cruelty to kill a Man that has once surrendered himself to us, and contrary to that Humanity which one Man owes and professes to another. And this was what obtain'd in the Heathen World. But at present, among Christians, Persons taken in War, and called Captives, do not in any wise by their Captivity become Bondmen: and we never make use of this Law, unless it be against those Barbarians the *Turks*, who in the like manner reduce all Persons taken from us under the severest Degrees of Bondage. For, among Christians, the ancient Laws of Captivity are not practised; nor are Men taken Prisoners in War expos'd to Sale as formerly^u, nor esteemed as Vassals. But these Laws relating to^{u I. 1. 3. 3.} Seizures in War, are only observed in respect of such Things, which do by the right of War belong to the Captors. Thus Bondage and Servitude had its Rise from the Law of Nations, and was only afterwards confirmed by the *Civil* Law unto the *Romans*: And though Divines tell us, that it was allow'd by the Law of God given unto the *Jews*, for which they cite the Book of *Exodus*^v; yet St. *Paul* assures us, that *with God there is no Bond*^{v Cap. 21.} or *Free*. A Bondman was *volens volens* (as we say) compelled to obey his Master; and as to his Person and Goods, they were entirely at his Master's Disposal. Hence it came to pass, that by the *Civil* Law, (the greatest part of which is founded on the Law of Nations) Bondmen and Servants were deemed as no Persons among the *Romans*, though by the Law of Nature all Men were equal^w, as aforesaid.^{w D. 50. 17.}

Now Persons were said to be Bondmen by the Law of Nations, as well^{32.} as by the *Civil* Law, several ways. *First*, by *Captivity*: For Persons taken Prisoners by the Enemy in War, as already hinted, did heretofore become Bondmen or Vassals unto the Captors, and they might be either sold or retain'd as the meer Property of those that took them. They were looked upon as their Goods and Chattels; and, having no Goods of their own to dispose of, they could not make a Last-Will and Testament^x:^{x I. 2. 12. 1.} But now as Persons taken Prisoners in War do not become Slaves, they retain the power of making a Will, though they die in the Hands of the Enemy, which anciently they could not do, (as is just now related,) till the Emperor *Leo* afterwards ordain'd^y, that Captives should have the power of^{y Nov. Leon.} making a Last-Will and Testament. *Secondly*, Persons became Bondmen by^{42.} *Birth* or *Nativity*, as being born from Handmaids or Bondwomen, tho' their Father was a Freeman at the same time^z: For though a Child other-^{z I. 1. 3. 4.} wife,

wife, in respect of Dignity and Nobility (as to its Birth) follows the Condition of the Father, and not the Mother^a; yet in the present Case, in respect of Freedom or Liberty, the Birth follows the Condition of the Mother, and not the Father^b; and this in favour of the Birth or Child born. For the Mother's Condition may be of advantage to the Child at three several Seasons, *viz.* at the Time of Conception, at the Time of its Nativity, and at the intermediate Time, *viz.* between the Mother's Conception, and the Birth of the Child^c. For if the Mother was found to be a freed Woman at any one of these times, the Child was said to be free, though she was at other times a Bond-woman. The third Cause of Bondage or Servitude, rather according to the *Civil* Law than the Law of Nations, was Sale: which happen'd, when a Freeman of twenty Years of Age suffer'd himself to be sold, that he might have a Share or Part in the Purchase-Money; and this was also according to the *Jewish* Law^d. See *St. Paul's* Epistle to *Philemon*, and other places of his Writings. A fourth Cause or Reason of Servitude, was, when any Person was by some Sentence or other condemned to be put to death on the Score of some capital Crime: For then he became a Servant unto Punishment, and lost his liberty^e. Hence, according to the *Roman* Law, he could not make a Will, unless the Punishment was remitted to him, and he was restored to his former State of Liberty or Freedom^f. For the Emperor had it in his power to restore a Person to his Honours, Order, and all other Things, and to re-instate him in his former Condition^g; as the seditious *Rusticks* were in the Year 1525, restor'd by an Ordinance of the Imperial Diet; and in the Year 1526, in a Diet at *Spires*, to their ancient Fame and Honours. But at this day, no Freeman can be made a Servant unto Punishment by any Sentence^h. And, therefore, Matrimony is now retain'd with a Person, that is condemn'd to the Mines or Gallies; such Person retaining the *Peculium* which he has acquir'd by his Labour and Industry in the Gallies themselves; and he may bequeath the same by a Last Will and Testament.

As to the Right and State of Vassals, there is now no Distinction madeⁱ: For the Lord has the same Right and Power over all his Vassals, and one is not more a Servant than another: But yet they differ in respect of the Order and Offices, which they heretofore discharged. Among our *Saxon* Ancestors, the most inferior Rank of Vassals were those, which of later times were called *Villains*: But even these were anciently divided into two degrees, the superior which were term'd *Free-Lazzi*. These were such as had been Slaves, but had purchased their Freedom by their Deserts; and tho' they had escaped the Depth of Bondage, yet they did not attain to a full Pitch of Freedom: For tho' the Lord might quit his own Title of Bondage, yet no Man could be made free without the Act of the whole Body. And therefore the Historian^k says, that they were scarce above Servants. These are now-a-days among the Number and Rank of such as are called Copy-holders, who have the Privilege of Protection from the Laws, but no Right of Vote in making of Laws. The most inferior of all were those that were anciently stiled *Lazzi* or Slaves; being the Dregs of the People, and wholly at the Will of the Lord to do any Service, or to undergo any Punishment; and yet the Magnanimity of the *Saxons* was such they abhorr'd Tyranny: And hard Usage by Beating, Torture or Imprisonment, was seldom used amongst them, in order to compel them to serve. This wrought Reverence in these Men towards their Lords or Masters, and maintain'd a kind of Generosity in their Minds, that they did many brave Exploits, and many times not only purchased their own Freedom, but even brought Strength and Honour to the Kingdom. Among the *Romans* there were some that were stiled *Statu-liberi*^l, that is to say, such as had Liberty or Freedom appointed them for a Time certain, or under certain Conditions,

^a D. 1. 5. 19. Gloff. ib.

^b C. 3. 32. 7.

^c D. 1. 5. 5. 2.

^d Deut. c. 15.

^e D. 48. 19. 29.

^f D. 28. 1. 8. 1.

^g C. 9. 51. 1.

^h Nov. 22. c. 8.

ⁱ I. 1. 3. 5.

^k Tacitus.

^l D. 1. 5.

D. 40. 7. 1. pr.

Conditions, but in the *Interim* were really Vassals. There were some others that were really Vassals, tho' they had some Specialties of Freedom granted them; for they were in the Property of some Persons, and being annexed to the Estate or Glebe-Land, were transferr'd together with the Estate; and these were in *Latin* termed *Ascriptitii* or *Glebae ascripti*. Tho' the Law compares Monks unto Bondmen^m, because they are subject to their Abbot in all^m Nov. 5. c. Things, and having no Property of their own, cannot make a Will (for all^s their Acquisitions go to the Monastery :) yet a Monk really is a Freeman, and not a Bondman; and therefore, may be a Witness and the like. I have said, that among *Christians* there is no such Thing as a true Bondman at this day, in the manner as heretofore among the *Romans*, and almost all other Nations. For that which was not lawful for Bondmen or Vassals to do, by the *Roman Law* and the ancient Law of Nations, our Servants may do with Impunity, and according to Law; since they may be Witnesses, make Wills, &c. Among Freemen there was anciently this Distinction, *viz.* Some were stiled *Ingenui* or Free-born; and others were called *Libertini* or *Liberti*ⁿ, being such as were manumis'd: But of theseⁿ I. 1. 3. 5. I shall discourse hereafter. D. 1. 5. 5. 2.

From what has been said it may well be inferr'd, that Bondage or Servitude was that state of Man, whereby he became subject to the Dominion and Power of another Person. And hence whatever Bondmen acquired went to their Master's Profit and Advantage^o, and they had no Property in it themselves^p; they might make the Condition of their Master better, but cou'd not render it worse by any Obligation contracted by them^q; their Acts were looked upon as the Acts of their Master in most respects, and not ascribed to themselves^r; their Masters heretofore had the absolute Power of Life and Death over them, tho' this Power was afterwards limited^s: But tho' they had not the Rights and Privileges of Persons in civil Society; yet they had all the Rights which flow from Communion, according to the Law of Nature and right Reason^t; because in this Respect all Men are equal. I have just now hinted, that Masters had heretofore the Power of Life and Death over their Bondmen or Servants according to the Law of Nations, and might therefore put them to Death with Impunity: which great Power was seemingly supported on this Principle, *viz.* That every one is Moderator and Arbiter in his own Estate, and as he is to judge touching the Abuse thereof^u; the Law seemed not to regard, what the Master did with his Servant, in whom he had a full Property, and over whom he had an absolute Power by saving his Life in War. Yet this Power of putting Bondmen to death according to Pleasure, was afterwards taken away, unless it was in some special Cases^v. So that a Person putting his Bondman to death without Cause shewn, became then as liable to Punishment as if he had killed a Freeman or another's Vassal: and by the *Cornelian Law*^w touching Murder, might be criminally impleaded for it, this Law making no Distinction between a Bondman and a Freeman. But Masters might give moderate Correction to their Servants by stripes and other gentle Methods of Chastisements^x, after the same manner that a Husband may correct his Wife upon good Reason given, and a Master his Scholars^y. I. 2. 9. pr. & 4. I. 1. 8. 1. D. 50. 17. I. 3. 1. 8. pr. I. 18. 1. D. 50. 17. 32. D. 5. 3. 25. 11. I. 1. 8. 1. D. 48. 8. 1. w I. 1. 8. 1. C. 9. 19. 1. un.

A Bondman by the *Civil Law* cou'd not be put to the *Rack* or *Question*, and interrogated against his Master, except it were in some certain Cases^z: nor cou'd he by the *Roman Law* be a Witness against him; and as he cou'd not be a Witness against him, or in any other Case, so neither cou'd he be a Judge, and the like. If Masters treated their Bondmen with greater Austerity than was fit, and they fled to the Church or Prince's Statue, their Masters were compelled to sell them upon reasonable Terms, and to receive the Price^z: For tho' Fortune had brought them into Bondage; yet they ought still to be looked upon as Men, since they became Bondmen only by necessity,

^a C. 3. 1. 6. fity, and not by Choice or Nature. Tho' regularly speaking, a Bondman
 could not be in Judgment against his Master^a; yet it was otherwise in eight
 several Cases: For in Causes which related to the State of a Bondman, and
 in some Causes which concern'd the Interest of the Publick, a judicial Pro-
^b D. 5. 1. 53. cess might subsist between a Bondman and his Master^b. As when his Ma-
 ster suppress'd a Will, wherein he declar'd that he had left his Bondman his
 full Liberty. *Secondly*, In a Case wherein the Master had defrauded the
^c D. 48. 12. Publick of Provisions in order to sell them dearer^c, as by regrating and fore-
 1. stalling the Market, &c. *Thirdly*, In the case of cheating the Publick of
^d I. 1. 18. 9. any Tax, Toll or Tribute, by embezzling the Publick Money^d. *Fourthly*,
^e D. 5. 1. 53. In the Case of coining false Money^e. In these and the like Cases a Bond-
 man might accuse and appear in Judgment against his Master. And thus
 much touching the State of Man as he was anciently distinguish'd into *Bond*
 or *Free*, according to the Law of Nations, and the *Civil* Law. For tho'
 this Distinction is now at an end; yet I thought it necessary to say something
 hereof, in order to explain and clear up several Parts of the *Roman* Law,
 which wou'd not be well understood without it. I proceed in the next
 place to consider the State, Quality and Condition of Man in his relative
 Capacity as a Citizen or Subject.



T I T. III.

Of the State, Quality, and Condition of Man in his relative Capacity, as a Citizen or Subject, according to the Rules of Civil Polity.

^e C. 12. 24. **T**HE State of Man according to Civil Polity, which *Vultei*us calls the
 Order of Men, is that Condition, wherein a Man becomes a Member
 of this or that Society or Civil Community: And herein he is stiled a *Sub-*
ject or a *Foreigner*, to this or that Commonwealth. Now a *Subject*, or
 what is the same Thing, a *Citizen*, is in *Latin* stiled *civis*, and is a Per-
 son that is under the Care and Protection of any State, or the Laws thereof;
 and in this Sense the Prince himself may be called a *Citizen*, tho' not in
 our vulgar way of Speech a Subject. Among *Citizens*, in the largest Ac-
 ceptation of the word, some are vested with Dignity and Jurisdiction, as the
 Prince is, and under him all subordinate Magistrates, or else such as have
 no Jurisdiction at all. Among those that are cloathed with Dignity with-
 out any Jurisdiction, we may reckon all such as act in a publick Capacity;
 as the Priesthood, Soldiery, the Prince's Counsellors otherwise called *Pal-*
atines^f, all Advocates, and Professors of liberal Arts and Sciences, and the
 like. These are called Persons of a publick Employment in a State. A-
 mong Subjects that act in a private Capacity, and are vested with some
 Dignity, may be reckon'd Noblemen and Gentlemen, who bear some En-
 signs of Honour commonly stiled *Atchievements* or *Coats of Arms*. And
 lastly, there are some Subjects, that are without any Dignity at all, but
 are distinguished by their Trades, and a certain vulgar way of Life; and
 these we call *Mechanicks*.

A *Foreigner* is he, who, though he be a Freeman, yet is not a *Roman*
 Citizen, or a Subject of that State, (for I shall here principally treat of *Ro-*
man Citizens:) And is such a Person as has not the Enjoyment of civil Rights
 in any other State than that unto which he belongs as a Subject or Liege-
 man.

man. A *Roman* Citizen was he, who was Subject to the *Roman* Empire either by Birth ^g; or else by being made a Denizen ^h. But a *Foreigner* was he, ^g D. 50. 1. 1. who was neither a Citizen by Birth or Country, nor by Denization. By De- ^{pr.} ^h C. 10. 43. 3. nizen, I here mean such as is an Alien or Stranger born, but has submitted to be a Subject to this or that Empire, or Prince's Dominion. Whenever a *Foreigner* travel'd out of his Country, he could only claim the Benefit of the Law of Nations ⁱ; having no Right to the Law or Pri- ⁱ D. 48. 19. vileges of any particular Place. But by an Imperial Constitution of *Mar-* ^{71. 1.} *cus Antoninus* all Strangers were naturaliz'd into the Body of the *Roman* State ^k. This Right of Denization was lost by the *Media Capitis Di-* ^k D. 1. 5. 17. *minutio*, viz. When a Person was condemn'd to perpetual Banishment, called *Deportation* ^l; or revolted over to the Enemy ^m; or was declar'd ^l I. 1. 16. 2. an Enemy to the State. By the Law of *England* an Alien or one born out of ^m D. 4. 5. 5. the King's Liegeance, or under the Obedience of another Prince, cannot purchase Lands *to his own Use*, for the King shall have them by his Prerogative: neither can he purchase any Freehold or Lease for Years, &c. nor can he be Heir by descent, though an Alien Friend. But an Alien or Foreigner may maintain personal Actions, because an Alien may trade and traffick, buy and sell, take a House for Habitation during his Residence as necessary for Commerce, if a Merchant; but he cannot maintain either real or mixt Actions. An Alien Enemy shall maintain neither *real* nor *personal* Actions till the Nations are in Peace. An Alien may be made a Denizen by the King's Letters Patents, or naturalized by an Act of Parliament; which is more perfect and effectual than Denization by Letters Patents. See *Calvin's Case* in *Coke's Reports* ⁿ. ⁿ Rep. 7. fol. 1.

Among *Foreigners* or *Aliens* there are some that are stiled *Confederates* or Allies; others that are called *Enemies*; and a third sort that are termed *Neuters*. *Confederates* are those, with whom any State has entered into a strict Alliance by some League or Covenant ^o. Those are called *Enemies*, ^o D. 49. 15. 7. with whom we have any just War ^p: For all others warring with us are ^p D. 49. 15. termed *Rebels* and *Free-booters*. They are stiled *Neuters*, who, being in ^{24.} Amity or Peace with a State, neither declare War in favour of it, nor against it. By the *Civil* Law a Prince may compel his Subjects to return to the Place of their Birth, and to inhabit there. Because, tho' they may constitute a dwelling unto themselves in another Place, yet they cannot renounce or quit the Right of their Allegiance to him: And if Subjects will not return to their Native Country on the Prince's Summons, he may confiscate all their Goods and Estates lying within the Precincts of his Dominions; for they owe him a natural Allegiance. In respect of Property, indeed, a Prince has no Right unto the Goods and Estates of his Subjects; but in respect of Jurisdiction and Protection, all Things do belong to him, and he may tax them for the Use and Service of the Publick, tho' he cannot by the Plenitude of his Power divest any Man of his Property.

I have already observed, that a Person becomes a Subject or Citizen either by Birth ^q or Denization ^r. And this Right of a Citizen the Sons may derive from the Father, tho' the Father had his Dwelling or was an Inhabitant in another Place ^s. I mean *really* an Inhabitant ^t: For a Declaration ^t D. 50. 1. 6. 1. before Witnesses, that he claims to be an Inhabitant there, does not make ^t D. 50. 1. 20. him to be a real Inhabitant ^u; no, though he has purchased a House ^u D. 50. 1. 20. there ^v. Inhabitants or *Incolæ* are in the *Code* stiled *Municipes*; but ^v D. 50. 17. very improperly: For an *Incola* is he, who has his Dwelling in some ^{13.} State or City where he was not born, and not he who lives in the Country ^w, tho' the Word *Incola* in an improper Sense may be extended to ^w C. 10. 3. 3. any kind of Inhabitant, whether in Town, City or Country; and it matters not where he was born. Those Persons in City or Town are called *Municipes*, that are capable of Civil Offices therein, from the two *Latin* Words *munus* an Office, and *capio* to take: But, in a general Acceptation of the Word,

word, all Persons were term'd *Municipes* that were Subjects to the *Roman* Empire; and thus the word *Municipium* may be applied to a State or Common-wealth, as well as to a lesser Community.

It has been a question among some, whether an Inhabitant, once settled in a Country, may depart from thence without leave? That the Inhabitants may not remove in Multitudes, it is certain; for the State could not subsist under such a Liberty: But it ought not to be deny'd to single Persons, if they discharge their Debts contracted there, and if the Publick there does not particularly stand in need of their Presence. Thus a Person who is an Inhabitant in such a Town or Place, cannot by his own Will prejudice the Place of his original Settlement, nor exempt himself from thence^w, though he should transfer his Dwelling to another Place or City^x; for he still remains a Citizen where he was born, and may be claimed. The Law distinguishes between the Place of a Man's Birth or original Settlement, and the Place of his Dwelling, which is arbitrary. That is called the Place of his Birth or original Settlement, where he had his Abode from his Father, (for every Person follows the Settlement of his Father, and is a legal Inhabitant where he was born) and this Settlement no one can change, tho' he may remove himself from the Place of such original Settlement. Thus as a Son or Child born in just Wedlock at *Rome* follows the original Settlement of his Father, and becomes a Subject or Citizen there^y; so on the other hand, a Bastard or spurious Issue follows the original Settlement of its Mother^z; unless it be otherwise provided by some municipal Law^a. A Man's Dwelling, in *Latin* called *Domicilium*, is the Place of his Abode or Residence, whether born there or not: For he may, upon divers Accounts and at different Seasons, have his Residence in several Places; this not being absurd, when he equally divides his Time of Residence in this manner^b. There are some Persons who have their Dwellings in respect of some Dignity, Office, or Employment, which obliges them to a Residence in some certain Place: But this is not their only Dwelling, if they may be elsewhere at a Time, which does not require their Residence; for then these Persons have another Dwelling elsewhere. Thus Senators or Parliament-Men, in respect of Honours, and not of undergoing Offices, seem to have a Dwelling in the Capital City of the State^c, as *Rome* was heretofore to the *Roman* Senate. But tho' Senators seem to have a Dwelling in the Capital City, as aforesaid; yet they are also understood to have a Dwelling in the Place where they were born, and to be Inhabitants there, because their Dignity rather seems to have given them an additional Dwelling than to have changed their original Settlement^d. Again, for example, a Court-Officer that is in waiting for half a Year, or an ancient Receiver of the publick Revenues, who attends every alternate or third Year, is said to have his Dwelling in the Place of his Receipt during the Year that he exercises his Office. And military Officers and Soldiers, that are in the Service of the War, are likewise said to have their Dwellings in the Places where they are employed upon Duty; and they may have their ordinary Residence in some other Place^e.

Manumission also heretofore, when it was in use, made a Person to be an Inhabitant or a Citizen, because a *Libertus* or Freedman always followed the original Settlement of his Patron^f: And if he had several Patrons, he followed the Settlement of them all^g. Thus Adoption also made a Person to be an Inhabitant of this or that Place: For the Person adopted ever followed the original Settlement of his adopting Father^h. Yet the Right of a Person's original Settlement was not changed by Adoption: For the Person adopted and his Descendant was oblig'd to undergo civil Offices in both Places, *viz.* as well in that City where he was born,

as

as in that wherein he was made a Citizen by Adoption¹. And thus tho' Inhabitants do enjoy all the Privileges, Honours and Advantages of the Town or City, where they are made free; yet, on the other hand, they shall be oblig'd to undergo all the real and personal Offices of that Place where they have their Birth, called their original Settlement, tho' they have their dwelling elsewhere^k. If Persons shall refuse to undergo such Offices as are enjoin'd or laid upon them, they shall be liable to make good the Damage thereof to the State¹, unless they can defend themselves by some Plea of Age^m, Dignityⁿ, and the like.

Though a Person be oblig'd by his natural Allegiance unto the Prince, under whose Dominions he was born, and cannot quit the same as long as such Prince will give the Protection of a Subject to him; yet a Man may renounce his being an Inhabitant of this or that City, and at pleasure transfer his Dwelling unto another place, unless he has been called unto some Office in the City: For then he ought first to go through such Office, if he has a mind to quit the Place^o. If any Dispute or Controversy shall arise touching the Right of a Man's being an Inhabitant in this or that Place, it shall be determined before the Judge, who has the care of that City or Place committed to him, where a Man is said to be an Inhabitant, and chosen unto an Office^p. Every Man is said to have his *Dwelling*, where he maintains himself or his Family; or has the principal Part of his Estate lying: And from hence no one ought to depart, unless it be upon particular Avocations; for if he departs from hence, he is said to be a Traveller, and if he returns again, his Peregrination ceases^q. If a Person quits his own Country, and becomes a Subject to another Prince, he is said to owe such Prince a legal, and not a natural Allegiance.



T I T. IV.

Of the State, Quality, and Condition of Man in his relative Capacity, as he is a Master of a Family.

I SHALL next take a View of Man as he is the Master of a Family. Now the word *Familia* has several Significations in Law^r, relating both to Things and Persons. As it relates to Things, it comprehends an Inheritance and the Substance of a Man's Goods^s: And thus it is used in several Laws of the twelve Tables; as *proximus Agnatus familiam habeto*, let my next of Kin by Agnation have my Estate, or be my Heir. See also *Ulpian* on the Digests^t. But I shall make use of it here, as it has a Regard unto Persons. At first only Servants were couched under this Term; and then it denoted a Body of Servants from the Verb *Famulor*, to serve: But afterwards it came to point out such Persons as live by Nature, or by Law, in the same House, under the Power of one Person, who was stil'd the *Paterfamilias*, though he was a Minor and really had no Children, but so called by reason of a future Possibility^u. In this last sense the Word *Family* includes the Wife, Children, Grandchildren, &c. It differs in Signification from the word *Gens*, because the word *Gens* is a Term of a larger Acceptation, and is made use of to include all such as are of the same Stock or Name in what degree of Kindred soever they are, though it be a thousand Degrees

grees off. But the word *Family* has a more narrow Relation; and is only here extended to such as are of Kin by the Father's side, called the *Agnati*, as those that were of Kin by the Mother's side were stiled the *Cognati*. And thus *Agnation* is properly said to be of such Kindred as are in the Family of the *Paterfamilias*, whether they be emancipated or not: For tho' they are emancipated; yet they still remain to be of the same Stock or Lineage by the Father's side. *Agnation* does not go beyond the Great Grandfather: But the word *Gens* extends itself to the Great Grandfather's Great Grandfather. *Agnation* was prefer'd before Cognation, because Cognation proceeded by Persons of the Female Sex, who had no power in the Family: But *Justinian* has now taken away this Distinction of Agnation and Cognation in several Respects, as I shall hereafter remark. As the Father or Master of the Family had a greater Power over his Children by the *Roman* Law than any other Father or Master had, (for he could sell his Son on the account of Hunger^u, and had the Power of Life and Death over his Children): So he was liable to answer for his Son's Contracts in many Cases; his Son and him being deem'd in Law to be one and the same Person^v. By the ancient Law whatever the Son acquir'd was added to the Father's Substance, and the Son had no Property of his own. The Son could not call the Father into a Court of Judicature, without the Father's Leave; nor could the Son marry a Wife without his Father's Consent^w. But of this Relation between a Father and a Son, I discourse under a particular Title touching the Father.

^u C. 4. 43. 2.^v C. 6. 26. 11.^w I. 1. 10. pr.^x D. 50. 16. 196. 1.^y D. 25. 2. 1. & 2.^z D. 38. 1. 48.^a D. 23. 3. 14. fin.

All the Kindred descending from the Master of the Family centred in him; and till the Law released them from this Power, either by Death or Emancipation, he had a full Power over them. When the Master died, his whole Power and Authority devolved unto the next below him in point of Succession, and then he became the chief Head or Master of the Family: But this Power could never go out of the Male Line. When I say to the next below him, I mean to all and every Person in an equal Degree: As when he had three or four Sons, they all became equally Masters of a Family, as being subject to the Power of no one above them. Tho' we often meet with the word *Materfamilias* in our Law-Books, yet it denotes nothing more than a Wife, or matronly Woman; for she had no power went along with the Title^x.

A Person in his relative Capacity may be farther considered as a Husband, who has an Authority over the Wife, if she be emancipated from the Power of her Father. The Husband and Wife make but one House or Family in Law: And as a Husband and Wife are but one Flesh, the one cannot be a witness for the other. In Honour of Matrimony a civil Action, that carries any Infamy or Turpitude along with it, is denied to the Husband against his Wife: For tho' she should steal her Husband's Goods, whilst Matrimony subsists between them, yet she shall not be liable to an Action of Theft. But if a Divorce happens, she may then be liable to an Action *Rerum Amotarum*: And if she steals his Goods after a Divorce, she is liable to an Action of Theft^y. A Wife by the *Roman* Law was in the Power of the Father, and not of the Husband, unless it were *ad debitum Carnis* and *quoad obsequia Matrimonii*, tho' she be presumed to be the same Person with the Husband: But by the Law of the *Lombards*, the Wife is not in the Power of the Father; and this Law we follow here in *England*, and in other Places at this day. But tho' the Wife was in the Power of the Father, according to the *Roman* Law; yet she was obliged to work and labour for her Husband, as owing him conjugal Duty^z; and was likewise bound to yield him Reverence and Respect^a. The Wife, in respect of Name and Dignity, is deemed to follow the Name

Name and Dignity of her Husband; yea, tho' she be a Widow, till such Time as she passes to a second Marriage^b. She likewise follows the Jurisdiction and Dwelling of her Husband, as soon as she is coupled to him in Matrimony, and becomes a Citizen or an Inhabitant of that Place, unto which her Husband belongs^c; and is taken and deemed to be of the same original Settlement with her Husband^d. If the Husband be legitimate by Birth, he makes his Wife legitimate too, tho' she was born otherwise. Though a Husband ought to maintain his Wife during Matrimony, even though he has marry'd her without a Dowry; yet in many Cases he is excus'd from allowing her Alimony: Among which this is particular, *viz.* When she goes away from him without such Causes as the Law approves of^e; because the Wife must then impute it to herself. But the Wife's being an excommunicated Person is not a just and sufficient Cause of denying Alimony, as *Baldus* observes^f. But a Husband may deny Alimony to his Wife, who goes away from him or elopes on the score of committing Adultery; and in this Case she shall also lose her Dower, if Adultery be proved upon her. A Wife ought not to depart from her Husband, because he gives her a Blow or gentle Correction; for a Husband may correct his Wife with Moderation^g: But if he beats her immoderately, with Clubs and the like, she may leave him, and he shall be oblig'd not only to maintain her out of his House, but shall likewise, according to *Baldus*^h, be punish'd for his Excess. And for great Cruelty the Wife may be separated from her Husband *quoad Thorum*, tho' the Wife had given cause for such evil Treatment. I say, a Husband, though he ought to defend his Wife from all Injuriesⁱ, because he himself is then injur'd as well as her, may yet give her moderate Correction: And therefore, a Husband, who has given Caution not to offend his Wife by cruel Usage, does not contravene such Caution, if he gives her gentle Correction. A Wife loses her Dower not only for Adultery, but if she goes into the Bath with Men; or suffers herself to be wantonly kissed, or dishonestly embraced by a Man, for such Kisses and Embraces are the Fore-runners of Lust and Venery.

The Husband, as the Scripture phrases it^k, has a Power over the Body^l of his Wife; he may command Service and Obedience from her, tho' not in every Case, but only in such Things as are lawful and honest, and within the Limits of a Reverential Love and Duty. And this Authority is gain'd by Consent^m; for by Nature there seems to have been a Parity of Power. She may give and buy indeed, according to the *Civil* Law, without the Consent of her Husbandⁿ; but he ought not to be affected with her Contracts or Debts^o, or Injuries committed by her, nor shall the Wife be affected by the Debts or Act of her Husband. But by the Laws of *England* it is otherwise; for with us the Husband and Wife are adjudged as one Person in Civil Cases, and have but one Estate. She is also disabled to contract without her Husband's Consent: For if she is a sole Merchant, she is presum'd to have his Consent. They cannot give or grant to each other during the Marriage^p. The Husband may be prosecuted for the Debt and Damages committed by the Wife: And in these Cases the Laws of other Nations are almost now the same with the Laws of *England*. See *Groenvege* on the *Code*. The Wife with us loses her Dower for the Treason of her Husband^q, contrary to the Rules of the *Civil* Law. By the *Civil* Law the Wife is said to be *Domina dotis*, Proprietor of her Dower, and to have the Possession thereof in Law^r, tho' the Husband has the Usefruct. But the Goods, which the Wife has, are in a doubtful Case presum'd to be among the Husband's; and this in order to take away every filthy Conjecture. A Person, that has two Wives or more, is infamous by the *Civil* Law; and it is the same Thing, if he has one Wife and a Concubine: so that Concubinage is forbidden in this Case, which was otherwise

wife allow'd of. A Husband ought not to exact Modesty and Chastity from his Wife; when he himself does not exhibit an Example thereof: And therefore, in the Case of Adultery the Law allows the Wife to recriminate, if she be accused thereof by her lewd Husband, and there shall be a mutual Compensation of Crimes.

I have before hinted, that a Wife cannot be bound by any means for her Husband's Debts, tho' she should often confirm the same by an Intercession of Suretiship, unless it evidently appears, that the Money borrow'd was converted to her Behoof and Advantage, or came into her Substance^r; or unless it be otherwise by some Statute or Custom. Hence it comes to pass, that by an Arret in *France*, a Woman may become a Surety for her Husband^f; if she shall have first renounced the Benefit of the *Senatus-consultum Velleianum*, which forbids Women to become Sureties, or (at least, gives them an exception if sued hereupon^s. And *Gail* in his *Practical Observations* assures us^t; that it is a received Custom in *Germany* for the Wives of Merchants or Tradesmen to be bound for their Husbands, as being in Partnership with them. Moreover, 'tis to be observed, that as a Wife cannot be bound for her Husband, so neither can she prosecute an Injury, which is done to her Husband, because (perhaps) Wives do participate of the Husband's Dignity, and not Husbands of the Dignity of their Wives. Therefore, a Person, that violates the Dignity of the Wife, is at the same time reputed to violate the Dignity of the Husband: But not *è converso*. There is nothing more agreeable to Humanity, than that the Husband should partake in the fortuitous Cases of the Wife, and the Wife bear a Part in the fortuitous Cases of the Husband^u: For which reason a Divorce does not ensue upon the Account of each other's Madness, as I have noted elsewhere.

^r Nov. 134.
c. 8.

^f Papon. 12.
Arrest. 3.

^s D. 16. 1. 2.
& 2.

^t Lib. 2. obs.
90. n. 5.

^u D. 24. 3.
22.



TIT. V.

Of the State, Quality and Condition of Man in his relative Capacity, as a Father and Son: and of the Father's Power over his Children; and how it is dissolved.

THE Relation between Parents and their Children is another natural Foundation which God has laid for Civil, or rather Domestick Society: therefore I shall here consider Man under the State, Quality and Condition of a Father and a Son; and say something of the Father's Power and Jurisdiction over his Children, as it was anciently practis'd among the *Romans*; and how the same was dissolved and at an end. By a *Parent*, in a strict Sense of the word, I mean both Father and Mother; tho' sometimes in a large Acceptation of the word *Parent*, a Father, Grandfather, Great Grandfather, and all Superiors in the right Line are included: as also a Mother, Grandmother, Great Grandmother, and the like^v. By a Son, or the word *Filius*, the Law often includes both Son and Daughter, whenever the Subject Matter requires it. Under the word *Liberi* we mean not only Sons and Daughters in the first Degree of Descent, but even sometimes Grand-Children, Great Grand-Children, &c^w. The Father is he, whom lawful Marriage or Wedlock points out to be such. I here speak of a just and natural Father, and not of such as is made a Father by Law, as by Adoption, Legitimation, and *per oblationem curiæ*: of which hereafter.

^v D. 50. 16.
51.

^w D. 50. 16.
220. pr.

Now all Children, that were born of *Roman* Citizens or Subjects, in just and lawful Wedlock, were by the *Civil* Law said to be in the Power of the Father, till they were released from thence either by Death or Emancipation: And the Father and Mother were in *Latin* called *Pater-familias* and *Mater-familias*; and the Children were stiled *Filii-familias*. By the Power of the Father I understand that Right, whereby Sons and Daughters, and other Descendants in the Male-Line, were, in respect of their Persons and Estates, entirely subject unto the Father, and Grandfather by the Father's side, as to some certain Effects, which I shall remember by and by. And tho' Reverence and Obedience be due to Parents according to the Law of Nations^x; yet this special Power was only introduced by the^x *D. 1. 1. 2.* *Civil* Law, as the Text affirms^y. *Plutarch* remarks, that *Romulus* was^y *I. 1. 9. 2.* the first Founder of this Law, viz. That the Son should remain in the Father's Power as long as he liv'd. If the Grandfather was living, the Father and the Son were in the Power of the Grandfather, and the Father had not this special Power over his own Son till the Death of the Grandfather, because the Father himself was a Dependant. The *Romans* claim'd this kind of Paternal Power, as peculiar unto themselves, pretending^z, that^z *I. 1. 9. 2.* no other Nation exercis'd so great Power over their Children. But by their leave this is false in Fact. For we collect not only from the Customs of some other Countries, that this Power was founded on the Law of Nations, but likewise from the Reasons that support this Paternal Power, that it was elsewhere thus practis'd and receiv'd. In ancient *Gaul* Children were in the Parents Power, and the Power of Life and Death was granted unto the Father, after the same manner as it was heretofore used among the *Romans*. See *Cæsar's* Commentaries touching the *Gallick* War^a.^a *Lib. 6.* And many of the written Customs in several Places of *France* do evince the Truth hereof, which do even prescribe the Methods of Emancipation. So that this Paternal Power there must precede the same, since Emancipation is nothing else but the releasing of a Person from the Power of the Father. *Chassaneus* observes, that it was thus adjudged in his Time in the Parliament of *Paris*, viz. That the Children of the *Gauls* were in the Parents Power. Indeed *Accursius* and his Followers say; that the *Franks* had not their Children in their Power: But this is not true, if by *Franks* he means the ancient *Gauls*. But at this day this Power is entirely abolish'd in *France* by Disuse and Custom, or much diminish'd (at least) as it is in other Countries govern'd by the *Roman* Law. The Power of the Father among the *Persians* carry'd a Tyrannical Sway along with it; and, according to *Aristotle* in his *Ethicks*^b, was the same as that of a^b *Lib. 8. c.* Master over his Bondmen or Servants. Under the secondary Law of Na-^{20.} ture, otherwise called the Law of Nations, this Right or Power was surely admitted: Because *Abraham* would have offer'd up his Son *Isaac* as a Sacrifice unto God^c, which certainly he would not have thought of, if any^c *Gen. 22. v.* Law had forbid it.^{5.}

But all Children, that had Fathers and Grandfathers, were not in their Power by the *Civil* Law; but only such as had lawful Parents, as above hinted. And, *First*, it is to be observ'd; that only Fathers, and not Mothers, had this Power. For tho' the same Reverence ought to be exhibited to all Parents alike^d; yet Women had not that Power over their Children,^d *D. 2. 4. 6.* which was introduced by the *Roman* Law^e; and from hence it is called^e *I. 1. 11. 10.* the *Power of the Father*. This only accrued to such as were subject to the *Roman* Empire, if we may believe the *Institutes*^f. *Secondly*, It is to^f *I. 1. 9. 2.* be noted; that the Grandfather's by the Father's side, had their Grand-Children in their Power, even in the life-time of the Father^g, as just now^g *I. 1. 9. 3.* related: For as long as the Grandfather lived, the Father had not his own Son in his Power, since the Father himself was in the Power of the Grand-
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father;

father; and he, who is subject to the Power of another, cannot have another in his Power ⁿ.

ⁿ D. 48. 5. 21.

I shall next enquire, what Rights and Advantages accrued to the Father by this Paternal Power, and what the Children reaped from thence. The Doctors since the Gloss, and (particularly) *Aretinus* observes; That the Effects of this Power were several, and chiefly consisted in the following Articles, viz. *First*, The Father had an entire Power of Life and Death over his Son, and might thro' necessity of Hunger, sell or mortgage him ⁱ. For the Legislators did not believe, that Parents would exercise so much Cruelty as to put their Children to death without just Cause, and thus this Power would conduce much in order to procure them that Duty and Reverence, which Children ought to pay to their Parents. But this Power of Life and Death over their Children, has since been restrain'd by Imperial Constitutions, as well as by the Judgments of the ancient Lawyers ^k: yea, Parents were afterwards severely punish'd, that put their Children to death ^l, tho' they did it upon a just Account, since the Power of the Father ought to consist in Piety and Affection, and not in Cruelty ^m. But even after this exorbitant Power, which was given by the Law of the 12 Tables was taken away, the Father had a decent Power of correcting his Children, and of disinheriting them too, if he expressly declar'd the Causes thereof ⁿ. *Secondly*, The Father could not be impleaded or called into a Court of Judicature by his Son in Civil Causes, as long as he was in the Father's Power, without the Father's leave ^o: But it was otherwise in criminal Causes, where the Interest of the Publick was concern'd. For by the *Civil Law* the Father and the Son were deem'd to be one and the same Person in Law ^p. Thus if a Son, that is above twenty-five Years of Age, shall refuse to take the Heirship on himself, the Father may do it, if the Son be in his Power: and as to the Usufruct thereof, he shall acquire what the Son should otherwise gain; and Actions shall lie for and against him in this Case, and not against the Son the appointed Heir. The Father had also an Usufruct in the Mother's Estate, which came to the *Filius-familias*; and not in these only, but in other Estates, as I shall observe hereafter. According to the *Canon Law* ^q, and the Law of *England*, a Son is permitted to sue his Father; and this is now the Practice in other Nations. *Thirdly*, By the *Civil Law* no Actions lay against Children in the Power of the Father ^r; but the Action was brought against the Father in all Civil Causes. This Part of the *Civil Law* is also now abolish'd and out of Use. *Fourthly*, Whatever the Son acquir'd, was acquir'd unto the Father's Advantage, unless in some particular Cases ^s: which Right of the Father is now gone by a contrary Custom in most Countries. *Fifthly*, That a Son in the Power of the Father could not sue another without the Father's Leave and Consent ^t: But at this day it is otherwise, if the Son be above twenty-five Years of Age. *Sixthly*, The Father had the Management and Administration of his Son's *adventitious* Goods and Estate, even against the Son's Consent ^u: But as there is now no Distinction between an *adventitious* and a *profectitious* Estate, this Part of the Law is become obsolete. *Seventhly*, There could be no such Thing as a civil Obligation formerly contracted between such a Son and his Father ^v: nor could he without the Father's Consent marry a Wife ^w; nor without the Father's Consent make a Donation *Mortis causa* ^x, or in Prospect of Death. *Eighthly*, Such a Son could not make a Testament or Codicil even with his Father's Consent, unless it were in respect of the *Peculium castrense* or *quasi castrense*, wherein he was looked upon as a *Pater-familias* ^y. By the *Peculium castrense*, I mean such an Estate as the Son got in the Wars: And by the *Peculium quasi castrense*, such as he purchased by his Profession of the Law and the like. *Ninthly*, The Father might by an Interdict *de liberis exhibendis* sue and

and

ⁱ D. 28. 2. 11.
^j C. 8. 47. 10.
^k C. 4. 43. 2.

^l D. 48. 8. 2.
^m C. 9. 17. 1.

ⁿ D. 48. 9. 5.

^o Nov. 115.
^p C. 3.

^q C. 2. 2. 4.

^r C. 6. 26. 11.

^s 2. Q. 7.

^t D. 5. 1. 4.

^u I. 2. 9. 1.

^v C. 6. 61. 8.

^w C. 6. 60. 1.
^x ib. Notat.

^y I. 3. 20. 6.

^z I. 1. 10. pr.

^{aa} D. 39. 6.
^{ab} 25. 1.

^{ac} C. 6. 22. 12.

and claim his Son, that was detained by another Person against the Will of the Son ^y. These were the chief Effects of the Father's Power over his Son or Children. I shall next examine how this Power was dissolved or came to an end. ^{D. 43. 30. per tot.}

Now the Power of the Father was first dissolv'd by the natural Death of him, who had the Son in his Power, unless he were the Grandfather: For a Grandfather might have his Grandson in his Power till the Time of his Death; and then the Son came into the Father's Power ^z, as already hinted. ^{D. 1. 6. 5.} *Secondly*, This Power was dissolv'd by the Civil Death of such Person, unless it were in a Case, where the Father or Grandfather was taken Prisoner by the Enemy: For by the *Cornelian* Law, and the Right of *Postliminy* (of which I shall treat in the Sequel of this Work more at large) such Power was rather suspended than taken away ^a. I say, that this Power was dissolved by a Civil Death: As when the Father suffer'd Deportation, or perpetual Banishment, on the Account of some Crime committed by him ^b; or was condemn'd by a Capital Sentence, whereby he became a Servant unto Punishment ^c. And it is further to be observ'd, that Deportation or perpetual Banishment dissolv'd the Power of the Father, whether the Father or Son suffer'd the same. It is called a Civil Death, because Persons, that suffer'd Deportation, were in respect of Civil Rights looked upon as dead in the Eye of the Law; since all Civil Rights were forbidden them, as Stipulations, Actions, the making of a Will, &c. Which are Acts of Civil Right; but they did not lose those Rights which were founded upon the Law of Nations ^d. *Thirdly*, This Power was dissolved by the Dignity of the Person, who was thus in the Power of his Father or Grandfather ^e: As when the Son was made a Patrician, Consul, Privy Counsellor, Bishop or the like. There is a Law, indeed, in the *Code*, which implies, that a Bishop might be under the Power of the Father: But this Law was afterwards corrected by a *Novel* Constitution ^f, enacting, that the Episcopal Dignity should release a Person from the Power of the Father *quoad Profecium*, but not *quoad Damnum*. *Fourthly*, When a Father went into a Monastery, he lost the Power of a Father: For then he became subject to the Power of the Abbot; and therefore, could not have a Son in his Power ^g. And the same might be said of a Son, when he entred into a Monastery: For, then being lost to the World, he was releas'd from the Power of his Father; and passed into the Power and Obedience of his Abbot. For those, who enter into Monasteries, devote themselves and their Estates unto God (as is pretended) in such a manner, that they cannot dispose of the same by Will. But a Monk so far retains the Right of the State, that he may succeed his Father by Will, and also be his intestate Heir, as being his Son ^h. *Fifthly*, The Power of the Father was determin'd by Prescription: As when the Father suffer'd his Son for ten Years or more to act as a Freeman or an independent Person ⁱ. *Sixthly*, This Power expir'd by Emancipation; which was twofold, viz. *Legal* and *Imperial*. The *Legal* was that, which was made according to a Law of the twelve Tables ^k by an imaginary Sale and Manumission: as it was heretofore wont to be, when the *Natural* Father sold his Son to a *Fiduciary* Father, who immediately sold him back again to his *Natural* Father; so that the Son was then with the Father in the Place of a Bondman, and not of a Son: And when he was manumis'd and discharg'd by the Father from this Dominion, it was called *Emancipation* and not *Manumission*, quasi à manu missio; that is to say, a dismissing of him from the Power of the Father. The other way of Emancipation ^l, was, when the Father appear'd before a competent Judge together with his Son, and declar'd that he was willing that his Son should be discharg'd out of his Power; the feigned or imaginary way of selling his Son being exploded in

- ^m I. 1. 12. 6. *Justinian's Time* ^m. And not only a Son, but even a Grandson might be emancipated. A Father might emancipate his Son, and yet retain his
- ⁿ I. 1. 12. 7. Grandson in his Power: and so *vice versa* ⁿ. The last way whereby the Power of the Father was extinguish'd, was by specifick Adoption made by an
- ^o I. 1. 12. 8. Ascendant ^o. For a Person adopted by a Grandfather on the Father or Mother's side, was releas'd from the Power of his *natural* Father, and passed into the Power of his adoptive Father: But it was otherwise, if he
- ^p C. 8. 48. 10. was adopted by a Stranger or an extraneous Person ^p. Some will have it, that Captivity releas'd a Person from the Power of the Father: For when
- ^q D. 49. 15. a Father was taken Prisoner, he became a Servant unto the Enemy ^q, and
^{24.} could not have another in his Power. But this Opinion of theirs I have already given an Answer to in some measure, saying that this Power of the Father is only suspended for a Time, and not entirely lost: For the *Jus liberorum* is depending on the account of *Postliminy*; because if such as are taken by the Enemy shall return again to their own Country, they shall
- ^r I. 1. 12. 5. be admitted to all their ancient Rights ^r. Wherefore a Father on his Return shall have his Children again in his Power; because, by a Fiction of Law, *Postliminy* supposes him, who has been thus taken, to have been
- ^s I. 1. 12. 5. always in the City or Realm ^s. But if the Father die in the Enemies Hands, the Son seems to have been *sui Juris* or independent from the Time that the Father was taken Prisoner. This was true, if the Person was made a Prisoner in a just and lawful War, which was denounc'd or decreed by the *Roman* People against others, or by others against the
- ^t D. 50. 16. *Roman* People ^t. For if a Person was taken by Robbers or Pyrates, he did not become a Servant unto the Enemy in the Sense of the Law ^t, as
^{118.} I shall hereafter note.
^{19. 2.}

A Father was in three Cases obliged *in Solidum*, by virtue of a Contract made by his Son, whom he had in his Power. As *first*, when he became a *Mandator*, or acted by Commission, for such a Son. *Secondly*, when any Contract was made with such a Son by the Father's Order and Authority. And *thirdly*, when the Father became a Surety for Money lent, or for which Credit was given unto such a Son ^u. In the first Case he was bound by an Action *ex Mandato*. In the second by an Action *quod Jussu*. And in the third case by an Action *ex Stipulatu*, as an extraneous Person would be oblig'd. He that lent Money to a Son under the Power of a Father, contrary to the Decree of the Senate, called *Senatus-Consultum Macedonianum*, cou'd not receive a Surety from the Father, who had the Possession of the Son's Effects *Jure Peculii* on the Son's Death; because he had neither a *Civil*, nor a *Prætorian* Action against the Father; nor was there any Inheritance on which Account the Surety might be obliged, but only a *Peculium* which the Father had the Occupation of. But at this day he has the Right of an Intestate's Estate: And therefore a Surety may be taken on the account of an Hereditary Obligation, if the Contract be lawful. A civil Action lies effectually against the Son, if his Contract be a lawful Contract. If a Father wilfully killed his

^v C. D. 9. 17. Son, he was punished as a Parricide ^v, notwithstanding this great Power;
^{1. un.} which was enacted by a Law subsequent to the twelve Tables: And if he treated his Son ill without a Cause, he was compelled to grant him Emancipation ^w. And such evil Treatment was judged of from the Atrocity of the Fact: As when he exceeded due Measure in correcting him.

^w D. 37. 12. 5.



T I T. VI.

Of the State, Quality, and Condition of Persons in their relative Capacities, as Husband and Wife.

A Person in his civil Capacity may be farther considered as an *Husband*, in whom an Authority over the Wife is lodged, if she be emancipated from the Power of her Father: For by the *Roman Law*, without such Emancipation, the Wife was in the Power of her Parent, and not of the Husband, unless it was *quoad debitum carnis*^x, ^x C. 6. 46. 5: & *quoad obsequia Matrimonii*; but this is otherwise by the *Lombard Law*. But tho' a Wife was thus in the Power of the Parent, according to the *Roman Law*; yet she was obliged to work and labour for her Husband^y. ^y D. 38. 1. 48. But now the Husband has a Power over her Body, as the Scripture speaks^z; ^z 1 Cor. c. 7. he may command Service and Obedience from her, not in every Case, but ^{v. 4.} only in such as are within the Limits of reverential Love and Duty. He may give her moderate Correction^a, as I shall observe by and by; and ^a Nov. 117. this Authority is gained by *Consent*; for by *Nature* there seems to have ^{c. 14.} been a Parity of Power. He ought to defend her from Injuries^b; because, ^b D. 47. 10. as she is presumed to be the same Person with her Husband, he himself ^{1. 3.} is then injur'd as well as his Wife. A Husband and Wife make but one Family or House in Law: And hence it is inferr'd, that one cannot be a Witness for the other, since a Husband and Wife are but one Flesh. A Wife must follow her Husband^c; and shall enjoy all the Privileges and ^c D. 50. 1. 32. Honours of her Husband^d; which she retains after his Death as long as she ^d C. 12. 1. 13. remains a Widow. She is esteemed to be of the same Country with him. If he is legitimate by Birth, he makes his Wife legitimate too, though she was born otherwise: And though she may buy^e without her Husband's ^e C. 8. 56. 6. Consent, yet he ought not to be affected by her Debts or Contracts^f, or the ^f C. 4. 12. 1. Injuries which she commits; nor the Wife by the Debts or Act of her Husband. By the Laws of *England*, the Husband and Wife are deemed as one Person in civil Cases, and have but one Estate. She is also disabled to contract without her Husband's Consent; for if she is a sole Merchant, she is presumed to have his Consent. They cannot give or grant unto each other during the Marriage^g, as they may by the *Civil Law*^h. The Hus- ^g 1. Inst. 1. 12. 3. band may be prosecuted for the Debt and Damages committed by the Wife; ^h D. 24. 1. and in all these cases, the Laws of other Nations are almost the same with the Laws of *England*. See *Groenvegen de ll. Abrog.*ⁱ and *Vinnius* his Com- ⁱ Lib. 1. ment^k. The Wife with us loseth her Dower for the Treason of her Hus- ^k Tit. 25. band, ^l Edw. VI. cap. 11. ^l §. 19.

A Wife by the *Civil Law*¹, may alienate her *Paraphernalia*, or those Things ¹ C. 8. 54. 1. which the Wife has in her Husband's House, for her own proper use, and make a Grant thereof; but she cannot alienate or give away her Dowry, even with her Husband's Consent, by reason that the *Julian Law de Fundo Dotali* forbids the same. See the whole Title *de Fundo Dotali*^m. But, ^m D. 29. 5. by the customary Laws of *France* and *Saxony*, a Wife can alienate or give away nothing without her Husband's Consent, being under the Care and Guardianship of her Husband. And the Reasons hereof are many: *First*, Because the Female Sex labours under such an Infirmary of Judgment, that

ⁿ Dec. in l. 2.
D. 50. 17.

a Wife may happen herein to act contrary to her own advantageⁿ. *Secondly*, Because when a Woman is married, or led into her Husband's House, she does immediately, according to the *Saxon* Law, upon the Consummation of Matrimony, pass into the power of her Husband, and all her Goods are under the Guardianship of her Husband: And this Law, in this respect, we follow here in *England*, and in most other places at this day. *Thirdly*, Because the Husband has an Expectation of succeeding to all her moveable Effects, *Geradâ exceptâ*.

^o C. 5. 17. 8.
D. 38. 1. 48.
D. 33. 1. 13.
fin.
^p In l. 22.
D. 24. 3.

Though a Husband ought to maintain his Wife during Matrimony, even though he has marry'd her without a Dowry or Wedding-Portion; yet in many cases he is excused from allowing her Alimony: Among which, this is particular, *viz.* when she goes away from him, without such a Cause as the Law approves of^o; because the Wife must then impute such Departure to herself. But the Wife being an excommunicated Person, is not a just cause for the Husband to deny her Alimony, as *Baldus* observes^p. But a Husband may deny Alimony to his Wife, that goes away from him on the score of committing Adultery, and she shall lose her Dower in this case, if Adultery be proved upon her: And she is presum'd to leave her Husband on the score of committing Adultery, when she departs from him without a warrantable cause, and converses with another Man. But a Wife ought not to separate herself from her Husband, because he gives her a Blow or gentle Correction, for a Husband may correct his Wife with moderation^q, as aforesaid. But if he beats her immoderately with Clubs, and the like, she may leave him, and he shall be obliged not only to maintain her out of his House, but shall likewise, according to *Baldus*^r, be punish'd for his excess: And for great Cruelty, the Wife may be separated from her Husband, *quoad Thorum & Mensam*, though the Wife had given cause for such evil Treatment. A Husband, who has given caution not to offend his Wife by ill Usage, does not contravene such Caution or Security, if he gives her moderate Correction, because he may do it as just now related. A Wife loses her Dower not only for Adultery; but if she goes in the Bath with Men, or suffers herself to be wantonly kissed, or dishonestly embraced by a Man: For such Kisses, and indecent Embraces, are the Forerunners of Lust and Venery; and a Woman ought to keep herself modest, and free from Temptation.

^q D. 24. 3. 15.

^r In l. 5.
D. 9. 2.

A Person that has two Wives or Concubines, is accounted infamous by the *Civil* Law; and it is the same thing if he has one Wife and a Concubine: So that Concubinage, which was otherwise allow'd of among the *Romans*, is forbidden in this case. A Husband may oblige himself to his Wife in a certain Penalty, in case that he shall keep a Concubine, or in case that he should renew his Conversation with a Concubine: Because it is the Wife's Interest that her Husband should not keep a Concubine, lest she should be defrauded of her conjugal Dues. And this Law tends to the Conservation of good Manners: For Wives, how chaste soever they may be, are provoked and much exasperated by their Husbands keeping of Concubines. A Husband, tho' he retains a Concubine, or commits Adultery with another Man's Wife, cannot be accused of Adultery by his own Wife, as may be seen hereafter under the Title of *Adultery*. But the Husband may accuse his Wife of Adultery: And the reason assign'd for this difference, is, because the Husband receives a greater Injury from the Adultery of his Wife, upon the account of his Offspring being rendred doubtful thro' the Adultery of his Wife, than the Wife receives from the Adultery of her Husband. In *France*, the Prosecution of this Crime of Adultery does not belong to the Wife, but to some publick *Actor* or *Defensor*: yet she may set forth her own Interest that is affected thereby; and by her Complaint demand her Interest to be considered, to the end that she

she may obtain her Jointure, which she shall have separate from her Husband, if she can prove her Husband defiled with the Crime of Adultery. For a Husband ought not to exact Modesty or Chastity from his Wife, when he himself does not exhibit an Example thereof.

The Goods, which a Wife has, are in a doubtful case presumed to be the Goods of the Husband, or among her Husband's Effects: And this in order to take away every evil Suspicion, or filthy Conjecture. But yet a Wife is said to be the Mistress and Proprietor of her own Dower, and to have the possession thereof in Law ^f. In honour of Matrimony, an Action that carries any Infamy or Turpitude along with it, is denied to the Husband against his Wife: For tho' she should purloin or steal her Husband's Goods, whilst Matrimony subsists between them; yet she shall not be liable to an Action of Theft ^f. But if a Divorce happens, she may ^{D. 25. 2. 1.} then be convened in an Action *Rerum Amotarum*; and if she steals his Goods ^{2. 8. 29.} after a Divorce, she is liable to an Action of Theft ^f. Tho' a Wife, not ^{D. 25. 2. 1.} yet emancipated, was in the power of the Father, and not of the Husband, ^{8. 2.} according to the *Roman Law*, (as already remembred:) yet, according to *Angelus*, she could neither make a Will, nor a Codicil, even with her Father's Consent; because her Goods brought in Marriage did belong to her Husband in some respect.

It seems contrary to natural Equity, that Persons should be molested for the Debts and Contracts of other Men. Hence it was, that by the *Civil Law*, a Wife could not be molested on her Husband's Account, nor the Husband on the Wife's Account, as above related; nor the Mother for the Son, nor the Son for the Father, nor the Father for the Son ^u: it being provided by that Law, that one Man's Estate should not be impleaded ^{C. 4. Tit. 12. 8. 13.} for the publick or private Debts of another ^v. And for this reason *Justinian* took away all odious Demands and Exactions made upon this account; it being unreasonable, that one should be the Debtor, and the Demand should be made on another. But in *Holland*, and other Places now, so great is the power of a Husband, that a Wife and her Heirs, by modern usage, may be convened on the account of any Contract whatsoever made by her Husband, in one Moiety of her Goods and Estate: And, therefore, she is in part obliged to pay a Debt, which her Husband has contracted by his prodigal and dissolute way of Life; and this, lest too narrow an Enquiry should be made into her Husband's Manners, and lest that Honour of Matrimony should receive a Blemish by frequent Altercations of this kind ^w. ^w Groenv. de ll. Abrog. If the Husband be condemned in a civil Cause to pay a pecuniary Mulct or Fine, the Goods of the Wife, and her Heirs, are liable in one Moiety of the Sum, according to *Paponius* ^x, by the Laws of *France*: But if the Husband be ordered to pay a Fine, for any grievous Crime, unto the Exchequer, and for Adultery, and the like, this shall only be paid out of the Husband's Estate. And this is the Practice in *Friezeland*. But yet, upon a Confiscation of all the Husband's Goods for a Crime committed, the Wife shall have a Moiety of what has been gained between them, reserved unto her, according to the Custom of *Antwerp*, and some other Places. Those Distinctions are not regarded with us here in *England*; but in all Fines for Offences committed by the Wife, the Husband must answer, as he must also for his own. ^x Lib. 15. Tit. Arrest.

By the *Civil Law*, a Wife cannot be bound by any means for her Husband's Debts, (as already hinted) tho' he should often confirm the Intercession, unless it evidently appears, that the Money borrowed was converted to the Wife's Behoof or Substance ^y; or unless it be otherwise received by some Statute or Custom. Hence it comes to pass, that by an *Arret* in *France*, a Woman may become a Surety for her Husband, if she shall have first renounced the Benefit of the *Senatus-consultum Velleianum* ^z. ^y Nov. 134. C. 8. ^z Papon. 125. Arrest. 3. And

And *Gail* tells us, that it is a received Custom in *Germany* for the Wives of Merchants or Tradesmen to be bound for their Husbands, as being in Partnership with them^a. There is nothing more agreeable to Humanity, than that the Husband should partake in the fortuitous Cases of the Wife, and the Wife bear a part in the fortuitous Cases of the Husband^b: And, for this reason, a Divorce does not ensue upon the account of each other's Madness, as I have noted under the Title of *Divorces*.

The Wife follows the Jurisdiction and Dwelling of her Husband, as soon as she is coupled and joined to him in Matrimony^c; and becomes a Citizen or Inhabitant of that City or Place, unto which her Husband belongs^d. She is in respect of Name and Dignity deemed to follow the Name and Dignity of her Husband, yea, tho' she be a Widow, till such time as she passes to a second Marriage^e. It has been said, that an Action *Rerum Amotarum* lies against a Wife for embezzling or purloining her Husband's Goods: And those things are said to be *amotæ*, which are concealed, hidden, carried away, or consumed *dolo malo*^f; that is to say, interverted with the Thoughts or on the Prospect of a Divorce, which afterwards happens^g. But if a Divorce does not follow, this Action does not lie, but the Effects thus removed or embezzled may be recovered by a personal Action^h: For this Action is not granted whilst the Marriage subsists; and if it be commenc'd upon a Divorce, it is dissolved upon a Redintegration of Matrimonyⁱ.



TIT. VII.

Of Children; how distinguished by the Roman Law: And of Bastards; and how many kinds of them, &c.

BECAUSE I shall have frequent occasion to speak of Children, in the course of this Work, in respect of Guardianship, Last-Wills and Testaments, intestate Successions, and the like, I will here insert a Title touching *Children*: Which are sometimes in our Books stiled *Liberi*, and sometimes *Filii* in the *Latin* Tongue, from the *Greek* Word φίλος, (as some imagine,) because we can conceive no Love equal to that, which is between a Parent and a Child, or at least (as *Cicero* observes) none ought to be so. And hence it is, that in his Epistles to *Atticus*, he says, that the Love of Parents to Children is a natural Affection and Benevolence. But this Etymology pleases not *Alciatus*, who rather thinks the *Latin* word *Filius* to be derived from the *Greek* word υἱός in that Language signifying a Son or Child, by adding, after the *Æolick* manner, a double *Gamma*, as thus Γυός: And from hence (perhaps) the *Picards* took their word *Fionx*. Others think this word *Filius* to be derived from the *Latin* word *Filum*; because Children do often in their Face, and Shape of their Bodies, which we stile the *Filum Corporis*, represent the Father or Mother: as *Virgil* remarks in the Boy *Ascanius*;

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.

For this word *Filum* sometimes signifies the Lineaments of the Face. But waving this critical Learning on the *Latin* word *Filius*, I will here consider what Persons come under the Appellation of those two *Latin* Terms, *Liberi* and *Filii*; because I shall hereafter make use of them in other Places.

Now,

Now, under the Appellation of the word *Filii*, in a large Sense, according to *Paulus* the Lawyer, are comprehended all manner of Children^k, ^{k D. 50. 16.} whether next or remote from the common Stock: But, according to the ^{48.} strict and proper Acceptation of the word *Filius*, a Nephew or Grand-child is not comprized under the same^l. And *Bartolus* and *Baldus*, in ^{l D. 26. 2. 6.} their Comments on the Law, here quoted in the Margin^m, have made an ^{m D. 28. 2. 29.} useful Dissertation upon this Interpretation. And *Alciatus*, in his Commentary on *the Signification of Words*, and *Zazius* in his Treatise of *Substitutions*, do each of them assure us, that for the sake of destroying all Cavils, the words *Filii* and *Liberi* do at this day include all Nephews or Grand-children, in *Latin* stiled *Nepotes*. But, strictly speaking, the word *Liberi* is taken in a larger Sense than the word *Filii*, and comprehends all Descendantsⁿ, even to Great Grand-children *inclusively*, whether Male or ^{n D. 27. 1. 2. 7.} Female: But it is otherwise, if the word *Filii* be made use of. The word *Filii* differs from the word *Liberi*, as a *Species* differs from a *Genus*; because those, that are called to an Inheritance under the Name of *Filii*, are said to be *pecially* called, and are only the next and immediate Issue to the Testator: But Persons called under the Name of *Liberi*, are *generally* called, and it also extends to Grand-children, &c. By the word *Filius*, in our Law-Books, a Daughter is also meant, where the Matter will bear it; though, on the contrary, a Son or a Male Child is not understood by the word *Filia*^o. Children are in *Latin* termed *Liberi*, to put their Parents ^{o D. 26. 2. 16.} in mind, that they have not a perpetual Command and Power over them. ^{D. 50. 16.} Therefore, if the Father neglects or refuses to give his Daughter in Mar- ^{122.}riage, when she is twenty-five Years of Age, without some great and important reason assign'd for so doing, she may freely contract Matrimony without her Father's Consent; and the Father ought (notwithstanding this) to give her a Wedding-Portion, according to the Bulk and Quality of his Estate, and his Abilities. Under the Appellation of *Children* we may also reckon *Grand-children*, unless it be in some certain Cases: as when the Dignity and Condition of the Thing induces the contrary, or the presumed Intention of a Person making a Law or Disposition, will have it otherwise.

There are five kinds of Children according to the *Civil Law*. The *first* distinction is of those, which are stiled *both natural and lawful*; and these are such as are born in just and lawful Marriage. The *second* is of those, that are *only lawful*; as adoptive Children, which are made such by Authority. The *third* distinction is of those, that are termed *natural only*, which are born from a Concubine or freed Woman out of Matrimony: And these are in *Latin* called *Nothi*. The *fourth* is of those, that are called *spurious* Children, and have no certain Father. And the *fifth* kind is of those, that are named *incestuous* Children, as being descended from a *nefarious* and *incestuous* Marriage^p. Those that are born in lawful Mar- ^{p Gloss. in c. 6.}riage are stiled *natural*, because they are descended from their Parents ac- ^{x. 4. 17. v.} cording to Nature: and *lawful*, because this Conjunction of their Parents, ^{Repellendi.} from whom they are born, is approved by the Law of God and Man, and by the *Civil* and *Canon Law*.

Though a *Bastard*, *natural* Child, and the like, are Names which generally import the same thing; yet there is this difference between the several *Species* of Illegitimacy, *viz.* He is said to be a *natural* Child, who is born of a Concubine, when she lives in the House with a Man, as in the Place of a Wife; and such a Child succeeds in *duobus unciis* to the proper Goods of the Concubinary, if other Children are not extant, and the Man has not a lawful Wife: But this Person we stile a *Nothus*, tho' some will have a *Nothus* to be him, who is born in Adultery; and thus *Nothus* is said to be a Son, because he seems to be such, and yet is not so. *Manzer* is properly a Person, that is born of a common Harlot or

Strumpet: But a *Spurius* and *Manzer*, I think, is the same with us. Such as are born in the beginning of the eleventh Month after their Husband's Death, are to be accounted for legitimate; but such as are born in the end thereof, are to be held as Bastards^a. The Gloss on this Law relates a Matter of Fact contrary to this Law itself, touching a Widow at *Paris*, that was deliver'd of a Child the fourteenth Month after her Husband's Decease. Nevertheless, the good Reputation which was generally conceived of this Woman's Continency, so far prevailed against the Letter of the Law, that the Reverend Judges awarded the Causes of Child-birth to be extraordinary, declar'd the Woman to be chaste, and the Child to be legitimate. But the Gloss there concludes, *viz. Hæc in exemplum trahi facile non oportet*. By the *Civil Law* a Father acquires no Action for a *natural* Son, because he is looked upon as an extraneous Person; and, consequently, cannot succeed to a *feudal* Estate. By the Law of *England*, a Bastard is a Person begotten or born out of lawful Wedlock^b: For if a Woman, big with Child, takes a Husband, the Issue born (though within six Months after) is no Bastard^c. Or if the Wife elopes from her Husband, and continues in Adultery; yet the Issue born within that time (if both be within the four Seas) is intended to be lawfully begotten. And if a Man dies, and his Wife is so big with Child, that it is easily discerned, and she takes another Husband, the Issue born within a Month, (or such a time as it is impossible he should beget it) shall be accounted the Issue of her first Husband^d. A Bastard cannot inherit, nor bring a Writ of Detinue as Heir, because such a Person is *Filius Nullius*^e in Law, *viz.* of Blood unto no one: And the Land shall escheat, where there is no Issue but such a Bastard, and no other Heir. But Marriage following after, gains him the Right of Inheritance^f, if after his Father's Death he enters before his younger Brother, or Sister, *if both be Females*, born of the same Father and Mother within Espousals^g, and continue the possession all his Life-time without Interruption. No Writ shall be awarded to the Ordinary, to certify Bastardy before three Proclamations be made in *Chancery* in three Months, *viz.* once every Month, that all Persons that have any thing to object against the Person for Bastardy, shall sue to the Ordinary for that purpose^h. By the Statute of *Merton*ⁱ, a Child born before Marriage is a Bastard, tho' the common Law, or the Order of the Church, be otherwise.

Children born of a Concubine are neither legitimate, nor illegitimate, but are of a *Medium* betwixt both, according to the *Civil Law*: And they are properly stiled *natural*, because they are born and brought forth according to Nature's Law, and are defended by no Support of other Law. And tho' the Laws have given a Name to the Issue of such a Conjunction of Man and Woman, that is to say, tho' such a Conjunction be lawful and free from any legal Punishment, according to the *Roman Law*; yet it is not such an honourable Conjunction as carries Praise and Dignity along with it: And, therefore, the Offspring of a Concubine is not deemed a Man's own *just* and *lawful* Children, but (as I have said already) are *only natural* Children. And 'tis well known, that this kind of carnal Copulation of Man and Woman, is prohibited both by the Law of God, and the *Canon Law*: And the reason why the *Civil Law* permits Concubinage, is, for the avoiding a greater Scandal; not that the Emperor approved the same as honourable and praise-worthy. But more of this, under the Title of Concubines hereafter. These *natural* Children, tho' they do not succeed the Father in point of his Estate, if he has Children *lawfully* descended; yet Alimony and Maintenance is due to them according to the Measure and Proportion of his Estate, or the Patrimonial Inheritance. But Children by *incestuous* Marriage are not so much as to be maintain'd by their Father: which being remarkable, ought to be taken great notice of; because, according

according to the *Novels*, a Father that contracts an *incestuous* Marriage, ought to be maintain'd by his Children. And from hence it is to be observed, that if Children ought to maintain a guilty Father, much more ought a Parent to maintain innocent Children. But, by the *Canon* Law, Alimony is due even to Children of this kind from their Parents, according to the Bulk of their Estates: And this Method, or Rule of Law, all confistorial Jurisdictions are wont to follow in this case. Therefore, the *Canon* Law is more in favour of Children, than the *Civil* Law: Because (perhaps) the Authors of the *Canon* Law looking upon this kind of Children to be innocent; and the Cause of *Alimony* to be a favourable Cause: or (at least) that *incestuous* Persons ought also to be maintain'd by their Children in the point of great Exigency only. But to the end, that *natural* Children may obtain all the Rights of *lawful* Children, *Justinian* has found out certain Methods, whereby they may be made lawful by Legitimation, and by a general Name be stiled *legitimate* Children. For *Legitimation* is an Act of Law, whereby Children are rendred and made lawful: or, according to *Baldus*, it is a Restitution of a *natural* Child to a full and perfect State of Blood. But of this under the Title of *Legitimation*.

Children are so enjoined by the *Civil* Law to reverence their Parents, that anciently they could not sue them without leave first obtain'd^v: nor could^v they be Witnesses against them: nor contract Marriage without their Consent²; nor charge them with any criminal Act^a. And by this Law it was, that if a Father made no Disposition or Provision for his Children, they equally divided his whole Estate between them. Tho' the *Partus* or Child born follows the Mother in respect of its State and Condition, as that if the Mother be a Bond-woman, the Child is born a Servant; yet as to its Pedigree, Family, Settlement and Honours, it follows the Father. Children conceived and born after Deportation, are esteem'd to be *lawful* Children, because there is a continuance of Matrimony^b: But Children born after Deportation, are not in the Power of the Father; because the Father by Deportation loses all civil Rights, as a disfranchis'd Person^c; the Power of the Father being a civil Right^d. Not only Sons and Daughters strictly so called; but even Grand-Children, Great Grand-Children, and others who are Descendants from these, do all come under the Name of *Descendants*. And if such Descendants are extant and surviving at the Time of their Ancestors Death, whether these Descendants are of the *first Degree*, as Sons and Daughters, or of a *second* or *further*, they only are admitted to an Intestate Heirship, or (as we call it) to an Administration, in Bar of all other Persons; because natural Reason, as a tacit kind of Law, gives the Inheritance of Parents unto their Children, by calling them unto a due Succession: As we shall see more at large under the Title of *Intestate Succession*. Though a Grandson by a Daughter be commonly reckon'd *inter liberos*^e; yet this Interpretation does not proceed in respect of Privileges: which are for the most part in derogation of the publick Welfare; and, therefore, to be taken strictly.

Tho' there is no difference between *Natural* and *Adoptive* Children, so long as they are in the Power of their Parents; yet Emancipation makes a wide difference between them. For an *adoptive* Son or Child, on the dissolution of his Adoption by Emancipation, ceases, according to the *Civil* Law, to be reckon'd in the Number of Children; and herein he is not aided and reliev'd by the *Prætor* or Judge. But a *Natural* Son, in respect of his Natural Father, tho' he shall lose the Benefit of succeeding him according to the *Civil* Law; yet he may succeed him by virtue of the Judge's Decree. Tho' Children emancipated by the *Civil* Law have no Right to their Father's Estate, by reason that the Right of *Agnation* is thereby taken away from them in respect of Testamentary Suc-

Succession, so that the Father is not oblig'd to appoint them his Heirs, or to disinherit them; yet they may be relieved by the *Prætor's* Decree contrary to the Tables, or the express Letter of the Will, wherein they are found to be passed by. Thus are they also by the *Civil* Law excluded from the Intestate or legal Succession, as being extraneous Persons: But the *Prætor* following natural Equity rather than civil Policy, may grant them the *Bonorum-Possessio, unde Liberi*, whereby they may succeed, as if they had been in the Power of the Father deceased at the Time of his Death. However, an emancipated Son cannot be styled *suus Hæres* or *Agnatus*.

We have two Decrees touching the acknowledging of Children. The ^f *first* is styled *Senatus-consultum Plancianum*, which consists of two Parts ^f. In the *first* Part whereof it is provided; that a Woman shall within thirty Days after any Divorce happens, declare unto her Husband or her Father, or if she cannot come to the Presence of them at their Houses, then to some honest Neighbours, that she is pregnant or with Child by her Husband, and the Husband shall either send Keepers *ad ventrem servandum*, to intend the Birth; or else remonstrate against her Pregnancy by him: otherwise he shall be obliged to acknowledge and maintain the Child when ^g born ^g. In the *second* Part thereof it is enacted; that such Women as shall impose a false or supposititious Birth on the Husband, shall be liable to the ^h Punishment of Forgery ^h. By the other Decree of the Senate made in the ^h Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*, every Person is commanded to acknowledge such ⁱ Issue as is born, whilst Matrimony is subsisting ⁱ: And he, who is compellable ⁱ to acknowledge a Child or Issue, is oblig'd to maintain the same according to ^k his Estate and Abilities ^k. He is deemed to be the Father of the Child, *quem* ^l *Nuptiæ demonstrant* ^l; whom Marriage points out to be such; unless he shews by very clear and evident Arguments of Reason, that it cannot be ^m his Child ^m. Children, on the other hand, if their Parents be in want, ⁿ are bound to maintain them according to their Abilities ⁿ, as I shall shew hereafter under the Title of *Alimony*: And this Duty or Incumbrance of ^o nurturing Children passes to the Parents Heirs ^o; and cannot be taken away by any Pact or Statute ^p.



T I T. VIII.

Of Emancipation and Manumission, whence so called, and what is requisite thereunto; and lastly, what are the Effects thereof.

HAVING in some of the foregoing Titles made mention of *Manumission* and *Emancipation*, as they were in Practice among the *Romans* towards Bondmen and Children; I shall here, for the better understanding of those Methods, whereby Persons acquir'd Freedom, treat a little more distinctly of them, and handle them by themselves under this Title, tho' these Subjects are at this day antiquated, and every where grown into Disuse. And first of *Emancipation*.

By the *Roman* Law every Child was so far in Subjection to its Father, that before he could be released from him and made free, he was by an imaginary Sale to be thrice sold by his Natural Father unto another Man, called his *Fidu-*

Fiduciary Father, or Father in Trust; yea, and to be bought again by the Natural Father^a: And being thus manumis'd by him, he became free.^a D. 1. 7. 36. The Form of this Sale or Alienation is described at large hereafter. And thus *Emancipation* is another way besides Death, &c. whereby a Son or Child is exempted from the Power of the Father: Being defined to be a Relaxation of the Paternal Bond, whereby a Son is bound to the Father, as being made with the Consent of the Father granting *Emancipation*, and with the Consent of the Child receiving the same^c.^c I. 1. 12. 6. This Act of *Emancipation* was to be performed before some competent Judge; and it was so called, because it was *quasi mansi emptio ficta & imaginaria*. For regularly a Son could not compel his Father to give him this *Emancipation*^c; nor on the other hand, could a Son be emancipated^c C. 8. 49. 4. against his Will and Inclination: so that *Emancipation* was a voluntary, and not a necessary Act. Yea, the bare and naked Consent of the Father or Son is not sufficient, but there is a certain kind of Solemnity requisite hereunto, which consists in a proper Application to be made to a competent Judge, as aforesaid. Therefore, the efficient Cause of *Emancipation* is the mutual Consent both of Father and Son joined with a due Solemnity. The Father was not obliged to alledge and set forth the Cause why he emancipated his Son; nor was the Son bound to shew any Reason why he desir'd this *Emancipation*, but Consent was sufficient, if the Solemnity of appearing before a competent Judge was added thereunto.

Emancipation being a Delivery of the Person to be emancipated out of the Hand or Possession of the Person emancipating, it bore a kind of likeness or resemblance unto a Sale, and it was introduced by the old *Roman* Civil Law, called the twelve Tables. For it was heretofore performed by an imaginary Sale, as above remembred, which Sale was effected after this manner, *viz.* There were five Witnesses (at least) all *Roman* Citizens, to be present together with a Person stiled *Libripens* from his holding a Pair of Scales in his Hands; and the Chapman or Buyer, then came with a certain Brass Coin in his Hand, and said, *Hunc ego hominem in numero Quiritium meum esse aio, isque mihi emptus est hoc ære*, *viz.* This Man in the number of the *Roman* Citizens is mine, having bought him with this Money. And then immediately striking the Ballance or Scales with the said Coin, he gave it to him that made the Sale. This kind of Bargain was in *Latin* called *Nexus anectendo*, because it bound the Seller to make good the Sale, and sometimes from the aforesaid Ceremony used in it, is termed a Sale *per Æs & libram*. The Reason why these kind of Ballances were used in this kind of Sale (as some think) was, because anciently they did not purchase with the Payment of coined Money, but by a certain Weight of Money; and hence such Money was termed *Æs grave*. This way of *Emancipation* was afterwards taken away as being injurious unto Children^c, and the *Anastasian* Method succeeded in its room, which was^c C. 8. 49. 5. made by the rescript of the Prince, according to a Constitution of the Em-^c 6. peror *Anastasius*: And then came that of *Justinian*, which was made by the Authority of the Magistrate. There was one kind of *Emancipation*, which was stiled *Presumptive*, *viz.* When the Father either expos'd the Infant^c, or would not suffer him to live with him any longer as a Father^c C. 8. 52. 2. of the Family^c. A Person, that was emancipated by the Prince's Rescript,^c C. 8. 47. 1. having the Right of a legal Inheritance reserved to him, was called to the intestate Heirship of the Father, with the Brothers retain'd in the Family^c.^c I. 1. 12. 6. The effect of *Emancipation* was, that the Son might afterwards freely contract in his own Name, make a Will, and do all other Acts as a Father of a Family, and acquire the full Property and Usufruct in *adventitious* Goods, except one Moiety of the Usufruct, which was reserved to the Father as a Recompence for his *Emancipation*^c. *Justinian* says, that the Rights of^c C. 6. 60. 6.

* C. 8. 48. 10. Adoption ceased by Emancipation *: For as by Adoption the Adoptive Father has a Power over his Adoptive Child; so this Power of the Adoptive Father was dissolved by Emancipation, as will appear under the next Title.

† D. 1. 1. 4. I shall next speak of *Manumission*; which, according to *Ulpian* †, is also the delivering of a Person out of the Hand and Power of another. For as long as any one is in Bondage or Servitude, he is said to be under the Hand and Power of him, whose Vassal or Bondman he is: And being manumised, he is released and set at liberty from the Hand and Power of his Master. Now *Manumission* had its rise and beginning from the Law of Nations, all Men by Nature being born free; and therefore, as Servitude was entirely unknown to that Law, so was *Manumission* likewise. The Etymologists say; that *Manumission* is so called, because the Master holding the Bondman's Hand, or some other Member of his, said to the By-standers, *Hunc hominem liberum esse volo, &c.* I am willing this Man should be free; and then discharged him out of his Power and Dominion, by emitting him out of his Hand. *Justinian* reckons up five several ways, whereby *Manumission* is effected †. For *first*, a Bondman was manumis'd in the Church in the presence of the Priest and whole Congregation by the Means and Intervention of some kind of Writing in the place

of external Acts performed †. *Secondly*, *Manumission* was made by a Rod or Wand, in *Latin* called *Vindicta*, with which the *Prætor* or *Prætor's* Lictor touched the Bondman, premising a solemn Form of Words which he thrice repeated: As *Aio te esse liberum*. And then the Master immediately taking the Bondman by the Right-Hand in the *Prætor's* Presence, turned him round about, and afterwards dismissed him. And by this means he obtained a greater Degree of Freedom than a Person otherwise manumised.

† In §. 1. 1. 1. *Aldobrand* † observes; that the Reason of turning the Person round about, was to shew that the Person thus manumised had a Power of going wherever he pleased. *Thirdly*, *Manumission* was sometimes made among Friends extra-judicially and out of Court: And in this Case five Witnesses were held necessary, and likewise the Interposition of some Deed or Writing †. *Fourthly*, A Bondman might be manumised by an Epistle or Writing subscribed by five Witnesses, and written or subscribed by the Patron himself †. And *fifthly*, a Testator might by his last Will and Testament bequeath Freedom to his Bondman: or, in other Terms, a Testator might, by his last Will and Testament, make his Bondman a Freedman. There are several other ways of *Manumission*, which I here purposely omit, tho' *Cicero* in his *Topics* only reckons up three, and will have no more, viz. *Per Vindictam, Testamentum & Censum*. *Tacitus* only reckons two *Species*. The first of which is in a particular manner said to be by the *Vindicta*; and the other in a more general Sense comprehends some other way of conferring Liberty.

In favour of Liberty, *Manumission* was permitted and allow'd to be made at any Time, and in every decent Place: For, it being a matter of *voluntary* Jurisdiction, it depended on the meer Will of the Master; and, therefore, it was not necessary that it should be sped in a judicial way in the Presence of the Judge sitting on the Bench †. It is in Law called the *Benefit of Manumission*, because the merits of Bondmen excited their Masters to bestow the Benefit of Freedom on them. Those Persons that became Servants unto Punishment, cou'd not manumise their Bondmen or Servants, because even they themselves were Servants. Nor cou'd such Persons as were condemned of Capital Crimes, by their last Wills and Testaments manumise their Bondmen, according to a Decree of the Senate. Tho' all Men generally speaking might manumise their Bondmen; yet an insolvent Debtor was forbidden to do it in Fraud of Creditors †: For tho' Liberty be

a thing that admits of great favour in Law, yet the Right of Creditors ought not to be taken away by such Freedom^s; since Fraud and Deceit is always^s D. 43. 8. 2. understood to be excepted in every Act^h. And a Person was said to manumise his Bondman in Fraud of Creditors, who was either insolvent at that^{16.} D. 17. 1. very time as he manumised him, or who ceased to be a solvent soon after he had given him his Freedomⁱ. And, in this case, to impeach such Free-^{60. 4.} dom, two things were required, *viz.* *First*, a Will of defrauding in the Person manumising: And *Secondly*, Damage in the Event; because the Debtor's Goods were not sufficient to satisfy Creditors^k. For if either of theseⁱ I. 1. 6. 3. Requisites failed, Freedom granted to a Bondman was not revoked: And, therefore, if the Manumiser had not an Intent of defrauding, it did not impeach a Bondman's Freedom, tho' the Debtor's Goods were not sufficient to answer Creditors. But as *Manumission* and *Emancipation* are now grown obsolete by another Polity, I shall close this Title.



T I T. IX.

Of Adoption, what it is, how many fold; by whom, and before whom it is made; what Power it gives; and lastly, of the Solemnities thereof, &c.

HAVING treated of Children in general, and of natural Children, in the foregoing Title; I shall here speak of such as are only lawful, called *adoptive* Children: For Persons become Sons and Daughters unto another, not only by *Nature*, but also by *Adoption*; which is a general Term in the *Civil* Law, that admits of a two-fold *Species*, as I shall shew by and by. Wherefore, here in treating of Adoption, I shall under this Title consider six things principally. *First*, what Adoption is, according to the Definition of it, and how many fold. *Secondly*, shew what is necessarily requir'd in that which is stiled *particular* Adoption. *Thirdly*, lay down what is necessary to *Arrogation*, and what is an Impediment to both *Species*. *Fifthly*, I shall declare what is the Effect and Consequence of Adoption. And, *lastly*, consider the Solemnities thereof, and make some Remarks on the whole.

Now, *first*, Adoption in general, according to *Azo*, is a legal Act, or Act in Law, whereby he that is not a Son, or an extraneous Person, is taken into a Family, unto which he does not originally belong by Birth, (for I here speak of *general* Adoption,) and is esteemed and held as a Son by the means of Election. These Persons thus adopted or elected, are substituted in the Place of natural Children, for the Comfort and Solace of such Men as have no Children of their own; and they are subject to the Power of the Father, as natural Children are. I call it an *Act of Law*, in order to exclude them, whom we stile *Alumni*, that are educated as Children, but are not adopted by any Solemnities of Law¹. For to *adopt*,¹ D. 45. 1. according to *Vigetius*, in his second Book *De Re Militari*, is to elect or^{132.} make choice of one for his Son, who was not such before^m. Thus those^m D. 1. 7. 1. Persons, that the Captains or Centurions made choice of to supply the Place of such Soldiers as were absent, were called *Options*, being as it were adopted or chosen for this End and Purpose; and hence by some called *elected* Vicars: And *Varro* in his Book *De Lingua Latinâ*, observes the same thing. See also

^a C. 4. 65. 55. also the *Code* ^o. I say, Adoption in general is that Election, which any Person makes according to *Law*, whereby he chuses to himself a Son or Daughter, (for Females may be adopted as well as Males;) and the Persons thus adopted are stiled his *lawful* Children, as being made such by the Law. When the Law mentions *natural* Children in this respect, it means such as are born in a just Marriage; and, by the Word *lawful*, such are made so by Election: Though in another respect, those are termed *natural* Children, which are so born and descended from a Concubine, as already related.

As to the Division or *Species* of Adoption, the second thing to be handled, it is two-fold, as it may be made two several ways, viz. *First*, Adoption, simply so called; and *Secondly*, that which we call *Arrogation*. For sometimes such Persons were adopted as were subject to the Power of another, as to the Power of the Father or Grandfather; and this is called Adoption in *special*: And sometimes such Persons were adopted as are *sui Juris*, viz. in their own Disposal, and independent on the Father: And was called *Arrogation* ^o. And thus Adoption is a *Genus*, containing under it two *Species*, viz. Adoption strictly so called, and *Arrogation*. Adoption in *special*, *first* requires, that the Person to be adopted be in the Power of his natural Father or Grandfather ^p. *Secondly*, that he be adopted before the Magistrate ^q, which was seldom observed. And *thirdly*, that the Father or Grandfather do consent thereunto. In respect of the Child to be adopted, it is sufficient, if he does not contradict the same: And the Father may even, by a nod of the Head, consent hereunto ^r. And as those Persons that were under the Power of the Father, were properly said to be adopted; so those that were *sui Juris* were the proper Object of *Arrogation* ^s. As to the Point of *Arrogation*, which was more in use, several things were necessary hereunto. As *first*, that it was not to be done without the Leave and Authority of the Prince ^t: But this is now out of Practice, it often happening to the contrary. *Secondly*, it was requir'd, that the Person to receive *Arrogation* should be a Person *sui Juris*. *Thirdly*, that he who gives *Arrogation*, be interrogated, whether he desires or be willing to have *Titius* for his just Son? And the Person to receive the same, ought to be asked, whether he be willing to suffer himself to be arrogated ^u? And this is true, if he can speak for himself; but if he cannot, then this Question is not necessary; provided there be otherwise such care taken of him before the Magistrate upon this Matter, by such as are of kin to him ^v. *Fourthly*, that in a Person under the Age of Puberty Inquisition ought to be made into the Characters of each Party, lest some Turpitude, Damage, Fraud, Circumvention, and the like, should happen or be subsisting ^w. And *fifthly*, the *Arrogator* ought to give caution, that, after the Death of the Person arrogated, he will restore all his Goods and Estate to such Persons to whom they devolve by a *Series* or Descent of Blood ^x: And this is true, if he be under the Age of Puberty. *Arrogation* was formerly caused and effected by and at the Request of the People, and so it continued to be till the time that the *Roman* People transferred the Sovereignty, and settled the *Roman* Empire on *Augustus Cæsar*: At which time the Rescript and Authority of the Prince was held necessary, for this end. And *Aulus Gellius* expresses himself in this manner, saying, whenever another Man takes extraneous Persons into his Family, and reputes them as his own Children, this Act is either done by the Authority of the *Prætor*, or else at the Rogation or Recommendation of the People: And hence it was termed *Arrogation*. For that Act, which was done by the *Prætor's* Authority, was stiled *Adoption*; and that which was done at the Rogation of the People, was stiled *Arrogation*. The Rites and Ceremonies, whereby each *Species* of Adoption was compleated, may be sufficiently

sufficiently seen in *Caius's* Institutions, in *Aulus Gellius*, and in *Cicero's* Oration for his Family: But none of these Authors mention the Rites and Ceremonies relating to the Emperor's Office herein. He who surrenders and gives up himself unto any one by way of *Arrogation*, is not only subject to that Person, but even his Children also, if he has any in *suis Sacris*, viz. in his Power (for the Power of the Father was in *Latin* termed *Sacra Paterna*;) And, moreover, besides himself and his Children, he hereby subjects all his Goods, and whatever he has in corporeal Things, as already hinted. *Arrogation* ought to be effected by the Emperor himself on Cognizance and Examination had of the Cause of such *Arrogation*; or else the Emperor on suit made to him might grant a Commission of *Arrogation* by the means of his Rescript, whereby such Cognizance was granted to some ordinary Judge, or any other Person whatever. And the Reason why it was thus effected and executed with greater Solemnity than *Adoption*, which may be solemniz'd before any Magistrate, was, because it is subject to greater Prejudice and Inconvenience than *Adoption*; since the Person arrogated, who was before *sui Juris*, does hereby pass into the Power of the *Arrogator*, with all his Substance, which happens not in *Adoption*; for the Person adopted is at that time in the Father's Power. And as there is greater Inconvenience, there ought to be greater Caution used. Another Reason assign'd, why so much Solemnity is not requir'd in one as in the other, was, because the Father's Advice was to be had in the one for the Provision of his Son, which does not happen in *Arrogation*; and likewise for that a Son cannot find a better Friend than a Natural Father, there being no Affection which exceeds that of a Parent. Next follow the Effects of *Adoption*.

Adoptive Children as long as they remain in the Power of their *Adoptive* Father have the Right as Children begotten in just and lawful Marriage in respect of their *Adoptive* Father: Wherefore, such Children ought either to be appointed Heirs, or else to be disinherited by their *Adoptive* Father, as I shall observe in the Sequel under the Title of *Exheredation*. But Children emancipated were not reckon'd as Children either by the *Civil* or *Prætorian* Law. As Bondmen and Vassals are set at liberty from the Power of their Masters by Manumission; so are Children deliver'd from the Power of the Father, as well by *Adoption* as *Emancipation*. But Persons only are by a Fiction of Law become Children by *Adoption*, and not said to be Brothers or of Kin unto each other by any Proximity of Relation *: For *Adoption* has only a respect unto Children, and not to Brothers ^{x D. 50. 17.} or any other Person in a collateral Line of Kindred whatsoever; nor can a ^{6. 6.} Brother adopt another Person to be his Brother; nor a Cousin another Person to be his Cousin, and the like ^{y C. 6. 24. 7.}. If the *adopting* Father be a Senator and the like, his *Senatorial* Dignity thereby passes and descends unto the adopted Son ^{z D. 1. 9. 5.}. Again, the *adopting* Father has the Right and Power ^{6 & 10.} of punishing and correcting his *adopted* Son for Offences committed ^{a C. 9. 15. 1.}: And the *adopted* Son cannot summon the *Adoptive* Father into any Court of Judicature without the Father's Consent ^{b D. 2. 4. 8.}. In respect of *Adoption* or legal Kindred, Matrimony is hindred or prohibited between the *Adoptive* ^{fin.} Father and his adopted Daughter ^{c I. 1. 10. 1.}. And lastly, there is this Effect in this kind of *Adoption*, viz. That the Person *adopted* comes not under the Appellation of the Word *Liberi* or Children, unless it be in Cases expressed in a *Nuncupative* Right: And hence it is, that by the *Feudal* Law an *adopted* Son is not admitted to a *Feudal* Estate of Inheritance ^{d F. 2. 26. 1.}, nor by the *Civil* Law ^{e D. 28. 2. 23.} to an *Emphyteusis* ^e, nor to the Benefit of Substitution. And 'tis the same Thing in Statutes and Privileges; because in Statutes, Words ought to be taken strictly and properly: And therefore, even in Statutes *adopted* Children are not comprized under the Appellation of the word *Liberi* or Children.

^f D. 50. 16. dren ^f. And for the same Reason, Daughters excluded by the words *Mas-*
^{220.}
^g Rip. in l. 8. *culos filios* are not understood to be excluded by the *Filium Adoptivum* ^g.
 C. 8. 56. But in the Case, when a *Filius-fam.* is adopted by any of his Kindred in
 the Ascending Line, as by a Grandfather, or Great Grandfather by the
 Father or Mother's Side, *viz.* when his Father is emancipated by the
 Grandfather; he ceases to be in the Power of his Natural Father, and passes
 into the Family and Power of the Person adopting him, being ally'd to
 him by a double Tie, *viz.* by a *Natural Tie* of Blood, and a *Civil Tie*
 of Adoption. And he so far passes into the Power of his *Adoptive* Father,
 that whatever he acquires, he does not acquire it for his *Natural*, but for
 his *Adoptive* Father; nor does he even succeed his *Natural* Father dying

^h C. 8. 48. 10. intestate ^h.

Of *common Right* Women were prohibited the adopting of any Per-
 sons to be their Children, unless it were by a special Grant had from
ⁱ I. 1. 11. 10. the Prince ⁱ, on the account of having Children slain in Battle, or upon
 some other great Occasion: For as Women have not Children in their own
^k I. 1. 11. 10. Power ^k; no, not even their own; *Adoption* is not permitted to them, lest
 that should seem to be granted *per obliquum*, which is directly prohibi-
 ted. And, moreover, it is not in the Power of Women (as we say) *ge-*
^l I. 1. 11. 4. *nerare filios* according to Nature; and, consequently, it is not granted them
 to adopt them by *Art*; because *Adoption* is an Imitation of Nature ^l. Hence
 it is; that Men, who lie under a *natural* Impossibility of begetting Chil-
 dren, cannot adopt; since Adoption is an Imitation of Nature. Where-
 fore, a Minor cannot adopt one, that is superior or equal to him in point
^m I. 1. 11. 4. of Age ^m: For this wou'd be monstrous and impossible in respect of Nature.
 And for the same Reason, a Person, that labours under an incurable Disease,
 which forbids him to marry a Wife and beget Children, cannot adopt
 one, as being a Person impotent in Regard to the Business of Generation.

The original Beginning was very ancient: For heretofore such Persons
 as refused to marry, on the Account of the Incumbrances that attend such
 a State, and likewise such as marry'd and had no Issue, or whose Children
 were dead, or who abandon'd their Fathers on the score of a loose and dissolute
 kind of Life, were wont to chuse Children for themselves to inherit their Estate,
 and by *Adoption* to repair the Misfortune of a want of Children. Thus
ⁿ Exod. 1. 2. we read, that *Moses* was adopted by *Pharaoh's* Daughter ⁿ; and *Julius*
Cæsar adopted *Augustus*; and afterwards *Augustus* adopted *Tiberius*. In-
 deed, it has been a Question, whether *Adoption* be allow'd at this Day;
 and whether, if it be permitted, it ought to be effected by the solemn
 Rules and Ceremonies made use of by the *Romans*? And it seems to be
 allow'd, unless it be otherwise received by some contrary Custom, or for-
 bidden by some *Municipal* Law: But this Title itself is much grown into
^o Groenv. *Disuse* ^o, and little regarded. For now such as are assumed by us are not
 de lib. 1. 1. looked upon as Children, but only as *Alumni*, whom we take into our Care
 11. for the sake of Nurture and Education: which we may make our Heirs, if we
 please, but are under no necessity of doing it. *Masverius* observes, that an
 adopted Child does not succeed an Intestate by Custom: But, on the con-
 trary, we know; that the Duke of *Anjou*, being adopted by Queen
Joan, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Sicily*. But this by the Authority of
 the Pope, to whom the Kingdom of *Sicily* was Tributary; the Kings of
^p Repet. in l. *Sicily*, according to *Angelus* ^p, being his Vassals.
 14. c. 6. 42.



TIT. X.

Of Human and Legal Acts; their Nature, Power, Regularity, and the Execution of them, &c.

AMONG such Acts or Actions as are done by Men, those are properly styled *Human Acts*, which are peculiar unto Man as he is a Man. For as a Man differs from irrational Creatures in this respect, *viz.* That he is master of his own Acts, it is from hence that only those Acts are properly styled *Human*, of which a Man is master. And as a Man is master of his own Act by virtue of his Reason and the Freedom of his Will, which is a Power flowing from his Reason and his Will, it hence follows, that those are only *Human Actions*, properly speaking, which proceed from a free and deliberate Will as actuated by Reason. And if there are other Actions that are adapted unto Men, those may be called the Actions of a Man, but not properly *Human Acts*, since they are not the Actions of a Man, as he is a Man. Thus Walking, Running, Eating, Drinking, &c. are not properly *Human Acts*, tho' they are the Actions of Men, because they are common to Brute Beasts as well as to Men.

In a Human Act the *Intention*, *Regularity* and *Execution* of it are to be consider'd. Now the *Intention* of a Human Act is the design of the Person acting, which proceeds from his Understanding and Will, as aforesaid. For it is necessary, that he should have a right Notion of what he is doing^s, otherwise a Mistake renders the Act as not done at all^r. This is requir'd not only in making of Testaments, and forming of Contracts, but also in the Commission of Crimes, and in all Affairs of what Nature soever where Consent is supposed^t. Nay, even the Grant of the Prince, averred to be *ex certâ Scientiâ*, has no Effect, if it evidently appears that the Prince was deceived in his Grant. A Man must likewise will that Act, before he can be answerable for it: And the Will may be expressed by *Words*, *Signs* and a *bare Consent*; which Consent *Silence* seems to infer in many Cases^s, especially if the Fact be such as might have been prevented by speaking and declaring to the contrary. Indeed, Silence generally speaking infers Consent, if it tends to the Advantage of the silent Person; but if his Damage will follow from it, he is seldom esteemed to be consenting^t. I said, that a Mistake or Error render'd an Act as not done at all, because *Intention* and Design was requisite, from which every Act was to be estimated. But this *Error* must be in a *substantial* Part of the Contract, and not in the *Name* of it^u, or the *Cause*, or some *external* Circumstance or *Opinion* about it. With regard to the Commission of a Crime, tho' the Crime was committed by a mistake, yet if there was a *Neglect* or ill *Intention* at first that accompany'd the Action, the Criminal must be answerable for all the unforeseen Accidents and ill Effects that follow upon it. But it is a received Rule in Law, that no Act ought to have any operation beyond the Intention and Will of the Agent^v. Where an Act is indifferent in itself in respect to Good and Evil, and is injurious to no one, such Act ought rather to be presumed good than bad. And thus much of *Human Acts* strictly so called for the present. I shall next speak of *Legal Acts*.

Now

Now the word *Act*, in *Latin* filed *Actus*, is a generical Term made use of to signify any Thing, that is done either by words, writing, or any other ways; as by way of Stipulation, Payment of Money or the like:

⁷D. 50. 16. But the word *Gestus* signifies something done without words^w. So that
^{19.} the word *Actus* is taken for every Thing that is done, whether it be by
³L. 3. 16. 1. word of Mouth, as in *formal* Stipulations^x; or by writing, as in last Wills and Testaments. Hence it is, that in Stipulations the Question is, *Quid actum sit*? And the words in the Stipulation ought to be consider'd: which words, if they be obscure and ambiguous, ought to be interpreted against the Stipulator^y. Or *Secondly*, whether the Act be by something done, as by the Payment of Money in current Coin, &c. The word *Actus* is sometimes taken for the same as *Factum*^z. By *legal* or *lawful* Acts, I here mean such Acts as are to be found and met with in any Part of the written Law^a; as *Emancipation*, *Acceptilation*, the *Aditio Hereditatis* or the Heir's taking the Heirship on himself, the Option of a Bondman, the assigning of a Guardian, in *Latin* called *Datio Tutoris*: And these Acts are entirely vitiated by the adding of any Time or Condition thereunto, yet sometimes the above-written Acts do *tacitly* admit of a Condition. But if those Circumstances were expressly contain'd therein, they would vitiate the same.

The Law divides all legal Acts into *Publick* and *Private* Acts. The first are such as concern the Publick Weal, as the Exchequer, &c. And the second are such as relate to the Advantage or Disadvantage of private and particular Persons. Or else those may be called *publick* Acts, which are done by a Publick Person^b, as a Judge or Magistrate, and in a Publick Manner: And those may be termed *private* Acts, which are transacted between private and particular Men, as Bargain and Sale, and the like. There are also some Acts, which are filed *voluntary*, and others that are called *necessary* Acts. A *voluntary* Act is that, which may be perform'd and done several ways. And on the contrary, a *necessary* Act is that, which can only be perform'd and manag'd one way. *Necessary* Acts are the prescribing of Medicines, and the giving of Food, &c. which being omitted, the Life of Man is in great danger, and with which (perchance) it may subsist. But this by the bye. *Publick* Acts are also taken for such Books and Tables, as contain the Publick Acts and Business of a City or State, meaning the Laws, Statutes, &c. as *Catanaeus* observes upon *Pliny* the younger: And hence the word *Acts* emphatically denotes the Publick Acts and Registers of Magistrates, Notaries, Actuaries, &c. And sometimes the Publick Rolls and Archives of the Prince, that is to say, the Place where common Writings are laid up and preserv'd, are called the *Publick Acts*. There are some Acts, which we call *Positive*, and others which we term *Negative* Acts. The first consist in doing something: But *Negative* Acts consist in suffering, and not in acting; and such Acts do not infer or argue a Consent in the Person acting or suffering, properly speaking.

Every *Legal* Act is made by the Application of three Things: For there must be a *Will*, a *Power*, and a *Mode* or *Form* of acting, according to *Baldus*^c; and to give a Form or Being to a *Legal* Act, there must be a Method, Order and Disposition of Words, especially if such Act consists in Writing; and if this Order and Method be perverted or omitted, it annuls the Act. And this holds particularly true in all Judicial Acts. Every Act and Disposition of Law receives its Interpretation from the Nature and Quality of the Person, who makes any Grant or Disposition^d: and a subsequent Act points out the previous Mind and Intention of the Party acting^e. And a doubtful and ambiguous Act always rather admits of such an Interpretation and Construction in Law, whereby it may subsist and become valid, than

⁷D. 50. 16.
^{19.}

³L. 3. 16. 1.

⁷D. 45. 1.
^{38. 18. & 1.}
^{42 & 43.}

²D. 48. 8. 5.

^aDyn. in l. 77.
^{D. 50. 17.}

^bGothofr. in
^{l. 2. C. 2. 1.}

^cIn l. 8. C. 1.
^{18.}

^dD. 30. 1.
^{50.}
^{1. 2. 1. 15.}
^{D. 34. 5. 11.}

than an Interpretation, which wou'd annul and destroy fuch Act ^f. And ^fC. 4. 12. 4. hence it is a general Rule in Law; that fuch a Prefumption ought always to be allow'd and purfu'd, whereby an Act may rather be rendred firm and valid, than that the fame fhould perifh ^g. And this Conclusion holds good, ^gD. 34. 5. 2. even tho' there fhould be fome Conjectures which contravene the fame; ^gGlofs. in c. 25. because fuch a Prefumption as makes for the validity of an Act is rather ^hX. 5. 40. preferr'd, than that which makes againft it. An Act in a doubtful Cafe is rather prefumed to be done in a Man's own Name and on his own Account, than on the Account and in the Name of another Perfon. A doubtful and ambiguous Act is interpreted according to the Senfe and Meaning of the Agent or Perfon doing fuch Act. A fubfequent Act is explain'd and declar'd by an Act antecedent to it: And though a fubfequent Act is prefum'd to be in execution of a preceding Act; yet it never ratifies and confirms an Act, which is deceitful and fraudulent.

Every Act or Action ought to be free from Temerity and Negligence: For a Man ought not to do any Thing, according to *Cicero* in his *Offices* ^h, ^hLib. 1. for which he cannot render a good, or (at leaft) a probable Reafon for his fo doing: And this has an efpecial Relation to a Judge, whose Buſinefs it is always to follow the Truth and right Reafon. A Man doing an Act knowingly againft the Precepts of Law, is prefum'd to have done fuch Act in contempt of the Law. An Act of Approbation depends on the fole Will and Conſent of the Perfon approving the fame: But an Act done out of Neceffity does not infer the Conſent of the Perfon doing it. If a Perfon wou'd prove fome Act to be done by a Madman, he ought to prove the Perfon to be a Madman, at the Time when fuch Act was done or executed. If an Act be fo well executed by a Madman, that it does not appear to be the Act of a Madman, fuch Act is well fupported: But 'tis otherwife, if he has not lucid Intervals. And an Act is prefumed to be done in the Time of found Memory, when the Time of fuch Act done is far remote and at a Diſtance from the Time, he was affected with Madnefs: For then the Prefumption is, that at the Time of the Act done he was a Perfon of found Memory and Underſtanding, according to *Baldus* ⁱ. For it ought to be confider'd, whether the Act was done at any ⁱIn l. 9. C. long Time before or after his Madnefs, or whether it was done very near ⁶. 22. the Time of his Madnefs. See *Imola* on the Law here cited ^k. And here ^kD. 28. 1. I muſt obſerve; that he, who avers any Act to be done by a Madman, ²⁰. 4. or by a Perfon of an unfound Underſtanding, ought to prove, that he labour'd under fuch Indifpofition at the very Time when the Act was executed.

If any Perfon be obliged to do an Act within a certain Time, he is bound to prove that he obſerved that Time. Where an artificial Day is not of the Subſtance of an Act, that which is done in the Night-Time may be ſaid to be done in the Day; becauſe a natural Day conſiſts of twenty-four hours; and in this ſenſe the word *Day* is uſed in the firſt Chapter of *Genefis*, where it is often ſaid, *viz. And the Evening and the Morning was the firſt Day, &c*; and what was done *in the Evening and Morning* was done in the firſt Day. For the natural Day *More Romano* begins at Midnight, and ends at Midnight the Day following. If an Act or Contract be done about Midnight, the Notary ought to attribute fuch Act or Contract to the Day precedent; but if it be certainly done after Midnight, then to the Day following. A Man that has diſpatch'd any Act, is not prefumed to have committed Perjury or Forgery therein: And a Man ſpeeding an Act, if there be any neceſſary Cauſe extant, is rather prefum'd to have done it on the Motive of fuch Cauſe, than on the Motive of a Cauſe meerly voluntary. The Subſtance of an Act is not prefumed thro' length of Time: But, the Subſtance of an Act being once proved, the Solemnity thereof is

easily presumed. An Act becomes different and varies from itself, either when something is added thereunto, or else when something is diminished and taken away from it : But many Acts continued and done *unico contextu* are deemed as one Act alone, nor does one Act infer another, unless such last Act does necessarily follow from the first.

¹ Alex. Conf.
40. vol. 2.

^m D. 47. 2. 12.
C. 4. 48. 3.

ⁿ Bart. in l. 31.
D. 12. 2.

Acts that are done by several Persons as a Corporation or Body Politick, as by a College and the like, are not vitiated in respect of such unqualify'd Persons as were present and interven'd thereat, if the Act does not turn on the Hinge of such unqualify'd Persons: For such Acts do not take their Force and Establishment from single Persons, but from the College or Corporation itself¹. An Act, which is null, is taken *pro inutili & non facto*, so far as it concerns the prejudice of a third Person: But it is not so taken in respect of the Advantage, and in Favour of him who does it; because if any Deceit or Fault shall be discover'd in him who does an Act that carries a Nullity or ill Fame along with it, he shall be punish'd notwithstanding the Invalidity of the Act which he has done, lest he shou'd receive an Advantage or grow rich from his own Dishonesty^m. An Act is presum'd to be done at the Instance of him, in whose Favour and for whose Advantage such Act is done. And an Act, which is done with Expence, is presum'd to be done by him who has an Interest in it. As every Act is regularly proved by two Witnesses; so every Act, from whence a Presumption arises, ought to be entirely perfect; and in a doubtful Case is presum'd to be done in a Man's own Name, though it might have been transacted even in the Name of another Personⁿ. As Acts may be proved by Witnesses, if they depose specially, *viz.* That it was thus acted, or thus written; so they may be also proved by a private Writing.

Under the Appellation of *Acts* we may also reckon *Judicial Acts*: But because I have, in the second Volume of this Work, reserved an entire Title distinct and separate to itself, in order to treat of *Judicial Acts*; I shall say little or nothing of them in this place; and therefore I shall only speak of them so far as may serve to clear up matters in the Progress of this Undertaking. Now generally speaking under the Name of *Judicial Acts* we may reckon all those Things, which happen to be done *in Judicio contradictorio*, that is to say, in a Court of Law where Matters are disputed; and even those Things which happen to come into Court, and as they are matters of *voluntary Jurisdiction*, are not disputed at all, but only the Judge's Decree is interpos'd and made Use of. The Acts of a Judicial Cause in Controversy are said to be the Libels or Petitions offer'd, the Confessions of the Parties, the Examination and Depositions of Witnesses, and such Things as respect the Facts of a Cause, and serve to instruct the mind of the Judge: But the Acts of a Judicial Process, or of Judicature, are said to be the Citations, the giving of Bail or Caution and the like; so that the Acts of a Cause, and the Acts of Judicature, are different. But the *ordinary Acts of Judicature* are the Libel or Petition of the Party, Contestation of Suit, the Oath of Calumny, and the like; and these Acts are destroy'd and taken away by an Absolution *ab observatione Judicii*, or a Non-suit, as we call it. The *essential or substantial Parts* of a Judicial Process depend on the Law, and not on the Will of the Parties litigant; and, therefore, they may not be omitted by the Consent of the said Parties: nor can they be ratify'd by them, if they are null and void, according to this Rule in Law, *viz.* That *an Act cannot be ratify'd by a Deed, which does not depend on a Man's Power*; nor can the Nullity of an Act in such a Case be supply'd by a Man^o. But the Parties may themselves either by Pact or Stipulation oblige themselves not to except against the Nullity of an Act, but may bind themselves to obey all the Acts and

^o C. 3. 13. 3.
Arg. D. 30.
l. 55.

and Sentences of the Court, even tho' they should be null: For tho' such Acts or Sentences should not be valid in Law; yet the Pact and Agreement of the Parties is valid and binding^p. The Sentence of the Judge is also comprized under the Appellation of *Judicial Acts*: And therefore, if any Law forbids Acts to be exemplify'd before a Judge, unless it be by a certain Notary, a Sentence cannot be exemplified, according to *Baldus*^q, unless it be by the same Notary. See also *Guid. Papa's Decisions*^r.

^p C. 3. 38. 2. &
D. D. ib.

^q Conf. 137.

^r Lib. 3. Decif.

616.

A Man that impugns any Act, cannot afterwards aid and assist himself by the same Act in that very judicial Proceeding, wherein he has impugn'd such Act: But this is otherwise, if it happens in another Instance or judicial Process. For then he may aid himself by that very Act which he has formerly impugn'd; because a Variation is admitted and allow'd of in distinct and different Proceedings. And a Man may also call that Act to his assistance which he has impugn'd as to another effect, than in Respect of that on which he founds his Intention. Hence it is to be observed, that he who alledges any Deed or Instrument to be false, may afterwards repent thereof, and aver the same to be true: But he that avers a Deed or Testament to be true, cannot afterwards alledge it to be false. Yet this only proceeds in respect of a Deed or Instrument, when such Deed or Instrument is *de facto proprio*; for if it be not *de facto proprio*, the Producent may impugn it, viz. by proving an Error or Mistake therein. *Judicial Acts* are not presumed, unless they are proved; and that which is not found to be written in the Acts of Court, is presumed not to be done or acted^s: And this holds true, even tho' the Judge should in his Sentence assert it to be thus done and acted; for such Assertion is no Proof that it was thus acted, unless there be some other *Constat* thereof.

^s C. 1. 18. 13.



T I T. XI.

Of Deceit, Fraud, Cosenage, and Collusion; wherein they differ, and how they are made void and punished. Of an Exception of Deceit, &c.

AS *Deceit* and *Fraud* is not only committed in Contracts, but also in Last Wills and Testaments, either by corrupting or suppressing the same, and likewise in the Practice and Execution of the Laws themselves, by a false and evil Interpretation of them; I will therefore here treat of *Deceit* and *Fraud*. And *first*, consider what it is, and whence it has its Rise. *Secondly*, I shall enquire, how many fold it is, and when it intervenes. *Thirdly*, I shall shew, how it is discover'd and proved. And *fourthly*, set down how it is made void and punish'd. Now *Deceit* or *Knavery* in *Latin* stiled *Dolus*, is by *Servius*^t defined to be a Kind of Machination or Cosenage introduced in this manner, viz. when one Thing is done, and another Thing is pretended to be done^u. But *Labeo* rightly rejects this Definition for two Reasons. *First*, because Circumvention may happen without feigning and dissembling the Matter in this Manner. And *secondly*, because one Thing may be done, and another Thing pretended without any Knavery or evil Deceit. I say, *without any evil Deceit*, because there is a *Dolus bonus*, which is nothing else but a Stratagem; and a *Dolus malus*, which is downright Knavery. Wherefore *Labeo* defines

^t D. 4. 3. 1. 1.

^u D. 2. 14. 7.

^c D. 4.3.1.2. defines this last^t to be every kind of *Craft*, *Fallacy* and *Machination*, which one Man makes use of to cheat, deceive and circumvent another, either by the Concealment of a Fault in something; and in this Sense it consists in the Mind^u; and may be called *Craft*, or *Calliditas* according to the *Latins*: or else it may be carried on by lying; and then it is termed a *Fallacy*^v: or lastly, it is managed *Arte verborum*, that is to say, by a Finesse of Words, and then it is called a *Machination*^w. For as *Craft* consists in Silence and Concealment, according to the Lawyers; so does *Fallacy* consist in declaring that which is false. From what has been said I therefore infer, that *Deceit* or *Fraud* is a Machination or Art unjustly made use of to cheat and deceive another Person^x; or an industrious and design'd Deviation from that which is right, and ought to be done. And it differs from a *Lata Culpa*, because a *Lata Culpa* is a Deviation from that which Men of the same Condition and Profession commonly do, viz. it is not using that Diligence, which Men commonly practise, as *Bartolus* observes^y. But yet *Deceit* and a *Lata Culpa* are compared unto each other; because tho' the Law speaks of *Deceit* alone; yet it is extended to a *Lata Culpa*, or gross Negligence^z. But tho' a *Lata Culpa* be equivalent unto *Deceit* in many Cases; yet when it consists only in a meer Act of Negligence, it never passes into *Deceit*, if the negligent Person has no Advantage of his Negligence.

Fraud in *Latin* called *Fraus*, commonly bears the same Sense as the word *Deceit*, in the Law called *Dolus Malus*, as aforesaid, and sometimes *Dolus* simply without any Addition: And thus these two words *Fraud* and *Deceit* are often promiscuously used for each other^a. *Dolus Malus*, I say, because the *Latins* making a Distinction, understand this word *Dolus* both in a good and bad Sense. For example, such a *Species* of *Deceit* they call *good*, which Physicians use in the Administration of their Medicines for the curing and healing their sick Patients; deceiving them in the Medicaments which they prescribe them. And, on the contrary, that is called *Dolus malus*, which we in *English* commonly term *Male-engine* or *Knavery*. If the word *Dolus* stands singly, and without a Corrective, it is always taken in a bad Sense, viz. For Collusion, Covin, Cosenage, &c. And, among the Lawyers, the word *Fraud* is always us'd in a bad Acceptation; and is by them defined or described to be a feigning of one thing for another, with an Intent of deceiving the Person with whom we have to do, as *Cicero* in his *Offices* writes of *Pythius*, who, when he had a mind to sell his Gardens to *Caius Cannius*, that he might stir him up the more to buy them, sent for Fishermen to him, and desir'd they wou'd fish the next Day before his Gardens: whereupon he sold his Gardens for a far greater Price than they were worth. For *Cannius* observing the Fishermen at work with their Nets and Boats, and every one brought Fish and laid them at *Pythius's* Feet, purchas'd the Gardens for the sake of the Fish-ponds, whereas in truth they had no Fish in them. But sometimes the word *Fraus* is taken for the same as *Periculum*^b: And the Ancients often use this word to signify a *Crime*; and from hence the Phrase *Capitalem Fraudem admittere*^c was to commit such an Offence, for which the Criminal ought to be punished with Death. But that is properly called *Fraud*, which is done contrary to Honesty, good Conscience, and the Promise, which one Man makes to another. And herein *Fraud* differs from *Deceit*, which is not only contrary to good Faith, but is also committed thro' Force; and therefore it is a *Genus de Pluribus*.

For this *Dolus* or *Deceit* is twofold, viz. *Dolus velatus*, or a *Deceit* under *Coverture*, which is committed without Force, as by pretending one thing, and doing another; or else by doing something in a private and secret manner, as in committing a *non-manifest* Theft. The other is called *Dolus opertus*, or an *overt* *Deceit*; and this is always committed by the means of Force.

Force. But that is properly called *Fraud*, when any *simulated* Promise is made, or when a Promise is made, that is prohibited by Law. For he is said to commit Fraud, who either for his own Advantage, or with a view of deceiving another, conceals the Truth of a Thing by representing that which is false. Wherefore, it is Fraud, and contrary to fair and honest Dealing, for the Seller to conceal from the Buyer, that which the Seller ought to declare unto him ^d. ⁴ D. 19. 1. 1. Whence, I think, the Grammarians may well enough derive the word ¹. *Fraus*, as they do the word *Furtum*, from the Greek Verb φέρειν, because they who commit Fraud, do rob another of that which belongs to him; and thus they increase their own Advantage by the loss and detriment of another ^e. And hence *Cujacius* defines Fraud to be a Damage, which either evil Faith and Dishonesty brings upon another, or else that which is collected from the Event of Things itself ^f. But, according ¹³¹. ¹ Cujac. in l. to *Papinian*, Fraud is not only consider'd and inferr'd from the Event of Things, but also from the Purpose and Intention of the Person ⁷. ¹⁰. ¹⁰ D. 2. 14. ¹⁰ D. 50. 17. 79. The word *Fraus* is of a larger extent than the word *Dolus* in our Books, as it denotes every Act that is culpable, whether it has cunning with a Machination of deceiving joined with it, (and in this Sense it signifies the same as *Dolus* or Cofenage ^h;) or whether it be without any Machination of deceiving or cheating another ⁱ. But if mention be made of *Fraud* alone, simply and without the Addition of any other Word, it is to be understood of that kind of Fraud which is accompany'd with Deceit and Knavery. But sometimes the word *Fraud* denotes the same as a sophistical way of Reasoning: As when a Person is by some false Persuasion led into an Error, being diverted as it were from the right way; and this way of Fraud is common among knavish Lawyers, who either deceive their Clients, or impose upon the Court. And thus the Reader has the several Significations of the words *Fraus* and *Dolus* as used in our Law-Books. I shall next consider the different kinds of *Fraud* and *Deceit*.

It has been already remembred; that there is one kind of *Deceit*, which is stiled *Dolus bonus*, viz. such as is practis'd towards an Enemy, and the like; and another which is termed *Dolus malus* ^k, and is not allow'd of. ¹⁴. ¹⁴ D. 4. 3. 1. 5. We have also another Division of *Deceit*, viz. into *True* and *Presumptive* Deceit. *True* or *real* Deceit is that, which is inferr'd and has its Rise à *re ipsâ*, or from the Act of the Person contracting, or ordering something to be done; and thus it is discover'd from the Act of a deceitful Man. But hereunto 'tis objected; that *Deceit* is proved from Conjectures, since it only consists in the mind of Man alone: For *Dolo fieri vel non fieri conquisceat in animo*, says the Emperor. How then can it be known from Facts, which are external Things? But hereunto the Gloss gives a good Answer, saying, that this is to be understood touching the Quality of a Fact: For the Quality being a Circumstance, which arises from the Fact itself, ought to be proved; and thus by a Figure in Rhetorick, the Quality is taken for the Thing wherein it resides. Wherefore, that is said to be from a Fact, which is from the Quality of a Fact. But because *Deceit* consists in the Mind, and is from the Purpose and Design of the Person chiefly, it hence follows; that there is a *presumptive* kind of Deceit, which is proved and discover'd from Presumptions, or Conjectures alone, since the Mind of a deceitful Man cannot be otherwise known, peradventure. Again, there is one kind of *Deceit*, which is stiled *future* Deceit, as having a respect to some future Act; and this cannot be by Facts remitted or pardon'd ¹: And another which is called *Deceit* or Malice *de* ¹ D. 2. 14. 27. *præterito*, as having a Retrospect to some past Act of Malice; and this ³ may be pardon'd. I make use of the word Malice here; because there is an Act of Malice in every Act of Fraud. There is one kind of Malice or evil Design (for so the word *Dolus* always signifies) which is stiled *ordinary*,

nary, and is wont to intervene in a Trespass or Offence, as in Theft, Murder, &c. And another kind which is styled *extra ordinem*, and *Dolus minoratus* from a just precedent Cause; for that a Punishment is lessen'd by means hereof. By the *Canon* Law all Persons are deemed capable of a deceitful and malicious Purpose, that are seven Years of Age: But by the *Civil* Law, Males are not adjudg'd so, till they are ten Years and six Months old, and Women not before they arrive at nine Years and a half old; for then they are deemed to be *pubertati proximi*^m, to border upon Puberty.

^m D. 47. 2.

^{23.} D. 46. 2.

2.

I have before hinted; that there is a *true* and *real* Deceit, and a *presumptive* Deceit. The first is said to be, when Deceit is proved to be *really* apply'd and made use of: And in a doubtful Case whenever the Law simply speaks of Deceit, or of a deceitful Man, it is always to be understood of true and real Deceitⁿ. *True* and *real* Deceit is also said to be,

ⁿ Paris conf.

49. lib. 1.

when the Tokens and Presumptions thereof are very clear and manifest: As when a Person has committed some Act, that is unlawful in itself, either according to the Law of nature, or some evident positive Law, and that lately made too. Thus when a Person, that has the Management and Administration of another's Business, as a Factor and the like, does not set down in his Account-Book, what Goods or Sums of Money he has received, and converts those Goods or Moneys to his own proper Uses, he may be

^o Socin. conf.

159, & 190.

said to be guilty of *true* and *real* Deceit^o. And the same holds good, if it appears, that his Books are not well kept and solidated. Deceit, or an evil and malicious Design proved by a Presumption of *Law* is also called a *true* and *real* Deceit; because Presumptions of Law, according to *Meno-*

^p Lib. 5. Præf.

3. N. 6 & 7.

chius in his Treatise of *Presumptions*^p, are reckon'd clear Proofs: But it is otherwise, if it be only proved by a Presumption of *Man*, tho' there are some Persons that wou'd have even this to be called *true* and *real* Deceit, or Malice, *viz.* if it be proved by a Presumption of *Man*. But *true* and *real* Deceit, or Malice, is never said to be, when the Act only proceeds from a *lata culpa* or gross Negligence; but this is called *Presumptive* Deceit, or Malice *imply'd*, though it be said that a *lata culpa* is compar'd unto Deceit. *Presumptive* Deceit or Malice (for the Law often uses one Term for the other) is said to be, when the Law presumes Deceit or an evil Design, or when the same is presumed from a conjectural Proof, and when the Tokens thereof are not so clear and manifest, as that they do necessarily infer Deceit or Malice. Because whenever a Person knows, or is presum'd to know, that he is bound to do such a Thing, and thro' Negligence does not do it, he is said to be guilty of *Presumptive* Deceit, or Malice: But if he knows, or is presum'd to know, that he ought not to do such a Thing, and acts contrary hercunto, he is said to be guilty of *true* and *real* Deceit, or Malice in acting. And thus some will have a *presumptive* Deceit to consist in Omission, and *real* Deceit to be placed in Commission or the doing of a Thing. In respect of *presumptive* Malice or Deceit, a Soldier and a Minor is excused, but not in respect of *true* and *real* Deceit or Malice.

It has been also said before; that Deceit is twofold, *viz.* that which is *re ipsâ* only, or in the Contract itself, and that which is *re ipsâ & consilio*, that is to say, from the Purpose of the Person contracting: And in both Cases a Contract is either null, *ipso jure*, or else it ought to be rescinded by the help of an Exception; which last Method is most commonly observed. If Deceit *ex proposito* be apply'd and made use of in a Contract, it renders the Contract null and void^q, because Consent is wanting; but Deceit *re ipsâ* does not induce a nullity of the Contract, but leaves room for a Man to recede from thence by rescinding the Contract: And tho' these two Things are sometimes equivalent, yet sometimes they differ; but Deceit *ex proposito* and *re ipsâ* are equivalent unto each other in all other respects, excepting that the first renders an Act null and void, but in the last

^q D. 4. 3. 7.

Pr.

Case the Act must be rescinded, unless it be in the Case of a Minor, Woman and the like, where each kind of Deceit annuls an Act, if they are injur'd above one Moiety in the Act they deal in. And thus we always ought to consider whether the Deceit was in the Contract itself, or whether it was the Cause and Inducement of the Contract. For if it was in the Contract itself, as by buying too dear, or too cheap, it does not void the Contract *ipso jure*, unless it be as before excepted, but makes it void by an Action or Exception of *Deceit*. Thus if the Faults or Defects of the Thing sold (moveable or immoveable) are concealed by the Seller from the Buyer, the Contract may be rescinded¹, and the Seller must have his Goods² D. 21. 1. 1. again with the Profit of them, and may make amends for Damages by reason of those Faults, which if the Buyer had known, he wou'd not have bought at all; but provided that the Seller knew and concealed those Faults. For tho' the Law permits Circumvention as to the *Price* in some measure, yet it does not allow Circumvention at all by equivocating or concealing the Faults. But more of this under the Title of *Bargain and Sale*. If Fraud or Deceit be the Cause or Inducement of a Contract, such Contract is so far valid as to bind the Person of such fraudulent Contracter to his own Prejudice, if the Person who was thus fraudulently induced will have it so; otherwise the Contract is null, if such Person deceived desires to have it made void. But in this Case the Person thus deceived ought, I think, to give Opposition to the Contract either by an Action, or an Exception of *Deceit*³.

As *Fraud* and *Deceit* ought not to be a Protection unto a knavish Dealer, or to bring any Advantage to him⁴: so it is a known Rule in Law,⁵ D. 4. 3. 12. that the *Deceit* of one Person ought not to turn to the Prejudice of another, or to affect him⁶; unless such other Person receives some Advantage⁷ D. 4. 3. 7. from such Deceit: As the *Deceit* and *Fraud* of an Administrator or Guardian affects his Principal or Pupil, who receives Advantage from such *Deceit*. But in this Case the Person, who receives an Advantage, ought not to be convened in an Action of *Deceit*, but an Action lies to annul the Contract, or to declare it null. But yet an Action of *Deceit* is granted *in Subsidium*, if the other Action will not avail, and not otherwise. But *Deceit* and *Fraud* is not said to be committed, when a Person knows what is done, and wills the same⁸; for *Deceit* is founded upon Error, Ignorance⁹ C. 2. 4. 34. and want of Consent. An Action of *Deceit* is a *Subsidiary* Action, and is the last Remedy which the Law affords for the obtaining of a Right, when other Remedies fail. But as an Action of *Deceit* carries Infamy along with it, it does not lie against an Heir for the Misdemeanor of his Testator, unless such Heir has better'd his Condition by the knavish Dealing of his Testator; and then it only lies so far and no farther, than the Heir has enriched himself by such knavish Dealing¹⁰. But *Sabinus* thinks,¹¹ D. 4. 3. 26. that an Action of Accompt, or on the Case, ought rather to be brought against an Heir, than an Action of *Deceit*¹².

The Law says, that a Person is guilty of *Fraud* and *Deceit*, who demands or sues for a Thing, which he is bound to restore again¹³: And of this we have an Example in a Debtor and an Heir. For if a Testator commands an Heir not to sue for such a Debt, and the Heir not regarding the *Legatum liberationis*, that being the Legacy whereby the Debtor is discharged, notwithstanding sues for the same, the Debtor may surely in this Case bar or exclude him by an Exception of *Deceit*: And may, moreover, have an Action *ex Testamento*, namely, upon the Will as a Legatary; because he may sue the Heir to give him a Discharge or Release from the Debt, otherwise called an Acquittance. But no Man seems to act *deceitfully*, who only sues for his own Right¹⁴. *Fraud* never seems to be remitted on the Account of a future Administration, even tho' Testators and Parties con-¹⁵ D. 50. 17. tracting

tracting have expressly mention'd a Remitter of such Fraud; because this wou'd be an Invitation and Encouragement unto Knavery. But what I here say touching *Fraud* has only a respect to such Fraud which consists in a Crime of Commission: But it is otherwise, if it consists in Omission, or not doing a Thing. As when a Man fraudulently detains another's Goods, then such Fraud is not deemed to be remitted by a general Release; because this is an Act of Commission: But if a Person, that transacts Business for another shall thro' Fraud or Design omit any Thing therein, upon which account the Person, whose Business he had the Administration of, suffers any Damage thereby, he shall be discharged from Fraud by a general Release.

Fraud and *Deceit* ought to be proved by the Person alledging or averring
^y D. 2. 13. 8. the same ^y; and it may be proved by Arguments, Conjectures and Pres-
^z C. 2. 21. 6. sumptions ^z: And it is proved, if the Quality of the Fact, wherein it con-
sists, be proved. A Person that has once passed an Account, and deliver'd
up his Vouchers, is not presumed to be guilty of *Deceit*: And therefore the
Proof in this Case ought to be full and clear against him, if the adverse
Party wou'd again draw his Account into question, and unravel the same;
because a Presumption lies in Favour of an Account once rendred, especially if
^a Menoch. de he has received his *Quietus*, and has been discharged thereby ^a. But *De-*
^{Arbitr. cas.} *ceit* is presumed against a Debtor, if he has alienated all his Goods and E-
^{209.} *state*, since he contracted the Debt: Wherefore, such a Debtor, if he wou'd
purge himself of *Deceit*, ought to prove, that such Alienation was made
upon a just and necessary Account. See afterwards the Titles of *Debtor* and
Creditor, and that of *Bankrupts*. Deceit or an evil Purpose is not presumed in
a Judge, and therefore it ought to be prov'd: Which may be done either from
the threatening words of the Judge, declaring that he will out of Hatred and
Enmity pronounce Sentence against such a one; or if he will not admit of
the legal Proofs of the Party; or denies him Audience upon an unjust and
frivolous Account. That is called *manifest* Deceit, when the Presumptions
thereof are so strong and clear, that they induce the Judge to a Belief
^b C. 2. 21. 6. thereof, without any other adminicular Proof ^b. Thus he, who does not
do that, which he knows, or (at least) ought to know in respect of an
Office or some Duty enjoind him, is guilty of *manifest* Deceit, or of *pre-*
^c D. 43. 4. 1. *sumptive* Malice and evil Design. A Pupil generally speaking is not pre-
sumed to be capable of *Deceit* or *Malice* ^c. By the *Roman* Law, *Deceit*
and *Cosenage* is so odious and detestable a Thing among them, that it not only
^d D. 3. 2. 6. renders an Act void and voidable, but it is likewise punish'd with Infamy ^d.
^{fin.} Hereupon the *Prætor* granted an Exception of *Deceit*, to the end that
^{fin.} D. 3. 2. 13. no Man's Fraud and Cosenage shou'd be a Shelter or Protection to him ^e.
^e D. 44. 4. 1. For by the Law of the twelve Tables, or the ancient *Civil* Law, this Ex-
^{1.} ception did not lie, but the Person deceived was driven to his Action of
^f I. 4. 13. 1. *Deceit* ^f; and hereupon Persons were often deceived and abused under the
Umbrage of strict Law. For in Contracts *Stricti Juris* no other Remedy,
but an Action cou'd be had. And thus tho' the old Law does not irritate
some Contracts *quoad punctum Juris*, but confirms the same, especially if
a Contract be supported by a solemn Stipulation; yet if Fraud and Force
intervenes in such a manner, that one Man is trick'd by another's Knavery,
or compelled to do a Thing against his Will, natural Equity forbids such
Contracts to be binding ^g; and hence it was, that the *Prætor* introduced
^h D. 44. 4. 1. this easy and speedy Remedy by the Aid of an Exception of *Deceit* ^h.
^{1.} I will put a Case to illustrate the Matter, *viz.* *Titius* by a solemn Stipu-
lation promis'd to pay me ten Pounds, who in Point of Law cannot rid
himself of such Contract by any evasion, if he really promis'd it, unless he
pleads an Exception of *Deceit* or *Fear*; saying, That *I circumvented*
him by Deceit, or *compelled him thro' Fear*: and either of these Excep-
tions

tions irritate the Contract. In respect of the *Plaintiff* this is a *personal* Exception, because it lies against his Person: But in regard to the *Excipient* it is a *real* Exception; because in respect of him it is enough, that the Thing which he possesses has suffer'd ⁱ. To make this Matter clear, give me ^{i D. 44. 4. 4.} leave to put another Case. *Titius* by his Knavery procur'd a Promise of ^{pen.} me, that I wou'd convey to him such an Estate, but before this Estate is deliver'd to him, he sells it to *Sempronius*, saying, *I sell you the Right of an Estate promis'd me by such a one.* *Sempronius* brings an Action against me to deliver him the Estate, which I had promis'd to *Titius*, (for *Sempronius* purchas'd the Estate of *Titius*.) I object unto *Sempronius* that *Titius* had deceiv'd or cheated me. In this Case I am relieved by an Exception of *Deceit* ^k. *Seius* sold an Estate unto *Mævius*; and, on a Pro- ^{k D. 44. 4. 4.} mise of warranting such Assurance or Conveyance, did hereupon give Security unto the Purchaser in Case of Eviction. The Purchaser brought his Action against the Surety or Voucher, which *Seius* had given him on the Account of Eviction, and the Surety was condemn'd *ad Interesse*, to make good the Damage. He makes a Tender of the Estate to the Purchaser, and offers to pay him all further Damages, in Case the Surety be convened on such Sentence. In this Case an Exception of *Deceit* lies. But the Judge shall tax the Expences, which the Purchaser has been at in the Cause of Eviction, and condemn the Surety in these Expences to the Buyer ^l.

^l D. 44. 4. 15.

Whoever has an Exception against the Plaintiff, as an Exception on a Pact *de non petendo*, or an Exception *juris-jurandi* and the like, has also an Exception of *Deceit*: For whoever can abate an Action by any Exception, may defend himself by an Exception of *Deceit* ^m; because every Ex- ^{m D. 44. 4.} ception is founded upon Equity, and proceeds from thence. And this more ^{12.} particularly holds true; if the Plaintiff, knowing an Exception to accrue to the adverse Party, does (notwithstanding) bring his Action against the Defendant, and deduces his Right judicially by Libel or Petition, &c. This Exception is peremptory ⁿ, and has always Place when the Plaintiff's Fraud ^{n I. 4. 13. 9.} is impeached ^o; and it accrues upon the same Account as an Action of *De-* ^{o D. 44. 4. 2. 1.} *ceit* does: But it does not lie against a Parent or Patron, because it sullies and blackens the Reputation of him unto whom it is objected; and therefore against these Persons an Exception is made on the Fact, without any mention of *Deceit* ^p. But tho' the *Roman* Law had such a great regard ^{p D. 44. 4. 4.} unto the good Fame of Parents and Patrons, and to the Reverence which ^{16, & fin.} Children and Freedmen ought to shew thereunto; yet at this Day it is not lawful for a Parent to worst the Condition of his Children in respect of their *Peculiums* or Estates. This Exception is perpetual, and not limited to a Time ^q, as an Action of *Deceit* to the Term of two Years now ^{q D. 44. 4. 5.} tho' heretofore it expir'd at the end of a Year; nor was it perpetuated by ^{fin.} Contestation of Suit. A Replication of *Deceit* is not admitted against an ^{r C. 2. 21. 8.} Exception of *Deceit* ^r.

^r D. 44. 4. 4.

If an Heir sues for that which is *purely* and *simply* due to him, and he owes the same Thing, he shall not be ousted of his Action by an Exception of *Deceit*, if he be prepar'd to give Caution or Security *de reddendo*, when the Event of such Condition is at hand and exists. But it is otherwise, if he be not ready to give such Security ^s. *Titius* did *sub conditione* be- ^{s D. 44. 4. 5.} queath unto *Sempronius* the Sum of ten Pounds, which was *purely* due to him. *Titius's* Heir may in the *Interim* sue for the ten Pounds, provided he give Security to pay the ten Pounds, when the Event of the Condition exists. But if he will not give such Security, he may be repelled from his Demand by an Exception of *Deceit*. The Deceit and evil Practice of a Proctor, committed before Contestation of Suit, does not affect his Client:

^{13.}

but if it be committed after Suit is contested, it shall affect him; because, then the Proctor being made *Dominus litis* thereby, he is deemed to be the same Person with his Client; but yet the Proctor's Male-Practice ought to be punish'd.



TIT. XII.

Of Fear, and the several Species and Qualities thereof; how it annuls an Act; and after what Manner it is purged and done away.

FEAR is defined to be a certain Passion or Impression made on the Mind of Man by an Apprehension of some imminent Danger, or approaching Evil: And of this there is a twofold kind. The first is that, which happens to a Man of Courage, Prudence and Resolution; which is stiled a *grievous* and *reasonable* Fear: And the other is that, which happens to a Coward, or to a Person of no Courage and Constancy; and this is called a *vain* and *light* Fear. A *Reverential* Fear, viz. such as is due from a Son to a Father, or from a Wife to a Husband, &c. joined with Threats or Blows, may be referred to such a Fear as happens to a Discreet and Courageous Person^u. And to such a Fear we may also refer the importunate Intreaties and awful Commands of a Superior, whereby we do something against the Disposition of our Mind, in order to avoid Vexation, and other great Inconveniencies of Life. Again, it is to be observed; that there is one kind of Fear, which is named an *intrinsick* Fear, which is occasion'd by some Natural Cause; as from a Disease, a Tempest, and the like: And another, which is termed an *extrinsick* Fear, which is administred by a free Cause, that is to say, by Man. And this last is sub-divided into that sort of Fear, which is stiled a *just* and an *unjust* Fear. The first is warranted and justify'd by the Authority of the Laws; as when the Law commands a Person to do such an Act under a severe Punishment, and he is afraid to offend the Laws; but if he be afraid of the Punishment, without any regard to the Commands of the Law, it is a *servile* Fear. An *unjust* Fear is that which is brought upon us in order to extort our Consent contrary to Right or Law. But some will have a *just* and an *unjust* Fear to signify the same as a *reasonable* and a *groundless* Fear: In which sense the Terms are often used.

As a Contract celebrated through a *light* or *grievous* Fear is valid according to the Law of Nature, because a Consent and Will sufficient to contract intervenes, (for according to *Aristotle*^v, Fear does not *simply* destroy the Will :) so a Contract celebrated through a *light* and *grievous* Fear is valid according to the positive Law of Man, unless it be in some Cases; because it does not appear by any Law, that a Contract so made is rendred void *ipso facto*, but the Law only orders such Contract to be rescinded^w. And thus by the *Civil* Law, or the Law of the twelve Tables, a Contract made thro' Force or Fear was valid as being entred into by Consent (for by that Law a Person compelled even thro' Fear or Force may consent^x;) nor was there any Provision made by the ancient Laws touching this Matter. And therefore the *Prætor*, the Judge of Equity, introduced an extraordinary Remedy to dissolve such Contracts as were founded upon Force or Fear: saying, 'That what was done on the Account of *Fear*, he

would

would not have to be firm and valid, nor would he ratify the same. By Fear, in this Edict of the *Prætor*, is only understood such a present and just Fear as may happen to a Man of the greatest Courage and Discretion, from the Dread of terrible Objects²: As when his Life is in danger^a; or when he is afraid of some bodily Torments^b; or of Bondage, Loss of Estate, real Infamy, private and unlawful Imprisonment, but not of publick Imprisonment^c, unless he be unduly imprison'd, &c. And it matters not, whether these things are threatned to a Man himself, or to his Wife and Children^d. Yet if there be a *Constat* that a thing is done through a light and vain Fear, I think there is room for Restitution, at least by virtue of the Judge's Office^e. Fear is to be considered from the Quality of each Man's Person, viz. whether he be such as is wont to put his Threats in execution; and likewise to be adjudged of from the Circumstances of Things. And as there are some Persons more fearful than others by Nature, and as Women are sooner frighten'd than Men, therefore they shall be restor'd *in integrum*, upon a lesser degree of Fear than Men^f. *Romani Singularia* 226. The Terror of Arms is said to be a just Fear, though the Person that bears them does not make use of them: For it is not necessary to stile it a just Fear, that the Person should wait till he is hurt or wounded; because then, according to *Alexander*^g, it is not Fear but an actual Injury. A just Fear may also be induced by a penal Precept or Command. And thus if the Owner of an Estate sees Persons armed coming towards him, whom he has reason to fear, and therefore quits his Estate, he may be said to be driven out from thence by Fear.

But a *reverential* Fear is not included within this Edict of the *Prætor*^h, unless some other Impression, or Act of Violence accedes thereunto, as before hinted. Thus a *reverential* Fear of a Wife towards her Husband, is not a sufficient cause to rescind a Contract; unless it be proved that it was founded upon Fraud and Violenceⁱ, even though the Wife should privately protest against such a Fear: For by such a Protest a Contract is not rescinded, especially in prejudice to him, unto whom an Alienation is made. And this also proceeds, though it should be proved, that the Husband threatned him; because if it be proved, that the Husband's Threats have been such as not to extend to any Acts of Cruelty, the Contract shall not be rescinded^k. Though an Act done through Fear may be rescinded by a *reverential* Fear^l; yet if the Presence of Friends or Kindred shall intervene, such Allegation of *reverential* Fear shall cease, according to *Bartolus*^m: And this holds good, though the Son or Wife should waive such exception of Fear in favour of the Father or Husband; for the Act shall be rendred valid by the Presence of Friends, since by the Presence of Friends a presumption of Fear or Deceit is excludedⁿ. The Presence of the Husband, or any other Person, to whom a *reverential* Fear is due, does not induce such a Suspicion of Fear as is sufficient to hinder a Person as to the free power of making a Will, unless Threats are previous thereunto, or some Blows^o: yet a Wife contracting for the advantage of her Husband, has the power of rescinding such Contract on the score of Reverence alone, and a presumptive Fear; and this Fear is always understood to be present, when a Wife, that has been twice beaten, gives any thing. If a Man has beaten his Wife, because she would not agree to a Contract to be made, and after some Interval of Time the Wife shall give her Consent, she is presumed to consent through fear. Fear, brought on a Feme-covert, by her Husband, does not seem to be purged or removed, so long as the Cause of that Fear, from whence it had its rise, subsists: And for this reason, Fear brought on a Wife by a Husband, never seems to be purged or done away so long as Matrimony depends.

Every kind of Fear is not sufficient to invalidate Matrimony, as being contracted through Fear, but the Fear of Death, or of some bodily Torture, is

- ^p X. 4. 1. 28. is requir'd hereunto^p. It was a Dispute among the Doctors, whether a Minor, if he married an old Woman, full of Wrinkles, and without Teeth, through fear of his Parents, should enjoy the Benefit of Restitution *in integrum*? And it was held, that he should not, though it was a *reverential* Fear, and such a Fear as might happen to a Man of Courage^q: For there is no mention made of a *reverential* Fear either in the *Code* or *Digests*. Where a Promise has been made through Fear, and a Payment has been made after some Interval of Time in pursuance of that Promise, such precedent Fear is not purged and done away by such Payment, provided there be the same Cause of Fear remaining at the Time of Payment, which there was at the Time of the Promise made: But if such Payment was made without constraint, the precedent Fear is purged and removed^r. The Fear of Power and Dignity alone is not sufficient to avoid a Contract, nor even of Threats and Menaces^s, unless they proceed from one who is wont to execute his Threats^t.

- By this Edict of the *Prætor*, both an Action and an Exception, *quod metûs causâ*, lies for the Person, who suffers and undergoes Fear, whether the matter be perfected or not^u: And the *Prætor* also gives the ancient Action, which did accrue before Fear was inflicted^v: But if a Person makes choice of one Action, the other is gone^w. This Action lies for Damage^x; and is not given unto him, who suffers no loss by Fear^y. And as it is a written Action *in Rem*, it lies not only against him who inflicted this Fear, but also against every other Person that has received any advantage from thence^z, although he be free from any Crime^a. It is granted within a Year in four-fold, according to the ancient Law, and after a Year *in simplum*: But by the modern Law it lies only *in simplum*. When it lay *in quadruplum*, the simple thing itself was restor'd, and the Penalty of three-fold added^b: And so it is now *in simplum*, the Thing is restored, and the simple Value added by way of Penalty. It is a transitory Action, and lies against Heirs and Successors, so far as they receive any advantage from such Fear or Damage: But they are not obliged to a fortuitous Case, nor to make good the Thing if it perishes^c. But as this is an *arbitrary* Action, the Defendant shall not be liable to Punishment, if he restores the thing to the Plaintiff before the time of a definitive Sentence^d. Nor shall the Defendant be liable, if the thing perish'd without his Fault and Knavery, before he was guilty of delay; but he shall be entirely liable, if it perish'd after such delay^e.



T I T. XIII.

Of a Fault, in Latin stiled Culpa; how it is divided according to the Lawyers, viz. into Culpa lata, levis and levissima; and what these Species are, &c.

THE word *Fault*, in *Latin* called *Culpa*, is a general Term; and, according to the Definition of it, it denotes an Offence or Injury done unto another by Imprudence, which might otherwise be avoided by human Care: For a Fault, says *Donatus*^f, has a Respect unto him, who hurts another not knowingly or willingly. Here we use the word *Offence* or *Injury* by way of a *Genus*, which comprehends Deceit, Malice, and all other

^f In Terent. Hecyr.

other Misdemeanors, as well as a Fault : For Deceit and Malice are plainly intended for the Injury of another, but a Fault is not so designed. And, therefore, we have added the word *Imprudence* in this Definition, to point out and distinguish a Fault from Deceit, Malice, and an evil Purpose of Mind, which accompanies all Trespasses and Misdemeanors. A Fault arises from Simplicity, a Dulness of Mind, and a Barrenness of Thought, which is always attended with Imprudence^f : But *Deceit*, called *Dolus*,^f D. 26. 10. has its Rise from a malicious Purpose of Mind, which acts in contempt of all Honesty and Prudence, with a full Intent of doing Mischief or an Injury. And by these last Words in the Definition, *viz. which might otherwise be avoided by human Care*, we distinguish a *Fault* from a *fortuitous* Case. For a Fault is blameable through want of taking proper care, and it obliges the Person that does the Injury ; because by an Application of due Diligence it might have been foreseen and prevented. But fortuitous Cases often cannot be foreseen, or (at least) prevented by the Providence of Man, as Death, Fires, great Floods, Shipwrecks, Tumults, Piracies, &c.^e Those Things^e D. 50. 17. 23. are superior to the Prudence of any Man, and rather happen by Fate, C. 4. 24. 6. therefore are not blameable : But if Fraud, or some previous Fault, be the occasion of these Nocuments, they are not then deemed to be fortuitous Cases^h. A Fault is a Deviation from that which is good ; and, according to *Bartolus*, erring from the Ordinance and Disposition of a Law. It is sometimes difficult to judge what is the difference betwixt a Fault and a *Dolus*, since these Words very often stand for one and the same thing. There is no one in this Life lives without a Fault ; but he that would speak distinctly and properly, must impute a *Dolus* to some Wickedness or Knavery, and a Fault to Imprudence. The first consists chiefly in acting, and the other in not acting or doing something which a Man ought to do.

According to *Bartolus*ⁱ, a Fault is divided into five *Species*, *viz. culpa latissima, latior, lata, levis, and levissima*. The first he makes to be equal to *manifest* Deceit ; and the second to be equivalent unto *presumptive* Malice or Deceit. The first and second of these distinctions (he says) approaches unto Fraud, and is sometimes called by the Name of *Fraud*. But a *lata culpa*, which is occasioned by gross Sloth, Rashness, Improvidence, and want of Advice, is never compar'd unto Deceit or Malice. For he that understands not that, which all other Men know and understand, may be stiled (says *Bartolus*) a supine and unthinking Man, but not a *malicious* and *deceitful* Person. But, I think, none of those Distinctions of his have any Foundation in Law : For such Things as admit of any degree of comparison, in respect of being *more* or *less* so, do not admit of any *specifick* difference ; as *magis & minus diversas species non constituunt*^k.^k D. 33. 7. 25. For that which the Law says *de latiore culpa* sometimes, is to be understood *de lata culpa*, after the manner that a Word of the Comparative Degree is sometimes put for a Word of the Positive^l, as in *Virgil* ;

Tristior & lacrymis oculos suffusa niteres.

^l C. 4. 1. 8.
Gloss. v. *confutius*.

Wherefore, I shall here distinguish a *Fault* into two *Species* only, *viz. into lata and levis*, though others mention a *Culpa levissima* too. The first denotes a Negligence extremely blameable ; that is to say, such a Negligence as is not temper'd with any kind of Diligence. The other imports such a kind of Negligence, whereby a Person does not employ that care in Mens Affairs, which other Men are wont to do, though he be not more diligent in his own Business. But as often as the word *Culpa* is simply used in the Law, it is taken for that which we stile *culpa levis*^m, a light Fault, because Words are ever understood in the more favourable Sense. A *culpa levissima*, or simple Negligence, is that which proceeds from an unaffected Ignorance and Unskillfulness (say they) and it is like unto such a Fault,

Fault which we easily excuse, either on the account of Age, Sex, Rusticity, &c. Or, to set the Matter in a clearer Light, a *lata culpa* is a Diligence in a Man's own Affairs, and a Negligence in the Concerns of other Men. And a *levis culpa*, is, when a Man employs the same Care or Diligence in other Mens Affairs, as he does in his own; but yet does not use all Care and Fidelity, which more diligent and circumspect Men are wont to make use of: and this may be called an *accustom'd* Negligence, as well in a Man's own Affairs, as in the Business of other Menⁿ. A *lata culpa*, I mean a great Fault, is equivalent, or next unto Deceit or Malice^o. And it may be said to be *next* unto Deceit or Malice two ways, *viz.* either because it contains in it a *presumptive* Deceit^p, as when a Man does not use the same Diligence in another's Concerns, as in his own: or else because the Fault is so gross and inexcusable, that though Fraud be not presumed, yet it differs but little from it^q. As when a Person becomes negligent in favour of a Friend: For though Favour, and too great a Facility of Temper, excuses a Man from a malicious or knavish Purpose, yet it is next of kin thereunto. And it is a Rule laid down in Law, that when the Law commands any Act of Deceit to be made good, it is also always understood of a *lata culpa*, or a gross Fault. Wherefore since a great Fault is equivalent, or next unto Deceit, it follows, that in every Disposition of Law, where it is said, that an evil Intent or *Dolus* ought only to be repair'd, it is to be understood also of a *lata culpa*: which is true, I think, unless it be in the *Cornelian Law de Sicariis*^r. For he, who commits the Crime of Murder *ex lata culpa*, shall not be punished according to the Severity of that Law, but in a more gentle manner: And thus herein a *lata culpa* is distinguished from Malice, or an evil Design, called *Dolus malus*; for a Murderer is liable on the score of his wicked Purpose, and not on the account of gross Negligence. Some say, that, generally speaking, whenever the Law or an Action is touching a pecuniary Penalty, and the Law expressly mentions a *dolus*, a *lata culpa* is insufficient, and is excluded.

A Fault may be committed at three several Seasons. For sometimes it is antecedent to a Fact^s; as when a Man makes Pit-falls for the sake of taking Stags, or other Beasts, and any thing falls thereinto, and is hurt. *Secondly*, it may sometimes be committed after the Fact, or follow the Fact, as in the Law here quoted^t: as when a Person does not prosecute that which he ought to pursue, which is the case of a Physician or Surgeon, who undertakes a Cure, and does not go through with it. And *Thirdly*, it may be committed at the very time of doing an Act; as when a Physician administers Physick unskilfully. A Fault does not only consist in Negligence, or not doing a thing, but even sometimes in doing a thing; though generally it is otherwise: as when a Man does an Act, which the Law does not permit him to do. A *lata culpa* is divided into two kinds, *viz.* *culpa versutia* and *culpa ignavia*. The first is committed, when Men do by a subtle and knavish Disposition of Mind, or by a certain kind of affected Impudence, either neglect^u or dissemble^v the Affairs of other Men, when they are at the same time diligent and provident enough in their own Concerns: And here a *lata culpa* is of so near kin unto Deceit, that the Law often calls it by that Name^w. But a *lata culpa* is not compared unto Deceit or Malice, where the Law does not expressly make it so. Indeed, a *lata culpa* is sometimes compar'd unto Malice; but then this only holds true, when it is not punish'd with a corporal Punishment, or with Death^x. I call that *culpa ignavia*, which points out to us a supine and inexcusable Negligence, such as is contracted by a Vice of Nature, whereby we are less sagacious, or else by ill Education. For it argues too much Sloth to be ignorant of that, which all Men know and are acquainted withal. This last kind of Negligence is sometimes stiled too great a Security or Confidence^y.

A *lata culpa* is such a Fault in a Person as might have been prevented with Care and Prudence; and in other Terms, *Ulpian* styles it *culpa incauta*, ^{Tit. 12. leg. Mosaic.} or a Fault without the Intervention of Caution. Though a *lata culpa* cannot truly and properly be styled *Deceit*, because Deceit infers a manifest Cheat and Imposture, and a *lata culpa* only involves Fraud under a colour of Negligence; yet there is a dissolute kind of Negligence, which being a Veil for a subdolous Mind, is liken'd unto Deceit, and as it resembles Fraud is punish'd as such. The Emperor introduced this Distinction of *lata culpa* in Favour of such Persons, whose peculiar Care and Business it was not to make themselves acquainted with the Laws. The knowledge of the Laws has at all Times been committed but to a few: And, therefore, *Justinian* does not subject such to a *lata culpa*, who are ignorant of the Law; it being not their Business to have a critical Knowledge thereof. For though a Fault of Imprudence may be imputed to such as are concerned in Trade and Publick Business, and yet knowingly suffer Money left in Trust to be laid out on the Publick: yet they cannot be said to be guilty of a *lata culpa*; because they know not the Law relating to Trusts. So neither can Princes be said to be guilty of a *lata culpa*, because they act by their Council and Ministers of State, who are answerable for the Errors of Princes. But such Persons, as either by Office or Profession are bound to know the Laws, are accountable for a *lata culpa*, and their Negligence or Unskilfulness is equivalent unto Deceit in many Cases; as where a Lawyer gives wrong Advice unto his Client, or a Physician prescribes contrary to the known and establish'd Rules of Physick, and the like. Nor is it any Objection to say, that such as are ignorant of the Laws are compared unto Fools, because Fools often make a Trip, and fall through their own Unskilfulness; but these Persons are obliged to know the Business of their own Profession.

A Fault is not presumed, but ought to be proved by him, who alledges the same: And this is true, whether the Fault be an Act of Commission ^{D. 48. 3. 14.} or Omission. For in a doubtful Case that Interpretation ought always to prevail, which excludes and bars the Presumption of a Fault: And, therefore, to toll a Fault a Person is presumed to have done that in another's Concern, according to *Angelus*, ^{2. v. interdum. Gloss. in l. 18. D. 22. 3. 1.} which he is wont to do in his own. So that an Administrator is presumed to have done that in another Man's Business, which he is wont to do in his own. But yet Fire is presumed to happen thro' the Fault of the Tenants or Inhabitants of a House, unless the Tenant himself proves, that it happen'd without his Fault, or the Fault of his Family, for whom he is liable. But though a Fire be presumed to have its rise from the Fault of the Inhabitants; yet such a Fault is only presumed to be a Fault of the lightest nature: And, therefore, since a Tenant is not answerable for such Fault, but only *de dolo*, and *de lata & levi culpa*, he may excuse himself from the Damage, which happens by Fire to the House, which he rents; and he shall not be answerable for any Damage. For a Fault of a Tenant in respect of Fire in order to make him liable, ought to be a Fault of Commission: And, otherwise, a Tenant liable on the account of Fire is not so even by the *Aquilian*, tho' that Law comprehends even the lightest Fault. But, I think, this is otherwise by the Law of *England*, whereby a Person is answerable for his Laches or Negligence.

It has been said, that whenever the word *Culpa* is simply put in any Law without the Addition of *lata*, &c. it is taken for a Fault of a light nature: For there is this Medium, according to some, between a *culpa levis* ^{D. 50. 17.} and a *culpa lata*; and this, unless the subject Matter be repugnant thereunto. As 'tis the same in Witnesses, who, if they depose that a Fault has intervened in a Contract, make no Proof by reason of the uncertainty of

of their Depositions: For they ought to depose and speak in a more express Manner, *viz.* whether they mean a *culpa lata* or *levissima*^c. A *lata culpa* may be discover'd two ways. *First*, When a Person does not do a Thing after the same Manner, as all other Men do it, and fails in his Business and Undertaking. And, *Secondly*, When he is not as diligent and careful in the Affairs of other Men, which he undertakes, as he is in his own Concerns^d. But this I have already hinted.



T I T. XIV.

Of Negligence in particular; how opposed unto Diligence, and of the several Degrees of Diligence; and the Consequences of Negligence, &c.

TH^o Negligence be a Fault, and might be well enough entirely comprehended under the foregoing Title; yet I shall treat of it more particularly in this Place, and shew the Consequences of it: Because a Fault may consist in doing, as well as in not doing a Thing; but Negligence consists barely in not doing a Thing, which we ought to do. And here it is first to be noted; that tho' Negligence, in the vulgar Acceptation of the Word, frequently signifies the same Thing as Sloth and Idleness; yet it is sometimes taken in a harsher Sense, and denotes Contempt and Disobedience: As it is said in the *Digests*^e, *If a Judge shall neglect the Imperial Constitutions*, that is to say, if he shall pronounce a Sentence in opposition to them, or the Publick Laws, *he shall be punished*. He also seems to be negligent, who, being often cited and convened to appear, does not exhibit his Presence in Court^f: And this kind of Neglect also favours of Contempt and Obstinacy; and is without doubt a great Fault. Manifest Negligence is often called *lata culpa* in the *Code*^g; and so likewise is that, which we often call *Negligentia nimia*, or an excessive Negligence^h. The Epithets usually given unto Negligence are such as these, *viz.* gross, dissolute, great, excessive, and an extended Negligence. Negligence and Contempt are in some respects equal, and punish'd alike: For tho' they are different Things in their own Nature; yet the Law sometimes makes use of those Terms promiscuously. Negligence, indeed, differs but little from Contempt itself, especially when it has its rise from a Man's own proper Fault: For then, according to the Glossⁱ, it is compar'd unto Privy and Contempt; yea, in such a Case, Negligence is equivalent unto Deceit and Malice, tho' regularly speaking a negligent Person is punish'd in a lesser degree than a fraudulent one^k.

Diligence is that, which is opposed unto a Fault or Negligence; and so we find it in the *Digest*^l. Now there is a threefold kind of Diligence, as there is of Negligence, according to some Men's Division of it, *viz.* Diligence in the highest, middle and lowest Degree: And as there are so many Degrees of Diligence; so there are so many Degrees of a Fault, say they. A *lata culpa* is opposed unto the lowest Degree of Diligence; a *levis culpa* answers the middle Degree of Diligence; as a *culpa levissima* does the highest Degree thereof. He who is not diligent in his own Affairs may well enough be called a negligent Person; because it is not probable, that a diligent Person will be guilty of any Error or Mistake in his own Matters.

Matters. Every Person ought to be careful and diligent in the Office wherein he is employ'd, and in no wise negligent therein: For Negligence, if it be *gross*, as all Negligence is in such a Person, will render him liable to Punishment as the consequence of his Negligence. And for this reason, every Person that is diligent in his Office ought to fare better than he who is negligent therein, according to this Maxim, *viz. every diligent Person is under a better Condition than a negligent one.* Or as Solomon phrases it^m, *he becometh poor that dealeth with a slack Hand, but the Hand of the diligent maketh rich.* ^m Prov. c. 10. v. 4.

If a Person be bound in an Obligation to do some certain Act, which has a Limitation annexed to it in point of Time and Place, his Negligence is *eo ipso* proved, if he does not do it in pursuance of such Time and Place, unless he shews some Impediment that prevented himⁿ. But sometimes Neglect only in general is to be proved, as when some Town or District is obliged to apprehend a Malefactor committing a Robbery in such a Place; and then it is sufficient to prove, that the Fact was committed so near the Town, that the Town must have knowledge of the Fact committed, either by publick Fame, or otherwise; and that they might have taken the Robber, if they had pursued him, and sent out an Hue and Cry, and done other things necessary hereunto, according to the Accidents of the Fact. The Negligence of a Judge or Magistrate shall be punish'd by a general Action on the Case, if he be obliged to do an Act at the Petition of the Party, and he does not do it, and Damage shall be given a Man against such a Judge or Magistrate, not to be taxed or rated by the superior Judge in virtue of his Office; but entire Damage ought to be given to the Party, according to Evidence, and the true Value thereof, not by way of Penalty for the Judge's Negligence, but for the Damage which the Party sustains: But if the Party suffers no Damage by the Judge's Negligence, or the Judge be not properly apply'd to, as on the Bench, and the like, he shall not be punished or fined. No one is presumed to be negligent, especially when the Business he is upon is *de commodo & lucro*^o: But it is presumed, that a Person who has been once negligent, is so at present, and will be always negligent, unless he proves his Diligence. ^o Arg. l. 5. § 1. 10. & D. 22. 3. 25.

There are many Cases in Law, wherein a Man's own Negligence shall affect or hurt him: As where a Person that is a Creditor, is also a *Negotiorum Gestor* unto his Debtor; that is to say, has the Management of his Debtor's Concerns, and receives his Money for him. In this Case, if the Creditor does not satisfy himself out of the Moneys which he received on his Account, when he might do it, he shall, for his Negligence, lose his Action against his Debtor^p. Again, if a Landlord has not demanded his Rents or Pensions for ten Years together, and afterwards, on his Tenant's Death, immediately demands them for so many Years past, he is presum'd to have been paid or satisfy'd for all but the present Year, because the Tenant is dead, who could give Information, or prove (perhaps) the Payment of the Rents. *Thirdly*, if a Person, who has a Deed or Writing, which makes for the Proof and Merits of his Cause, shall neglect to produce such Deed or Writing, he is presumed to do this, because it makes against him, (for a Person who conceals, or does not shew that on which he founds his Intention, has a Presumption against him:) And so, on the other hand, a Person who produces a Deed or Writing, is deemed to approve thereof. ^p D. 3. 5. 13.

Negligence, as it is a Negation or Privation of *Diligence*, is not proved by Witnesses, deposing, That such Persons were guilty of Negligence, unless they assign a conclusive Reason of their Knowledge, as in a negative Proof or Matter: Because these Things are not perceived by any bodily Sense; and for this reason, such Witnesses otherwise deposing, rather seem

⁹ Bart. Conf.
102. lib. 1.

to be Judges than Witnesses⁹. And they ought to assign such a reason of their Knowledge, even though they be not interrogated. Again, Negligence is not proved *eo ipso* alone, because something was not done which ought to have been done: but it ought to be proved, that such Person could have done it, and yet did not do it.



TIT. XV.

Of Ignorance in general, how divided; and of Ignorance in respect of Law and Fact as opposed unto Knowledge; and how Knowledge and Ignorance may be proved.

IN treating of *Ignorance*, I shall first lay down a Division thereof as it is distinguish'd by Divines and Casuists, into what they call *Ignorantia bona, mala & indifferens*. The first kind of Ignorance concerns those things, which administer to us an occasion of sinning: And, therefore, it is better not to know these things than to know them. The second kind of Ignorance, is, when we are ignorant of those things which have a relation unto God, and to Man's Salvation; and such an ignorant Person God will ignore as inexcusable: This kind of Ignorance being of a dangerous Consequence, because it is the Mother of all our Errors; and, therefore, the Clergy (especially) ought not to incur the same; since the Knowledge of those things, which are contain'd in the Canon of Scripture, is incumbent on those Men who have taken on themselves the Office of teaching the People. The third kind of Ignorance consists in those things, wherein the Kingdom of God, and Man's Salvation, is in no wise concerned: And, therefore, in this respect it matters not, whether they are known or not. If it be an Ignorance which concerns the Law of Nature, such an Ignorance is a Sin in Persons adult, and of riper Judgment: But if it only concerns some positive Law of Man, then it is a Crime to be ignorant of those things, which every one is bound to know in virtue of his Duty and Office. But in things not necessary, and which no one is bound to know in virtue of some Office; yet if a Man through Contempt and Malice refuses to know them, it is also a Crime: But 'tis otherwise, if this kind of Ignorance proceeds not from Malice and Contempt of Knowledge, for then it is not a Crime, but rather a Defect or Punishment. And as the Divines and Casuists have thus divided Ignorance in a three-fold manner: So likewise have the Lawyers distinguish'd it into a three-fold kind, *viz.* The first they stile Ignorance of *Law*. The second they call Ignorance of *Fact*. And the third they term Ignorance of *Punishment*.

Ignorance of Law happens, when a Man does not make himself acquainted with some Precept or Prohibition of Law: As it happens, when a Man imports certain Merchandizes, not knowing they are prohibited by the Laws of the Land. *Ignorance of Fact* happens, when a Man knows the Law, but is ignorant of the Fact prohibited by that Law: As it happens, when any one knows that there is an Ecclesiastical Censure pronounced against Strikers of Clergymen, but does not know this Man to be a Clergyman. *Ignorance of Punishment* happens, when a Man does not know there is a Punishment pronounced against such kind of Delinquents: As it happens, when a Man strikes a Clergyman, knowing that he is thus prohibited to
strike

strike a Clergyman by, the Laws of the Church, and knowing also the Person whom he strikes to be such, but yet does not know that he is forbidden thus to strike under the Pain of an Ecclesiastical Censure. It is Ignorance of *Law* not to know, what is Theft or Homicide, &c. according to the Law of Nature ; and such an Ignorance is a great Sin in an adult Person.

Now what we call Ignorance of *Law* is subdivided into *invincible* and *involuntary* ; and likewise into *vincible* and *voluntary* Ignorance. In the first Case, when it is invincible and involuntary, as in a Madman committing Theft, Murder, or any other Crime of the like nature, through Ignorance of the Laws, he is wholly excused by such Ignorance from the Guilt of Sin, if this Defect of Knowledge happen'd to him without his own Fault, because he was so (perhaps) from his Nativity ; and, therefore, he never could have any Knowledge of the moral Law. And the same may be said of him, who, doubting in some Case, consults some Persons whom he judges skillful therein, and is (notwithstanding) informed otherwise than agrees with Truth : For in such a case, he is excused from Guilt, if he has used all possible Endeavours rightly to inform himself. When a Man is ignorant of that which is done in publick, and in the presence of the People, he is said to be guilty of *gross* and *supine* Ignorance, and such Ignorance shall not excuse him. Though *Error* and *Ignorance* are often used promiscuously in Law, and do in special denote the same Thing or Imperfection ; yet they differ, properly speaking. For *Error* never admits of Truth, but always follows that which is false : But *Ignorance* may be predicated of that which is true, as well as of that which is false. *Error* cannot be without *Ignorance* : But he that is ignorant is not always guilty of an Error, but only he who thinks he knows what he knows nothing of. There is an Error of *Law*, and an Error of *Fact*, as I shall observe hereafter. He errs in Law, who falsely thinks that he may do that by the Laws, which he ought not to do.

Ignorance of *Fact* is also, when a Person does not know a Man to be dead, though the Judge or *Prætor* has granted the *Bonorum-Possessio* of his Estate, and such a Person shall not be prejudiced in point of Time, this not being an Ignorance of Law. But if he knows his Kinsman to be dead, and does not know that the *Bonorum-Possessio* ought to be granted to him, as being the nearest of kin ; or if he knows himself to be the written Heir, but does not know that the Judge grants the *Bonorum-Possessio* to written Heirs, the Time shall run against him ; this is an Ignorance of *Law*, and he is deceived in that which is inexcusable. And 'tis the same thing, if the Brother of the Deceased, by the whole Blood or the Father's side, believes the Mother has a better Right than himself to the Estate^r ; ^r D. 22. 6. 1. 1. this being likewise an Ignorance of Law. But if a Person does not know himself to be of kin, he may sometimes be mistaken in point of Law, and sometimes in point of Fact^r. For if a Person knows himself to be a Free-^r D. 22. 6. 1. 2 man, and who are his Parents, and yet does not know himself to have the Rights of a Kinsman, such a Person may be said to be mistaken in point of Law. But if a Person (perhaps) being exposed in his Infancy, and left to the wide World, by this means does not know who are his Parents ; or has (perhaps) been a Bondman unto some one, and therefore believes himself to be such, whereas in Truth he is not, such a one may rather be said to err in *Fact* than in *Law*^r. Again, if a Person knows that the *Bonorum-Possessio* has been granted to another, and yet does not know that the Time of the *Bonorum-Possessio* is elapsed and passed by in respect of him, and is ignorant that the *Bonorum-Possessio* belongs to him *ex capite successorio*, the Time shall run against him, because this is an Error in point of Law^r. And it is the same thing, if a Person that is appointed^r D. 22. 6. 1. 3. Heir

Heir to the whole Substance, does not think he can sue for the *Bonorum-Possessio* before the opening of the Will or Testamentary Tables, (for he may sue for it before the Will is open'd :) But if he does not know, that there is such a Will, it is only an Error in point of Fact ^u. These are some Instances, which may serve to explain an Error of Fact, and an Error in point of Law.

An Error or Ignorance in point of Law, ought not in every respect to be reckon'd in the same Predicament with an Error in point of Fact, since the Law ought to be finite and certain; but Facts are infinite and uncertain. The Law is known to a Man of Prudence and common Understanding: But the Interpretation of it often deceives and puzzles a most knowing Man ^v. And hence it is, that Ignorance of Law sometimes excuses a Person, especially if it be attended with great Rusticity and Dulness of Mind ^w, as in Peasants, &c. or when a Novice or raw Soldier errs in point of military Discipline, and the like. But in the Business, it is of great Import and Consequence to consider, whether a Man be ignorant of the Fact and Cause of another, or whether he be ignorant of his own Right ^x: For in this last case, regularly speaking, Ignorance is not to be endur'd, as being a *gross* and *supine* kind of Ignorance ^y. And this last kind of Ignorance the Law styles a *dissolute* kind of Ignorance, or the Negligence of a lost and dissolute Person, who is ignorant of that which all others besides himself knows, and which may be easily known: For this kind of Ignorance is founded upon gross Negligence, and too great a Security, which dissolute Men are often endued with. *Castrensis* tells us ^z, there is a Presumption of Law lies against him, who alledges himself to be ignorant of the Law, because all Persons ought to know the Laws ^a: But Persons under twenty-five Years of Age are not included under this general Rule ^b, nor are Soldiers ^c, and sometimes Women and Rusticks are excused by reason of their Ignorance of the Law, when they cannot consult and advise with Persons more skilful in the Laws than themselves ^d. And it is to be noted, that when a Presumption of Law lies against a Person in this Case, such Person pleading his Ignorance of the Law is not to be admitted to his Oath to prove his Ignorance ^e.

Ignorance in respect to the Act of another Man is not presum'd, if a Person be obliged, by virtue of an Office enjoined him, to make Enquiry thereof. For as 'tis no excuse to a Shepherd if the Wolf devours the Sheep, and he knows nothing thereof, to alledge himself ignorant of the matter; so it is the same thing in a Prelate, saying, he is ignorant of the Life and Conversation of his Parishioners: for herein he is not presumed to be ignorant of their Offences, because every one is presumed to know the Fact of another, when the Fact is such as he is bound to know by virtue of his Office, or (at least) to enquire into. But it is otherwise, if he be not obliged to enquire thereinto; for then, in such a case, Ignorance is presum'd as to the Act and Deed of another Man. Hence I infer, that a Bishop who confers a Benefice or Dignity on an unfit Person, is presumed to have known his Disability, unless he proves his Ignorance thereof; because it was his Duty first of all to have enquir'd into the Life, Morals, and Conversation of the Person thus promoted. Ignorance may be proved by a Man's own Oath, unless such a Person alledging Ignorance be adjudged and taken for a Person, that has forfeited his Credit according to the Rules of Law; or unless some evil Fame has blasted the same: For then his Oath shall not be credited, there being a strong and urgent Presumption against him. Ignorance in this respect may also be proved by proving, that the Person elected was commonly deemed and taken for a qualified Person, and as a lawful Man he discharged several publick Offices and Honours.

Ignorance may be proved by Conjectures, though this be not full Proof. If a Man proves his Absence, or any other just Cause upon which Ignorance is wont to be grounded, it is a sufficient Proof of a Man's Ignorance of a thing. Again, Ignorance is *eo ipso* proved, if you do not prove that a Man had Knowledge of such a thing: But this only holds true, when a Presumption lies in favour of a Person pleading Ignorance, and when he is not obliged to know a thing. Another way of proving Ignorance is by the Oath of the Person that alledges it, if he be a Man of Credit and Integrity; because such things as depend on the Mind alone, (as Ignorance does) are proved by the Oath of the Party: But Ignorance is not thus proved, when the Dispute relates to the Prejudice of a third Person.



T I T. XVI.

Of Consent, voluntary and involuntary; and what Obligation waits and attends upon the same; and of Sufferance, &c.

AS *Consent* is a necessary Ingredient in all Contracts, and in several other Acts of Men, in order to bind them either to the Performance of them, or else to undergo some Penalty for the neglect of them, and the like; I shall here treat of it for the better Explanation of several Subjects in the ensuing Work. Now *Consent*, according to *Connanus*^f, is, ^{f Lib. 6. cap. 1. n. 4.} when the Minds or Wills of two Persons, or more, do concur in one and the same thing, each Person upon a thorough Knowledge of the Matter, approving thereof: And *Assent* differs from *Consent*, because *Assent*, properly speaking, is the Concurrence of one Person alone unto any Act; yea, it is not properly stiled *Consent*, unless it be expressed in Terms or Words^g. Thus a *Tutor* or *Curator*, by his Knowledge and Presence alone, ^{g D. 24. 3. 2. 2. vi. 2. 1. 3.} is not deemed to legitimate the Contract of a Minor, because his Consent ought to be expressed in Terms^h. And in all those things which are regularly prohibited by Law, but are permitted by the Consent of any one, ^{h Oldrad. Conf. 327. n. 5.} as in every Matter that is dispensable, and which is contrary to the common Law, a *specifick* and *express* Consent is requir'd, and a *tacit* Consent is not sufficient: And the reason is, because in things that are prohibited and injurious, Consent is not presumed. As in the case of a Clerk's Non-Residence on his Benefice, which the Law prohibits and condemns, though too often practis'd; the *tacit* Consent of the Bishop, who may dispense with his Non-Residence, is not sufficient to free him from the Penalty of the Law; because the Bishop is not presumed to consent to so odious a thing. But yet, because a Dispensation is herein allowed, if founded upon good and weighty Reasons, the Bishop may indulge his Absence from his Living by an *express* Consent. And so in other Cases of the like nature. And hence we have the Distinction of an *express* and *tacit* Consent, notwithstanding the aforesaid Definition.

There is a two-fold kind of *Consent*: The first is that which is *properly* such, and is stiled a *voluntary* Consent: As when a Person does a thing out of meer choice, and without the least Bias or Compulsion of Fear. And the other is *improperly* termed *Consent*, as being a kind of an involuntary Act, or a *coacta voluntas*, as often said; and this we stile an *involuntary* Consent, which seldom avails any thing: As when a Person

complies with an Act through fear, or to avoid a worse consequence; and if this Fear be an unlawful Fear, it renders the Act or Obligation ineffectual.

ⁱ D. 46. 8. As the Will is declar'd by Facts; so also is Consent inferr'd from thenceⁱ, but then the Facts ought rather to be positive than negative: And it is likewise collected from the Silence of a Person present, if his own advancement be concerned therein^k.

^k D. 17. 1. 18. And tho' this may be more properly termed *Assent* than *Consent*; yet I shall here use the one Term for the other, without distinction. Consent also may be induced by a Messenger, a Letter, a

^l D. 1. 7. 29. Nod of the Head, and the like Signs^l. In all Matters of Favour, a *tacit*

^{D. 44. 7. 2.} Consent resulting from Knowledge, is sufficient; because in such Matters

^m Calder. Conf. 50. Presence and Knowledge is looked upon as Consent^m. Thus if a Person be in his Presence named unto any profitable or honourable Office, and does not oppose the same, he is deemed *tacitly* to consent to such a Nomination.

And 'tis the same thing in respect of the Father's Consent touching the Marriage of his Son, if the Father be present, and does not contradict the Contract. So we have many Acts and Contracts in Law, that are perfected by *tacit* Consent, which are too numerous here to remember. As Consent is given several ways, where the Parties are absent, as by a Seal, a Letter, (especially) when it exhorts a Person to any thing, a Messenger, and the like, as just now mentioned: so where the Parties are present, it may be given by a Kiss, a Nod of the Head, and shaking of Hands, &c.

ⁿ Concl. 417. See *Mascard. de Probationibus*ⁿ.

In Stipulations and Contracts, the Consent of Parties ought to be *simultaneous*; that is to say, the Parties ought to agree to the same thing: Because if one Person consents touching one thing, and the other gives his Consent touching another, the Contract or Stipulation is vitiated. Therefore, in this case, great regard ought to be had to the Words of the Parties in their Conference or Discourse^o.

^o Bart. Conf. 59. Where the Consent of several Persons is requir'd to substantiate an Act, the Consent of all of them ought to be had, otherwise nothing is done; as in the case of two Delegates, or Proc-

^p VI. 1. 19. 6. tors *in solidum*, unless they act jointly^p. This holds good in respect of Individuals: But 'tis otherwise in regard to Corporations and Bodies Politick, where the major part prevails. Consent given to an Act does not prejudice the Person, if the Act touching which such Consent is given, be not valid, unless it be in criminal Cases. Whenever the Consent of a Person is requir'd to the Validity of any Act, it is sufficient that such Consent intervenes

^q Arg. D. S. 3. 11. Dec. Conf. 367. before or after the Act^q, unless the Law expressly requires it to be before the Act: But whenever the Form and Solemnity depends on the Authority of the Person, and on the Qualification of the Person to do an Act, his Consent and Authority ought to intervene *in ipso actu*, in the very Act itself.

And thus the Consent of a Guardian ought to intervene at the time of the Contract, and not *ex intervallo*^r. A *conditional* Consent, or a Consent founded upon a Condition, has no Operation in Law at all, if such Condition be not fulfilled and performed.

As Consent is entirely founded upon Knowledge, so those Persons do not seem to consent, who are mistaken, and in an Error, as I shall observe again, in the next following Title: But then, such Error or Mistake ought to appear, and therefore an erroneous Consent is in no wise prejudicial. Hence a Madman, Idiot, or Infant, who is not capable of thinking as he

^s D. 33. 5. 8. ought to do, does not seem to have given his Consent to any thing^s: But a Person that is deaf may give his Consent; because he may be made to understand what is done. And as *Consent* is founded upon Knowledge, so in the like manner is *true* and *proper* Consent established upon a Freedom of the Will: And it is to be noted, That that Consent is not said to be

^t X. 4 5. 5. free, which depends on the Will and Discretion of another Person^t. A Person seems to give his Consent to such Matters as are done by a Judge, if he

he does not oppose the same. Thus those Persons are understood to consent to a Judge, who, knowing themselves not to be subject to his Jurisdiction, do notwithstanding submit themselves to his Cognizance^t: But if^t D. 5.1.2. they think he has Jurisdiction, and have thereupon subjected themselves thereunto, they are not understood to have consented unto it, since a Person that is mistaken cannot be said to give a Consent, as aforesaid^u. Again,^u D. 2. 1. 15. a Person seems to have consented to a Judgment, who, having an Injury done him, has not appealed from thence^v. But of this hereafter, under^v C. 5. 62. 6. the Title of *Sentences*.

He also is said to consent, who suffers and permits a thing to be done for a long time, without any controul, (which we here call *Sufferance* :) And in this case, the Term of ten Years is deemed to be a long space of time; for if it be proved, that such a Term of Years have intervened since the Act was sped, such Act is valid upon a presumptive Consent. Thus a Lord is presumed to have given his Consent to an Alienation, if he shall suffer an *Emphyteusis* to be in the possession of a Person for ten Years together. But Consent is not presumed from Length of Time, if the matter in Debate or Question be of any great Prejudice or Consequence; unless such a Consent be proved to be established upon an immemorial Length of Time. Consent is proved by Silence, and Knowledge for Length of Time, which in other Terms we call *Sufferance*, in an honourable and concupiscible Act, but not in an onerous and prejudicial Matter. For Consent is not presumed to have intervened from such a Silence, when the Matter in Debate is touching the Disprofit or Inconvenience of the Person said to be consenting. Nor is Silence or Sufferance looked upon as Consent, when it tends to oblige another Person than who is thus silent: But, in favour of the State or a Pupil, a Person silent is looked upon as a Person consenting to the Prejudice of another. Consent, which is thus inferr'd from Silence or Sufferance, is called a *presumed*, and not a *feigned* Consent, or a Consent by Fiction of Law. But where an *express* Consent is requir'd, such Consent is not presumed from Presence, Knowledge, and Silence: But such a Consent is sufficient, where Words and other evident Tokens of Consent are not necessary, unless as above excepted. A Person may not only consent by his Silence, but also by becoming a Surety for another. Consent in every doubtful Case is presumed to have intervened; and in all Matters it is sufficient to have consented once.

Consent, as to the Exercise and Power thereof, is four-fold. The first is a Consent founded upon *Negligence*: And this the Lawyers stile a *Consent of Negligence*, and is a blameable Consent. The second is a Consent flowing from Advice given; and is a criminal Consent, when it tends to the Commission of Crimes. The third is termed a Consent of *Co-operation*, and this is also condemned for the same reason, when it is joined with evil Practices. And the fourth kind is called a Consent of *Authority*, or in point of *Defence*: As when a Guardian consents unto the Act of his Pupil or Ward, &c. I have already, under the Title of *Negligence*, considered the first of these four *Species* of Consent; and, therefore, I shall only speak to the three others principally.

Now touching the second *Species*, the word *Advice* or *Counsel* is taken in two different Senses. *First*, as it bears a relation unto another Person: And *Secondly*, as it relates to a Man himself; and in this Sense of the Word it is often taken for the same thing as Deceit, and an evil Design^w. Thus^w Bart.in l. 53. D. 50. 16. when any Person that is not yet come to the Years of Discretion, (or as we say, has not *plenum Intellectum*) is obliged to do any thing with the Advice and Counsel of another Man, we say such other Person's Consent is held necessary; and thus the words *Consent* and *Advice* do import the same thing. And 'tis the same in respect of *Consent* and *Counsel*, if

if a Person intreats, persuades, instructs, or exhorts another to do a thing by shewing him the Advantage that will follow from thence. But the evil Counsel and Advice of a Person, who ought to give sound and wholesome Advice, ought not to be follow'd: And, therefore, he who shall give such Advice in criminal Matters, or Matters of Trespass, shall be punish'd as a Person consenting: For Consent and Advice may be given by Intreaty, Persuasion, Instruction, Impulsion, *viz.* by shewing the Advantage that will flow from such an Act. But, regularly speaking, no Person becomes liable or obnoxious to Punishment *de nudo consilio*; that is to say, when Advice and Counsel is not reduced to practice.

Hence it having been a Question among the Lawyers, whether a Person consenting either by *Negligence*, *Advice*, or otherwise, shall be punish'd as a Person acting and doing an unlawful thing? I answer, *First*, that when a Person gives consent by way of *Negligence*, as the Doctors phrase it, he shall be punished as a Person acting, if it be in his power to prevent it. As for example, if I know that *Titius* will commit such an Offence as Murder, and the like; and it is in my power to hinder his committing the same, but by my Negligence I omit it, I shall in this case be punish'd in some measure. But if I act through Negligence only, and not through Malice and evil Advice, I ought not to be punished in so severe a manner as he who acts and commits the Offence. And this is the received Opinion of the *Civilians*. But, regularly speaking, a Person is not bound to prevent and hinder an Offence, unless the Delinquent be subject to him as a Vassal or Servant, a Son, and the like; or unless the Offence be to be committed against the Person of the Prince, the Safety of the State, or against him to whom I am subject, as a Father, &c. For a Son is guilty, if he does not reveal a secret Design intended against his Father's Life or Person; and so of other Subjects and Dependants. *Secondly*, When a Man consents by yielding Counsel and Advice, he ought to be punished, but not as the principal Actor or Transgressor. But *Hostiensis* distinguishes otherwise: For (says he) either he, who is consulted and gives Advice, would act or do otherwise himself, and then the Person who asks Advice is less punishable: or else he would not act otherwise; and then, because the Offence of the Person consenting is equal with the Crime of the Person acting, the Person giving Advice ought to be punished as the Person acting or transgressing. Yet it is a Rule in Law, That if Advice or Counsel be given in Sincerity, and without Fraud or Malice, it ought not to be of any prejudice to the Person that gives it; because every Man is at liberty to consider with himself, whether it be expedient for him to follow such Advice, or not. Thus, if I advise you rather to lay out your Money on the Purchase of such an Estate, than to put it to Interest, I am not liable to an Action, though the Title of such an Estate should prove bad, if I did not know it to be so before hand, because the Advice was honestly given, and rather Advice than a Command, and the like. But if I order or advise you to lend Money unto a certain Person, as unto *Titius*, and you would not otherwise have lent him the Money, I shall be liable to an Action *ex Mandato**; because you seem to have contracted with such Debtor by my Persuasion or Command. But an Action of *Deceit* lies against the Adviser for fraudulent Advice given: As when the Adviser knew, that the Debtor who desired to borrow Money of me, was decay'd in his Circumstances, and a Bankrupt, and yet affirmed him to be a safe and proper Man to lend Money to; in this case, an Action of *Deceit* will lie against the Adviser, since he gave him a false Commendation in point of Credit, for the sake of deceiving or cheating me†. And thus in Crimes and Offences a Person who gives Advice is punished after the same manner (as aforesaid) as the principal Offender, especially if the Person, to whom the Advice is given, had not

* D. 17. 1. 6. 4.

† D. 43. 8.
& 9.

not, without the Instigation of such Advice, committed the Offence ^z: But ²D.47.10. if he had otherwise committed the Offence, even without such Advice, the ^{11.6.} Adviser ought to be punished in a more gentle manner, if the Offence be of a light nature ; but it is otherwise in atrocious Cases^a. Lastly, it is to be ^aX. 5. 12. observed, that the Adviser is not liable to any Action or Punishment, if ^c6.3. there be no Offence committed subsequent to such Advice given^b, as before ^bI. 4. 1. 11. hinted ; for no hurt is done by the Advice given, unless Theft, or some other Offence ensues thereupon^c. By the *Civil Law* an Interpretation of ^cD.50.16.53. Fraud and Malice is always made not only from the Event, but also from Advice given^d. *Thirdly*, In respect of Consent by *Co-operation*, there is a ^dD.50.17.79: Parity of the Offence and Crime, with the Person acting and consenting, when any one consents by lending his Aid and Assistance: For here he either co-operates as principal, and then doubtless he ought to be punished in the same manner as the Principal in the Offence ; or else he co-operates only as an Accessary, by yielding Assistance to the Delinquent, as when he lends him a Sword to kill a Man, or comes as an Associate and an Accomplice with him to commit Robbery, that he may not be prevented from committing the intended Crime, and the like. So that though he did not actually set his Hand to the Crime ; yet he gave his Aid and Assistance to the Delinquent.



T I T. XVII.

Of Error, and how many sorts there are, according to Bartolus and the Doctors ; how it differs from Ignorance ; what kind of Error excuses ; and how proved.

ERROR is an Opinion or Judgment, whereby a Man approves that to be true which is false, or thinks that to be false which is true, or that to be certain which is uncertain, or that to be uncertain which is certain. *Error* and *Doubt* are the same in effect of Law^e, though they differ in some respect : for *Doubt* is an equal poise of the Mind, arising from ^eDd.in l. 11. C. 4. 5. an Equality of contrary Reasons ; as when a Person is at a stand, and cannot determine with himself from different Arguments, *pro* and *con*, which he has for a thing^f : but *Error* determines a Man either to that or this side ^fC.4. 5. 11. of a Question, whether it be true or false. *Error* and *Ignorance* are often in Law taken in a promiscuous Sense and Manner, and do signify the same Defect and Imperfection in special^g: But herein they differ, for that *Error* ^gD.22.6.7. & never admits of Truth, always following that which is false ; but *Ignorance* ^{8. C. 1. 18. 7.} may be said of that which is true, and of that which is false. *Error* cannot be without *Ignorance*, but *Ignorance* may be without *Error* : For he that is *ignorant*, is not constantly guilty of an *Error*, but is only one who thinks he knows that which he does not know ; but it is otherwise in respect of *Error*.

There is one sort of *Error*, which is stiled an Error of *Law*, and another which is called an Error of *Fact*, as I have said before touching *Ignorance*. An Error in point of Law, is, when a Person falsely thinks that to be lawful for him to do according to the Laws, which is not thus lawful ; or that not to be lawful, which is notwithstanding lawful. An Error in Law, on the part of the Judge, happens either *ex Thesi*, that is to say, by a general Decision, or

else *ex Hypothesi*, viz. by an *Individuum*, when Persons and Causes are named, and the Judge is mistaken from some Circumstances arising from thence; as when he believes such a thing to be true in Law, barely from such a Consideration or Supposition of the Fact. A *Thetical* Error is null and void *ipso jure*; but an *Hypothetical* Error is not null and void, tho' such Error be unjust. An Error in point of *Fact* may be consider'd in a two-fold manner, viz. when a Person is ignorant of a Fact which is done, or thinks that to be done which is not done: And this kind of Error may either be of a Man's own proper Fact, or else of the Fact of another Person. And though an Excuse lies for each of these, yet it is with some Disparity in point of degree: Because a Person, that commits an Error in relation to the Fact of another Man, is more easily heard and excused than he who is guilty thereof in respect to his own Fact^h. And thus an Error of Fact, is, either when a Person knows not that which is done, or thinks that to be done which is not done. An Error of a Man's own Act, or of the Fact of another Man, is sometimes just, and sometimes blameable: That is stiled *just*, unto which no Fault can be objected, viz. because the Person erring had not a true and certain Knowledge of the Thing, or the Consequences thereof: But a *blameable* Error is that which may be reprehended upon the Account of Neglect in not inquiring into the Truth of the Thing. An Error of *Fact* committed by the Plaintiff or Defendant either in confessing something that is false, to his own prejudice; or else in omitting to do something that is incumbent on him, shall not hurt or prejudice him thereby, but such an Error may be revoked. And this is true, till such time as the Cause is decided either by a Sentence, or an amicable Composition, called a *Transactio*; or else by a Conclusion in the Cause: But, after such a Decision, it is otherwise; because then it shall not affect him, and it shall be revoked, when the Error is committed in a judicial manner. This proceeds in an Error of *Fact*, but not in an Error of *Law* committed in a judicial Process; because it shall then affect him as sure and certain Knowledge thereof shall do, and cannot then be revoked: But it is otherwise in an extrajudicial Error.

It is to be observed, that an *Error* may happen either in respect of the Substance of a Thing, or else in respect of the Quality and Accidents of it. An *Error* is then said to happen in respect of the Substance of a Thing, when the Person contracting believes that he makes his Contract touching such an individual Thing, and he afterwards finds the Matter or Thing to be otherwise: As when a Man does in his own Imagination or Apprehension buy Gold, and afterwards finds it to be Copper; or when the Buyer designs to purchase Wine, and the Seller delivers him Wine diluted with Water. And an Error is then said to happen in respect of the Quality and Accidents of a Thing, when any one contracts for a Thing, which is affected with certain Accidents or Qualities, and afterwards discovers that Thing to be destitute of those Accidents and Qualities: As when a Man buys a Horse, believing such Horse to be a speedy and mettlesome Beast, or sound both in Wind and Limb, and afterwards finds him to be an arant Jade, and broken in his Wind. There is also an Error *in corpore*, an Error in Quantity, an Error in Name, and an Error *in causâ*. An Error *in corpore*, is, when one Field or Estate is written for another, or one Heir for another; and this is called *Error personæ*, if it regards Persons. *Ulpian* distinguishes an Error *in corpore* from an Error in Substance: As when Vinegar is sold for Wine; for here they agree in the Body, but differ in the Matterⁱ; and here he joins the Matter and Quality together in respect of the Error^k. An Error in Name is, when a Person sells his Estate at *Tusculum*, for his Estate at *Firmianum*. And so of other things. On these Premises I shall here *first* consider, whether an Error in respect

of

ⁱ D. 18. 1. 9.

& 11.

^k D. 18. 1. 14.

of the Substance, irritates a Contract. And *Secondly*, whether an Error, in respect of the Quality and Accidents of a thing, makes a Contract void. And so of the rest.

Now an Error, in respect of the Substance of a thing, irritates and renders a Contract void : because, as the Substance of a Contract is our Consent about a thing ; so the Force and Obligation of every Contract depends on the Will and Consent of the Persons contracting. But where an Error happens about the Substance of a thing, there can be no such thing as a Contract ; because nothing is more contrary to Consent than Error¹. There^{1 D. 50. 17.} fore, if Glass or a *Bristol*-Stone be deliver'd to a Person in the place of a^{116.} Gem or Jewel, the Person believing that he has bought a Gem or Jewel, such Contract is invalid through a defect or want of Consent. For the Buyer consented not to the Purchase of Glass or a *Bristol*-Stone, but to the Purchase of a Jewel. And it is the same thing in respect of an Error about the Quality and Accidents of a thing, as above related. But it is laid down as a Rule in Law ; that an Error in the Proper or Sir-name, or in the *Agnomen* or *Praenomen* of a Person, does not vitiate a Legacy, nor does it destroy the Institution and Appointment of an Heir ; provided there be a sufficient *Constat* of the Person himself^m : But otherwise, without such a *Constat*, the^{m C. 6. 37. 7.} Legacy is gone, and the Institution of an Heir is lost. And what I here say of Persons, may also be extended to Things sold, given or bequeathed. For though an Error shall be found in the proper Name of a thing given, bequeathed or sold ; yet such Gift, Legacy, &c. becomes due, if there be a sufficient *Constat* of the thing itself, which is thus bequeathedⁿ, given and^{n C. 6. 37. 8. & 7.} sold. And the Reason, why an Error in the proper Name does not vitiate a Gift or Legacy, is, because Names are arbitrary things, invented only for the Distinction of Persons, and the Recognition of Things ; and conduce nothing to their Substance and Being : And, therefore, they may be changed and distinguished by any other way ; and it matters not by what Names we distinguish particular Men^o. Thus he, who has *Stichus* for his Bondman,^{o C. 7. 14. 10.} and by way of Legacy gives unto one his Bondman *Erotes*, makes a good Legacy, if he has no other Bondman but *Stichus*, because he was only mistaken in his Name. But a Legacy is vitiated through Error in an appellative Name, tho' the Testator's Mind and Will appears, and though he himself has usually called it by that Name^p : As when a Man thinks, that^{p D. 33. 10.} his Vestments are included under the Appellation of Household-Stuff. And^{4. & 7.} the reason of this, is, because appellative Names do not denote any Accident, or the simple Designation of a Person, but rather import the very Nature and Substance of the thing itself : and, therefore, if the Essence of a thing be changed, the thing itself is also necessarily changed. Thus he, who by way of Legacy gives away the Wine which he has at home, makes a fruitless Legacy^q, if he has only Oil there ; since Oil has nothing in com-^{q D. 33. 6. 9.} mon with Wine, in such a manner as to understand it left as a Legacy under the name of *Wine*. But sometimes an Error in the appellative Name does not extinguish a Legacy. See more of this hereafter, under the Title of *Legacies*. An Error in the proper or appellative Name of a Person, does not vitiate a Stipulation ; provided there be a *Constat* of the Person and Thing. For though a Notary writes thus, *viz. Titius* has contracted with *Sempronius*, and he ought to have written with *Flaccus* ; yet such Stipulation is not thereby vitiated. And this has also place in Last Wills and Testaments, as before hinted : for if an Error be in the Name of the Heir or Legatary, or even in the Name of the Estate itself, it is no Flaw in the Will, if it be otherwise well described and known^r. Thus if a Testator^{r I. 2. 20. 29.} has appointed *Valerius* to be his Heir, and he calls him by the Name of *Titius*, it shall not prejudice the Party ; provided there be a *Constat* of the Testator's Intention, that he meant *Valerius*

An *Error* as to the Operation of it, according to *Bartolus*, is threefold. The first he files an *unjust*, or an unwarrantable Error. The second he terms a *just* Error, or such an Error as may justify a Man in the doing of some Act. And the third *Species* he files *Error justissimus*, or a very justifying Error. An *unjust* Error is an Error in point of Law: as when a Man buys a thing of a Pupil, without the Approbation or Authority of his Tutor, and this through a Mistake of Law. An Error also, in respect of a Man's own Act, without the Persuasion of another Person, may be called an *unjust* Error: as when a Man thinks, that he has bought a thing, which he has not bought, for it is not enough for him to think that he has bought it, but it is necessary that the thing shou'd be really bought^s. For Ignorance, in respect of a Man's own Act, is not to be pleaded or born withal^t, as before noted under the Title of *Ignorance*. A *just* Error is said to be that, when a Person is induced to believe a thing through the Persuasion of another, or the adverse Party (perhaps,) tho' the thing itself consists even in a Man's own Act: As when *Titius* says to me, *I deliver'd you the Book, which I promis'd you, some time ago*; and I do not remember this. For in this case, though I am mistaken in my own Act, yet it is called a *just* Error; because I have given credit to the Assertion of *Titius*. But that which is called *Error justissimus*, goes yet higher, and has relation to the Act of another Person, and is entirely founded on the Persuasion of him, on whom the Fact depends: as when my Servant, Proctor, or Guardian says, that he has bought such a thing in my Name, when in truth he has not bought it. Such an Error, I say, is called *Error justissimus*^u. This last kind is also caused and has its rise from publick Fame, and the Opinion of the Vulgar: as when publick Fame says, that my Father bought such an House or Estate. And *Bartolus* likewise assures us, that this kind of Error is produced from the Assertion of a good and honest Man: for a sinister Presumption is destroy'd by the Probity and Credit of such a Person^x.

As *Error* is defin'd to be a wrong Notion of the Mind, touching a thing which is doing, or to be done; so, generally speaking, an *Error* or *Mistake* renders an Act as not done at all^y; because Intention and Design, from whence every Act is to be estimated, is necessary to the establishment of such an Act. But then this Error must be in a substantial Part of the Contract, and not in the Name^z of it, or in the Cause, or in some other external Circumstance or Opinion about it. An Error in the Form of any Act, is an intrinsic Flaw or Defect; and is the Cause that such an Act can never be valid: for, the Doctors say, *Potentior est forma quàm materia*. An Error is presumed, by proving the Truth to be otherwise than it appears to be: And it is an approved Maxim in Law, that he who alledges an Error, ought to prove the same. And this is so far received for a Truth, that *liquid* Proof ought to be made thereof, since an Oath is not sufficient in Defect or Failure of other Proof. But let him, on whom it rests to prove an Error, consider, that an Error cannot be proved after a Conclusion in the Cause, if it be a pernicious Error. Though an Error ought not to prejudice the Truth of any thing; yet a common Error sometimes makes that to be Law, which otherwise is not, 'as I shall observe more largely hereafter in another place of this Work. That which was a light Error at first, afterwards (perhaps) increases, and grows to a head; and, therefore, all Error ought to be avoided, as much as possible. But yet Error sometimes is of advantage to a Man, as when it is a common Error; for then it excuses. Secondly, when it is about a thing pretended to be due; for then it induces a Recovery, if such thing be paid to a Man's own Wrong^a. Thirdly, it is of advantage to a Man in a doubtful Case, when he cannot consult a skilful Person. And this holds good even in an Error

Error of Law ; for then it excuses, and does not induce a *Mala Fides* or Knavery. When I say, that it is of an advantage, I mean, a Person shall have relief from thence : for the Law relieves Persons in an Error, and not Fools.



T I T. XVIII.

Of Condition, *what it is ; distinguished, first, into possible and impossible : secondly, into potestative, casual, and mixt ; and what they are ; what Words are necessary to make a Condition, &c.*

A Condition is a future Event, unto which some Act, Order, or Disposition or other is reserved, by a Suspension of Time, and of the thing itself ; for the Effect of a Condition, is the Suspension of an Act : And, therefore, a Condition, is, when the Execution of an Act is suspended, till such time as something is perform'd or done, which may be, or may not be^a. And this is the best Definition, which I can any where find, of a Condition. For a Condition has not any regard to the Time past or present, but only to the Time to come. Wherefore, a Condition, which is made in the Present or Preter-perfect Tense, does not suspend an Act ; nor does it render such an Act *conditional* : But a Covenant shall be immediately true or false, according to the Truth or Falshood of a Condition. As I will give you ten Pounds, if *Titius* be made a Doctor ; or if *Cæsar* be now fighting. For such Conventions or Covenants are immediately true, if you will allow the Truth of the Condition ; or false, on allowing the Falshood of the Condition. And though it be a Doubt with us, whether *Cæsar* be now fighting or not ; yet in the nature of things it is no Doubt^b. And, therefore, a Condition, as it is not said to be a thing present or past, but something which has a respect to Futurity, is in our Books stiled *Causa sub dubio*, viz. The Reason or Cause of doing a thing, which is yet in doubt and not determin'd. If the Event of the Condition be certain, the Gift is *absolute*^c : For there the Gift is not suspended, but only the Payment or Performance thereof delay'd ; as when I say, *I will or do give you a hundred Pounds, when I die*. A Condition of the present or preter-perfect Tense does not suspend a thing, tho' the Parties be ignorant thereof : But a Condition of the future Tense suspends a thing. *Ex.gr.* *Titius* stipulated to pay me ten Pounds, if the King of *Parthia* be living at this Time, or if *Seius* was Consul, or if the Pope was dead. These are conditional Stipulations indeed. But *quare*, Whether such Conditions do suspend the Obligation of Payment ? or whether I, that am the Creditor, may immediately demand the Debt ? or whether I may be compelled to wait the Truth thereof ? The Lawyers, 'tis true, do make a Condition to be threefold, viz. either such as has a relation to something hereafter, or such as relates to the Time past, or such as relates to the Time present : But these two last are improperly stiled *Conditions*. A Promise, which is made under a Condition including or relating to the Time past or present, is due immediately, or not due^d. For if the Stipulation be true in Fact, touching the Time past or present, it is immediately valid, and consequently the thing promis'd is immediately

^a Bart. in l. r. D. 35. 1.

^b D. 12. r. 37. & 38.

^c D. 35. 1. 79.

^d l. 3. 16. 6.

mediately due: But if it appears, that the Fact is not true, the Stipulation instantly falls to the ground, and is extinct; nay, it is supposed to have fallen to the ground *ab initio*; and thus the thing promis'd is not due. And this may serve to solve the foregoing Doubts or Queries. For if the King of *Parthia* be now living, or if *Seius* has been Consul, &c. such Condition does not suspend the Obligation of Payment, but I that am the Creditor may immediately demand the Debt; because the Stipulation is true in Fact: and from hence, the Obligation not being in a State of Pendency, it is not defer'd as it is wont to be in a true *conditional* Stipulation^e. But if the King of *Parthia* be not at this Day living, or if *Seius* has not been Consul, that which is promis'd is not immediately due; nor does any Obligation arise from thence, since the Fact is not true^f.

^e L. 3. 16. 4.

^f D. 12. 1. 37. & 38.

^g L. 3. 20. 21.

^h D. 50. 16. 125.

ⁱ D. 28. 7. 28. fin.

^k D. 36. 1. 63. 7.

^l D. 28. 7. 1. 2. 14. & 24.

^m L. 2. 14. 10. D. 35. 1. 3. D. 28. 7. 14.

The first Division of *Conditions* is into a *possible* and an *impossible* Condition. I call that an *impossible* Condition, which cannot have an Existence either by Reason of some natural Impediment^g; or else, *secondly*, thro' an Impossibility of Law; or, *thirdly*, thro' an Impossibility of Fact. And that is stiled a *possible* Condition, which may happen and come to pass thro' the Nature of Things. I shall here first speak of an *impossible* Condition, which may be said to be such three several ways, as aforesaid. As *first*, that Condition is said to be *impossible*, which cannot happen by reason of some natural Impediment: as if I should say, *If you shall touch the Heavens with your Finger, or shall drink up the Sea*, and the like. And this, properly speaking, can only be called an *impossible* Condition. And because we are said to be able to do, that which we may do according to Law and the Rules of Honesty^h; we are, on the contrary, believed not to be able to do those things, which are repugnant to the Laws, and contrary to Good-mannersⁱ: And, therefore, in a larger Signification, that Condition is also said to be *impossible*, which is contrary to Law and Good-manners, though it may *de facto* come to pass^k. And as this cannot be fulfilled as the Law is, through a Prohibition of Law to perform the same, it may be an *impossible* Condition through an Impossibility of Law. As for instance, when the Condition is, that you shall not redeem your Father upon his being taken Prisoner by the Enemy, or that you shall not allow Alimony or Maintenance unto your Parents, or that you shall kill a Man, or commit Adultery, and the like^l: for such a Condition is contrary to Law and Good-manners. And as such a Condition carries Turpitude along with it, it may in *Latin* better be stiled *turpis conditio*, than an *impossible* Condition in *English*, since it is in a larger sense of the word *Impossible*. And, in these two *Species* of an *impossible* Condition, a Condition is reputed *pro non scripta* in the Elogies or Declarations of Last Wills and Testaments^m, tho' in Contracts it is otherwise: For Contracts are so vitiated and destroy'd, on the account of an *impossible* Condition added thereunto, that even a natural Obligation does not arise from thence; since a Man making a Promise under an *impossible* Condition, seems not to be willing to oblige himself thereby. And the reason of this Diversity, *viz.* that one thing is observ'd in Testaments, and another in Contracts, is, because in Contracts the Will of the Persons contracting ought to be consider'd; and they must blame themselves, if they have not clearly and plainly set forth the Condition and Law of the Contract: For 'tis not likely they intended to do any thing, if they insert a Condition, which they know to be *impossible*. But in Last Wills we more largely interpret the Minds of Testators for the publick advantage; it being highly expedient thereunto, that a Testator's Last Will, after his decease, should have a good Issue and Effect. Hence it is, that tho' the Testator should add an *impossible* Condition to a Will, yet it shall be the same thing, as if he had made a *pure* and *absolute* Disposition of his Estate: For it cannot be suppos'd, that a Testator should add any thing willingly

to his Testament, which should impugn and destroy his own Judgment ^{n. I. 2. 14. 10.} *Thirdly*, we say, that a Condition is impossible in point of *Fact*, which is almost impossible by reason of the Difficulty of the Event: As when a private Man thus stipulates, *viz. If I shall give you a golden Mountain, will you give or do such a thing?* Or *if you carry the Alps beyond Sea,* ^{o Accurf.} &c. But, I think, *Accursius's* Example of a golden Mountain, which set *Faber* and *Porcius* at variance, is very ridiculous: Because a Mountain being the Work of Nature, it seems very absurd to dream, that such a Quantity of Gold can be found in one Hill, as that it should be heaped up with it: And, therefore, *Angelus* distinguishes between a *natural* and an *artificial* Mountain of Gold. According to *Viglius*, those are called *golden* Mountains, which have Veins of Gold in them: And then such a Condition as this, *viz. If you shall give a golden Mountain*, shall not be deemed impossible according to the Quality of the Person. *Fourthly*, a Condition is said to be *impossible*, which is *possible* in its own Nature, but some perplexing Circumstance renders it *impossible*; because it so recurs and revolves on itself, that it cannot exist; the Rules of Law being contrary thereunto. As for instance, If *Titius* shall be Heir, let *Seius* be my Heir; if *Seius* shall be Heir, let *Titius* be my Heir. Here neither of them seems to be Heir, because the one opposes the other, and there is a mutual Clashing with each other. Wherefore, such a *perplex'd* Condition renders a Stipulation ineffectual, and of no advantage, since the Condition cannot exist.

Baldus and *Cynus* observe^p, That a Condition is manifold. For there ^{p In l. 1. c. 6.} is one kind of Condition which is filed *necessary*; another which is termed ^{25.} *possible*; and a third which is called an *impossible* Condition, as already remarked. A *necessary* Condition is that which has a certain and infallible Cause; that is to say, it is both necessary and certain that it will exist and have its Event at some time or other. And this is also two-fold. That is said to be certain *omni certitudine*, or to carry a full Certainty along with it; provided there is a *Constat* even touching the Time: As when it is said, *if the Sun shall rise to-morrow Morning*. But the other, though it be necessary, yet it does not carry any Certainty in respect of Time: As when it is said, *I will give you ten Pounds, if Titius shall die*. For *Titius's* Death is certain, though we know not the Time when it shall happen, since nothing is more uncertain than the Hour of Death^q. ^{q D. 35. 1. 1.}

A *possible* Condition is that which may either happen or not happen, as before hinted, since it depends upon Chance or Fortune. And this also is subdivided into a three-fold Species, as an *impossible* Condition is, *viz.* into a *potestative*, *casual*, and *mixt* Condition. For there are Conditions, which are entirely in our own Will and Power; and, therefore, they are called *potestative* Conditions: which *Viglius* (as being nearer the *Latin*) files *arbitrary* Conditions. As *if you shall ascend the Capitol, or go to Naples, I will give you a thousand Pounds*. For it is in a Man's power to do either of these things. There are other Conditions, which entirely depend on the Event, or on some fortuitous Matter; which the Doctors term *casual* Conditions; and others (nearer the *Latin*) stile them *fortuitous* Conditions. As *if the Emperor of Germany, or if the French King shall come to London on the Calends or first of March next, I will give you such an Estate*. And there are other Conditions placed in our Will, which (notwithstanding) we cannot fulfil at all times through some Impediment or other: And these are called *mixt* Conditions; because they partake of the Nature of the other kinds of *possible* Conditions, *viz.* of a *potestative* and a *casual* Condition. A *mixt* Condition may be understood two ways. As *first*, when it depends on my Power and on the Will of Fortune. And *secondly*, when it depends on my Power, and on the Power of another Person. And a *mixt* Condition,

tion, if it may be easily fulfilled, has the Force of a *poteſtative* Condition. As *I promise you ten Pounds, if you ſhall return out of France.*

Another Diviſion of a *Condition*, is, that it is either *exprefs* or *tacit*. An *exprefs* Condition is properly that which is expreſſed by the Word (*if*) or by any Term analogous thereunto: For it matters not by what Words it be *expreſſly* introduced. A *tacit* Condition, or a Condition *imply'd*, is underſtood ſeveral ways. *Fiſt*, that is called a *tacit* Condition which neceſſarily flows from the Nature of the thing: As when the Teſtator bequeaths the Profits which ſhall ariſe from an Eſtate. *Secondly*, a Condition of Law is called a *tacit* Condition, becauſe it is imply'd and underſtood from the Law: And though this Condition ſhall be expreſſed by the Teſtator; yet it is a Condition of *Law*, and not of *Man*. A *tacit* Condition is inherent in all Promiſes from the Nature of the thing. As for inſtance, I promiſe unto *Titius* all the Fruits which ſhall grow on ſuch an Eſtate. Here is a *tacit* Condition even by the Conſent of the Parties contracting, according to the Nature of the thing, becauſe the Fruits may periſh through the Inclemency of the Weather: and ſo of the like Conditions.

It has been already hinted, That that is properly ſaid to be a Condition, when any thing is given upon an uncertain and doubtful Event, which may either be or not be: For if it be given upon the account of any thing paſt or preſent, the Condition is certain, (for it either is, or is not,) and then it is not properly a Condition^r. And thus Conditions muſt reſpect a future Uncertainty: And if the Perſon, who is to have the Advantage by the Condition, be willing to perform it, cannot by reaſon of the Refuſal of other Perſons, who are neceſſary to the fulfilling of that Condition, the Condition ſhall in this caſe be eſteemed to be perform'd on the Part of him that is thus willing^c. Thus when a Condition, which is repeatable, is added and preſcribed unto ſeveral Perſons, it is not enough that one of them do fulfil the Condition for the advantage of all of them, but it is ſufficient for the advantage of that ſingle Perſon^d. *Sempronius* left unto *Titius*, *Caius*, and *Seius*, a Legacy of five hundred Pounds, if they did erect a Monument unto his Memory. And the Queſtion was, whether they were all of them together oblig'd to erect this Monument, or whether it was ſufficient if one of them did it? And it was adjudg'd, that every one of them muſt fulfil the Condition, and that then each of them ſhould have and receive according to his proportion in the ſaid Legacy that accrued to him: But if one of them only fulfilled the Condition, he ſhould obtain the whole Legacy on the Neglect or Refuſal of the others. Hence he, who fulfilled the Condition, ſhall be called to the Legacy; and he who did not, muſt impute it to himſelf.

A Condition, which favours of Madneſs, or includes any Act of Inhumanity, is not to be regarded, but ought to be rejected and ſet at nought: As when a Man in his Will makes ſuch a Perſon his Heir under ſuch a Condition as this, *viz. If his ſaid Heir ſhall throw his Corpſe or Reliques into the Sea.* This Condition favours of Madneſs and Inhumanity; becauſe it is contrary to the way of human Sepulture. But *quære*, whether ſuch Heir ſhall be ſet aſide the Heirſhip, becauſe the Teſtator at the time of making his Will, by ſuch a Command or Order, ſeemed to be a Perſon not of ſound Memory? And it is held by ſome, that he ſhall, unleſs the Heir proves the Teſtator to be a Perſon then *compos mentis*: For a Man is a Madman preſumed from abſurd and incongruous Expreſſions, and not to be a Perſon in his right Senſes, unleſs the contrary be proved. But the Law here quoted^e ſays, that he ſhall not be ſet aſide or ouſted of the Heirſhip, but ought to be commended for his Non-compliance with the Teſtator's Will, in point of throwing his Corpſe into the Sea, for that he delivered it to human Burial. And thus the Teſtator's Will is not always to be obey'd, as may be

further seen under the Title of *Testaments*. Such Conditions also as are contrary to good Manners, are likewise to be rejected^u, as above related: ^uD. 21. 7. 14. As when a Person leaves a Legacy to another, on condition that the Legatary shall not ransom his Father taken by the Enemy, or shall not allow his poor Parents a Maintenance; for the Person in this case shall have his Legacy, notwithstanding such Conditions, because they are inserted contrary to good Manners^v.

Every Act which is done *sub conditione*, can have no effect before the Condition exists and has its Event. Thus a Demand cannot be made on a *conditional* Debtor, before the Event of the Condition appears. Nor is a Sale that is made under a Condition perfected, till such time as the Condition has an Existence. Thus it is rightly said, That that which is suspended by the adding of a Condition, or a Day, which makes a kind of Condition, *non est pro eo, quasi sit*^w, viz. is not the same as if the thing actually was: For we must wait till such time as the Condition happens in Event, ^wD. 50. 17. 169. fin. or the Day exists. If Conditions are added *conjunctively*, they must all of them be performed; as *I will give you ten Pounds if you go to Constantinople and Rome*^x: But if the Condition be put *disjunctively*; as *if you will go to Constantinople or Rome*, it is sufficient to comply with one of the Terms of the Conditions. In Conditions which consist in not doing (as I give you a hundred Pounds if you shall not go into the Capitol) a Legacy passes as soon as the Security is given, that you will not go into the Capitol^y. ^yD. 35. 1. 7. This Caution was contrived by *Quint. Mutius*, and therefore called *Cautio Mutiana*. But in Contracts upon such a Condition, the Death of the Person to whom the Gift is made must be expected; for it seems to be the Design, that the Heir only should have the Benefit of it.



T I T. XIX.

Of a Modus, and the Nature of it in Contracts and other Dispositions; how it differs from a Condition; and of modal and conditional Expressions, and the Force thereof.

AS the word *Modus* is a Term frequently made use of in our Law-Books in respect to Contracts, Legacies, and the like; I beg leave here to say something of it, and to declare the Meaning of the Word. Now a *Modus* is said to be the End and Purpose for which any thing is given, promised, or bequeathed^z, or the final Cause of bequeathing or giving^z C. 6. 45. i. a thing extended to some future Event. As for example, I bequeath unto *Titius* a thousand Pounds, or such an Island, to the end, or provided *that* he pays five hundred Pounds of this Money, or gives such an Island unto *Mæcius*^a. ^aC. 6. 45. 2. Thus a *Modus* is a Modification added to a Disposition, which hinders not the execution of the Disposition; and such a *Modus* is made to distinguish the Matter from a Condition, which always hinders the execution of a Disposition: wherefore, Words that import a *Modus* and a Condition, sometimes imply the one, and sometimes the other, according to the Order in which they are placed. Because if any thing be bequeathed under a *Modus* of doing something, under the Condition of an Incumbrance or *Onus*, it is a Condition, if the Fact or *Onus* ought to precede the principal thing ordered,

der'd, or the principal Disposition : But it is a *Modus*, when it ought to be subsequent thereunto.

Whenever a Legacy is left to any one *sub modo*, as *that* he should do this or that thing, he may indeed receive the Legacy ; but if he shall not perform the *Modus* thereof, he shall be obliged to refund or restore such Legacy : For in Legacies, and the like, a *Modus* is the Event of a Condition. But if a Legacy be left to a Woman, to the end that she should marry *Peter*, and after she has received the Legacy, *Peter* refuses to marry

^b Tit. 28. c. 2. her, she shall not (according to the *Synopsis Basilicorum*^b) be obliged to return the Legacy, because it was not through her means that the Condition was not performed. And thus a *Modus* is, as it were, a Condition, and so it

^c D. 28. 7. 8. 7. is often called in Law^c ; though strictly and properly speaking, it is not a Condition, as appears in the Text here quoted^d. But a *Modus* and a Con-

^d D. 33. 1. 2. 1. 3. ^e D. 35. 1. 7. 1. ^f D. 39. 5. 4. ^g D. 40. 4. 17. 2. dition are frequently in Law compared unto each other ; and if it be not by the Fault of him, who ought to fulfil the same, it shall be imputed to

^h C. 6. 45. 1. him^e, as before hinted. In a doubtful Case, a Condition is rather presumed than a *Modus* : For when Words are so doubtful, that it becomes a Question whether they import a Condition or a *Modus*, they always rather imply a Condition than a *Modus*.

^f D. 45. 1. 45. 3. ^g D. 12. 6. 4. As a Condition is made by the words *si* and *cum*^f, &c. so a *Modus* is formed by the word, *ut* or *that* ; as *lego tibi decem libras ut nubas illi*, I bequeath unto *Mævius* ten Pounds, to the end *that* he should marry *Seia*.

^h C. 6. 45. 2. This is a *Modus*, or a Legacy *sub modo*^g. But though a *Modus* and a Condition be alike (as aforesaid) if we consider the End and Effect ; yet if we consider the *Principium* or Foundation, they are different things. For in a Condition, an Action does not lie, unless the Condition be extant and fulfilled : But in a *Modus* it is otherwise, for an Action lies there, but

ⁱ D. 33. 1. 2. 1. 3. then the Person must give Caution or Security for the fulfilling of the *Modus*^h. Heretofore, indeed, an Action did not arise from a *Modus*, because it was added for the sake of itself : but at this day an Action proceeds from thenceⁱ.

^j C. 6. 45. 2. It has been just now noted, that the word *ut* or *that* imports a *Modus*, and not a Condition, according to *Baldus*^k : But if the word *ut* be added to a Term that depends on Fortune, it imports a Condition, and not a

^k Conf. 150. lib. 5. ^l Alex. Con. 95. lib. 7. ^m Conf. 219. lib. 2. *Modus*, else it is otherwise^l. The words *amplius non peti* import a *Modus*, but the words *prius non peti* denote a Condition, as *Baldus* observes^m. The word *dummodo* also imports a *Modus* ; and so of other Words of the like nature.



T I T. XX.

Of Demonstration, what it is, and how it is induced ; and how it differs from a Cause, Mode, and Condition : Of the Effects of Demonstration in Gifts, Legacies, and Last Wills and Testaments, &c. and of Certainty and Uncertainty, &c.

D*emonstration*, as used and signified in our Law-Books, is a clear and certain Description or Pointing out of a Thing, which is either given by Deed of Gift *inter vivos*, or else by way of Legacy after a Man's Death. And it is generally induced and made by a Pronoun Relative joined to a

Verb of the present or preter-perfect Tense : For it does not relate to the Time to come (as a Condition does,) but only to the Time present, as *I bequeath Stichus, who is my Bondman* ; or else to the Time past, as *I bequeath Stichus, whom I have bought of Seius, &c.* And it may also be made by Adjectives, which denote an Office, or any thing else, by means of which the Thing named is rendered more certain^a : For Demonstration depends^a D. 35. 1. 8. 4. on the Certainty of a Thing described and pointed out to us ; and thus it is a kind of Knowledge, which we acquire from present or past Accidents.

Demonstration differs from a *Cause* ; for that a *Cause* or *Consideration* is that, which moves the Mind of a Donor or Testator to make a Gift, or to bequeath a Legacy, whether it be antecedent or subsequent to such Gift or Legacy ; and such a *Cause* does not vitiate a Legacy, though it be false, unless it be either proved, that the Testator would not otherwise have bequeathed such a Legacy^b ; or unless the *Cause* was formed conditionally^c.^b D. 35. 1. 72. A *Mode* is the final Cause of the Act, which shews what the Testator^d would have done, by reason of the Legacy, and the Legatary is obliged^d D. 35. 1. 17. 2. & 3. to perform and fulfil the Mode added thereunto, and cannot otherwise obtain his Legacy ; for a *Modus* is to be observed as a Condition^e. A *De-*^e C. 6. 45. 1. *monstration* differs from a *Condition* ; for that *Demonstration* does, for the^f & 2. most part, shew a thing to be already done : But a *Condition* points out something to be done hereafter^f. *Secondly*, *Demonstration* points out the^g D. 35. 1. 34. thing itself, which is bequeathed or given : But a *Condition* suspends the^{fin.} Transmission or Delivery of it to the Legatary, or the Person to whom it is given. A *Demonstration* is, for the most part, made by Words of the present or preter-perfect Tense ; but a *Condition* is made by Words or Verbs of the future Tense : yet sometimes *Demonstration* may be made by Words of the future Tense. The Relative *qui* or *who* being join'd to a Verb of the present Tense, makes a *Demonstration* ; but being joined to the future Tense, makes a *Condition*. As for example, *Sempronius* having appointed certain Heirs, bequeathed *Stichus* unto *Titius*, in this manner, saying, *I bequeath Stichus, who shall be my Bondman, when I die, unto Titius*. Now these Words, *Stichus who shall be my Bondman*, import a Condition, as if he had said, *Stichus, if he shall be my Bondman*. But if the Testator had said, *I bequeath Stichus, who is my Bondman*, and the like, it imports a Demonstration, and such Legacy is tacitly due, because these Words, *who is my Bondman*, make a Demonstration, and not a Condition.

When an Heir is appointed, or a Legacy given to any one, it is necessary that the Testator should point out and demonstrate the Person of such Heir and Legatary, in such a manner that no Mistake can ensue thereupon. And Persons are not only pointed out by their Names, but may likewise be thus pointed out and described in certain by other ways and means, to the end that such an Appointment of an Heir or Legacy should be valid^h. And, ge-^h D. 28. 5. 9. 8. nerally speaking, in all parts of the Law, Demonstration performs the Officeⁱ D. 37. 11. 8. 2. and Part of a Man's Nameⁱ. And in consequence hereunto is that Law, *viz.*^j D. 12. 1. 6. that if a false Name be added or inserted through a mistake of the Testator ;^j D. 35. 1. 34. yet the Institution or Legacy is valid, and shall be accounted equally good, as if no Name at all was added, provided we may be sure of the Testator's Meaning by some Demonstration or other of his : And a Demonstration may be made, by expressing the Quality of the thing demonstrated. Whatsoever is added to a thing already sufficiently demonstrated, beyond the necessary Demonstrations of it, is vain and useless ; but it does not vitiate a Disposition, though such Addition or Thing added should be false. Nor does a false Demonstration vitiate a Legacy, if there be a *Constat* of the Thing or Body bequeathed : As when I give to *Titius* a hundred Pounds, which I owe to him ; for though there was nothing due, yet such a Legacy is good. The Intention of the Testator is to give and to be liberal, and the
Sum

Sum is described by him ; but if the Sum had not been mention'd, in *this case* nothing could have pass'd. See afterwards touching *Legacies*. For it matters not, whether the Demonstration be true or false, provided there be something certain, which the Testator has demonstrated. A false Demonstration is caused by pointing out something which is not : But if the Thing bequeathed be *in rerum naturâ*, a false Demonstration of it does not destroy the Legacy or Gift. If any one sell an Estate or Farm, with an hundred Vassals appertaining to it, the Sale is good and valid ; yea, even as to the Estate, tho' the Vassals are not appendant to it. But if a Man bequeaths ten Pounds of Silver, which he has in a certain Chest, whereas (notwithstanding such a Bequest) he has truly nothing therein (at least) of Silver ; such a false Description or Demonstration of the Legacy vitiates the Bequest, because the thing described or pointed out is not found therein. Demonstration caused by a Term very particular and singular, is sufficient.

As a thing present is the proper Object of Demonstration, and not a thing uncertain, and to happen hereafter ; I shall here say something of *Certainty* and *Uncertainty*, more than I have yet touched on in the Title of *Conditions*. Now that is said to be certain, which in a liquid manner appears to us from our Senses, and of which we have ocular Demonstration ; for I speak not here of a mathematical Certainty^e. And so, on the contrary, that is said to be uncertain, touching which we have not such Proof and Evidence. In the Business of Stipulations, Certainty arises from the Circumstances of the Stipulation itself : As when we consider, what and how much the thing stipulated is, and of what Nature and Quality ; and if all these things evidently appear to us^u, it is then called *Certainty*. On the other hand, when it does not appear, what *Mævius* has stipulated, nor how much, and the like ; such is stiled an *uncertain Stipulation*^v. That also is said to be certain, which is in a certain place at the time of the Stipulation ; as Wine in such a Cellar, Wheat in such a Barn, &c. And that is said to be uncertain, which has not a Being or Existence in the nature of Things^w. And, lastly, according to *Bartolus*, that also may be said to be certain, which though it be uncertain now, yet it is not to be doubted, but that it may be certify'd by some indisputable Sign or other^x : And that I call an indisputable Sign, which cannot deceive us. A thing by nature may be said to be certain in a twofold manner, *viz.* either from the Cause, or from the Thing itself : As when the Clouds are heavy and full of Water, it is certain that it will rain, though it does not actually rain at present ; but if it actually rains, it is certain from the Thing itself. But the Laws chiefly speak of such a Certainty as has a respect unto Time^y, Place^z, Quantity^a, Quality, Form, and the like : and unto all these things Uncertainty may be apply'd. In the Business of Certainty, *Pedius* observes in his Treatise of *Stipulations*, it matters not whether the thing be pointed out by the Finger, or be demonstrated by certain Words and Names, which equally perform the Business of Demonstration. And as Uncertainty in respect of any Sum, Quantity, or Thing, vitiates a Legacy^b ; so it likewise vitiates a Stipulation, and every Disposition of Law or Act of Man. But yet in favour of *Alimony*, an uncertain Legacy is well supported, it being herein explained and declared to proceed according to the Testator's Estate, and the Quality and Dignity of the Legatary : The Gloss on the Law extending to such Legacy, on the account of its likeness unto Legacies left to charitable Uses. And, according to *Baldus*, this proceeds and holds good, tho' such Alimony or Maintenance be left to a Man of Wealth, because the Laws make no distinction herein.



T I T. XXI.

Of the Roman Citizens ; and the several Classes and Orders of them, as antiently divided ; of their Assemblies, Colonies and Provinces, &c.

IN speaking of the *Roman* Citizens, and of the several Classes, Orders, and Divisions of them, I shall first distinguish them according to their Birth, State, and Condition, as they were either stiled *Ingenui*, *Liberti*, or *Servi* ; that is to say, Freemen from the Time of their Birth ; Freemen from being released from Bondage ; and Bondmen or Servants properly so called. For he who was a Freed-man as soon as he was born, (whether he was descended from two *ingenuous* Parents, or two *Libertines*, or from one *Libertine*, and the other an *ingenuous* Person^c) was and is in *Latin* termed ^{c I. 1. 4. pr.} *Ingenuus*, or in *English* a Gentleman, since we have no better Word in our Language to express it by. And it was the same thing, if a Person was born from a Mother that was a Freed-woman, though the Father was a Bondman or Servant, or though he was begotten *ab incerto Patre*, whom we call a *putative* Father, and the *Latins* stile *Pater conceptus* or *quæstus*. For in respect of Freedom, *Partus sequitur ventrem*, the Child born follows the State and Condition of the Mother^d. And this was introduced ^{d D. 1. 5. 5. C. 3. 32. 7.} in favour of Children, the Freedom of the Mother being at three several times of advantage to them, as before remembred, *viz.* at the time of Conception, at the time of their Nativity, and in the intermediate time. Hence it came to pass, That if a Freed-woman, and (afterwards being made an Hand-maid) did bring forth, yet (notwithstanding this) the Child which was born became a Freed-man. For whenever any Question or Action arises which concerns the advantage of the Child, the Child though then in the Womb is looked upon as a Person born^e ; and the Mother's Calamity shall not prejudice the Child in the Womb. But the Father in Procreation of Children has only one time, *viz.* the time of Conception. Hence it happens in favour of Liberty or Freedom, that in the Constitution and Appointment thereof, we ought rather to consider the Condition of the Mother than that of the Father ; nor shall the Father's Calamity affect or prejudice the Child in his being free-born^f. And thus the Father's Crime or ^{f C. 3. 33. 17.} Punishment ought not to inflict any Stain or Spot on the Child in point of Freedom^g. And *Porcius* here assigns a reason for it, *viz.* because the *Jus* ^{g D. 48. 19. 26.} *ingenuitatis* being once acquir'd, cannot be taken away from the Child conceived by any Disaster by the Mother^h : For no one ought to be pre- ^{h D. 50. 17. 11.} judiced in hatred of another. And as Punishments ought only to affect their Authorsⁱ ; so the Laws forbid a Child to be punished without a Fault com- ^{i C. 9. 47. 22.} mitted by him. Hence it is, that even a pregnant Woman condemned to die, ought to be saved, and the Punishment deferr'd till after her Delivery ; nor can she in the *Interim* be put to the Rack^k. But otherwise, a Child ^{k D. 1. 5. 18. D. 48. 19. 5.} born in lawful Wedlock follows the Condition of his Father in respect of Family and Dignity^l, and also in regard to the Place of his Birth and ^{l D. 1. 9. 9. & 10. fin.} Dwelling^m. ^{m D. 50. 1. 6.}

The first Cause or Reason of a Person's being an *Ingenuus*, is, that he was born from a Mother that is a free Woman, as already observed ; or

- ^a D. 1. 5. 19. that he was born in just and lawful Wedlock^a. A second Method of becoming such, was, when the Person was pronounced to be an *Ingenius* by the Sentence of the Judge; and such Sentence has passed *in rem judicatam*: For then he shall be accounted and taken for an *Ingenius*, or a Gentleman born, *ob rem judicatam*^b, which is equal unto Truth it self^c.
- ^b D. 1. 5. 25. The third Method of becoming an *Ingenius*, is, when a *Libertus* or Bondman is, by the special Grant of the Prince, restored unto the Splendor of his Birth, and pristine *Ingeniuty*, which by the Law of Nature was common to Men^d. It has been a Question, whether a Person that is an *Ingenius*, or a Person entirely a free Man, if he be by chance, or thro' Error, cast into Bondage, and had in the Place of a Servant, being afterwards manumised, shall by such Manumission become a Person of a *Libertine* Condition, when it appears that he was born an *Ingenius*, or a free Man, or whether he shall recover his native *Ingeniuty* or Freedom? And the Emperor here decides it in favour of his *Ingeniuty* or entire Freedom^e: For so I use the word *Ingeniuty* in this Place.
- ^c I. 1. 4. 1.
- ^d D. 40. 1. 1. 2. Dd. ib.
- ^e I. 1. 5. 6. I. 1. 5. Pr.

- The Persons whom the *Civil Law* calls *Libertini* or *Libertines*, were those, who being real Bondmen or Servants, were manumised and made free from a just Bondage^f. *Libertines* heretofore were taken in another Sense than now made use of in the Laws, according to *Suetonius* in his Life of *Claudius*. For those were then called *Liberti* that were manumised from Servitude; and the Children that were immediately descended from those *Liberti*, were stiled *Libertines*. Now Manumission is nothing else but the granting of Liberty or Freedom unto a Person that is in Bondage: For as long as he is in Bondage, he is subject to the Power of his Master, and being manumised, he is released from this Power^g. And it is termed Manumission, because the Master takes his Bondman's Head, or some other Member, into his Hand, and then says, *nunc hominem liberum esse volo*; my Will is, that this Person should be free: and after that he lets him out of his hand, that is to say, out of his power; for the word *Manus* a Hand, here signifies Power. Manumission was heretofore made five several ways. For *first*, it was made in the Church, in the open View of the Priest and People, by the Intervention of some kind of Writing, in the Place of Acts^h. *Secondly*, it was made by the means of a Rod or Wand, called *Vindicta*, with which the *Prætor*, or even the *Prætor's* Lictor, touched the Bondman, repeating a solemn Form of Words, and then said thrice, *Aio te esse liberum*, I declare thee to be a Freeman; and immediately the Master, in the presence of the *Prætor*, turned his Bondman round about, and let him out of his Hand: And by this means the Person manumised purchased greater Freedom than by any other way. *Thirdly*, Manumission was made *extra-judicially* among Friends: In which case the Interposition of Writing, and five Witnesses, were necessaryⁱ. *Fourthly*, it might be made by a Letter or Epistle subscribed by five Witnesses, and written or subscribed by the Patron himself^j. And lastly, it might be made by a Last Will and Testament, wherein the Testator might bequeath Freedom unto his Bondman^k. In favour of Liberty, Manumission might be made at any Time, and in every decent Place. It was a Matter of *voluntary Jurisdiction*, and meerly depended on the Will of the Master. And, therefore, it was not necessary that this should be sped *in figurâ judicii*, the Judge sitting on the Bench^l. Note, Those things are said to be Matters of *voluntary Jurisdiction*, which the Parties do of their own accord, and without any Compulsion or Disceputation of the Parties. And those are Matters of *contentious Jurisdiction*, which are done against the Inclination of a Person^m.
- ^f D. 1. 16. 2. 1.
- ^g D. 45. 1. 83. 1.
- ^h C. 1. 13. 1. & 2.
- ⁱ C. 7. 6. 1. un. 2.
- ^j I. 1. 5. 1.
- ^k C. 7. 2. 1. 1.
- ^l D. 1. 16. 2. 1.
- ^m D. 45. 1. 83. 1.

Heretofore there were three kinds of *Libertines*: some were called *Roman Citizens*; others were stiled *Latins*; and a third sort were termed

Deditii.

Deditii. But in *Justinian's* Days there was only one kind of them: For all Persons manumised obtain'd a just Freedom, and became *Roman Citizens*^a. ^a C. 7. 6. l. un. Anciently a *Libertine* was said to be him, who was descended from two *Liberti*; that is to say, whose Father and Mother were *Liberti*. And a *Libertus* was he, that had been for some time a Vassal, and was afterwards by Manumission made free from Servitude. But some time after the Censorship of *Appius Cæcus*, the *Liberti* and *Libertini* were taken for the same Persons: And then those were stiled *Ingenui*, who were descended from *Liberti* or *Libertines*, viz. from such Persons as had served for some time in Bondage, and were then manumised. But sometimes this Distinction was made between these two Terms of *Liberti* and *Libertini*, viz. that they were called *Liberti* in respect of their Patrons, and *Libertini* in respect of those that were called *Ingenui*. And thus by the word *Libertus*, a private kind of respect was signified; and by the word *Libertinus*, a publick respect, viz. the Condition of the Person was express'd. This Distinction or Difference *Laur. Valla* largely explains in his Elegancy of the *Latin Tongue*^a. And it is the last Signification of these two Terms, which the ^a Lib. 4. c. 1. *Roman* Lawyers have retained among them, insomuch that I shall not here treat of others, not being sufficiently acquainted with them. And thus we call him a *Libertus*, who has obtained his Liberty and Freedom by the means of Manumission; and a *Libertus* and *Libertinus* is the same thing, only with this difference, viz. That the word *Libertus* has always a respect to him, whose *Libertus* or Freed-man he is, meaning the Patron: But the word *Libertinus* is an absolute Term or Name denoting him, who is neither a Bondman nor a Freedman.

At this day there is no difference between the *Liberti* and the *Ingenui*, but the *Liberti* have the same Liberty as the *Ingenui*, unless it be that the *Ingenui* are born free, and the *Liberti* become so by Manumission, as aforesaid. Wherefore, *Azo* declares, that all *Liberti* are at this day reputed as *Ingenui*, who being born again, (as it were) seem to be *Ingenui*: which is true in respect of other Men, or in respect of Things, as in case of Matrimony or Dignities. For that which is granted unto the *Ingenui* by virtue of their natural Liberty, is not denied to the *Liberti* that have recovered their natural Liberty by Manumission. But, in respect of the Person manumising, he retains the Right of a Patron over his *Libertus*, and is stiled a Patron^b. Now a Patron's Right over his *Libertus* (whilst this distinction ^b Nov. 78. c. 1. of Patron and Freedman lasted) consisted in several Things. For the *Libertus* or Freedman was bound to yield him due Reverence, the Patron's Person appearing sacred and honourable to him: Insomuch that he could not summon his Patron into Court, without leave first obtained, under pain of fifty *Aurei* or Crowns. Nor could he, therefore, commence an Action against his Patron; if such Action carry'd any Infamy along with it^c, called *Actio famosa*. But by a Law of the twelve Tables, it was lawful for a *Libertus* to pass by his Patron in his Will, without fear of having his Will rupted: For, by this Law of the twelve Tables, the Patron was only called to the Heirship or Inheritance, in case his *Libertus* died intestate, leaving no natural or adopted Child behind him as his Heir. Wherefore, if such *Libertus* had left such Heir of his own behind him, on his dying Intestate, the Patron had nothing to do with the Goods of his *Libertus*. Yet by an Edict or Law of the *Prætor*, it was afterwards enacted, That the Patron should have one Moiety of the Estate of his *Libertus*, though he had made a Will, if he died without a natural Child, unless such Estate was acquir'd in the Wars: For Children excluded the Patron, whether they were emancipated, or in the power of the Father, or were only Children by Adoption; provided they were appointed Heirs, or being passed by, sued for the *Bonorum-Possessio*. ^c D. 2. 4. 9. 12.

I have dwelt the longer on this Division of the *Ingenuus*, *Libertus* and *Libertinus* among the *Romans*, though the same is now out of use, because there is frequent mention made of these Terms in the Books of the ancient Lawyers, and in the Writings of the *Roman* Historians; and the proper Signification not being obvious to every one, or (at least) sufficiently understood by them, I thought it not improper to add something here for the better Illustration of them in the following Work: For these Words or Terms are not always taken and used in the same Sense, but sometimes in a different manner. Of Bondmen I have already discoursed under another Title, and therefore need not repeat the Matter again: only thus much may be observed by the way, *viz.* that at this day we make use of Servants that are Freemen, and not Bondmen, as heretofore: And therefore, we are not obliged on their account any further than their Wages extends itself, as the *Romans* were. And the same obtains in respect of Children under the power of their Fathers, being Minors. But if Children have any Estates or Goods of their own, according to the *Roman* Law, their Fathers are only convened and condemned as lawful Guardians *de Peculio*, *viz.* touching what they have acquir'd by their Parsimony^a; and being condemned, are obliged to pay their Childrens Debts out of their Childrens Substance. So that, according to the Custom of *Holland*, now whatever Estate a Child has, is understood as a *Peculium*^c. But of this hereafter, under that Title.

^a D. 15. 1. 39.

^c D. 15. 1. 52.
pr.

As to Order and Degree of Dignity, the *Roman* Citizens were divided into three distinct Orders or Classes, according to the Poet *Ausonius*;

Martia Roma Triplex, Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

That is to say, into the Order of Senators, Knights, and Plebeians; which last we call the Populace, though in a large Sense of the word *Plebs*, the Knights were also couch'd under it. For after the Expulsion of their Kings, the *Romans* were thus distributed into these three Orders. The Senatorial Order consisted of such Persons as were chosen by the Kings, then by the Consuls, and afterwards by the Censors, into the Senate or great Council of State, whether the same were Patricians, Knights, or Plebeians. Those were of the *Equestrian* Order, which, being three hundred in number, and chosen by *Romulus* out of the whole Multitude, he called *Celeres*, from *Celer*, (as some think) the Murderer of *Remus*: And these Persons were afterwards, by *Tarquinius Priscus*, increased to the number of six hundred, and were the *Garde du Corps* to the Emperors after the Fall of the *Roman* Liberties. Those Persons only were chosen into the *Equestrian* Order, who had Estates to the Value of four hundred thousand Sesterces, which amounts to almost ten thousand *Aurei* or *Italian* Ducats; and they had a Horse given them by the Censor, at the publick Charge, and a Gold Ring, to distinguish them from the Plebeians. The ancient Rules and Institutions touching this Order, were introduced by *Quintus Fabius*.

The first Division of the *Roman* People, which was made by *Romulus* himself, was into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And as the first were such Persons as were illustrious on the account of their high Birth, Vertues, and Riches, as times went then; so he distinguish'd them from the poor, obscure, and lower sort of People, who being of an inferior Rank and Fortune, were stiled *Plebeians*, or the Populace. The first were either Senators themselves, or the Descendants of Senators, or that had rendred themselves eminent in the Service of War, and had the Government of the City committed to them under the Kings, and all the chief Offices of State; and Matters of Judicature did for some time belong to them, till these Matters were transferr'd to the Knights, out of which the *Centumvirs* being elected, they

they became Judges. The *Plebeians* at first had no Right of voting in the State, and were not admitted to any Office of Dignity or Magistracy, as being unskilful therein, or not at leisure to attend the same: But yet they underwent the Duties of War, and paid Taxes to the Government. These he called *Rusticks*, for that they were to till the Ground, and to look after the Cattle, and to follow handy-craft Trades, &c.

The *Roman* People had for Counsel, and the Dispatch of Business, divers Assemblies or Meetings: some of which were stiled *Calata Comitia*; and these were summoned or called together by a lawful Magistrate, to determine any Matter by way of giving their Voices. They were called *Comitia à Coeundo*, viz. from their coming together, without the Addition of any other Word; or else *Comitia Calata*, from their being called together: and this either from the *Greek* word καλέω, or the old *Latin* Verb *calo*, signifying to call or summon: Though in process of time these general Assemblies of the People, called *Calata Comitia*, were only held on great and solemn Occasions, either for the Inauguration of some *Pontiff*, *Augur*, *Flamen*, or Person stiled *Rex Sacrorum*; or else for the settling of Last Wills and Testaments, and the like: And from hence Wills, that were made in these grand Assemblies, were stiled *Testamenta Calatis Comitibus*. For these Assemblies were only called together twice a Year, by the Sound of a Horn or Trumpet, that Testators might, in their Presence, declare and execute their Wills, by making the whole Body of the People, as it were, Witnesses thereunto: And this was done in time of Peace, to prevent Forgery. Yet these Assemblies differ'd from a Council, because when these Assemblies were called, by a Horn or Trumpet, all the People were commanded to be present: But a Council was, when the People were assembled by the Magistrates, on the score of some judicial Matter or Proceeding.

A Council at *Rome* consisted of Knights and Senators; and in the Provinces of Assessors, whom we call Counsellors, or the Members of the Council: And hence the Laws make frequent mention of Manumission in the presence of the Council; for these Courts or Councils exercised *voluntary* as well as *contentious* Jurisdiction. These kinds of Assemblies were sometimes in *Latin* termed *Comitia Pontificia*, (for I speak of the august Assemblies) and sometimes *Comitia Sacerdotum*, in the same Sense as others were stiled *Consularia* and *Ædilitia Comitia*: Because the Pontiffs were chosen in these, as the Consuls and Ædiles were in those. But,

As the City of *Rome* was divided into Wards, Tribes, and Centuries, there were several sorts of Assemblies or *Comitia*, (as *Aul. Gellius*, *Varro*, and *Alex. ab Alexandro* tell us:) And these Assemblies were either stiled *Comitia Curiata*, *Comitia Tributa*, or *Comitia Centuriata*. The *Comitia Curiata* or Ward-Motes were the first and most ancient of the *Roman* Assemblies, wherein all Matters of State were debated and transacted. For before the *Comitia Centuriata* and *Comitia Tributa* were founded, all Matters relating to the Government of the Commonwealth were handled herein. In these Assemblies Kings^f, and other Magistrates, were created; and all^f Liv. lib. i. Laws, which were made even at that time, were formed and enacted there, and so likewise were Matters of Judicature determined there: so that all Things, which were dispatched by the Suffrages of the People, were managed in no other Places than in these Assemblies of the Wards or *Curie*. *Dionysius Halicarn.* assures us, that *Numa* was declared King in these Ward-Motes; and, I think, he says the same of *Servius Tullius*: For all the Kings, except *Tarquin*, surnamed the *Proud*, were created there. And the same Author in his fourth Book, speaking of the *Comitia Centuriata*, founded by *Servius Tullius*, observes, that these three Things were in the power of the People, viz. the Right of creating Magistrates, the Business of confirming or

abrogating Laws, as well respecting civil as military Affairs, and the power of decreeing War or Peace ; and these things were transacted in the Ward-Motes by Suffrages. But the Authority of the Senate was added in the final Conclusion of all these Matters. The Kings had at first the Right of convening these Ward-Motes, as having the supreme and sovereign Authority vested in them. But when the ancient Form of Government was changed into a Commonwealth upon the creating of Consuls, this Method and Right of convening the People to the *Comitia Curiata*, was transferr'd to other Persons, as to the Consuls, Prætors, Dictators, &c. No certain Time was settled for holding this Assembly, but it was entirely left to the Necessity and Exigency of publick Affairs to determine the same : But this was not to be done on all Days indiscriminately, but only on *comitial* Days. The Manner and Form of convening this Assembly was solemn and religious ; but as the Rites and Ceremonies were many, it will be too tedious to enumerate them in this place : wherefore I must refer the Reader to the *Roman Antiquities*.

§ Liv. lib. 1.
c. 42, & 43.

As the *Comitia Curiata* were so called from the *Curia* or Wards, so the *Comitia Centuriata* had their Name from the Centuries. Wherefore, I shall first consider what the Centuries were, and by whom instituted ; by the Knowledge whereof we shall the better understand what the *Comitia Centuriata* were, and the Nature of them. *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of the *Romans*, according to *Livy*, and other Writers, was the Author and Founder of these Centuries[§]. This Prince was entirely a Republican, notwithstanding his Dignity ; yet could not bear to see the Government thus depend on the Dregs of the People, as it did : he resolved to transfer all the Authority into the Body of the Nobility and *Patricians*, where he hoped to meet with juster Views. The Enterprize was attended with great Difficulties, (for he had to do with a People of the World the most haughty and jealous of their Rights,) and, therefore, to bring them to remit part, he must deceive them with the Bait of some Advantage more considerable. The *Romans* at that time paid certain Imposts by Head into the publick Treasury ; and as at the beginning every Man was much upon an Equality, they had been all subject to the same Tribute, which they continued to pay upon the same Equality, though Succession of Time had made great difference between the Estates and others. *Servius*, to dazzle the People, and to know the strength of his State, represented in an Assembly, that the number of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, and their Riches, being considerably increased by the multitude of Strangers that had settled in the City, he thought it not just a poor Citizen should contribute to the publick Expence as much as the richest ; and that those Impositions should be proportion'd to every one's Ability : But that in order to get an exact Knowledge of this Particular, all the Citizens, upon the greatest Penalty, should be oblig'd on Oath to give in a faithful Account of what they were worth, to serve as a Rule to the Commissioners, which the Assembly of the People should appoint, to settle this Proportion. The People, who saw in this Proposal nothing but their own ease, received it with great Applauses ; and the whole Assembly unanimously gave the King power to establish in the Government whatever he should think most agreeable to the Good of the Publick. That Prince, to effect his purpose, first divided all the Inhabitants of the City, without distinction of Birth or Rank, into four Tribes, called *the Tribes of the City*. He disposed into twenty-six other Tribes the Citizens that dwelt in the Country and Territory of *Rome*. And then he instituted the *Census*, which was nothing more than a List or Roll of all the *Roman* Citizens, containing their Age, Substance, Profession, and the Name of the Tribe and *Curia*, and the Number of their Children and Slaves.

Slaves. There was found to be then in *Rome*, and its Territory, above fourscore thousand Citizens able to bear Arms.

Servius divided this great number into six Classes, composing each Class of divers Centuries of Foot. He put into the first fourscore Centuries, into which he admitted none but Senators, Patricians, or Men remarkable for their Wealth; and each was to be worth a hundred *Minæ*, or ten thousand *Drachmæ*. These fourscore Companies of the first Class were divided into two Orders: The first consisting of the most antient, all above forty-five Years old were allotted for the Guard and Defence of the City; and the other forty Companies, made up of those from seventeen to five and forty, were to march into the Field, and to War. They had all the same Arms, offensive and defensive: The Offensive were the Javelin, Pike, and Halberd, and the Sword; and their Defensive were the Head-piece and the Cuirass, &c. They likewise dispos'd under the first Class all the Cavalry, whereof they made twelve Companies, consisting of the richest and chiefest Men of the City, and six other Companies that were not of so high a Rank. To these were added two other Centuries of Artificers, who follow'd the Camp unarmed, and whose Business was to prepare and manage the Machines of War. The second Class consisted but of twenty Centuries, of those that were worth at least seventy-five *Minæ*. They used much the same Arms as the Citizens of the first Class, and were distinguished only by the difference of their Shield. There was, in like manner, but twenty Centuries in the third Class, and a Man was required to have fifty *Minæ* to be admitted into it. The fourth Class was composed of the same number of Centuries as the two former; and those that were placed in this Class, were to be worth at least twenty-five *Minæ*. In the fifth Class there were thirty Centuries, in which were placed all those that had at least twelve *Minæ* and a half. Their only Arms were Slings, and generally they fought out of Rank, and upon the Wings of the Army. The sixth Class had but one Century, which indeed could not so properly be called a Century, as a confused Multitude of poor Citizens. They were called *Proletarii*, as being no otherwise useful to the State, than by stocking it with Children; or *Exempti*, because they were excused from going to the Wars.

Servius having established this Distinction among the Citizens of the same Republick, ordain'd, that the People should be assembled by Centuries, whenever there was occasion to elect Magistrates, make Laws, declare War, examine into Crimes committed against the Commonwealth, or against the Privilege of any Order. The Assembly was to be held out of the City in the Field of *Mars*. And it belonged to the Sovereign or Prime Magistrate to call these Assemblies, as well as the *Curie*; and all Deliberations were here to be preceded by *Auspices*, which gave great Authority to the Prince and *Patricians*, who were vested with the chief Offices of the Priesthood. It was further agreed, that the Votes should be gather'd by Centuries, whereas before they were reckon'd by Tale; that the ninety-eight Centuries of the first Class should give their Votes first. *Servius* by this Regulation actually convey'd the whole Authority of the Government into this Body, made up of the great Men of *Rome*; and without openly depriving the *Plebeians* of their Right of Suffrage, he, by this Division, made it of no use to them. For the whole Nation consisting but of one hundred and ninety-three Centuries, and ninety-eight of these being in the first Class, if there were but ninety-seven of the same Opinion; that is to say, a Majority of the one hundred ninety-three^h, the Affair was concluded: And then^h the first Class, compos'd as aforesaid, of the chief Men in *Rome*, had alone the making of all publick Decrees. But if any Voices were wanting, and some Centuries of the first Class were not of the same Opinion with the rest,

^h Dion. lib. 3.

rest, then they called in the second Class, and when those two Classes were of the same Mind, it was utterly unnecessary to proceed to the third. Thus the common People had not the least power when the Votes were gather'd by Centuries; whereas when they were taken by *Curiae*, the Voices being reckon'd by their number, the meanest *Plebeian* had as much weight as the greatest Senator. After this the Assemblies, by *Curiae*, were only held for the Election of the *Flamens*, viz. the Priests of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Romulus*, and to chuse the chief *Curio*, and some Under-Magistrates, which we shall speak of in their proper place.

Lastly, it is to be observed, That these Assemblies of the Centuries were convened by the Consuls then in beingⁱ; and if there were no such Persons then existing, they were then to be summoned by the *Inter-reges* and *Dictators*^k, for the sake of creating ordinary Magistrates of the greater Rank and Quality^l, and likewise for making of Laws of the highest Importance^m (from thence called *Leges Centuriatae*), for declaring of War; and decreeing Impeachments for Treason, stiled *Judicia Perduellionum*ⁿ. Besides the Persons already mentioned, the *Prætors* oftentimes called these Assemblies together for the sake of other judicial Matters inferior to Treason^o. And in these Assemblies, all Persons had the Right of Suffrage, that were registred as Citizens and Freed-men of *Rome*^p: But the Senators were the Authors and Beginners of all Matters propounded in them^q. A Law was here propounded twenty-seven Days at least before it could pass into an Act, during which time all Persons had the power of persuading or dissuading the passing of a Law^r. In the Choice of Magistrates they proceeded by ballotting, and every Person that gave his Vote had as many Tablets given him, as there were Candidates, marked with the Letter or Name of the Candidates^s. In making of Laws, two Tables were given to each Person having a Vote therein; one with the Letters *U. R. uti rogas*, inscrib'd; and the other with the Letter *A. viz. antiquo*. See *Cicero's* Epistles to *Atticus*^t. All of the Voters passed over narrow Bridges, according to their Centuries, on being called by the Cryer; and there stood at the Entrance of these Bridges, Persons who gave them out their Tablets. When they had passed over these Bridges, they came into a Coop or Penn, at the Entrance of which the *Rogators* or Scrutineers received the Tablet in an Urn or Box, as every one was disposed to vote^u. These Scrutineers kept and numbered their Votes by pricking Holes in the Tablet^v; and as the Majority was inclin'd, declar'd and publish'd the Scrutiny. The Magistrate who was chosen, was notify'd to the People by the Voice of the Cryer, and then carry'd out of the *Campus Martius*, attended by the Acclamations of a numerous Multitude. And whether a Law was accepted or not, it was also pronounced by the Voice of the common Cryer^w. We have been thus particular in our Account of this new Plan of Government, and these Matters, only because, without the Knowledge thereof, it would be difficult to understand what we shall hereafter relate touching publick Offices, and the like.

The third Assembly of the People was that called the *Comitia Tributa*, wherein all the inferior Magistrates, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were created. This Assembly of the Tribes decreed the Provinces unto Persons, and assigned other Curators of the Colonies. Among the Priests, at first only the *Pontifex Maximus*, or High-Priest, was created by it; but afterwards by a Law of *Domitius*, the other Pontiffs, and many other Priests, were created by it. The Laws, which the Commons enacted, were made in this Assembly, as touching Peace^x; and some judicial Matters were also discuss'd and handled here. A Triumph was sometimes decreed, and Freedom of the City, and Right of Suffrage was also granted by this Assembly^y. It was held either by the Consuls or the Tribunes of the People, or by the chief

ⁱ Liv. lib. 10. c. 11.

^k Aul. Gell. lib. 13. c. 15.

^l Liv. lib. 3. c. 34.

^m Liv. 31. c. 6.

ⁿ Liv. lib. 6. c. 20.

^o Liv. 26. c. 3.

^p Cic. de ll. lib. 3. c. 19.

^q Liv. lib. 1. c. 17.

^r Liv. lib. 3. c. 1.

^s Cic. de ll. lib. 3. c. 16.

^t Liv. 1. Epist. 11.

^u Liv. lib. 10.

^v Cicer. Phil. 2. c. 33.

^w Cic. in Ver. lib. 5. c. 15.

^x Liv. lib. 30. c. 43.

^y Liv. lib. 27. c. 5.

chief Pontiffs, if the Business of creating Priests was in Agitation^r: And it^r was held either in the *Campus Martius*, or in the Capitol, or in the *Prata*^r *Flaminea*, or at the *Rostra*, without consulting the Senate, or any sacred Rites, unless it were by such *Omens* as were observed from the Heavens. The Commons voted according to their Tribes, exclusive of the Nobility. And though this Assembly was governed almost in the same manner as that of the Centuries^z; yet the Magistrate who called it made different^z Speeches from that of the Centuries. ^r Liv. lib. 25. c. 5. ^z Plin. lib. 18. c. 6.

Provinces among the *Romans* were those Countries into which they sent their Pro-consuls and Lieutenants, for the Administration of Justice; and they were so called, according to the Grammarians, *quasi procul victæ*. But *Bartolus* says^a, that a Province among the *Romans* was that State or Country which was distinct and separated from *Italy*: which Notion of his I think to be false, because they had their Provinces even in *Italy* itself. But, to consider the matter a little more clearly, the *Romans* understood the word *Province* in a three-fold Sense, *viz.* *First*, for that Country which they had either subdued by their Arms, or brought into their Power by some other means; and such Country they subjected to the Administration of one of their own Magistrates. *Secondly*, for any other Country, wherein the *Roman* Generals waged War in the Name of the Publick. And, *thirdly*, for the Administration of any publick Office. *Bartolus* likewise assures us^b, that a Province may be said to be a State or City that has a distinct Territory, which acknowledges no Superior, as *Tuscany*, *Lombardy*, &c. But I shall here speak of Provinces in the first and proper Signification of the Term. ^a In l. 99. D. 50. 16. ^b In l. un. C. 11. 21.

Now there were some Provinces, whilst the *Roman* Commonwealth subsisted, that were stiled *Consular*, and others that were called *Prætorian* Provinces. After the Fall of the *Roman* Liberties, there were some Provinces in the Disposition of the Emperors, and others that the People had the Disposal of. The *Consular* Provinces were those that were under the Government of the Consuls residing in the City, and which they obtained by a consular Right; and hence Pro-consuls were sent unto these, and they were often called Proconsular Provinces. The *Prætorian* Provinces were such, as the Prætors in the City obtained as Prætors; and hereunto Pro-Prætors were sent. But there were certain Provinces by name, over which the Consuls had the Super-intendance; and not any over which the Prætors had the Care, but only as it casually happen'd; and they took their Name from the Name and Office of the Magistrates that obtained them. Both these kinds of Provinces were in the Gift of the Senate before the time of the Emperors: But the Nature of the Government, and Disposal of each, was different. For the *Consular* Provinces were decreed to Persons the Year following after their Consulship ended. And the *Prætorian* Provinces were decreed unto the Prætors the present Year; but their Creation did not take effect till the Calends of *January*, after they had quitted their Office of Prætor.

In process of time, when the Emperors seized some of the Provinces into their Hands, they sent Presidents, and the People sent Pro-consuls and Pro-prætors into theirs: And this Division of the Provinces was made by an Institution of *Augustus Cæsar*. For when he had got the Administration of the whole Empire into his Clutches, and had the Power of Peace and War, he made this two-fold Division of the Empire, by assuming that Part of it to himself, which wanted the Defence and Protection of the Soldiery; and the other Part, which might easily be in subjection, without the Help of Arms, he gave unto the People. He made several Provinces; some of which were called *Imperial*, and others *Popular* Provinces. See *Suetonius* and *Strabo*. All Cities or States that were subject to one President

sident or Metropolitan, made a Province. But some say, there may be two Mother-Cities in one and the same Province: which seems monstrous, because there cannot be two Heads to the same Body. Yet one Province may be divided into two, but not so without the Emperor's Rescript or Grant. And so, on the contrary, one Province may be made of two, with the Prince's Grant. I shall close this Title with the Subject of Colonies.

Now a *Colony* is a drawing out or disgorging of this or that State of some of its Inhabitants, where it abounds with People, and sending them into other Parts, where they are wanted to till the Ground, and do other Works of Drudgery in Husbandry, and the like: And it was so called, because the *Coloni* or Husbandmen were the Persons that were thus sent abroad. Colonies differ from what the *Romans* stiled *Municipia*. For Colonies were those that had their Original from the City of *Rome*: But the *Municipia* were those States or Cities that were received by the People of *Rome* into a Fellowship of Honours and Offices with the *Romans* themselves, and in the *Interim* made use of their Laws and Rights^c. *Flaccus* the *Sicilian*, in his Book *de Condit. Agrorum* thinks, they were called *Colonies*, because the *Romans* sent the *Coloni* or Husbandmen into their *Municipia*. And *Aggenus Urbicus* approves of this Account, saying, they were so called from their new Application of themselves to the Tillage of Land. Now *Coloni* might also be added to the old Inhabitants or Husbandmen. The *Roman* Colonies were of two kinds, some were stiled *Latin* Colonies, and others *Italian* Colonies: And the *Latins* had the Right of the *Italians* in respect of the City, of voting and being Magistrates, if they had ever been Magistrates in their Colony. But the *Italian* Colonies had not the Rights of the City, and of voting; for those that were drawn out into these Colonies, entirely lost the Freedom of the City; but they were Freemen, and paid no Tribute or Taxes.



T I T. XXII.

Of Magistrates in general; and how the Romans distinguished theirs, viz. into superior and inferior Magistrates; and who these superior and inferior Magistrates were.

THE word *Potestas*, or Power, has various Significations in Law; and, among these, we may include that of the Magistrate: For he has the power of the Sword, called in other Terms *merum Imperium*; and may punish wicked Men^d. It is stiled *merum, quasi liberum*; because as Offences are either aggravated or extolled from several Causes, it is in the Discretion of the Judge to inflict what Punishment he thinks fit, when none is prescribed by Law: which is not so in pecuniary or civil Causes, wherein the Judge ought to pronounce Sentence according to what has been proved. *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*^e says, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Power*; that is, to the Magistrate, who is a publick Person vested with some Power in the State^f, whereby he has not only a Right of commanding those things, which ought to be done, but likewise a Power of punishing delinquent and disobedient Persons; *for he beareth not the Sword in vain*^g. And thus the proper Office and Duty of a Magistrate, (or, as *Cicero*^h stiles it, the *Vis Magistratus*) is to command those things which are

^c Gcedd. in l.
¹ S. D. 50. 16.

^d D. 2. 1. 3.

^e Cap. 13. v. 1.

^f Arist. Polit.

^g V. 4.

^h Lib. 3. de
Legib.

are right, profitable, and honest, in conjunction with the Laws, and to admonish on bold Offenders. This Power and Authority the Magistrate has from God himself, as St. *Paul* assures us in the aforesaid Epistle¹, tho' ¹ Cap. 13. v. 1. the Bounds and Limits thereof are prescribed by the Laws of Man, as well as by the eternal Decrees of God: For it was God who first established civil Magistracy among Men, and would have the Authority thereof to be inviolable; and he punishes such as oppose themselves thereunto, whilst it is duly executed, as the Scripture, as well as profane History, informs us, in respect to factious and seditious Men.

Magistrates are distinguished several ways, according to the variety of Circumstances. For *first*, in respect of Time, there are some Magistrates that are said to be *perpetual*, as having their Administration granted them for the Term of their Lives: And others, that are stiled *temporary* Magistrates, as being appointed only for some certain space of Time; and such were the *Roman* Consuls, Tribunes, &c. And among this last kind of Magistrates, there are some of long continuance in their Office, being chosen for two, three, or more Years; and some whose Office is of a shorter Period or Duration, as for a Month, half a Year, a Year, &c. And hereunto may be also referr'd this distinction, *viz.* that there are some Magistrates, that are only once chosen, and no more; and others that are often elected to the same Office, but yet by Intervals of Time. *Secondly*, in respect of Place, some are stiled *Municipal*, and others are called *Provincial* Magistrates: some are Magistrates in the City; and others in the Suburbs only. *Thirdly*, in respect of Persons, some are Magistrates of the highest Rank of Nobility, as in an Aristocracy; and others that are of the richest of the Nobility, as in an Oligarchy; and others that are termed Plebeian Magistrates, as in a Democracy or Commonwealth, properly so called. In respect of their Election, they are distinguished three several ways: For they are either chosen out of all the Orders of Citizens or Members of a State, or else out of some particular Order. *Secondly*, they are either chosen by all the Citizens *collectively* met together in a general Assembly of the People, or else *distributively*, as they are divided into Tribes, Wards, and the like.

In the Choice of the Sovereign, or any other Magistrate, three things are to be considered. *First*, His Love to that Form of Government which is to be committed to his Charge: For hereby all the Toils and Labours which he ought to undergo for the sake of the State, will sit the lighter on his Shoulders. The second thing to be regarded is the Abilities of the Person that is to govern, and his Skill in the Administration of publick Affairs. And the third thing to be enquired into, is the Virtue and Justice of the Person to be chosen. And if all of these three things do not concur in one and the same Person, we ought then to have our chief regard to that Qualification, which is most necessary in the Office or Magistracy to be intrusted to him. As for example, in the General of an Army, or a warlike Commander, the chief thing requir'd is military Science; in a Judge, Justice; in a Senator, Prudence; and in a Lord High-Treasurer or *Quæstor*, Honesty and Fidelity: and so of others.

In the Choice of Magistrates, great care ought to be taken, that the same be not made venal, or exposed to Sale; especially in regard to the Choice of such as have the power of Jurisdiction, and sit in Courts of Judicature, because such a Practice is the Rise and Fountain of all Iniquity. For the Desire of Honour, which is a wild kind of Ambition, will induce and find many Purchasers that are entirely unfit for such Employments in the State^k, and only seek after the same for the sake of aggrandizing them-^k Nov. 2. selves, by the Oppression of their Fellow-Citizens. For which reason, *Augustus Cæsar* made an Edict in pursuance of the ancient Laws against soliciting for Offices, ordaining, That whoever solicited any Office of Magistracy

stracy by the means of Presents or Largeſſes to the People, ſhould be rendered incapable of any Office for five Years afterwards. See *Dionyſius Halicarnaffæus*¹. Magiſtrates, who have the Adminiſtration of civil Affairs committed to them, ought to be Men of clean Hands, not given to plunder the People, but contented with their ordinary Salaries. They ought not to ſhew greater Clemency and Humanity than the Law enjoins, (for that would favour of an evil Popularity) but they ought to obſerve the Laws, and to give Judgment in purſuance thereof^m. But a Magiſtrate ought to ſhew himſelf affable and eaſy of Acceſs, whenever he is apply'd unto for Buſineſs; and always grave and ſober in giving an Answer unto all Demandsⁿ. He ought likewiſe to command ſuch Things as are honeſt and decent, that Subjects may pay a more ready Obedience unto his Decrees and Orders: And as it is the Buſineſs of a Magiſtrate rightly to govern; ſo, on the other hand, it is the Duty of Subjects to yield an humble Obedience unto all his lawful Commands. The Affronts offer'd to Magiſtrates are reputed to be done to the Prince himſelf: For it is his Authority which they reſiſt, and not the Perſon of him who exerciſes it, as *Tacitus* obſerves in his Annals^o. Magiſtrates are ſaid to be offended by Contumacy, Calumny, reproachful Cavils among the Litigants, and their Council, and if their Jurisdiction be invaded: For it is lawful for every one to defend his own Jurisdiction. And here it is to be noted, that a ſlight Diſobedience ought not to be puniſh'd in a grievous manner: nor ought any one to be taken *pro confeſſo* on the ſcore of a light Act of Diſobedience, nor be therefore puniſhed in the Loſs of his whole Cauſe. Magiſtracy, as I have ſaid before, is by the Approbation or Appointment of God himſelf, without which no City, State, or Kingdom can long ſubſiſt, but Anarchy and Confuſion will enſue: For a State or Kingdom can no more be ſafe without a Magiſtrate, than a Ship without a Pilot. *Ulpian* ſays^p, that it is the Duty of a Magiſtrate to take care of Women, Pupils, and other helpleſs Perſons, tho' no one makes Application to him in their behalf.

A Magiſtrate in the common and large Acceptation of the Word, according to *Ulpian*, denotes every one that is veſted with civil Power in the Government of a State. And in this Senſe the *Roman* Magiſtrates were heretofore ſuch as were ſtil'd the Dictators, Conſuls, Cenſors, *Ædiles*, Tribunes of the People, Quæſtors, and the like: which were reckon'd among the ſuperior Magiſtrates. But, in the proper Senſe of the Word, he is ſaid to be a Magiſtrate, who has the Right of judging, commanding, and of being conſulted. The chief and peculiar Note of a Magiſtrate is to have the Power of commanding: For a Magiſtrate is by this diſtinction diſcerned from all other Prefects and Commiſſioners, who have no Jurisdiction. And as there are many and various kinds of Affairs to be adminiſtered in a State, eſpecially in ſuch as are of a large extent, there are, therefore, requir'd ſeveral Prefects for the Government and Adminiſtration of ſuch matters: All which Perſons may (improperly) be comprized under the Appellation of *Magiſtrates*. There are ſome Perſons that have their proper Functions and Commiſſions for the Management of publick Affairs, without any Power and Authority of commanding: But Magiſtrates have their publick Functions joined with a commanding Power.

Heretofore the ſuperior Magiſtrates among the *Romans*, ſuch as the Conſul, *Pretorian*-Prefect, Prætor, and other ſuch like Magiſtrates, could not ſue or be ſued in any Court of Law, if they were veſted with Jurisdiction, and had a coercive and punitive Power during the time of their Office: But at the end of their Office they might^q. Wherefore, leſt Force ſhould prevail in civil Matters (for this Exemption only extended to civil Cauſes) it was for good reaſons ordained, That they ſhould make no Contracts with Perſons ſubject to their Jurisdiction, and that Judges ſhould neither purchase

chafe real or personal Estates, or build Houses, &c. unless it were with the special Decree of the Emperor. But yet such Magistrates, if they committed any Crime in their Office, might be convened before the Determination of their Magistracy. And, moreover, it was ordained, That they ought to continue fifty Days in the Cities; where they presided as Judges or Magistrates, or in certain Places assigned them for that purpose, after they had quitted the Administration of their Office, to the end that all Persons might have a free Power and Liberty of preferring their Complaints against them, for any Thefts or Crimes by them done during the execution of their Office; and that they might answer the Suits of all such Persons as were willing to impeach them, according to the Methods which the Laws require. But a Magistrate may, according to *Bartolus*¹, be accused or impeached during his Office, when such Accusation or Impeachment would otherwise, through Limitation of Time, be barred. ^{1 In, l. 24. D. 48.5.}

The inferior extraordinary Magistrates among the *Romans* (for I shall speak of the superior Magistrates hereafter, under particular Titles by themselves) were the *Præfectus Annonæ*, the *Præfectus Vigilum*, the *Duumviri Navales*, &c. The *Præfectus Annonæ*, or Surveyor of Provisions, had the Care of all Provisions, especially in Time of Dearth or Famine. And, among other things, he was to go into Bakers Shops to weigh their Bread, and to examine the Goodness thereof. And he had criminal Cognizance of all such Matters as related unto Provisions. The *Præfectus Vigilum* was the Overseer or Surveyor of the Night-watch, something like unto our Constables in *London*. These last Officers were, in extraordinary Cases, constituted according to the Exigency of the Time, and other Occasions. They could not, by their Authority, take Cognizance of capital Causes in the City of *Rome*, nor determine any thing about them; but if any thing happened of this kind, they were to make a Report thereof to the Sovereign Judge¹, viz. to the Governor of the City. These Officers were to be provided with Hooks and other proper Instruments for the extinguishing of Fire, and to admonish all Persons to take care thereof, lest through their Negligence a Fire should break out. And to extinguish the same, every Householder was to keep Water in their Garrets or Upper-Rooms. They were created, because it was not so decent or suitable to the Character of the superior Magistrates to be abroad in the Night-time². The next Officers I shall mention here were ^{1 C. 1. 43. 1. D. 1. 2. 2. 31.} *Duumviri Navales*, who were constituted for the sake of Repairing and Equipping out their Navy; and were such as presided over the Sea-Coasts. Out of the thirty-five Tribes were elected the *Centumvirs* to judge in private Causes: which Persons, though they consisted of one hundred and five in number, were yet stiled the *Centumviri*, from the roundness of their number, and for the more commodious way of judging. These had a Spear erected to them, that they might know the Time of speaking: The Remains of which Spear are to be seen even at this day in the Courts of Judicature at *Rome*. For the Judge, whom the Vulgar call *Sculteto*, is wont to assert his judicial Authority by a solemn Staff carry'd in the hands of the Beadle, or Sheriff, as stiled with us, as a Badge of his Office, in Imitation of a little Spear. The Emperors reserving the Provinces unto themselves, were wont to send Presidents thereinto, after the likenesses of Proconsuls, who governed those Provinces in their Name³. And, among those, ^{2 D. 1. 17. 1.} who governed in *Egypt*, was the *Præfectus Augustalis*, peculiarly so called. But as these, and many other *Roman* Magistrates, are now at an end, I will say no more of them in this place: only thus much I thought fit to mention, for the Illustration of the following Work. Though municipal, and other inferior Magistrates come under the Name of *Magistrates, ceteris paribus*; yet, for the most part, only those Persons were included under

the Name of *Magistrates*, who were in the highest Power; as the Consuls, Prætors, &c.

In some Cities in the *Roman Empire* there was no Magistrate besides the *Defensors*^a: But in most Towns, there were Persons stiled municipal Magistrates, *Decuriones* or Burgomasters, &c. The chief of these were called the *Duumviri*, and like unto the two *Roman* Consuls: Because as the *Roman* Senate consisted of two Consuls, and many Senators; so after that example, a municipal Magistracy consisted of the *Duumviri*, and many Aldermen or Burgomasters, stiled *Curiales*^b. The *Duumvirs* were taken out of the *Decurio's*, or Order of Burgomasters; as the *Defensors* were out of the Commons: But the Emperor *Leo* would have the Creation of all Magistrates to depend on the Will of the Prince^w. Yet it was necessary, that they should be named three Months before they were created, that if any just Complaint should be lodged against them, they might be dismissed from their Office, and another substituted in their room^x. If an Election be rightly made, and the same be confirmed, they cannot waive the Office imposed on them: And they performed the Parts of their Province in those Matters which were of simple Jurisdiction; but they had not the *Imperium Merum*, or the Power of the Sword. Wherefore, they had only ordinary Jurisdiction in Causes of lesser Importance, and not in Causes of greater weight, unless it were by Consent of Parties^y. They might execute any Sentence, and order the taking of Bail^z; and they might inflict moderate Correction on Servants, but not on Freemen^a. They might imprison Persons charged with the greater Crimes, and give notice thereof to the President of the Province^b. And lastly, they had the Power of assigning Tutors or Curators unto Pupils and Adults, if their Estates did not exceed five hundred *Aurei* or Crowns^c. They were to be assisted in their Jurisdiction by the Aid of the superior Judges: For if they commanded Pledges to be taken on the account of a Sentence demanded to execution, and the Defendant resisted the Apparitors, they had not power of fining him, but must implore the Aid of the superior Judge^d, as at this Day inferior Judges do in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction where Persons are disobedient. The superior Magistrates might punish disobedient Persons, in virtue of their Jurisdictions, either with the greater or lesser Punishments, according to the Quality of the Fact: But the inferior Magistrates, who were stiled the *Duumvirs*, could not do this, as being excepted out of this Law. But our *municipal* Magistrates, who are constituted either for a time, or *in perpetuum*, by the Authority of the Prince, have a larger Power: For they not only take Cognizance of civil, but also of criminal Causes, and determine the same. They assign Guardians, bring Actions at Law, have the care of the Watch, and of Provisions, and of all Things which conduce to the Peace and Welfare of their Fellow-Citizens.

The *Defensors* of Cities were of a two-fold kind. For there were some, who did in the Name of the City, take care of its Law-Suits, and manage them and other matters: And these are called *Syndicks* and Actors, as I shall hereafter observe in speaking of Proctors. There were, and are, other *Defensors* of Cities endued with Power and Magistracy, who are also stiled *Defensors of Places*, if there are no Towns or Cities, or if they have not their Denomination from them^e. And some are stiled *Provincial* *Defensors*, to whom a larger Trust is given; and to whom many Things and Cities are committed for their Defence^f. In a City there may be one *Defensor* alone, whom we call the *Mayor*; and other *municipal* Magistrates joined with him^g, with us termed *Aldermen*. So that from hence it appears, that they may either have a separate Jurisdiction and Power, or else a concurrent one. They are called *Defensors* from the care of those Things over which they are placed, in order to defend them from all Injustice. Now these

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Defensors

Defensors ought to be chosen out of the more noble and best Inhabitants of the Cities, as out of the Persons that have been *Duumvirs*, &c. Nor is it lawful for Citizens to repudiate this Office imposed on them^b. The *De-*^{h C. 1. 56. 10.}
fensors are like unto the Tribunes of the People, which were heretofore in the City of *Rome*: And, therefore, they are often called the Defenders of the Commonalty, Patrons, Parents of Men of low Fortunes; and they had a Power of defending the meaner sort, if they were oppress'd by the great onesⁱ. So that they seem to bear a Resemblance of Magistracy, and do re-^{i Nov. 15. pr.}
present the Person of the President in his Absence^k. Wherefore, as they^{k Nov. 15.}
are to be chosen out of the Chiefs of the City: so they ought to be Men^{c. 2. pr.}
of Probity, and to be endued with orthodox Principles in respect to Reli-
gion^l: But they could not be chosen out of the Order of the *Decurio's*, nor^{l C. 1. 55. 8.}
out of the Body of the *Cohortales*. When they were elected, they were bound
even against their Will to accept of the Office, under a pain of five Pounds
Forfeiture in Gold, and could not excuse themselves by any exception of
Privilege, Warfare, or high Dignity^m. But before they exercised the Func-^{m Nov. 15.}
tion of their Office, they ought to be confirm'd either by the *Prætorian-*^{c. 1. & 6. fin.}
*Prefect*ⁿ; or by the *Questor*^o: An Oath being given them to do all Things^{n C. 1. 55. 8.}
according to Law and Justice^p. This Office of the *Defensors* heretofore^{o Nov. 7. 5.}
lasted for five Years^q: But by a *Novel* of *Justinian* it was afterwards re-^{p C. 1. 55. 4.}
duced to two Years^r.^{q Nov. 15.}

A *Decurio*, who was another kind of Magistrate or Order in the *Roman*
State, was so called from the word *Decem*. For when the *Romans* began
to increase and grow numerous, some were sent abroad to some other
Parts, afterwards called *Colonies*, and a Decury of ten Men were chosen
for their Council or Senate. And from hence, as some think, were the
Council or Senators of Cities called *Decuriones* or Burgomasters. But, I ra-
ther think, the Council or Senators of Cities were so called from the Decu-
ries of the *Roman* Senate; the Senate thus dividing themselves after the Death
of *Romulus*: And to these Decuries or Committees the Government of the
State was entrusted in particular Matters; and each Decury was to have
the Rule for five Days, and then be succeeded by another such Com-
mittee. And this kind of Magistracy was stiled *Magistratus Quinqu-*
duanus, according to *Rosinus* in his Antiquities. Again, some will have a
Decurio to differ from a *Curialis*; because (say they) a *Curialis* is a *Ge-*
nus, and a *Decurio* is a *Species*: But, I think with *Pithou*^r, that there is^{r Inl. 3. 15. 5.}
no difference between them, a *Curialis* being an Alderman or Chief of the
Ward, and so is a *Decurio*. A *Decurio* has an Honour, as well as an
Onus or Incumbrance attending his Office: an Honour, because he is not to be
put to the Rack or Question at the Determination of his Office^s. In this^{s C. 9. 41. 17.}
Office, a Person that has Children, is prefer'd unto a Person that has none;
because 'tis presumed that he will be more careful of the Good of the City:
But the Laws forbid illiterate Persons the execution of this Office^t. Nor^{t C. 10. 31. 6.}
can any Persons be elected hereunto, that suffer'd Relegation or Banishment,
or have been removed from their Order with Ignominy^u, or Persons guilty^{u D. 50. 2. 2. 3.}
of capital Crimes, or such as bear any other Office of Magistracy^v, or such^{v & 13.}
as have born this Office some small time before^w. They were wont to be^{w D. 50. 2. 17.}
chosen out of all sorts of Men almost, and might be compelled to bear the^{x D. 50. 1. 18.}
Office: And even Bastards or spurious Persons, for want of other Men, were
admitted^x. But where there was a Plenty of others, the rich and better
sort were elected by the President^y; and they were to be advanced *grada-*
tim^z. But Plebeians, and old Men borne down with Age, were exempted,
and so were Minors. They transmitted their Privileges to their Children^a.
Their Office and Business was to demand Tributes and Taxes^b, to receive^{b D. 50. 2. 17.}
and keep the Money of the Towns or Cities^c, to take care of Provisions^d,
to treat of all publick Affairs relating to the Towns or Cities over which^{d D. 50. 2. 8.}
they

^e D. 50. 1. 28. they preside; and they might exercise Jurisdiction after a certain manner^e.
 Nov. 15. These *Decurio's* were such as presided in publick Council in Towns and
^f C. 9. 41. 33. Cities, and were among the *Romans* stiled *municipal* Magistrates^f.

Heretofore among the *Romans*, Magistrates were wont to elect and chuse
^g C. 11. 33. 1. their own Successors, as may be seen from a Law in the *Code*^g; but then
 this was to be at their own Peril: But as at this day no one chuses his own
 Successor; so those Persons who name and chuse Magistrates through the
 Necessity of their Office, are not accountable for the Male-Administration of
 Magistrates. The *Romans* did not allow of perpetual Magistrates in the
 Purity of the Commonwealth, but new Magistrates were chosen every two
 or three Years, or else the old ones were re-elected: And it was this that
 preserved the Liberty of that State for many Years. But though a Magi-
 strate may have the power now of naming his own Successor, yet it must
 be the City that chuses him. The Magistrate of a City is only said to be
 a Member, and not the City itself: And, therefore, though it be the Busi-
 ness of the Magistrate to propose Matters in Council; yet he himself can-
 not conclude or enact any thing. By the *Roman* Law the civil Magistrate
 may, in some Cases, punish the Thoughts of the Heart, if known, though
 they proceed not to Action. And by the same Law, if a Son was a Ma-
 gistrate, the Magistrate was exempt from the Power of the Father, but not
 as a Son.



T I T. XXIII.

*Of Emperors, Kings, Princes, and the like; and of their
 Office and Duty both in Peace and War, &c. and of Alle-
 giance due to them.*

THE word *Imperator*, or Emperor, was anciently a Name or Appel-
 lation, by which the Generals and chief Commanders were wont to
 be called. For *Cicero* in his *Philippicks* writes, that the *Roman* Senate
 usually gave this Stile or Title unto him, who had given the best Instance,
 or the most pregnant Proof of his Conduct and Valour in the Business of
 War, by the Discomfiture of foreign Enemies. And hence it is, that Ge-
 nerals and Leaders of Armies, by having the Command over military Forces,
 are by ancient Historians called *Imperatores*: And not only these, but also
 those Persons who had the Government and Administration of Provinces,
 were saluted with this Appellation and Title of Dignity. Afterwards the
 word *Imperator*, in a metaphorical Sense, came to signify the sacred Dignity of
 the *Roman* Prince or Emperor, vested with sovereign Power and Authority;
 and in this Sense it is understood throughout all the Titles of *Justinian's*
 Institutions. After the time of *Julius Cæsar*, the Emperors began to be
 called *Cæsars*. I do not here mean those who had the actual Admini-
 stration of the Government in their hands, but such as were appointed by
 Designation to succeed the Emperor then on the Throne. And these Per-
 sons that were then called *Cæsars* or *Viceroy's*, are at this day stiled Kings
 of the *Romans*; and in *France* they are termed the *Dauphines* of *France*.
 But now we call him *Emperor*, who is advanced to the Monarchy of

Christendom

Christendom, or the *Roman* Empire, by the Suffrages and Consent of nine of the principal Men in *Germany*, stiled the Electors of the *Roman-German* Empire. And thus the Election of the Emperor belongs to certain Princes of *Germany*, viz. to three Bishops, and to six Lay-Princes : And tho' an Election thus made by the major part of these be valid and binding ; yet the *Canonists* say, that it belongs to the Pope to examine, approve, anoint, consecrate, and crown the Person chosen, if the Pope shall adjudge him a fit and proper Person, or else to reject him as unworthy, if he be a Tyrant, Heretick, Heathen, or a Persecutor of the Church, or a sacrilegious, or an excommunicated Person, &c. And if these Electors will not elect, the Pope is to supply the Choice . And, on a Parity of Voices among them, if they cannot determine the Election by a Majority, the Pope may gratify whom he pleases, by a Devolution to him. But though some of the *Canonists* will have the Confirmation of the Emperor's Election to be by the Pope ; yet *Calderinus* seems a little more modest, saying, it shall be approved by the Pope : Because that neither the *Canon*, nor any other Law proves, that the Emperor's Election should be confirmed by the Pope.

We read, that the Emperor *Augustus* seemed pleased with the Title of *Prince of the Senate* ; not that he desired less sovereign Power than his Uncle *Julius Cæsar* aimed at, but that he conceived this to be a more popular Appellation. But, according to the common Definition of a *Prince* now, under which Title we may also reckon that of a *King*, he is that Person who is the first and chiefest Person in the State, and ought to be the best too : For *St. Paul* calls the Prince *God's Minister upon Earth*. And *Seneca*, the Moralist, sets the Gods as an example to Princes, sayingⁿ, theyⁿ De Clem. ought to behave themselves in the same manner to their Subjects, as they would have the Gods themselves behave towards them. Wherefore, the proper Virtue of a Prince is Prudence, and there is no Person to whom Wisdom is more suitable, than to him : The Ornaments of a Prince (says the Moralist) are Justice, Piety, Clemency, Religion, Wisdom, and Courage. He ought to be free from all Vices ; for the smallest Offences of a Prince seem great ones, as he sits conspicuous in the sight of all Men :

*Tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.*

If the Head be infected, it transmits Pain and Grief to all the other Members. The Vulgar prognostick the Ways and Lives of Princes by exterior Marks ; and truly say, that they are unfit to govern others, who cannot govern themselves. Thus a Prince ought to take care, that he be not the occasion of Evil to his People ; and as he is the Image of the divine Majesty, he ought not to tyrannize over his Subjects, nor to be a Plague to his Neighbours. *Philo Judæus* observes, that learned Princes ought rather to remember themselves to be Men than Princes, and not to despise any thing that is human. And if they would daily refresh their Memories with this Doctrine, and let themselves down from that high Pinacle of Power, to Things below, so as in some measure to equal themselves with their Subjects, that the Disparity of their Condition should not give offence, they would retain the Affections of their People in a much better manner. For the Ensigns, Badges, and Powers of Princes, which carry a kind of daily Grandeur with them, do not take away the Nature of Man, viz. Humanity itself ; but only serve to render Princes more free and intrepid in their Affairs. But there is not any one, or (at least) very few, who have not fallen from that Dignity into a remarkable Insolence or Folly. For what is more foolish or insolent, if we would consider Matters rightly, than to lord and domineer over others, and to invade our Neighbour's Property without a sufficient Cause given ? What just Cause had *Alexander* to signalize his Name (as

he did) throughout all the World, with such infinite Slaughters as attended his Conquests? Was it not a boundless Ambition and Thirst after Glory by wrong measures? What was a more foolish Wish than that of *Midas*, who had *Afs's* Ears placed on him for his extravagant desire of Gold? But this is enough to shew the Weakness of Princes, that are governed by irregular Passions, and, not by right Reason. For *Alexander* himself, whom one World could not contain, is only now become a Theme for School-boys Declamations.

A King or Prince in his own Kingdom acknowledges no Superior besides the Law, which is the measure of the Subjects Obedience to him, and by which he ought to govern; but is *totum in toto*, and has a Plenitude of Power in many cases, which we call *Prerogative*. And this is that special Power, Pre-eminence or Privilege, which the King has over and above other Persons, and above the ordinary Course of the common Law, in right of his Crown. For the Laws of *Edward the Confessor* say ⁱ, that the King may *lege dignitatis suæ*, pardon him (if he pleases) that has even deserved death. The *Civilians* use this word *Prerogative* in the same Sense: But among the *Feudists* it is termed *Jus Regalium* and *Jus Regaliorum*. And as the *Feudists*, *sub Jure Regalium*; so do our common Lawyers, *sub Prerogativa Regis*, comprize all that absolute height of Power, which the *Civilians* call *Majestatem*, *Potestatem*, or *Jus imperii*, subject to God alone. The *Feudists* divide the *Regalia* into two sorts, *viz.* the greater and lesser: For to use their own Words, *quædam Regalia ad Dignitatem, Prærogativam & imperii Præ-eminentiam spectant; quædam vero ad utilitatem & commodum pecuniarium immediatè attinent, & hæc propriè fiscalia sunt & ad jus Fisci pertinent*. See *Peregrinus de Jure Fisci*^k. By which it appears, that the Statute touching the King's *Prerogative*, made in the seventeenth of *Edward* the Second, contains not the King's whole *Prerogative*, but only so much thereof as concerns the Profit of his Coffers, growing by virtue of his regal Power and Crown: For it is more than manifest, that his *Prerogative* extends much farther, yea even in the matters of his Profit, which that Statute especially consists of. For the King has many Rights of Majesty peculiar to himself, which the Learned in the Law term *Sacra Sacrorum*, and *Individua imperii*, because they cannot be sever'd from the royal Dignity; and these are many and various. And if the Reader would be satisfy'd herein, he may read *Stamford* of *Prerogative*, Statute 17 *Edward* II. *Plowden* in the Case of *Fines*. The learned *Spelman* calls it *Lex Regiæ dignitatis*.

ⁱ Cap. 18.
^k Lib. 1. cap. 11. 9.

A King may in his Dominions create and degrade Dukes, Marquesses, &c. and make Contracts with foreign Princes in the Name of all his Subjects. He may make a valid Grant and Alienation of his own Patrimony, provided he does not in any great measure injure his royal Dignity, and that of his Successors: But he cannot grant and alienate the Rights of the Kingdom, as his Castles and Jurisdictions. Kings in private Cases submit their Concerns to be adjudged and determined by the Judges, which they themselves make; for their private Acts are subject to the Law.

That which the *Civilians* affirm, *viz.* that the Covenants which a King enters into with his Subjects, do oblige by the Law of Nature only, and not by the Civil Law, is somewhat obscure. For that is sometimes corruptly said by the Law-givers, *naturally* to oblige, which is only agreeable to the Rules of Honesty, but yet cannot be said to be due: As for the Executor to pay the entire Legacies without any Defalcation, though he has not the fourth part of the Testator's Estate left him; or to pay a just Debt, though the Creditor be made incapable by the Law of receiving it: each of which cannot be recovered by any Action at Law. Again, sometimes that is more properly said *naturally* to oblige, which is indeed truly obligatory,

gatory, whether it be such as transfers a Right unto another, as in Contracts; or such as transfers none, as in a full and firm *Pollicitation*. *Maimonides* the Jew very aptly distinguishes between these three, *viz.* *First*, whatever comes more than is due, falls under the Notion of *Mercy*, which is but the Overflowing of a good Nature, such as good Works done meerly out of Bounty and Munificence. *Secondly*, to perform what we are strictly bound to do, which the *Hebrews* call *Judgment*: But to do that which in Honesty and Conscience only we ought to do, this they call *Righteousness* or *Equity*. Moreover, a Man may be said to be *civilly* bound by his own Act, either in this Sense, that the Obligation springs not from the meer Right of Nature, but from a civil Right, or from both; or in such a Sense as that an Action at the Civil Law may lie against him. We, therefore, conclude, that from the Covenants and Promises which a King makes with his People, there may arise such a true and proper Obligation, as may confer a Right unto them: For such is the Nature both of Promises and Contracts, even between God and Men. If the Acts of a King be such as may be done by any other Man, the Civil Laws shall bind him: But if they are such as are done by him as a King, the Civil Laws reach him not; which Difference was not sufficiently observed by *Vasquez*. Yet an Action may arise from either of these Acts, so far forth as to evidence the Right of the Creditor; but there can be no Enforcement by reason of the Quality or Condition of the adverse Party. For that Subjects should compel him, whose Subjects they are, is not lawful, which Equals may do against Equals by the Right of Nature, and Superiors against Inferiors by the Civil Laws. But touching the Obligation of Princes to observe their Contracts with Subjects, *Grotius* in his Treatise *de Jure Belli*¹, &c. is full; to which I refer ¹Lib. 2. c. 14. the Reader.

Princes are sometimes said to be Tyrants, and that two several ways: *First*, in point of Government or Administration alone, *viz.* when they unjustly burthen their Subjects by severe and heavy Taxes, and by making it their Business to sow Discords and Dissensions among them, to the end they may the better despoil them of their Goods, Estates, and vexing them by all possible means, that they may enrich themselves thereby. *Secondly*, a Person may be said to be a Tyrant by usurping and invading another's Kingdom; as when by Arms, and other violent means, he unjustly seizes upon another's Dominions, and dispossesses the rightful Owner. But, notwithstanding such tyrannical Administration, it is not lawful for a private Man to kill a lawful Prince or Sovereign, that is, a Tyrant in point of Government and Administration only, because such a Person is a true Sovereign, though a bad Pastor of his People. Yea, he cannot be thus slain, though he should unjustly deprive us of our Estates, these being not of so great moment as to render it lawful to kill a Sovereign in defence thereof, though 'tis lawful to kill a private Man in defence of our Goods and Estates. But 'tis lawful for a private Man to kill a Tyrant, that does, without Title, usurp and invade another Prince's Dominions, if these Conditions intervene, *viz.* *First*, when recourse cannot be had to the lawful Power: For if recourse can be had thereunto, 'tis unlawful to kill such a Tyrant, since we may obviate this Evil by other means than death. *Secondly*, when it appears, that he is a Tyrant *Titulo imperii*. *Thirdly*, when it appears to be the Will, or (at least) the presumptive Will of the State, which desires his death. And the reason why it is lawful to kill him on a Concurrence of these Conditions, is, because he is not then said to be a King or Sovereign Prince, but an Enemy to the State, it being lawful for every one to repel Force with Force when it is necessary. But such a Tyrant, being an unjust Invader, constantly offers Force to the State which he invades; and, therefore, it is not only lawful for a Person, that is a Member of the State, to kill him, but also
for

for any other Person that is no Member, having a Commission from the State. For it is not only lawful to kill another in defence of one's Life, but even on the account of the Publick Weal, if Authority be given, and thus to divert the Oppression of innocent Persons. This is warranted not only by the *Civil* Law, but by the Law of Nature and Nations. I will not here take upon me to determine how far the collective or representative Body of a Nation may proceed against a Tyrant in point of Administration, but surely they may depose him; and the Hand that writes this, has always been ready to assist in rescuing its Country from such Monsters in Power, and to restore People willing to live dutifully with a good Prince.

All Things belong to the Prince in respect to his Jurisdiction and Protection of them, but not in respect of their Property. For tho' a Prince may by the Plenitude of his Power sell the Goods of a private Man for the good of his Country, according to the *Roman* Law, because the Emperors were absolute Princes; yet he cannot take away the Property without a sufficient Cause. A Prince may compel his Subjects to return to the Place of their Birth, and inhabit there: Because though they may constitute a Dwelling unto themselves in another Place; yet if they have Goods and Estates in his Dominions, they cannot renounce the Right of their Allegiance according to the *Civil* Law. And this the Prince may compel his Subjects to do, under pain of Confiscation of their Goods and Estates in the Place where they have Goods and Estates lying in his Dominions. A Prince that takes any one under his Protection, is not obliged to defend him, unless it be when he is unjustly aggrieved. But a Prince may, for the sake of making Peace, remit Injuries and Damages done to his own Subjects. When confederated Kings or Princes are mutually bound to assist each other, they ought not to yield Aid and Assistance to a Person that makes an unjust War. Though a Prince may, by his Charter or Rescript of Pardon, remit a pecuniary Punishment or Fine that is to be apply'd to the Exchequer; yet he cannot remit the Penalty which is given unto the Party. If a Prince grants or confirms any thing, he is always presumed to do it, with a *Salvo* to another's Right.

The two principal Arts belonging to Kings, are, *first*, a thorough Acquaintance in the Laws of the Country they are to govern: And, *secondly*, a Knowledge in the Art of War. And this, that they may govern and defend the Commonwealth as they ought to do both in time of Peace and War. Arms and Laws stand in need of each other's Assistance. A Prince is chiefly set over his People to judge and govern them by good and wholesome Laws, and his Breast ought to be the Storehouse and Receiver of all Laws, and to be filled with Philosophy. *Piata* said, that Commonwealths might then be said to be happy, when either the Kings were Philosophers, or when Philosophers became Kings. But the Laws are their chief Concern. For as a Mariner ought not to be ignorant of the Rules of Navigation, if he be set over a Ship for the Steerage thereof: so neither ought a King to be ignorant of the Laws by which he is to govern. But as to Arms, he often governs by his Generals and chief Commanders in the Army, who ought to be expert in the whole Business: Yet the Prince himself, whether he goes into the Wars in Person, or not, ought so far to be acquainted with military Affairs, that he may know whether the Soldiery do their Duty.

Kings are such either by Descent or Election; and among the several ways of chusing a King, I sometimes find, that the Ancients used that of ballotting or drawing Lots, as *Marsilius* observes in his Book *de Bello Pelasgico*: where treating of *Atius* King of *Maonia*, he says, that whereas a Kingdom would not admit of two Kings; and having two Sons, *viz.* *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*, he made *Lydus* his Successor, by casting Lots, and

order'd *Tyrrhenus* to go abroad with a greater part of the People, to seek out new Settlements and Habitations for themselves, because the Sterility of the Soil would not suffer a great number of People to live there. And this new way of chusing a King by Lot was practis'd among the *Septemviri*, as we may read in *Justin* and *Herodotus*, when the Contest was among them, who should be King. For they came to this Agreement, *viz.* That mounting their Horses about Sun-rising, they should ride into the Field about the Suburbs, and he should obtain *Cambyses's* Kingdom, whose Horse neighed first. And the Lot fell on *Darius* the Son of *Hydaspes*, by the Art of *Oebaris* his Groom, or the Rider of his Horse, who the Night before the Day of Election, brought a Mare into the Place of Election, and there tied her, and then brought *Darius's* Horse, and led him about the Place where the Mare was; and this caused *Darius's* Horse to neigh. It is not to be doubted, but the best and most natural way of coming at Kingly Power, is by the Election of the People, if Factions in the State, and other corrupt Methods of chusing, could be avoided; because the People do by the very Act of Choice, approve of the Person elected: whereas in Governments that happen by Descent, Birth alone gives a Right to the Person, whether he be a good or a bad Prince, and the People must submit to it.

Having thus far treated of the Power and Obligations of a good King or Prince towards his People, and others; I shall next speak of the Duty and Obedience of Subjects towards their Prince, which *Isocrates*, under the Person of *Nicocles*, finely describes, by giving Orders unto his Courtiers, great Men, and the rest of his People. This Duty depends on the Allegiance or Fidelity of Subjects towards their Prince, which renders Majesty safe, and the highest Breach thereof makes it Treason. Now *Allegiance*, in the proper Sense of the Word, is that Submission which a Liege-man owes unto his Lord; and this is the common Notion of the Term among the *Feudists*, who sometimes stile it Fealty or Fidelity. When it is due from a Subject unto his Prince, it is often with them called *major Fidelitas*, to distinguish it from that Fealty which is to be performed by every Feudatory at the time of his Investiture or Institution, unto his Lord, whether the Fee be an *ignoble* or a *noble* Fee. For it is the Essence of this Bond or Contract between Lord and Tenant, that the Tenant by Fealty should pay this Fealty unto his Lord in the highest manner, saving the Allegiance which is always due unto his Prince as Lord-Paramount. This of the Subject to the Prince the grand Customier of *Normandy* calls a *general* Fealty or Allegiance, and was in *England*, by an Oath in the Sheriff's Torns, and in the Leets, demanded and performed by all Persons within the Precinct of the County or Leet, being twelve Years of Age compleat, otherwise they had not a Title to remain in the possession of their Lands¹. But anciently this Oath¹ Flet. lib. 1. cap. 5. of Allegiance was not imposed on Persons before they were fourteen or fifteen Years of Age. See *Britton*^m, and *Bracton*ⁿ, who in express Terms^m Cap. 12. gives us the Form of the Oath, though *Britton* is more succinct. That² Lib. 3. Tr. 2. c. 1. which the Law stiles *special*, is two-fold, *viz.* that which was taken by Freemen, and that which was taken by Villains. But I shall not here discourse of *special* Fealty, having reserved it for the second Volume of this Work, under an Institute of the *Feudal* Law.

My Lord *Coke* in *Calvin's Case*^o has considered Allegiance to the Prince^o Rep. 7. in a general Discourse, though not directly within the Conclusion of the Case, and therein first sets down the general Nature of it, *viz.* that it is a mutual Bond between an *English* King and his People: and then he more particularly sets forth the Nature of this Bond, in the several Duties of Obedience and Fealty^p, and also those in their several Properties, *viz.* natural, absolute, and due to the King *omni soli & semper*^q, in his natural^q p Fol. 5. a. q Fol. 7. & 12. a.

^r Fol. 10. a. and not publick Capacity^r. When he says, that this Bond is natural, he
^f Fol. 7. a. means that it is a Duty by Birth^f. By absolute, if I mistake him not, he
means that it is indefinite, and not circumscribed by Law, but above Law,
^g Fol. 13. a. and before Law^g; and that Laws were afterwards made to enforce the
^t Et b. same by Penalties^t: and therefore he concludes, that his Allegiance is im-
mutable. Having thus stated *Coke's* Doctrine as truly as I can, both for
the Nature of Allegiance, and the Object thereof, *viz.* the King, and not
the People, otherwise than in order to the Honour and Safety of the King's
Person, consider'd in his natural Capacity as a Man; I shall next examine the
Grounds of this strange Doctrine, as they are severally set down by the Re-
porter, and therein lead the Reader no further than his own Concessions.
And,

First, Whereas it is said, that *English* Allegiance is natural, and ground-
ed on the Birth of each Party, within the King's Dominions and Protection,
it needs no debate, provided the same be taken *sano sensu*, *viz.* for a qua-
lified Allegiance barr'd of those Sublimities of absolute, indefinite, immu-
table, &c. For otherwise, if such high Strains of Allegiance be due from
every *Englishman* by Birth, then all the *Magna Charta*, or Laws touch-
ing the Liberties of the People, come too late to qualify the same, because
^u Fol. 14. a. they cannot take away the Law of Nature^u; and thus the Party once *Eng-*
^v Fol. 5. a. & *lish* born, must for ever remain absolutely obliged to the King of *England*,
^{9. b.} though (perhaps) he lives not two Months under his Protection all his Life-
^w Fol. 13. a. time afterwards. *Secondly*, the Allegiance of an *Englishman* to his King
arises from that civil relation between the two Denominations of *King* and
Subject; and therefore it is not a natural Bond which cannot be dissolved.
The first is true from the Reporter's own Concessions; *Protectio trahit*
^v Fol. 5. a. & *Subjectionem*, and *Subiectio protectionem*^v. And, therefore, though it be
^{9. b.} granted that Magistracy in general is from Nature, as he says^w, yet that is
^w Fol. 13. a. a weak Inference which he makes, *viz.* That *English* Allegiance is a Prin-
ciple in Nature: unless we admit, that all Persons upon Earth that submit to
English Allegiance do sin against Nature. The difference then will stand
thus, *viz.* Magistracy is founded in Nature, therefore Allegiance also. But
English Magistracy is from the civil Constitution, therefore *English* Alle-
giance is in the like Nature.

In the next place, *Coke* says, That Kings did *dare jura*, before any municipal
Laws were made; and for an example, he mounts as high as the *Trojan*
Age, according to the Testimony of *Virgil*: But, I believe, he did not
rely on this, since every one knows that it is in the Scriptures, that there
were municipal Laws given concerning the Office of a King, by *Moses*,
which were more ancient than those of *Troy*, and long before *Virgil's* Time,
who neither tells us in what manner those Laws were made, though the
Kings gave them, nor (if all were according to the Reporter's Sense) is the
Testimony of a Poet (who sometimes uses his *Poetical Licence*) to be taken
^{* C. 12. & 13.} in *Terminis*. Then the Reporter vouches the Testimony of *Fortescue*^{*},
which is *toto cælo* opposite to the Point in hand, as any Pen can declare
it. For he tells us of several sorts of Kingdoms, some gotten by Conquest,
as those of *Nimrod*, *Belus*, &c. But he says, there is a Kingdom Poli-
tick, founded on the Association of Men by consent of Law, making one
Chief, who is made to defend the Laws, and the Bodies and Estates of
his Subjects, and he cannot govern by any other Power; and of this Na-
^{7 Fol. 30. 31.} ^{& 32.} ture (says he) is the Kingdom of *England*^r. *Secondly*, this Opinion of
the Reporter is taken *ab inani*, *viz.* it is a vain thing (says he) to prescribe
Laws, unless People are bound to obey them by a preceding Allegiance:
But this compar'd with the Words of *Fortescue* before mentioned, falls of
itself to the ground; and, therefore, I shall not further enlarge thereon.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, To help the matter, *Coke* brings in the Consent of the Law in ancient Times, by certain Cases cited to that purpose. The first concerning the Allegiance of Children to Parents; which comes not up to this Case, because it is an Allegiance of Nature, and this Allegiance here treated of is yet under a litigious Title; and (I suppose) will in the Conclusion be found to rest only on a civil Constitution. Again, he says, that a Man attainted and out-law'd, is nevertheless within the King's Protection; for this (says he) is a Law of Nature *indelible* and *immutable*, and no Statute of Parliament can take this away²: And, therefore, he concludes, that as well the Allegiance of the Subject, as the Protection of him by the King, are both of them from the Law of Nature. An Opinion that speaks much Mercy, but it seems strange, if we consider the Pen of the Writer. For if it be a Law of Nature, and immutable for the King to protect Persons attainted, then no such Person must suffer: For if he be under the King's Protection by the Law of Nature, it cannot be changed by any positive Law, as the Reporter says, nor can the King be so bound by any such Statute, but that by a *non obstante* he cannot set himself at liberty when he pleases: and then the Issue will be this, *viz.* the King has a natural Power to protect the Persons of Law-breakers from the Power of the Law: Therefore, much more their Estates, and then farewell all Law, but this of the King's natural Protection. These things are of a high Strain, if we consider what the Reporter says elsewhere^a. But to pursue this Instance, he says, that the King has power to protect an attainted Person, and if any one kills him without warrant, he is a Man-slayer; and yet this Person has lost his legal Protection. This is true, but not to all Intents; for by the Sentence of the Law, his Life is bound up under the Law of that Sentence, *viz.* *He must not suffer in any other manner than the Sentence determines*^b, nor ^b 35 II. 6. 63. *before Warrant of Execution issues forth to that end*. And notwithstanding the Sentence, the Law leaves him the liberty of purchasing, or inheriting, though to the Use of the Crown: And, therefore, in some respects the Law protects his Person so long as he lives, and the King's natural Protection is in vain in such cases.

Lastly, Suppose the King has a power of *non obstante*, if the same be allowed him in a limited way by the Law, it is no Argument to prove the King's natural Power, which is driven under natural Allegiance, much less if it cannot be made out, that the Law allows any such Power of *non obstante* to subsist; but by the Iniquity of the Times, permitted the same, only to avoid Contention, as it came into this Kingdom by way of Usurpation. And thus having ended the Lord *Coke's* Doctrine of natural Allegiance, as he has stated it, and given full Answers thereunto, I shall pass on to consider the second Property of Allegiance, *viz.* *That it is absolute*^c.

Now the Word *absolute* is a Term of vast extent, which rather serves to amaze the Minds of Men, than to enlighten them; and therefore *Coke* does not trouble himself, or the Reader, in clearing thereof, but leaves it rather to be believed than understood: nor shall I in the negative; for God himself can have no other Allegiance from a Man than absolute Allegiance; and Kings being (as other Men) subject, especially in this point of Prerogative, are much rather subject thereunto, being mis-led by such Doctrines as those are, advanced by Sycophants. Another Property of Allegiance, is, that it is *indefinite*, according to *Coke*; which he explains to be *proprium quarto modo*, so as it is both universal and immutable^d, and neither defined by Time, Place, or Person: As touching the Time and Person, the Reporter says little; and therefore I shall leave the Reader to chew on the Point, supposing himself to be in the first Times of *Edward* the Fourth, when *Henry* the Sixth was alive, and let him resolve to which of them his Allegiance was due, considering them both in their natural Capacity,

Capacity, as the Reporter would have it. But touching the Place, 'tis said, that *English* Allegiance is not only due from an *Englishman* to an *English* King in *England*, but in all Places of the King's Dominions, tho' otherwise foreign, by the Law of *England*; yea, as far as the King's Power of Protection extends. And yet this had not been enough, if we grant the Premises; for if this Allegiance, whereof we speak, be absolute, and *omni soli & semper*, then it is due from an *Englishman* to the King, in all Parts of the World. But to take the Reporter in a moderate Sense, we may consider, whether *English* Allegiance, in the Days of *Edward* the Third, extended as far as the King's Power extended, when he had the Kingdom of *France* in a foreign Right to that of *England*. In this the Reporter is very positive on many grounds, which he insists on.

First, he says, that *Verus* and *Fidelis* are Qualities of the Mind, and cannot be circumscribed within the Predicament of *ubi*; and upon this ground he might conclude, that this Allegiance is due to the King from an *Englishman* all the World over, as well as in all the King's Dominions: But, touching this ground of his Opinion, it may be denied; for though simply in itself considered as a Notion, Verity and Fidelity are not circumscribed in place; yet being Qualities of the Mind, and that being in the Body, it may in respect thereunto be in the Predicament of *ubi*; for wherever that Body and Soul is, there is Faith and Truth according to its Model, which though not absolute and indefinite, yet according to the Laws of the Place wherein a Man lives, he is truly said to be *Verus* and *Fidelis*. *Secondly*, the Reporter argues, that the King's Protection is not local, or included within the Bounds of *England*, and therefore Allegiance is not local: For *Protectio trahit Ligeantiam*, and *Ligeantia Protectionem*. Had this Reason been formed into a Syllogism, it had appear'd less valid; for the Protection of an *English* King, *quâ talis*, of an *Englishman*, is local, and included within the Bounds of the Kingdom: But if the same King be also King of *France*, or Duke of *Aquitain*, and an *Englishman* shall travel into those Parts, he is still under the same King's Protection, yet not as King of *England*, but as King of *France*, or Duke of *Aquitain*; otherwise let the Party be of *France*, or *Aquitain*, or *England*, it is all one, he must be (whether *French* or *English*) under an unlimited absolute Protection, without regard had to the Customs or Laws of the Place; yea, contrary to them, which the Reporter (I believe) never intended to affirm. *Thirdly*, the Reporter cites Matters of Fact, and tells us, that the King of *England* did often, *de facto*, grant Protections to Persons in Places out of the *English* Confines, and this will not be denied: But he never thus granted any absolute and indefinite Protection; for a Protection extends to a Defence from Injury; and all Injury is to be expounded and judged according to the Laws of the Place. Nor do any of the Precedents quoted by the Reporter, prove, that the King of *England* granted, as King of *England*, Protection to any *Englishman*, in any Parts of the King's Dominions beyond the Seas, which was not qualify'd according to the Laws and Customs of that Place: especially, it being apparent, that an *English* King may hold Dominions in foreign Parts, in Allegiance under a foreign King, as *Edward* the Third held the Dutchy of *Guien*; and therefore cannot grant absolute Protection in such Place, nor receive absolute Allegiance from any Person there being. *Fourthly*, the Reporter says, that the King of *England* has power to command his *English* Subjects to go with him into his Wars, as well without as within the Realm of *England*: Wherefore, the Allegiance of an *Englishman* to his King is indefinite, and not local, or circumscribed by Place, or within the Realm of *England*. Though the first of these be granted, yet the Inference will not hold; for possibly this may arise from the Constitution of a positive Law, and not from natural

or absolute Allegiance, nor does any Authority cited by him justify such Allegiance. But I cannot agree to his first Position, for that the King has not any such power from his own personal Interest ; nor does the Authority of former Ages warrant any such matter.

The fourth Property of *English* Allegiance, is, that it is due to the King's natural, and not to his politick Capacity^c; or due to the Office of a King in regard to the Person of the Man, and not to the Person in regard of the Office. And because this is of no small Importance, nor easily granted, nor understood, he therefore backs his Opinion with many Reasons. *First*, that the King swears to his Subjects in his natural Capacity ; therefore, the Subjects swear to him in the same Capacity. This Reason was designed to be taken from *Relatives*, and then it should have been thus, viz. *A King swears to his Subjects in their natural Capacity ; therefore, Subjects swear to a King in their natural Capacity.* But, it being otherwise taken, it proves not the Point. Yet, if we take the Reporter *sano sensu*, doubtless the Oath is made to the natural Capacity ; yet not *terminative*, more than a Tenant's Oath to his Lord, which *Coke* couples with the mutual Dependence between King and Subject^f. Nor does an *Englishman's* Oath bind him to the Obedience of all, or any Commands, which the King shall give in relation only to his natural Capacity, or in opposition to his politick Capacity. Nor will the Reporter himself allow, that the King's politick Capacity can be separate from his natural Capacity^g. And yet 'tis evident, that the King may in his natural Capacity command that, which his politick Capacity cannot allow of. The second Reason of this Opinion he takes from the Nature of Treason, which the Reporter says is committed against the natural Person of the King : And this is against due Allegiance, according to the Form of Indictments, in that case provided. This is not demonstrative, because that Crime which is done against a Man's natural Person, may as well extend to it in respect to his Place or Office ; and so may Treason be plotted against the King's natural Person, as he is King : Nor is there any other difference between the Murder of a King, and a private Man, but only in regard of the King's Place and Office, which makes this Murder Treason ; for which reason all Indictments concluding *contra Ligeantiae debitum*, conclude also *contra Coronam & Dignitatem*, &c. *Thirdly*, says he, a Body Politick can neither give nor take Homage : Therefore, the King in his politick Capacity cannot take Allegiance. The first must be granted only, *sub modo* : For though it cannot take Homage immediately, yet by the means of the natural Capacity it may take such Service. And, therefore, that Rule holds only where the Body-Politick is not aggregate, and not one Person in several Capacities. For the Tenant that performs his Service, performs it to his Lord in his natural Capacity, but it is in respect to his politick Capacity, as he is his Lord : For Lord and Tenant, King and Subject, are but Notions, and neither can give nor take Service. But that Man who is Lord or Tenant, King or Subject, may ; even as the power of Protection is in the King, not as he is a Man, but as he is a King. The last Reason I shall consider, is, from the Testimony of the Parliament : For it is said, that this damnable Tenet of Allegiance to the King in his politick Capacity, is condemned by two Parliaments : But in truth I can find but one under that Title, which mentions this Opinion, viz. the *Exilium Hugonis*, which in sum is nothing else but Articles, containing an Enumeration of the particular Offences of the two *Spencers* against the State, and the Sentence thereupon. The Offences are for compassing to draw the King by rigour to govern according to their Wills : For withdrawing him from hearkening to the Advice of his Lords ; for hindering and an oppression of Justice. And (as a means hereunto) they caused a Bill or Schedule to be publish'd, containing, that Homage and Allegiance is

due to the King, rather in respect to his Crown, than absolutely to his Person, because no Allegiance is due to him, before the Crown is vested on him. That if the King governs not according to Law, the Liegers are in such a case bound by their Oath to the Crown, to remove him either by Law or Force.

This is the Substance of the Charge, and on these Articles exhibited, the Lords, *super totam materiam*, banish'd them before their Case was heard, or themselves had made any Appearance thereunto. So as to the matter of this Schedule (which contains an Opinion suitable to the Point in hand, with some additional Aggravations) the Parliament determin'd nothing at all : But to the publishing of the same, to the Intent to gather a Party, whereby they got power to act other Enormities mentioned in the Charge ; and in relation to those Enormities, the Lords proceeded to Punishment : All which was done in the King's Presence, and by his Dissent ; as may appear by his Discontent thereat, as all Historians of those Affairs witness. And 'tis not probable, that the King would have been dissatisfy'd with the Lords Proceeding in asserting the King's Prerogative, in that manner of the Schedule, if he had perceived any such thing in their Purposes. Add hereunto, that the Lords themselves justify'd the Matter of the Schedule in their own Proceedings, all which tended to force the King to govern according to their Councils, and otherwise than suited with his pleasure. By Force they removed *Gavestone* from the King's Presence formerly, and afterwards the *Spencers* in the same manner.

Touching this Doctrine of Allegiance, I shall lay down the Opinion of all sober Writers, who flatter not Princes with slavish Tenets to their ruin : And it is this, *viz.* That we owe the King Allegiance according to the Laws, as the Word itself imports ; and not a natural, absolute, or indefinite Allegiance. The Inference is necessary, for the Laws are the Measure of our Obedience ; but the other is boundless, and we know not what. And the Reporter himself says, That the municipal Laws of the Kingdom have prescribed the Order and Form of legal Allegiance^b ; and, therefore, he hereby cuts his own Throat. But his Business was to flatter a weak Prince, that loved Power and Prerogative ; and this ended in the Ruin of his Son *Charles* the First.

^b Fol. 5. b.



T I T. XXIV.

Of the Roman Dictator ; for what End constituted ; and of his Power and Office ; and of his Master or General of the Horse.

THOUGH a *Dictator* was not an ordinary Magistrate among the *Romans* ; yet, because he often occurs in our reading of the *Roman* History, and in some part of the Laws themselves, I shall here give him a place in this Work. *Fenestella* assures us, that a Dictator was such a Magistrate as was never otherwise created, but when some sudden and extraordinary violence threatned Ruin and Destruction to the *Roman* State.

And his first Rise; was, when the *Latins* were at the Gates of *Rome* ready to enter the City in *Tarquin's* Time, upon a Division of the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, who were oppressed by the former on the score of their Debts. For the common People, grown desperate by the cruel Usage of their Creditors, declared, They would have an Abolition of all their Debts, or else would leave it to the rich and great Men to take care of the War; being unwilling to defend a City, in whose Safety they thought themselves no longer concerned than they could live easy, and which indeed they were ready to quit and abandon. The Senate was hereupon obliged to create one supreme Magistrate, that should be equally above the Senate itself, and the Assembly of the People, and who should be endued with absolute Authority. In order to obtain the Consent of the People, they represented to them, in a publick Assembly, That upon this Emergency in which they had their domestick Quarrels to decide, and the Enemy to repulse at the same time, it was necessary to put the Commonwealth under a single Governor, superior to the Consuls themselves, who should be *Arbiter* of the Laws, and, as it were, the Father of his Country: And that lest he should make himself a Tyrant, and abuse this uncontrollable Authority, they ought not to trust him with it above six Months. So jealous were the *Romans* of their Liberties, and willing to preserve them.

The People, over-joy'd with the Thoughts of having a Magistrate above the Consuls and Senate, agreed to his Election: And it was ordained, that the first Consul should have the power of naming him, as a kind of recompence or amends for the Authority he lost by his Creation. Whereupon *Clelius* presently named his Colleague *Titus Largius*, the first *Roman*, that, with the Title of *Dictator*, enjoy'd this supreme Dignity; which may be called an absolute Monarchy in a Republican Government, though not durable. And, indeed, the moment he was named, he had the power of Life and Death over all the Citizens, of every degree, and without any Appeal. The Authority and very Functions of all other Magistrates ceased, or else were subordinate to him. He had the naming of the General of the Horse, who commonly was a Man of consular Dignity, as he himself was. This Person was subordinate to the Dictator, wholly at his Command, and could not attempt or enterprize any thing without the Dictator's Orders: As we read of *Quint. Fabius* and *Marc. Minutius*, who were brought into great danger of their Lives, for engaging the Enemy in the Absence of the Dictators, and contrary to their Orders; and they had surely lost their Heads, if they had not been set at liberty by the Intreaties of the People, as *Livy* and *Plutarch* relate the matter. Indeed, *Marc. Minutius*, in the time of the second *Punick* War, had equal power given him with the Dictator, which never happen'd to any before him. The Dictator had Lictors armed with Axes, like a King; and might raise Troops and disband them at his pleasure. He might also make Peace or War, without asking Advice either of the Senate or People; and when his Authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his Administration. *Titus Largius*, being the first that was invested with this high Dignity, named, without Participation of the Senate or People, *Spur. Cassius Viscellinus* as General of the Horse. As to the Power and Dignity of the Master or General of the Horse, the Lawyer *Pomponius* pretends, that it was almost the same with the Tribunes of the Light-Horse, or Colonels of the Guards in the time of the Kings, and after the Empire was translated on the Emperors, the *Pretorian* Prefects had. The Dictator, who was also termed the *Master of the People*, being seated upon a high Chair like a Throne, which *Titus Largius* caused to be set up in a publick Place of the City, and being surrounded with his Lictors armed with Axes, order'd every Citizen to be called over, one after another. The *Plebeians*, without
daring

daring to stir a Finger, came in and offered themselves to to be enlisted; and every one full of Awe ranged himself under his Banners. And thus this prudent Dictator carried on the War, and saved the Commonwealth.

Marcus Varro tells us, That a Dictator was so called; à *Dictando*, because future Magistrates were dictated by this Magistrate alone, on the Determination of his Power and Authority. And *Livy* likewise says, That it was the ancient Custom to chuse the Dictator in the dead and silent time of the Night. And our Annals testify, that a Dictator was sometimes chosen *clavi figendi causâ*; who, if he could drive a Nail into a Post, upon any Discord arising in the Minds of the Citizens, was thought to cure that Disease, and to put an end to such Diffension.



T I T. XXV.

Of the Consuls, their Power and Office; how, when and where chosen; and when first introduced, &c.

LIVY observes, that Kingly Government, and the Power of one Person over many, in process of time, grew very irksome and grievous unto the *Roman* People, who desired to be a free State, that they might the better succeed and prosper in their Affairs: Wherefore, on the Expulsion of their Kings upon the score of their Tyranny, they asserted their Liberties; and, on the Expiration of that Monarchy, they created Consuls in the Place of Kings, without kingly Power entirely given to them. For this new Power of Government, though large in some respects, was yet limited and annual¹, lest they should behave unseemly: Their Power not lasting for any longer time than one Year; and there were always two at the same time, to advise and check the Actions of each other, in case of any Exorbitancy or Male-Administration. They were the first ordinary Magistrates in the *Roman* State of superior Note, after it became a Commonwealth, or rather an Aristocracy, and they had the first and chief Seat of Power. They were taken at first out of the Body of the Senate, that they might bear some Authority in their Persons; and, for that they had made themselves acquainted with the Business of Government by their Years and Education. The People gave them the humble and modest Title of *Consuls*, à *Consulendo*, to put them in mind of their Duty, that they were not so much the Sovereigns of the State, as her Counsellors; because they were to consult and take care of the Commonwealth; and the only Object of their Concern was to be her Preservation and Glory: But, having the Government and Administration of Affairs committed to them, they were deemed illustrious Persons. For *Pomponius* tells us², that, after the Subversion of Monarchy, the supreme Authority was lodged with these Persons during their Office, which was for one Year; and being thus created, they were to be the fittest and best qualified Persons of the *Patrician* Order.

And thus *Rome* became partly an Aristocracy for some time; that is to say, the Nobility got into their hands the greatest part of the sovereign Authority; and, instead of one perpetual Prince or Tyrant, as *Tarquin* the Proud was, there were many Tyrants among the Nobility: For tho' the Royalty was abolish'd; yet the domineering Spirit of Royalty was

not

not extinguished. The Senate, delivered from the Awe of the Royal Power, was for bringing into its own Body the whole Authority of the Government. By possessing the civil and military Dignities, which were appropriated to that Order, they enjoy'd all the Power and Riches, which are the Effects and Consequences of them; and the chief Object of their Politics was still to keep People in Indigence and Subjection. So that tho' these Consuls were at first chosen out of the Body of the *Patricians* or Nobility; yet afterwards, when the Government became more popular by the Choice or Creation of *Tribunes*, they made a Law¹, that the People should^{1 A.U.C.310.} be empowered to chuse *Consuls* either out of the Nobility or Commonalty. And thus after this Matter had been disputed between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, for some length of time, *Lucius Sextius* at last^m, was the first^{m A.U.C.389.} of the *Plebeians* that was made Consul; as *Brutus*, the Restorer of the *Roman* Liberty, was the first Consul among the Nobility.

After the People had abolished the Power of the *Decemvirate*, on a Tumult happening among the Populace, by reason of the arbitrary and despotick Power of the *Decemvirs*; *Luc. Valerius* and *Marc. Horatius* were created Consulsⁿ, without any Injury or Offence given to the Fathers.^{n A.U.C.316.} The Consuls were created in the *Comitia Centuriata*, or the great and general Assembly of the People, held in the *Campus Martius*, on an Election made *vivâ voce*, by a Majority of Voices, and then proclaimed in the Reign of the former Consuls: so that their Designation for the Consulship, was said to be made for some small time before they entred on their Office. And then the Consuls elected had the first Place in the Senate, after the Consuls in being. In the beginning, or at the time when this kind of Magistracy was first founded, the Consuls entred on their Office on the Calends of *August*; because in the early State of that Commonwealth, the *Roman* Year then began. Afterwards the Calends of *May* became the solemn time for taking this Office on themselves. And then again the Ides of *December* were solemnized to this End and Purpose. But in process of time, the *Comitia* for chusing Consuls, were held the twelfth Day before the Calends of *March*, provided they entered on their Office on the very Ides of *March*. Yet in the latter Ages of the Commonwealth, when the beginning of the Year was fixed to the Calends of *January*, these Calends were appointed to enter on their Office^o.^{o D.3.5.1.36.}

These Persons were the Presidents of the Senate, and had all kingly Power granted to them, except only that their Office and Authority was annual, as before hinted; and that only one of the Consuls had the *Fasces* or Rods carried before him: For the Axes and Rods being bound up together, were carried before these new Governors, as the Ensigns and Badges of their Office. The painted and purple Gown, and the golden Crown, were only taken from them by reason of the Pride of their Kings, whom they were not to personate or assimilate in any things. They had not a Plenitude of Power; neither could they put a *Roman* Citizen to death without the Order and Decree of the People, having only Authority given them of coercing and imprisoning their Persons^p. But out of the City they might execute^{p D.1.2.2.3.} the power of the Axe, and behead Criminals by their Sentences. But in the City these Consuls had no such thing as a *contentious* Jurisdiction, tho' *Azo* in his Sums has with little or no Foundation of Reason asserted the contrary: For they had only a *voluntary* Jurisdiction, as when any one was manumised, emancipated, or the like^q. If any Business or Matter was^{q D.1.10.lun.} commenced before one of them, such Business was not taken out of his hands by the other Consuls interfering, unless the first was hindred from dispatching the same by some reasonable Cause or other: Necessity having no Law.

From the Time of the Emperors, when the *Roman* Liberties were lost, the Consuls were only a bare Name, without any Power. For though the Consuls before that Time were the first Order in respect of Degree, which was in the Government of the *Roman* State, (the Senate and People being added to them as a Council of State, unto which all Affairs of Importance were referr'd :) Yet this Power being first diminish'd, and afterwards taken away under the Emperors, they began from thence to be stiled the second Dignity in the Empire, being reckoned next unto that of the Emperors, as *Justinian* himself has sometimes expressly declared it, when he had a mind to flatter and cajole the People. But he has even in some places of the Law preferr'd the Dignity of the *Patricians* to this Power and Order, by making the *Patricians* the second Degree after the Emperors. As in the Time of the *Greek* Emperors, the Power of the *Patricians* was the chief Dignity after the Emperors: And this was granted not by way of Succession, but according to the Will and Pleasure of the Prince. Thus *Charlemagne* was by Pope *Adrian* stiled a *Patrician*, before he became Emperor of the *Romans*. And the *Patricians* had at that time the Care of the Commonwealth, as Fathers have of their Children.

^r Lib. 43.

It has been related, that the Time for the Consuls to remain in the execution of their Office, was a whole Year: But *Julius Caesar* brought up a Custom of substituting Consuls at any time for a Month or more, according as he pleased; and these were stiled *Suffecti*, as the others were termed *Ordinarii*. See *Dion. Cassius*^r. According to the *Julian* Law, the Consul that had most Children had the Precedency, though by the *Valerian* Law, the Precedency was given to the eldest. All Persons to be chosen Consuls were to be forty-two Years of Age (at least) before they could arrive at this Dignity: And the ordinary way of coming at the Consulship, was through the several Degrees of Offices, as that of *Quæstor*, *Ædile*, *Prætor*, &c. Between which Offices, there ought regularly to be the Interval of two Years. The Consulship was rarely conferr'd more than once or twice on the same Man; and we find none but *Marius* that was Consul seven times.



T I T. XXVI.

Of the Præfectus Urbi, and his Office: The Creation of the Tribunes, Ædiles, and their Office.

^c Lib. 52.

^e D. 1. 12. 1. 4.

THE Prefect or Governor of the City of *Rome*, was an ordinary Magistrate, first instituted by *Octavius Augustus*, through the Advice of *Mecenas*, according to *Dion. Cassius*^c, and was a Person chosen out of some principal Men of the City, who had went through all Offices of Magistracy but this: and his Business was not to govern the State in the Absence of the other Magistrates, as some have imagined; but with others to preside over the City in civil Matters, and to hear Causes of Appeal, and all capital Causes, some few excepted, happening in the City, and within such a distance out of the City, and to give Judgment therein^e. But his chief Business was, according to *Ulpian*, to hear the Complaints of Servants touching their Masters; and, on the other hand, the Accusations of Masters against their Servants; to sit in Judgment on Freedmen that proved ungrateful to their Patrons, and to take Cognizance of such Crimes as were alledged

alleged against Tutors and Curators, to punish the Frauds of Bankers and Money-Changers; to take care that wholesome Provisions of Flesh were brought into the City; to coerce unlawful Companies; and lastly, to regulate the Discipline of Shows and Pastimes^u. His Jurisdiction reached one hundred Miles round the City; and he might punish whatever Crimes of this kind were committed therein. But though he might hear the Complaint of a Servant complaining of the Cruelty of his Master; yet if such Servant was willing to accuse his Master, he could not receive such Accusation. His Power was superior to all other Magistrates in the City besides that of the *Prætorian* Prefect, to whom he gave place in Power, but was equal to him in Dignity^v.

Rome, by the Establishment of the Tribuneship, changed the Form of her Government a second time, as I have already hinted. It had passed before from a monarchick State, to a kind of Aristocracy, where the whole Authority was in the hands of the Senate and the great Men: But by the Creation of the Tribunes, there arose insensibly, and by slow degrees, a kind of Democracy, wherein the People, under different pretences, got the possession of the better Part of the Government. The Senate at first seemed to have no occasion to apprehend any danger from the Tribunes, who had no power but to interpose in the Defence of the *Plebeians*. Nay, those new Magistrates had at first neither the Quality of Senators, nor any particular Tribunal, nor any Jurisdiction over their Fellow-Citizens, nor the Power of calling the Assemblies of the People. Habited like meer private Men, and attended by one single Servant called *Viator*, which was indeed but very little different from a Footman, they sat upon a Bench without the Senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the Consuls called them in to ask their Opinion upon some Affair that concerned the Interests of the People. Their whole Authority consisted in a Right to oppose the Decrees of the Senate, by the *Latin* word *veto*; that is to say, *I forbid it*, which they wrote at the bottom of the Decree, when they thought it contrary to the Liberty of the People; and this Power was confined within the Walls of *Rome*, or at most to a Mile round. And that the People might always have in the City Protectors ready to take their part, the Tribunes were not allow'd to be absent from the City any one whole day, except in the *Feria Latina*. For the same reason, they were obliged to keep their Doors open Day and Night to receive the Complaints of such Citizens as should stand in need of their Protection. One of the first Steps of these Tribunes, was to ask permission of the Senate to chuse two *Plebeians*, that, with the Title of *Ædiles*, might assist them in the multitude of Affairs, with which they said they were overloaded in so great a City as *Rome*, and especially in the beginning of a new Magistracy: The Senate always divided, and having lost sight of the fixed Point of their Government, suffered themselves to be carry'd away just as these ambitious Men would have it; whereupon they also granted them this new Demand^x. Such was the Origin of the *Plebeian Ædiles*, the Creatures and Ministers of the first Tribunes; but afterwards they took to themselves the Inspection of the publick Edifices, the Care of the Temples, Baths, Aqueducts, and the Cognizance of a great many Affairs^y, which before belonged to the Consuls: And this was a new Breach made by the Tribunes on the Senate's Authority. These *Ædiles* the Tribunes yearly chose out of the Body of the Commons; and at the beginning they were only their Agents: *Rosinus* for Distinction sake calls them *Ædiles Plebis*; because there were other *Ædiles*, as I shall immediately relate. Besides the Duty above-mentioned, they had several other Employments of lesser Note, as to attend on the Tribunes of the People, and to judge in some inferior Causes by their Deputation, to rectify the Weights and Measures,

- ^a A.U.C. 389. Measures, to prohibit unlawful Games, and the like. Some time after^a two more *Ædiles* were elected out of the Nobility, to inspect the publick Games. They were called *Ædiles Curules*, because they had the Honour of using the *Curule* Chair, which derived its Name à *Curru*^a, because they sat upon it as they rode in their Chariots. *Lipsius* fancies, they owe their Name, as well as their Invention, to the *Curetes*, a People of the *Sabines*. The *Curule Ædiles*, besides their proper Office, were likewise to take care of the Buildings, Theatres, Temples, and other Structures, and were appointed Judges in all Causes relating to the selling or exchanging of Estates. And lastly, *Julius Caesar*^b added two more *Ædiles* out of the Nobility, with the Title of *Ædiles Cereales*, from *Ceres*, because their Business was to inspect the publick Stores of Corn, and other Provisions, to supervise all the Commodities exposed to Sale in the Market, and to punish Delinquents in all Matters concerning buying and selling^c.



T I T. XXVIII.

Of the Prætors ; how divided, and their Number ; of their Power, Dignity, and Office.

THE word *Prætor* was at first made use of to denote and signify every superior Magistrate. But, in process of time, either through the Diffensions of the People, or otherwise, when the Consuls had the Command of the Army in foreign Countries, and being called abroad, absented themselves from the City on the account of those Wars which the *Romans* had with the neighbouring States ; and by this means there being often no one left to administer Justice in the City, the Office of *Præfectus Urbis* growing into disuse, it came to pass^d, that a *Prætor* was created, stiled *Prætor Urbanus*^e, or the City Judge, who, in the Consul's Absence, was to have Jurisdiction, and to be vested with the Power of a Judge in the City. And he was stiled *Prætor*, either because *præesset Jurisdictioni*, he presided over a Jurisdiction, or as a *Prætor, præibat jus populo*.

This Office, at first, when one of the Consuls was always chosen out of the *Plebeians*, was only granted to the *Patricians*, who were the only Persons that claimed this Prerogative of pronouncing Judgment in Matters of Judicature. Afterwards^f *Quint. Publius Philo* was the first of the *Plebeians* that was created *Prætor*. The power of all publick and private Right was lodged in the hands of this Magistrate, that he might either take Cognizance thereof himself, or else depute Judges for that end^g; and to him it did belong to prescribe the Forms of commencing Actions, and prosecuting judicial Pleas among such Litigants as requested the same^h. But he referr'd Matters of lesser moment to the *Judex Pedaneus*, or inferior Judge. Yea, in the Absence of the Consuls, the *Prætor* discharged their Office too, and represented their Persons in the City. He had also the executive Power in all Matters that were *mixti imperii*, and of *voluntary Jurisdiction*ⁱ, equally with the Consuls themselves : And made and propos'd Edicts for the sake of aiding, supplying, and amending the Law ; and these Edicts, in Honour of the *Prætor*, were called *Jus Hono-*

^k D. 1. 1. 7. 1. 1. *varium*^k.

Afterwards, in course of time, by reason of the great multitude of Strangers that flock'd to the City, there was another Officer or Magistrate created,

created, stiled *Prætor Peregrinus*, who was to have Jurisdiction, and be as a Judge to these Strangers. Then, after the Reduction of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, there were four other *Prætors* made, and these *Prætors* had the *Roman* Provinces cantoned out to them. After the second *Punick* War, the *Roman* Provinces increasing in number, two more *Prætors* were added, who had the *hither* and *further Spain* allotted them. So that on their entering on the Magistracy, as they did on the Calends of *January*, there should always be two remaining in the City, and the others should have the Provinces allotted them. Sometimes the Management and Administration of the War was granted to them. In the Times of the Emperors, the Number of *Prætors* was increas'd even to sixteen. These Persons in the City made use of two *Lictors*, with the Rods or *Fasces*; and those in the Provinces made use of six *Lictors*.

The Edicts of the *Prætors* were at first only yearly Laws, whereby every one during his own Year was wont to pronounce both Law, and Equity. But when through a malignant Iniquity of Mind, they grew negligent of their Decrees, and would sometimes judge one way, and sometimes another, according to their own arbitrary Wills, even contrary to their own former Decrees, for the sake of filthy Lucre; *Cornelius* made a Law to oblige the *Prætors* to make their Decrees according to their own Edicts, which were now made perpetual. These Edicts were afterwards collected into one Body (as it were) by *Ofilus* and *Salvius Julianus*, and called the *perpetual* Edict. It is to be noted, that those Laws which had their Rise from the twelve Tables, and the *Civil* Law, though they were afterwards supply'd by the *Prætors*, yet did not cease to be reckoned among the *Civil* Laws, but retained their former Force and Condition. The City-*Prætor* could not be absent from the City more than ten Days during his Office.



T I T. XXVIII.

Of the Provincial President; and of his Power and Office, &c.

THE word *President* is a general Term or Name extending to all such Magistrates as have the Government of Provinces committed to them, with the Power of the Sword¹, whether they are Pro-consuls or ¹D. 1. 18. 6. others: For even Senators themselves, that had this Government or Regency committed to them, were stiled Presidents^m; the word *Præses* being ^mD. 1. 18. 2. derived à *Præsidendo*, which is a Word of a large Signification. But a Person could not be stiled a *Proconsul*, unless he was sent out in the Place or Stead of a Consul. A President sometimes signifies a Deputy, Lieutenant, Provost, Vice-roy, and the like. But a President, properly so called, had the largest Jurisdiction of all other Magistrates, and was next in Authority unto the Prince, in such Province whereunto he was sentⁿ; and executed the Office ⁿD. 1. 18. 3. of all other Magistrates at *Rome*. For, in the Province where he presided, he had the Cognizance of all Causes, touching which the Prefect, Consuls, *Prætorian* Prefect, *Prætors*, and other Persons had, which had Cognizance of Causes at *Rome*. And thus Presidents in their Provinces exercise the same Functions as all other Magistrates do at *Rome*^o. Hence the Edicts. ^oD. 1. 18. 10. that &c. 11.

that were propounded by them, after the manner the *Prætor* propounded his, were stiled *Provincial* Edicts. But he had no Lieutenant or Deputy, as the Proconsuls had, because he himself was but a Deputy^p. It did belong to the President's Office to restrain all Acts of Fear and Violence, and to hinder not only the Outrage and Concussion of his own Soldiers, but also of all other Persons; to defend the Poor^q, and to mitigate Punishments on the score of Poverty, if Persons incurr'd any: And if a Penalty was remitted hereupon, it was not afterwards to be recovered, though the Person should happen to grow rich. As his Business was to keep his Province quiet, and to purge it from evil Men^r; so it was also incumbent on him to imprison and take care of Madmen, that they did not hurt others. He was to be easy of Access in all Matters of Right, without receiving any Presents: And as he was not to be acquainted with Anger and Cruelty; so he was not to show himself profuse of Mercy^s. And though he had Jurisdiction over all such Causes, wherein the Magistrates of the City of Rome had Cognizance; yet he was not to borrow Precedents from them, but to follow Truth^t. He had the care of Trade committed to him, to allow of what was lawful, and to prevent such as was detrimental^u. He was not to go out of the Province, lest the People should want a Governor; nor could he contract Matrimony or Espousals with any young Woman in his Province, lest she should seem to be awed into a Consent^v. He had the Inspection of all Buildings, and might compel the Owners to repair the same. He had the Power of the Sword, but only in a qualify'd manner, not to put Persons to death, but only to fine them, and to send them to the Mines. And in this the Power of Presidents was less than that of Proconsuls, as may appear, in that a President had not the Right and Power of Deportation^w, as a Proconsul had. Because Deportation was a special Punishment introduced by Princes, who, so far reserv'd this Punishment to themselves, that it was necessary for the Præfect of the City to have a Law, or some special Grant of the Prince, before he could execute the Power of Deportation. Again, a Proconsul could give his Lieutenant special Cognizance touching suspected Tutors or Guardians: But a President could not delegate this Power; nor could he any more delegate a Judge, than he could assign a Guardian^x. But some held this last to be an Error, because only inferior Judges were barr'd this power.



T I T. XXIX.

Of the Prætorian Præfect, his Power and Office.

AS heretofore the Dictators, who were chosen on some emergent Occasions of State, created unto themselves Persons stiled *Masters* or *Generals of the Horse*, who, next to the Dictators, had the chief Authority in the Commonwealth: so in process of time, after the Government of the State was transferr'd on the *Roman* Emperors or Princes, they assum'd unto themselves Persons stiled by the Name of *Prætorian Præfects*, who had a larger power given them of correcting Abuses, and reforming publick Discipline^y, than other Magistrates were vested with: And from these Persons

as formerly, but only Proconsuls; and those, who had the Government of *Cæsar's* Provinces, were stiled *Prætors*^b. *Justinian*, after this made those consular Provinces, which were before governed by Presidents, to be *Proconsular* and *Prætorian* Provinces. This he did, because he had enlarged some of these Provinces. And in these he thought fit to join the military and civil Power together, and to lodge them in the hands of one and the same Magistrate; not only to preserve Reverence and Authority unto the governing Power; but likewise to prevent all dangerous Disputes, which commonly arise between different Persons of the same degree of Power in the same Province^c. Hence it appears, that the Dignity and Authority of the Proconsuls in *Justinian's* Time was very great. But after his Reign, they return'd to their antient Right, and the Proconsuls were only Vicars unto the Consuls in the Provinces committed to them. For the Jurisdiction resided with the Consuls, but the Proconsuls had the Administration and Execution thereof. So that whenever a Consul came into the Province, where a Proconsul presided, the Proconsul laid down his Administration^d. Yet Proconsuls, who had a consular Dignity given them by the Senate, had sometimes the same Honour as the Consuls themselves: For they might make use of the *Fasces*, and the twelve *Lictors*, as well as the Consuls themselves. But those, who were sent into the Provinces with Proconsular Dignity, were of lesser Dignity, and had the Axes and six *Fasces* allotted them: and thus we may reconcile several Authors, who speak of Proconsuls with twelve *Fasces*, and some with six only^e. But though the Proconsuls had their Guards, and other Ensigns of their Office, on their departure out of *Rome*, even before they entered the Province, deputed to them, and out of the Province might exercise a voluntary, but not a contentious Jurisdiction: Yet the Proconsul's Lieutenant (for every Proconsul had a Lieutenant assigned him) could exercise no Jurisdiction at all. Nor could the Proconsul himself exercise a contentious Jurisdiction in any other Place but in the Province to which he was sent, though he might exercise a voluntary one^f, as aforesaid. He might manumise Bondmen, and grant Adoption, &c. which are Acts of voluntary Jurisdiction; but his Lieutenant could not do this, because he had no such Jurisdiction. The Proconsul after he entered on his Province, might make a Lieutenant, but before this his Lieutenant had no Jurisdiction: And though the Proconsul himself should attempt to confirm what his Lieutenant did before such time; yet such Confirmation had no Validity in Law. But if a Proconsul was hindered from arriving at his Province on some necessary Cause, he might, before such Arrival, send a Lieutenant thereunto^g. The Proconsul ought to reside in a House of his own, and not burden the Inhabitants with any Charges for Diet, &c. nor ought he to have his *Stratores* or Purveyors, &c. but in lieu of them he was to furnish himself with good Soldiers in his Province. Though the Proconsul might take his Wife along with him; yet it was thought more advisable to go thither without, since he was liable for the Offences of his Wife. He had the Power of the Sword, and might exercise the same himself^h, and might likewise in respect of Causes *meri imperii*, delegate the Cognizance thereof unto his Lieutenant: but he could not do this in respect to the Decision of such Causes; for he was to adjudge and determine them himself. Thus he might delegate unto his Lieutenant the Causes of such Persons as are imprisoned, to the end that he should hear the Causes of such Imprisonment, and make a Report thereof to him, that he might discharge and release an innocent Person. But this kind of Delegation was special and extraordinary. For no one could transfer unto another this *imperium imperii*, or power of the Sword, which is given to him, of *common Right*. A Proconsul could not transfer the Power of discharging criminal Persons, since they could not be accused or impeached before him.

him. And as it was in his discretionary Power either to delegate or not to delegate a Jurisdiction ; so he might supersede such Delegation whenever he pleas'd, upon consulting the Prince, and not otherwise. A Proconsul was to observe all Matters set down in the Law here quotedⁱ; and had fuller Power in the Province than all other Persons, the Prince excepted^k: yet he could not take Cognizance of a Cause, which was between the Exchequer and a private Man, though the Prince might do it. The Prince was not to consult the Proconsul's Lieutenant, but the Proconsul himself in Matters relating to his Province. Though his Lieutenant had not *propriam Jurisdictionem*, yet as soon as Jurisdiction was delegated to him, he might substitute a Judge^l. As soon as the Proconsul entered the Gates of Rome, he was to drop all his Ensigns of Power^m.

ⁱ D. 1. 16. 7.^k D. 1. 16. 8.^l D. 1. 16. 12.

& 13.

^m D. 1. 16. 16.

T I T. XXXI.

Of the Censors, and Quæstors, and their Offices, &c.

A General Survey of the *Roman* Citizens, and their Estates, much like unto our Domesday-Book, was introduc'd by *Servius Tullius* the sixth King of the *Romans*; who, to dazzle the People, and to know the Strength of his State, represented in an Assembly, that the number of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, and their Riches, being considerably increased by the multitude of Strangers that had settled in the City, he did not think it just that a poor Citizen should contribute to the publick Expence as much as the richest; that those Impositions ought to be proportioned according to every Man's Ability: And, therefore, in order to get an exact Knowledge of this Particular, all the Citizens, upon the greatest Penalties, should be obliged to give a faithful Account of what they were worth, to serve as a Rule to the Commissioners, which the Assembly of the People should appoint, to settle this Proportion. The People, who saw in this Proposal nothing but their own ease, received it with great Applauses, and the whole Assembly unanimously empower'd the King to establish in the Government whatever Order he should think most agreeable to the Good of the Publick. That Prince, to effect his purpose, as a Spirit of Conquest chiefly prevail'd in this State, and in order to have a Supply of Men and Money, decreed, that every five Years a general Survey should be made of all the *Roman* Citizens, containing their Age, Substance, Profession, the Name of their *Tribe* and *Curia*, (for he divided them into *Tribes* and *Wards*) and the number of their Children and Slaves: And this List or Roll of their Persons, &c. was stiled the *Census*, from the *Latin* Verb *censeo*, to *rate* or *value*. There was then found to be in *Rome*, and its Territory, above four-score thousand Citizens able to bear Arms. Thus the Prince or Magistrate could immediately know how many Inhabitants in *Rome* were capable of bearing Arms, and what Contribution might be raised upon them. But tho' this King had thus instituted the *Census*; yet it was without the Assignment of any particular Officer to manage it: And, therefore, he took the Trouble on himself, and made it a part of the Regal Duty. Upon the Expulsion

of the Kings; the Business fell to the Consuls, and continued in their Care, till their Dominions grew so large as to give them no leisure for its Performance. For they being frequently taken up abroad with almost continual Wars, not having leisure in above seventeen Years to make that Enumeration, which was the *Census*, it was propos'd, for the ease of the Consuls, that two Magistrates should be created of the *Patrician* Order, who, with the Title of *Censors*, should, every five Years, take that general Review of the whole *Roman* People. The Tribunes, though always upon their guard against every thing offer'd by the Senate, did not oppose the Establishment of this new Magistracy. They did not so much as demand, that the *Plebeians* should be allow'd a share in it; whether, because they saw that the Power which went along with the Censorship was but small, or because they were satisfy'd, that by separating those Functions from the Consulship, (for this Office was only a Portion taken out of the Consulship) a Diminution was made of the Power of a Magistracy, which was the Object of their Hatred and Emulation. Thus the Law for the Creation of two Censors passed without Contention^a. Whilst the Consuls had the Charge of this general Review, all their Business in that Article was only to take an exact Account of the Names, Estates, Ages, and Conditions of all the Masters of Families, and the Name and Age of their Children and Slaves. But when this Part of the Magistracy was dismembred from the Consulship, and made a Dignity by it self, as Men generally study nothing but how to enlarge their own Authority, the Censors took upon them the Reformation of Manners^b: And tho' this new Dignity at first seemed of little moment; yet, in time, by the Power annexed to it, it became the Pinnacle of Honour, and the most formidable Magistracy in the Republick. For they enquired into the Behaviour of all the Citizens^c; the Senators and Knights were subject to their censure, as much as the meanest of the People; they had power to expel out of those Bodies such as they thought unworthy of being in them. As to such *Plebeians*, as through their Debauchery or Laziness were fallen to want, they removed them down into an inferior Class, nay oftentimes deprived them of their Right of voting, and they were no longer reputed Citizens, but yet they were still liable to pay their part of the Taxes. When the Censors made their general Review of the whole Nation, there was not a Citizen but what trembled at the sight of their Tribunal; the Senator through fear of being driven out of the Senate; the Knight with an apprehension of being broke and deprived of the Horse which the State kept for him; and the private Citizen with a dread of being out of his Tribe, and tumbled down to the lowest Degree, or (at least) into a Century less honourable than his own. So that this wholesome Terror was the Support of the sumptuary Laws, the Bond of Concord, and, as it were, the Guardian of Modesty and Virtue, which preserved the Commonwealth for a time. Their Office at first was to continue for five Years, because every fifth Year the general Survey of the People used to be performed, as aforesaid: But when they grew to be the most considerable Persons in the State, for fear they should abuse their Authority, a Law was passed^d, by which their Office was restrained to a Year and a half: And, therefore, for the future, though they were elected every five Years, yet they continued to hold the Honour no longer than the Time prefix'd by that Law. After the second *Punic* War, they were always created out of such Persons, tho' it sometimes happened otherwise before. Their Station was reckoned more honourable than the Consulship, though their Authority, in Matters of State, was not so considerable. And the Badges of the two Offices were the same, only that the Censors were not allowed the *Lictors* to walk before them, as the Consuls had. This Office continued no longer than till the Time of the Emperors, who performed the same Duty

^a A.U.C. 310.^b Lips.^c Val. Max. lib. 2. c. 9.^d A.U.C. 420.

Duty at their pleasure: And the *Flavian* Family, that is to say, *Vespasian* and his Sons, took a Pride in being called *Censors*, and put this among their other Titles on their Coins. *Decius* entred on a Design to restore the Honour to a particular Magistrate, as heretofore, but without any success.

A *Quæstor*, in the general Sense of the Word, among the *Romans*, was such as got in the publick Taxes and Revenues of the *Roman* Empire throughout the whole World, and had the Custody and Management thereof for the best advantage of the State, as our Lord-Treasurers have, or ought to have with us. And, therefore, *Varro* says^r, they were called *Quæstors*, à *Quærendo*, because their Office was diligently to enquire and search after the publick Money; and at first their Business also was to enquire into all publick Crimes and Offences, which the *Triumviri Capitales* afterwards had the Inquisition of: And thus from these Enquiries they were called *Quæstors*. The Original of creating a *Quæstor* in *Rome* was very ancient, and almost before all other Magistrates. For *Junius Gracchanus* in his seventh Book *de Potestatibus*, reports, That even *Romulus* himself, and *Numa Pompilius*, had two *Quæstors* or Treasurers, whom they did not create by their own Voice, but by the general Suffrage and Consent of the People, as being the publick Money they were to take care of. But tho' some have doubted touching this matter; yet it is certain, that *Quæstors* were in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*; and this (I think) admits of no dispute.

There were three distinct kinds of *Quæstors*. For some were called *Quæstores Urbani* or *Ærarii*, who had the Care of the City-Treasury. Touching the first Institution of these, it remains still a doubt^r. *Tacitus*^r D. i. 13. in his Annals refers the beginning of these to *Pub. Valerius Poplicola*, when he appointed the Temple of *Saturn* to be the Place of the publick Treasury: granting Power to the People to create two *Quæstors* or Treasurers, who were to be accountable to the People for all publick Money, under heavy Punishments. The two first of these City-*Quæstors* were *Pub Veturius* and *Mar. Minucius*: Afterwards there were two others added unto the former, who were to attend the Consuls in their warlike Expeditions; and were to be ready at hand to assist them with Money in the Ministry of the War. The Commons obtained, that part of them should be chosen out of the Nobility, and the other part of them out of the Commonalty, at the *Comitia Tributa*.

The Offices of the City-*Quæstors* were various: For they were not only to take care of the publick Treasury, and to demand Taxes and Customs from the *Roman* People, and to make publick Entries of all Receipts and Disbursements; but they were also to deliver out the military Ensigns from the Exchequer to the Consuls, when they marched their Legions into the Field, and to take care of the publick Entertainment of Ambassadors that came to *Rome* from remote Parts of the World; to take care of foreign Ambassadors in their Sickness, and to furnish them and their Retinue with all Necessaries on the publick Account; and to bury them at the publick Charge. When the General of the Army returned from an Expedition, and desired a Triumph, he was to make Oath before them touching the Number of the Enemy slain, and the Number of the Citizens lost.

Among the *Quæstors* that acted out of the City, some were wont to have the Government of Provinces allotted, according to a Decree of the Senate, made at the Recommendation of *Porcina* and *Decimus Drusus*, when they were Consuls; and they had the Care and Management of the publick Money in some Province or other. The word *Quæstor* was also used for him, who was otherwise stiled *Candidatus Principis*, or the Prince's Chancellor, whose Business it was to read and form the Prince's Decrees, and his

his Letters to the Senate. Touching these, see *Brissonus* in his Antiquities. There was also another sort of Quæstor, who presided over capital Causes. But the great Quæstor here referr'd to was the City-Quæstor, who had no Jurisdiction, nor a *Curule* Chair, as most other Magistrates had, nor Lictors, Beadles, &c. to attend him. He was to be twenty-seven Years of Age at least, before he was qualified for the Office; and was to be a Person of clean Hands, and uncorrupted Fidelity. He might be summoned before the Prætor by a private Person, if he was found guilty of robbing the Publick. The Provincial Quæstors acted under the Proconsuls and Proprætors in the Provinces, and were in Subordination to them, furnishing them with Money, &c. There was a Quæstor sent into each Province, unless it was into *Sicily*, which had two Quæstors; because it was divided into the new and old *Sicily*. But let this suffice touching Quæstors. I pass next to speak of the *Roman* Senate, a great and powerful Body, whilst the Commonwealth lasted.



T I T. XXXII.

Of the Roman Senate and Senators; their Number, of whom they consisted, and in what manner elected.

EVERY one, that pretends to any part of Learning, very well knows, That the Words *Senate* and *Senators*, are derived from the *Latin* word *Senectus*^s, which signifies old Age: For *Romulus*, the first King of the *Romans*, after he had built the City, and founded that antient State, did, by the Suffrages of the Wards and Tribes of *Rome*, chuse one hundred Persons out of these Bodies for his Council to govern the State, and they were to be Fathers and old Men, that they might, by their Experience in Business, be the better qualified to conduct themselves in State-Affairs: For the Care of the Republick was only committed to Men of Years^t; that is to say, to such Persons as were above twenty-five Years of Age. Thus *Cicero* observes, that, among the *Lacedemonians*, those Persons were stiled *Senes*, that were admitted to the highest Offices of Magistracy among them, though the word *Senectus* in the *Latin* Tongue denotes a more advanced Age than that of twenty-five Years, as I have already shewn. These Senators were afterwards called *Patres* or Fathers, by reason of the Honour that was due to them for their great Wisdom; for they were the Patrons and Defenders of the People. And the Writers of the *Roman* History inform us, that such as were stiled *Patricians*, were the Descendants of these Senators. These Senators were also termed *Patres Conscripti*, because they were registred and enrolled in the Senate; and that other Reason given of their being so called, *viz.* because their Names were written on their Turbants, is false and idle.

But though, in the beginning, the Number of these Senators was only a hundred; yet, in process of time, this Number was increased even to three hundred: For *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards increased the Majesty of the Senate, by adding a hundred Men. But then came *Tarquinius Superbus*, who by Death and Banishment destroy'd the most eminent Part of the Senate.

Senate. But soon after, on the Expulsion of their Kings, the *Roman* Senate, which had been thus diminish'd by the cruel Slaughter and Treatment of *Tarquin* the *Proud*, was again restored to its antient Number by *Brutus* the first Consul, who augmented it to the number of three hundred, by chusing the Chief of the *Equestrian* Order into this Body. And thus the Persons that were so chosen by him, and registred as Senators, or (as the *Latin* has it) *Senatui ascripti*, were called *Patres conscripti*, as being distinguish'd from the other Senators, though at length they all came under this Appellation. Some time after this, *Cæsar* increased the Body of the Senate, rather thro' Favour to particular Persons, than by a regular Choice, and brought many Citizens and Foreigners thereinto, (according to *Rivallius*,) as it served his own Interest and Purpose. And thus, the Senate consisting of *Gauls* and several other foreign Nations, an humble Petition was made him not to enlarge this Council any farther with new Members, which he complied with during his time. But after *Cæsar's* Death, there were so many Persons admitted into this Body, through favour, and other corrupt Methods, that the Senators amounted to above a thousand in number, which not only rendred the Assembly tumultuous, but lessened the Dignity of the Order: Whereupon *Augustus* at length reduced them to their antient Standard and Splendor.

Fenestella, in his Treatise of the *Roman* Magistrates^u, tells us, that the^u Cap. 1. Senate consisted of three Ranks or Orders of Men: Some of them being stiled *Patricians*; others *conscript Fathers*; and the third degree was that of the *Pedarii*, so termed, according to *Aul. Gellius*, because they went to the Senate on foot, as having no Chair or Chariot allowed them; others say, because they gave not their Suffrage *vivâ voce, sed pedibus in sententiam ibant*^v, viz. they voted and gave their Opinion by going on this^v Festus. or that side of the Senate-House. And hence, among them a Decree of the Senate was two-fold, viz. that which was made by going out or retiring, when they gave their Votes: And the other was made by collecting their Votes in the House, viz. when each Person was severally asked to give his Opinion; and this was in Matters of great moment. The *Patricians* were chiefly those that were the Descendants of those hundred Senators, that were first created by *Romulus*. The *conscript* Senators were those that were brought into the Senate by the Decree of succeeding Kings, Consuls, or Censors. Some say, that the *Pedarii* were those that came to the Senate, but yet had no Suffrage, as having never went through the Office of a *Curule* Magistrate. *Festus* says, as just now hinted, that these last did not declare their Sentiments by Words, but went to the side of them, whose Opinion they allow'd: and, therefore, were called *Pedarii*, as aforesaid. But this Conjecture of *Festus* does not please me, because this might as well be said of other Senators: Wherefore, I rather chuse to follow the Opinion of *Aulus Gellius*, viz. because they went to the Senate on foot: For those that had not passed through the *Curule* Magistracy, could not ride in a *Curule* Chair. And though they had not properly Votes in the Senate, yet they joined the chief of the Senate in their Opinions.

Not only Age (for none could be called to the Senate, but such as were twenty-five Years of Age, at least, *anno currente*,) but a proper Estate was also considered in the Choice of a Senator, as *Seneca* remarks in his *Declamations*^w, *Senatorum gradum Censuræ ascendere facit*, lest they^w Lib. 2. should be tempted to do amiss by Corruption. But whether this was an antient Institution of that Order, *Pliny*^x doubts in his natural History. For,^x Lib. 14. says he, the Largeness of an Estate has been a Detriment to the Publick, ever since a Senator has been chosen on the account of his Estate, since Men can procure themselves to be elected Senators through the means of

their great Wealth alone, without any other Merit. Hence *peffumière vitæ pretia*, &c. But, I think, an Estate is commendable in a Senator, if not necessary in him, lest the Splendor of that high Order should be obscur'd by the Narrowness of their Fortune. And we read in several good Authors, that a Senator's Estate before the time of *Augustus*, was eight hundred thousand Sesterces : Which he enlarged to a greater Sum, if we may believe *Suetonius* and *Dion. Cassius*. But not only he who had no Estate was without a Qualification hereunto, but if he wasted his Estate, and was reduced in his Circumstances, after he was chosen, he was expelled the Order. See *Cicero's* Epistles to *Quint. Valerius*. And all manner of Gain and filthy Lucre was so odious in a Senator, especially if he was found selling his Voice, that it not only turned him out of the Senate, but it rendered him infamous for ever afterwards, according to a Law of *Quint. Claudius*, a Tribune of the People^y. See *Cicero's* seventh Oration against *Verres*. Such as were chosen into the Senate from any other Place than the City, did not lose or change their Dwelling, though they obtained a new Settlement : For a Dignity does not change a Man's former Condition, though it may change his Temper.

^y Liv. Hist.
lib. 21.

The Senators were distinguished from the Knights by a Gown, which was called *Laticlavium*, being a Robe or Garment of Purple, wrought with Studs like unto Nails Heads. They determined their Acts, which they termed *Senatus-Consulta*, sometimes by departing from their benches, and dividing themselves into Sides, and sometimes by going out of the House, as with us, in dividing the Parliament-House. Those who approved what was proposed, sided with the Party that proposed the Matter to the Senate, and the others went to the contrary side : or if they came not down at all, but sat still on the Benches, they then signified their Opinions by holding up their Hands. But if both Parties were almost equal, so that the major part could not easily be discerned, then they proceeded to give their Voices by Scrutiny ; and that which was thus determined, was said to be decreed by the Opinions of all and every of them.

In the beginning, under *Romulus*, and the succeeding Kings, there was a Person stiled *Prince of the Senate*, who represented the Sovereign Magistrate in the Senate, and was much like unto our Speaker of the House of Lords or Commons : only he was chosen for Life, and had a much larger Power given him ; which Honour was seldom conferr'd on any one, but who had been Consul or Censor. The Power of this College or Consistory, called the *Senate*, consisted in all Matters relating to the State, except the creating of Magistrates, giving Sanction to the Laws, and the Business of Peace and War^z : For in the Business of Peace and War, and of making Laws, they had only the Power of debating the Matter, and of reporting their Opinion unto the King himself. In respect of the publick Revenue or Treasury, their Power was unlimited^a : All the Receipts and Disbursements of publick Money being under their Cognizance alone ; and a very watchful Eye they kept on their Treasurers or *Quæstors*, to see they did not embezzle, misapply, or purloin the Cash of the Commonwealth to their own Uses. They had also the Punishment of all flagitious Crimes, as Treason, Conspiracy, and the like, which were committed within the Confines of *Italy*^b. And, lastly, whatever Embassy was sent to any Place out of *Italy*, either for the sake of contracting Alliances, or on the score of Mediation, Exhortation, or denouncing of War, &c. the Senate was always consulted herein, and was to take care that no Damage ensued to the State from them. The Senate was likewise consulted, when Ambassadors came to *Rome*, how they were to be received and entertained, and what Answer was to be given to them^c. See *Cicero's* Oration *pro domo sua*, and that against the Witness *Vatinus*.

^z Dion. Hal.
lib. 6.

^a Polyb. lib. 6.

^b Polyb. ut
supr.

^c Polyb. ut
supr.

Touching

Touching the time of holding the Senate, it was two-fold, *viz.* *First*, that fixt Time which the Law had appointed; and this was at first on the Calends, Nones, and Ides of every Month: But *Augustus* afterwards ordered, that a *legal* Senate should not be held oftener than twice a Month^d, ^{d Suet. de Vit. Aug. c. 35.} on the Calends and Ides, and that none should be held in *September* or *October*, unless occasionally. If the Senate was called or held at any other time, it was assembled by the Prince's Authority. The Royal Authority, by the Death of *Romulus*, was lost in that of the Senate: For they, being not able to bear that the Government should be turned into a direct Monarchy, began to rid themselves of a Prince that grew too absolute. Whereupon the Senators agreed to divide this Power among themselves, and each with the Title of *Inter-Rex* governed in his Turn five Days, and enjoy'd all the Honours of Sovereignty. This new Form of Government lasted a whole Year, and the Senate never thought of giving themselves a new Master. But the People, who found that this *Inter-Rexnum* only increas'd the number of Lords, loudly demanded to have it at an end; and the Senate were at last obliged to yield up an Authority, which they could hold no longer. They put it to the People, whether they would proceed to the Election of a new King, or only chuse annual Magistrates, that should have the Government of the State. The People, out of Respect and Deference to the Senate, left them the Choice of those two sorts of Government. Several Senators that relished the pleasure of seeing no Dignity in *Rome* superior to their own, inclined to the Republican State; but the chief of the Body, who secretly aspired to the Crown, got it determin'd by a Plurality of Voices, that no Alteration should be made in the Form of Government. And thus it was resolv'd to proceed to the Choice of a new King; and if the People chose a Successor worthy of *Romulus*, the Senate would confirm him in that supreme Dignity: and the Choice fell upon *Numa Pompilius*, a Man of Virtue, Wildom, Equity, and Moderation, but no great Soldier; so that not being able to get any Reputation by his Courage, he sought to distinguish himself by the Virtues of Peace. See his Character by *Livy*, *Plutarch*, &c.



T I T. XXXIII.

Of Nobility in general; and of the Roman Nobility in particular: and of Dignities, &c.

NOBILITY, according to *Spigelius*, is a Quality or Dignity of Distinction, whereby one Person excels another, not only in the Eminency of Name and Lineage, but also in the Fame and Reputation of vertuous Actions: so that, according to him, Nobility may be said to be three-fold. The first kind of Nobility is that which a Person derives by Descent from his Ancestors: The second is that which he assumes from the Honour of his own vertuous Actions. And this is true Nobility: For he who values himself on the account of his Descent from great Men, boasts of that which belongs to his Ancestors. The third kind of Nobility is that which depends on

on the Stock of our Ancestors, and on our own Merit : So that there is one kind of Nobility which consists in being born a Nobleman ; another which is seen in brave and vertuous Actions ; and a third which appears from high Descent and vertuous Actions joined together. Thus *Bartolus* on the *Code*^e observes, that there are three kinds of Nobility : The *first* being that which arises from great and laudable Actions : The *second* being that which is derived from the Knowledge of useful Learning : And the *third* being that which descends from the Wealth and Pedigree of our Ancestors ; which last kind was of little or no esteem among the old *Romans*, unless it flow'd from their vertuous Actions. And this was the principal Rise of the Nobility among the antient *Romans*, in the Purity of their State.

From what has been said, it appears, that a Person may be stiled *Nobilis*, either in respect of Family, or in respect of Manners, or else in respect of his Mind and Understanding : And, according to *Cynus*, a Nobleman in respect of Manners, is to be preferr'd to a Nobleman in point of Family only ; because he acquires Nobility from himself, whereas the other shines with the Lustre and Nobility of his Ancestors. But if any one be a Nobleman in respect of good Manners and good Family both, he shall then be preferr'd to him, who is ennobled only in point of Manners, because *duplex decus in eo fulget*, viz. his own proper Lustre, and that of his Family. Those Persons that are descended of noble Parentage, are, in respect of Blood, by the *Civil* Law stiled *Personæ Sublimes* ; and such a kind of Nobility is preferr'd unto Literature and good Learning. A Person of Liberality may in a large Sense be stiled *Nobilis*, because he exercises an Act of Nobility : For it is the Property of a Nobleman to extend his Liberality. It is to be noted, that among the antient *Romans* every one that was not a *Plebeian*, was reckoned a Nobleman, whether they were *Knights* or *Patricians* : But of this by and by.

Nobility, as it is a kind of an Accident, and an adventitious Thing, is not presumed, but ought to be proved : For, according to *Baldus*^e, every one is presumed to be a *Plebeian* or a Commoner, unless the contrary appears. And, therefore, he who avers himself to be a Nobleman, ought to prove the same ; because this Quality is in but few, and consequently not presumed. Nor is it a first Quality that proceeds from Nature, but it has its Rise from our Progenitors, and from Things happening unto them, generally speaking : And, therefore, he who alledges it, ought to prove it, when Nobility is deduced in Judgment by way of Incident ; and thus when the principal Question is not about it, lighter Proofs are held sufficient. There is a great Presumption in Law lies in favour of a Nobleman, viz. That he is a Person that has the highest Regard and Honour for his Word, and a strict Observer of his Promise after he has given the same ; inasmuch, that if the Judge has enlarged a Nobleman from Imprisonment, and would have the Hall of Justice itself to be in the Place of a Prison, and such a Nobleman runs away, he is deemed to have forfeited his Nobility, and ought to be degraded.

The State and Condition of Noblemen is considered in many respects : *First*, in respect of obtaining any Licence or Dispensation. *Secondly*, in respect of Punishments : For in inflicting Punishments, greater regard ought to be had to a Nobleman than to a Person under that Degree and Character : And it is the same thing likewise in the conferring of Benefices. *Thirdly*, in respect of exhibiting and paying them Honours, as by saluting them, giving them a Seat among the Judges, and the like. *Fourthly*, they may enjoy a Plurality of Offices or Benefices. *Fifthly*, they ought to be preferr'd before others in all Elections, *cæteris paribus*. And *sixthly*, they are considered in making an equal Distribution of Benefices, and in the Administration of other Mens Goods.

Nobility

Nobility is a Quality conferr'd and given by the Prince, or him that has the fovereign Power velted in him, and it raifes and advances a Perfon above the Commonalty. *Bartolus* gives this Description of it in his *Treatife* thereof; wherein he lays down thefe four Opinions about a Nobleman, faying, *first*, That Soldiers and the fuperior Commanders of Armies ought to be called Noblemen. And hence *Cujacius* infers, that we have the Origine of the prefent Nobility, which are all military Titles: For antiently none were Nobles, but fuch as were invefted with the Title by the Prince or Leader of an Army. A *Duke*, otherwife in *Latin* called *Dux Belli*, was he, unto whom the whole Care of the War was committed. And this Dignity of a Dukedom at firft was not illuftrious, as at prefent, but was the moft perfect; and therefore ftiled *Dignitas Clariffima*. A Marquis was the commanding Officer that defended the Marches or Borders from the Attack of the Enemy. A *Comes* or Count was an Associate unto the General of the Army in the beginning; then the Name was given to all Magiftrates that followed the Prince's Retinue or Court, and at length to all Perfons that were fet over Affairs of any great Confequence in the Prince's Houfhould, &c. as the *Comes facrarum Largitionum*, whom fome will have to be the Treafurer of the Houfhould, but I rather chufe to call him the Prince's Almoner. In the latter time of the *Roman* Empire, about the Days of *Justinian*, there were feveral forts of thefe Counts or *Comites*, *viz.* of the firft, fecond, and third Order. There were Counts of the Prince's Confiftory, and thefe were as the Prince's Cabinet or Privy-Council; and being equal unto Proconfuls, were exempt from all mean and fordid Offices. There were others ftiled *military* Counts; and of thefe there were two that were employ'd in War-Affairs in the Tranfmarine Provinces: But the Proconfuls were preferr'd unto thefe *military* Counts. There are fome *military* Counts, that are ftiled *Comites Majores*, others termed *Comites Mediocres*, and others that are called *inferior* Counts. The *superior* Counts almoft ever follow'd the Prince, and, as a Retinue, were Officers in his Court: But the others were fent as Governors of Provinces. And hence it is, that antiently among us we had a Count or Earl fet over every Province or County in *England*.

The *Roman* Nobility were called *Patricii*, as being fuch Perfons as were defcended from the firft Senators of *Rome*, termed *Patres* from their Age and Wifdom; and from hence the word *Patrician* had its Rife and Origine. Thus *Livy* obferves, that *Romulus* firft created thefe Senators, who, by way of Honour, were ftiled *Patres* or Fathers; and their Offspring or Progeny were afterwards called *Patricii*. But *Cincius*, according to *Festus Pompeius*, fays, that they were wont to be called *Patricii*, who are now called *Ingenui*; but this (I think) is a wrong Account. The Divifion of the Nobility among the *Roman* Citizens, was taken from their Images and Coats of Arms: For thofe were ftiled *Noblemen* who had the Images of their Anceftors in their Families, as all the *Patricians* had: But fuch as had only their own Images, and not thofe of their Anceftors, were called Novices or Upftarts, *viz. novi homines*. And laftly, thofe who had neither their own Images, nor thofe of their Anceftors, were termed *Ignobiles* or Plebeians: So that the Right of Images among the *Romans*, was nothing elfe but the Right of Nobility. This Image, according to *Polybius*, was the Sculpture of fome eminent Perfon engraven in Wood, and representing the likenefs of him for whom it was defigned; and it was placed in the moft conspicuous and remarkable Part of the Houfe, as the Arms of the Family. And though at firft none but *Patricians* and Soldiers of fuper-eminent Merit could have thefe Armorial Enfigns; yet in After-Ages, they were granted to any Office or Adminiftration, unto which any Nobility or Dignity was annexed. For among the *Romans* it muft be acknowledged,

ledged, that he was esteemed a Nobleman in a large Sense of the Word, that was superior to the Populacy in Honour and Dignity; so that Gentlemen among us might be so stiled.

^b C. 12. 1. 1. In Elections, and the giving of Evidence, where the number of Voices is equal, a Nobleman is preferr'd unto a Plebeian or Commoner, according to the *Civil* Law: But it is otherwise by the Law of *England*. In Fines or pecuniary Punishments, if a Nobleman be a Delinquent, he is punish'd with more Severity than a Plebeian of *common* Right^b: But in corporal Punishments, a Plebeian is punish'd more grievously than a Nobleman, by reason of his Character and high Dignity in the World; for a Nobleman has a Dignity. Though a Nobleman be deprived of his Nobility and Dignity in respect of all Advantages accruing from thence, on account of some Offence committed by him: yet he shall not be deprived of his Nobility in respect of Incumbrances, which he shall still retain; for if he were, his Crimes might prove an advantage to him.

^c C. 12. 1. 2. By the *Civil* Law, there are some certain Persons that cannot ascend or be promoted to any Dignities in the State: As Persons branded with any Infamy of *Law* or *Fact*, nor Persons stained with any vicious or wicked Course of Life, nor such as are guilty of any Action which carries Turpitude with it^c; as Theft, Abuse of Guardianship, &c. Persons are here said to be branded with an Infamy of *Fact* that are declared infamous by the definitive or interlocutory Sentence of the Judge. Persons that exercise mean or low Arts or Trades, ought not to aspire to any Dignity; and if ^d C. 12. 1. 6. they obtain the same, they shall be degraded^d. A higher Dignity ought not to prejudice a Person in respect of those Privileges which he has acquir'd by virtue of a former Dignity^e. A Person born from him, who has obtained any Dignity after the Birth of his Son, does not receive such Dignity by Descent from his Father: But if he be born during the Time that his Father enjoys such Dignity, though he was conceived before, yet he ^f C. 12. 1. 11. shall obtain the said Dignity^f. A Dignity is an Honour given unto some particular Person, either by the special Grant of the Prince, or else by special Grant of Law, upon the account of his great Merit. See *Bartolus*^g. ^g Inl. 1. C. 12. 1. In the Times of the latter Emperors, we meet with four kinds of Dignities.

The first were stiled *Clarissimi*; and these were the Senators, the Prefidents and Rectors of Provinces, the Prætors, the Prefects of Provisions, and the Watch, whom the *Novels* sometimes stile *Speṣtabiles*. They had Jurisdiction, and might pronounce Sentence; but an Appeal lay from their ^h C. 7. 63. 2. Sentences^h. There were some stiled *Illustres*; and among these there were some termed *Super-illustres*, being such as were the Prince's Assessors, and of his Privy-Council, and who acknowledged no other Superior but the Prince; as the Consuls, Senators, Patricians, who were called by no other Title, and presided over Counsels rather for Decision of Causes. The *Speṣtabiles* were of the inferior Rank, and were such as looked after the Prince's Treasury, and the like. After the *Goths* and *Vandals* had possessed themselves of *Italy*, we read of a fourth kind of Nobility or Dignity stiled *Illustrissimi*; and these were Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, &c. being the modern Nobility. I shall discourse of these in my second Volume of this Work.



T I T. *XXXIV.

Of Bishops, Priests, and other Ministers of the Church; their Offices, Orders, and how the same are to be come at, without Bribes, Simony, and the like.

THERE being no special Title in the *Digests*, which concerns the Business and Privileges of *Ecclesiasticks*, saving that the *Pandects* divide the publick Law into that which concerns the Church and Churchmen in general; I will here discourse of Churchmen in a particular manner, from the *Code*, which has given us a Title or two to this purposeⁿ. And ^{n C. 1. Tit. 4.} *first*, I shall speak of Bishops as the spiritual Fathers and Governors of the Clergy, who have the first Place among them, and are, as it were, the Overseers and Super-Intendants of the rest: in *Greek* called ἐπίσκοποι, from their Care, Watchfulness, and Fidelity in teaching the People, and doing other Duties, which they owe unto the Church. In the early Ages of the Church, indeed, the Power of Bishops and Priests was for some time in common, the Apostles having granted this Right unto all the Elders, for the common Welfare of the whole Church, without the distinction of Bishops and Priests, as now usedⁱ. But when Schisms and Contentions arose ^{i C. 1. 3. 14.} among them in the Church of God, for that each ministerial Person thought he had the sole Care of such as he had baptized, and that these were subject to his Power and Jurisdiction alone; there hence came this distinction of *Bishop* and *Priest* among God's Ministers: So early were Men wont to wrangle about Power in Church Matters. And then we read, that this common Power of Presbyters was, by a general Decree, abrogated and taken away from them, and a Bishop was placed over them for Government, and other sacred Offices. I will not here enter into the Dispute, whether Bishops are of divine or apostolical Right, or whether they came into the Church since the Time of the Apostles; but surely it is a wholesome Institution of Order and Government, if the Men perform their Duty in their Vocation. The Gloss^k tells us, that Presbyters had the highest ^{k In 1. 8. C. 1. 3.} Place among the Clergy, and in respect of Ordinations, were in the Place of the Apostles; but the Direction and Government of the Church was in the hands of the Bishop, with the Advice of his Presbyters. St. *Peter*, though an Apostle, calls himself a Fellow-Presbyter^l, and makes no distinction between Bishop and Presbyter. See also St. *Paul* to the Presbyters ^{l 2 Pet. c. 5. v. 1.} of *Ephesus*^m. It was incumbent on Presbyters, as well as Bishops, to preach ^{m Act. c. 20. v. 17, & 18.} the Word of God; and they are frequently stiled σύμβελοι τῆ ἐπισκόπου, and τῆς ἐκκλησίας σφανός. The *Greek* Church early distinguished between Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons; but this Distinction did not so soon come into the *Latin* Church.

Now, by the *Civil* Law, no one ought to be made a Bishop, but such as is of an orthodox Faith, sober and regular in his Manners, of consummate Knowledge in the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, a Person of mature Age, chaste in his Life, and of great Humility in his Conversation, without any Blemish in respect to his Birth, and not deformed in his Bodyⁿ, ^{n C. 1. 3. 31. &c. 42.} &c.

&c. By the same Law, Bishops ought not to cohabit with any other Women than their own Relations, to avoid a Suspicion of Leudness, and in the place of Wives, they ought to have the Church for their Spouse, and adhere thereunto^o: And (in Prudence) they ought not only to be exempt from Wives, but likewise from Children, that they be not tempted to spend the Goods and Revenues of the Church on their own Issue begotten, which they should lay out on feeding the Poor and Needy^p. But, by a Novel of *Leo* the Emperor, the Law in the *Code* touching the Celibacy of Bishops, *&c.* was afterwards repealed, and Bishops may now marry in all Protestant Countries; and may likewise keep extraneous Women, whether they be Virgins or Widows, that live an honest Life, as their House-keepers, unless (perchance) they give Scandal and Offence hereby unto the World; and then they may be interdicted by the higher Power^q. Great care is also taken by the *Civil* Law, that Persons be not promoted to this Dignity by evil Arts, as by their own Prayers and Sollicitations: For Persons ought to be so far from canvassing for this Employment, that they ought to be intreated, and, as it were, compelled hereunto, *rogati recedant, invitati effugiant*, says the Novel^r. Therefore, if any Person shall come to a Bishoprick by the corrupt means of Presents, and the like, he shall not only be deprived of his Episcopal Dignity, but be likewise deposed of the Priesthood, and branded with perpetual Infamy^s: And he who has been once ejected, cannot afterwards be admitted to the Honour and Degree, which he has thus lost and forfeited^t. And, moreover, that which he has given for his Degree, shall go to the Church, which has suffered this Injury; and he who has received it shall be fined in two-fold^u. The *Canon* Law also condemns and punishes this Crime of Canvassing and Sollicitation, which the *Canonists* stile by the Name of *Simony*. But at this day the Crime of Simony is not regarded in *France*, nor in the Court of *Rome*, but tolerated there by the Pope's presence. See *Bugnion de ll. Abrogatis*^v. In *Holland* it is punished, if such a Case happens, with an Ecclesiastical Censure, according to the Discretion of the Consistory, which is grounded on a Decree of the Synod of *Middelburg*^w.

The Emperor *Justinian* has prescribed a Form to be observed in the Election of a Bishop^x; which Form Pope *Innocent* the Third has altered in some measure^y. But in these Times most Princes in Christendom are wont to have the Nomination of fit and proper Persons to be Bishops or Abbots; and then in Popish Countries they are confirmed by the Pope: Because, says *Covarruvias*^z, it is the Interest of the King to know who are fit Persons to have the Administration of Churches within his Dominions. Bishops were heretofore often wont to be chosen out of the Number of the Monks, as well as out of that of the Secular Clergy^a. No one may be elected a Bishop, whilst there is an Accusation depending against him in any Court of Law^b. In *Holland*, the Pastors are chosen by the Consistory or Church-Assembly; and being thus elected, are approved of by the Magistrate and the Ecclesiastical Class; that is to say, by the Ministers of the neighbouring Churches which are in the Villages; and then the Name of the Person elected is publickly proposed in the Church for the tacit Consent of the People^c.

Every City has its own proper Bishop; and he who shall endeavour to deprive a City of its Bishop, even by the Prince's Rescript, is liable to a Confiscation of all his Estate, and is noted with Infamy^d. After Bishops have received Consecration, they are to observe a personal Residence in the Church, unto which they are chosen, and not to travel or absent themselves for a whole Year together, under the Pain of Deposition, if they shall not return on the Summons of their Superior in the Church^e, unless they are retain'd in the Prince's Service above a Year: For the Prince or Emperor

Emperor may dispense with the Bishop's Residence at his Cathedral Church ^d; ^d Nov. 73. and by the Prince's Command may exercise the Administration of Civil ^c 3. Affairs^c. The *Canon* Law requires the constant Residence of Bishops and ^c Nov. 123. c. 9. others, having the Cure of Souls: And tho' the Council of *Trent* ^e avers ^e Sess. 23. c. 1. Residence to be a Matter of *divine Right*; yet the Church of *Rome* infamously dispenses with the same for frivolous Reasons. Touching a further account of these Matters relating to Residence, and the Election of Bishops, the Reader may see my *Parergon Juris Canonici*, wherein I have largely handled these Subjects.

By the *Civil* Law, a Bishop is the Executor of a Last Will and Testament made to charitable Uses, even whether the Testator will have it so or not^e; because in the Primitive Church, the chief Care of Captives and ^e C. 1. 3. 28. 1. *Paupers* was lodged with the Bishop^h; which yet he did not execute in ^h Dist. 82. c. 1. his own Person, but by his Deaconsⁱ: But now with us, and other Nations, ⁱ Dist. 88. c. 7. this Office, I think, is left to be discharged by Heirs and Executors, who, if they shall neglect to do it, may be compelled hereunto by the Office and Authority of the Judge^k. If the Heir be ordered by the Testator's ^k C. 1. 3. 46. 2. Will to redeem a Captive, and he shall neglect to do it, he shall be deprived of the Succession or Inheritance^l.

As a Bishop had great Privileges granted to him by the Constitutions of ^l Nov. 115. such of the Emperors as succeeded *Constantine* the Great; so he had this among the rest, That he should not be summoned to appear before a civil or military Judge in any Cause whatsoever, unless it were by the Prince's Rescript or Commission^m. If a Person in the Father's power was advanced to ^m Nov. 123. a Bishoprick, his Episcopal Dignity immediately dissolved the Power of ^c 8. the Father, and set the Bishop at libertyⁿ. But the ancient Power of the ⁿ Nov. 81. Father being now abolish'd, this Novel is gone with it: and so likewise is that other, which exempts a Bishop from appearing before a secular Judge, by the Usage of modern Times. And thus much touching Bishops for the present.

I come next to speak of Clerks, which are in Subordination to Bishops, and are called in our Books the Ministers of Churches, and of an orthodox Faith^o, as serving at divine Offices in some Church or other. The *Canon* ^o C. 1. 3. 16. Law reckons up seven Orders or Degrees of them, and so does the Law [&] 27. in the *Code* here quoted^p: But this Law is only regarded in Popish Coun- ^p C. 1. 3. 6. tries, since Protestants only allow of Priests and Deacons among the inferior Clergy. *Justinian* has appointed certain Ages for taking Orders. A Presbyter by one Novel^q ought not to be under thirty-five Years of Age; and another restrains it to thirty Years^r. A Deacon and Sub-Deacon was to ^q Nov. 123. be twenty-five Years of Age; and a Lecturer eighteen. But touching this ^c 13. Matter, there is a more modern Constitution in the *Clementines*, requiring ^r Nov. 37. c. 2. a Sub-deacon to be eighteen, a Deacon twenty, and a Priest twenty Years of Age at the time of Ordination: But this, according to the Council of *Trent* ^s is alter'd; and now a Sub-deacon must be two and twenty, a Deacon ^s Sess. 23. c. 12. three and twenty, and a Priest five and twenty *anno currente*. A Person who is promoted to Holy Orders, ought to be a Freeman, and not a Servant, without the tacit or express Consent of his Master. The Office and Duty of a Clergyman the Emperor has described at length^t, requiring him to be always ^t C. 1. 3. 42. attendant at divine Offices in his Person, and not by Substitutes or Hirelings. Clergymen ought to abstain from all unlawful Conventicles, even out of the Church^u, and not to have to do with Law-Suits and Pleadings ^u C. 1. 3. 15. at the Bar^v. They ought likewise to refrain from all gaming and playing ^v C. 1. 3. 17. at Dice, and from theatrical Shews, and other Pastimes, or having any Conversation with such Persons, under pain of Suspension from their ministerial Office, and three Years Imprisonment in a Monastery^w. Besides this Punish- ^w Nov. 123. ment, the Bishop ought to inflict that of Excommunication, on pain of being ^c 10

^w C. 1. 3. 30. excommunicated himself ^w. But above all, Clergymen ought to forbear, company-keeping with strange Women, whereby they give Offence unto the Church: For by this Law they might only converse with their Mothers, Sisters, and the like ^x. It was this Novel, that introduced the Celibacy of the Clergy, and brought on the secret Sin of Fornication and Adultery with many of them in the *Romish* Church. But Readers, Songsters, and others in the lower Orders of the Church, may have their Wives ^y.

The Clergy have many eminent Privileges granted them by the *Civil Law*: As first, they are exempt from all fordid and extraordinary Offices ^z, but not from real and patrimonial Services: For their Estates are liable to all Payments made unto the Government, as being subject unto profane Uses, and not set aside for divine Worship. They are free from all personal Offices, as Guardianship, and the like ^a, unless Guardianships come to them by Right of Kindred, which they may undertake at this day, if they please, except they are Bishops or Hermits ^b. Again, they have this Privilege, that if an Injury be done unto their Persons, or to any sacred Place, it is punish'd capitally, as a publick Crime ^c. But this Punishment is not observed at this time, but Offenders are dealt with in a more gentle manner, according to the modern Customs of various Nations. But yet by the *Canon Law*, if a Person shall lay violent hands on a Clergyman, he is still subject to the pain of an Excommunication *ipso Jure* ^d; and our Law in *England*, I think, does not assail the Offender. But as to that Law which inflicts a Penalty of thirty Pounds of Gold on him who falsely accuses a Bishop ^e, it is now out of use. The Clergy had also another special Privilege of not being summoned before a secular Judge in civil and criminal Causes: But this Privilege is taken from them by the municipal Laws of most Countries, where the *Canon Laws* does not entirely lord it; because this Privilege gave them too great a handle of becoming factious, and of separating from the State. 'Tis the Office and Business of the civil Magistrate to rebuke seditious Ministers of the Gospel. Thus we read, that *Constantine* the Great did not scruple to rebuke and chastise the whole Synod of *Tyre*, by forbidding an injurious Behaviour offered unto *Atkanasius*. And *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History assures us ^f, that the said *Constantine* sharply rebuked the whole Clergy of *Nicomedia*, and threatened to punish them in a grievous manner, if they disturbed the Peace and Quiet of the State. And to this purpose we have a Law in the *Code* ^g, which banishes a Person a hundred Miles from the City, which he shall thus disturb by his seditious Behaviour, after he has been deprived or deposed from his Episcopal See for molesting the publick Tranquillity of the State, in suing to recover the Priesthood, from which he has been exaucterated ^h. Indeed, by the *Canon*, it is not lawful for any King or Emperor to sit in Judgment on Clergymen ⁱ: But by the *Civil Law* it is otherwise, as appears by a whole Title in the *Code* ^k, where we meet with several imperial Constitutions relating to and binding the Clergy: And thus it seems, that the Clergy are subject to a secular Jurisdiction, notwithstanding the Claim of the *Popelins*, and the weak Constitution of *Frederick* the Emperor. But the bigotted *Canonists* say, that none of these Laws would have force, if they had not been approved of by the Pope, and that it was his Authority which gave them the Establishment of Law.

They were called the Clergy from the *Greek* word *κλνρος*, elected; not that they were God's chosen Inheritance any more than the Laity, tho' they would have themselves to be thought so, nor because they are set apart for God's Service, but because they were in ancient Times elected hereunto by the People or Congregation, and then presented unto the Bishop for his Approbation or Ordination. By the *Novels* ^l, if Ecclesiastical Persons die without Wills or lawful Heirs, the Church succeeds them to their Estates,

Estates, as the Exchequer did heretofore^m. And by a Law in the *Code*ⁿ, ^m C. 1. 3. 20. ⁿ C. 1. 3. 42. 2. it is said, that after a Person has got himself possessed of a Bishoprick, he cannot make a Donation of his Estate by Will; for as much as what he afterwards acquires, he is presumed to have gotten the same out of the Goods of the Church, and through means thereof: But he might in his Life-time give the same to charitable Uses.

Touching Ecclesiastical Revenues, they ought, in the first place, to go towards the Maintenance of the Clergy or Rectors of Churches, and likewise towards Hospitality. Then, *secondly*, they ought to go towards Building and Repairing of Houses. And after this, they may be converted towards Purchasing of Estates^o, which were much wanted in the Church^o C. 1. 3. 46. 7. when this Law was made. St. *Ambrose*, in his Book or Treatise of Offices observes, That the Church has Wealth bestowed on it, not to hoard up, but to distribute and lay out the same for supplying the Necessities of the Poor. For, says he, "what occasion is there to keep that which can be of no advantage unto us in Life? Is it not much better to disperse that Wealth in the Maintenance of the Poor, if they want the proper Aids and Assistance of Life, than for a sacrilegious Person to contaminate the same, or for an Enemy to carry it away?" By the *Novels*^p, ^p Nov. 131. ^c 5. Ecclesiastical Estates have an Exemption or Immunity from all fordid Offices and Incumbrances of what kind soever they be: But the Repairs of Highways and Bridges are not reckoned among fordid Offices^q. The Lands^q C. 1. 2. 7. of Churches pay Tribute: For Churches are liable to all ordinary Payments and Duties^r. St. *Ambrose*, speaking of the Emperor, says, *if he denies Tribute, we deny him not*. But of this matter, *Gregory* in his seventh Epistle complains to *Theodore* and *Theodoret*, Kings of the *Franks*; for then the Clergy had began to exalt themselves above their pitch, and to wrestle with Kings and Emperors.

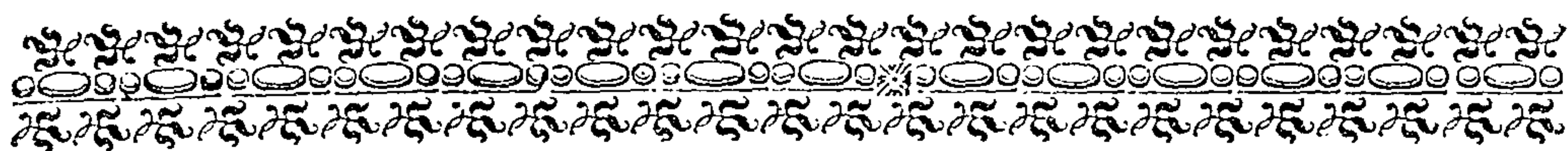
For the Encouragement of Learning in the Times of gross Ignorance, when even many of the Clergy themselves could hardly read, which was about the ninth Century, the Benefit of Clergy was introduced to unveil this Cloud, and disperse the Mist of Darkness then hovering over the Land. And *Coke* upon *Littleton*^t defines it to be an ancient Liberty of^t Lib. 2. c. 11. the Church, confirmed in divers Parliaments. It is when a Man is arraigned of Felony, or the like Offence, before a temporal Judge, and the Prisoner praying his Clergy, that is, to have his Book; the Judge then shall command the Ordinary to try if he can read as a Clerk in such a Book and Place, as the Judge shall appoint; and if the Ordinary certifies the Judge that he can, then the Prisoner shall not have Judgment to lose his Life. It was allowed in ancient Times for all Offences whatsoever, except Treason and robbing of Churches of their Goods and Ornaments. But by many Statutes made since, the Benefit of Clergy is taken away for Murder, Burglary, Robbery, cutting of Purses, Horse or Mare stealing, because Horses are for publick Service and Commerce. Though a Person has been taught and instructed in the Goal to know his Letters, yet this shall serve him for his Life, but the Goaler shall be punished for it. *Fortescue* says, that tho' a Felon fails to read, for which he is judged to be hanged; yet in favour of Life, if he demands a Book afterwards under the Gallows, and reads, he shall have the Benefit of his Clergy. And yet it is to be supposed that he had no Ordinary at that time to certify, whether he could read: But this Case ought to be specially taken, *viz.* where the Felon is judged before the Justices of the King's-Bench; for if he be judged before the Justices of the Goal-Delivery, it is otherwise, because their Commission ends with their Session. Clergy was allowed to an Accessory for stealing of Horses and Mares, because the Statute shall be taken most strictly, which only speaks expressly of the Principal^u. Clergy is grantable but once to^u Dyer. Rep. one pag. 99.

one Person, except he be within Holy Order; for such a Man may have it often[†]. If the Indictment be only *Murdravit*, without adding *ex malitiâ præcogitatâ*, the Offender shall have his Clergy. If he will read as a Clerk he ought to read all the Verse; but though he does not read it at the beginning, but first spells, and afterwards reads, yet he shall have allowance[‡] as a Clerk, in 'favour of Life. See *Stamford's Pleas of the Crown* §.

The *Romish Church* from the *Novels* of some of the latter Emperors, distinguishes Ecclesiasticks into the *higher* and *lower* Orders of the Church; and she reckons *Sub-deacons*, *Deacons*, and *Priests* among the first: so she reckons the *Ostiarius*, *Exorcist*, *Acolythist*, and *Reader* among the latter. The first, the *Canon Law* (by way of distinction) stiles *sacred* Orders; and the latter, by the Name of the *lesser* Orders, which serve only as a Gate or Initiation unto the others. And no one ought to be promoted to any of the seven Orders *per saltum*[¶]; nor ought any one to be initiated into the inferior or lesser Orders, unless he be recommended as duly qualify'd by his Studies, and by a Prospect of future Knowledge, for the higher Orders in the Church: And it is for this reason, that the *Civil* and *Canon Law* have appointed certain Ages for the proper Assumption of these several Orders. By the *Civil Law*, no one was to be ordained a Presbyter till he was thirty-five Years of Age^{¶¶}: Though by a later *Novel* it was sufficient, if he was above thirty. And no one by this Law could be ordained a Deacon or Sub-deacon under the Age of twenty-five Years^{¶¶¶}; nor a Lecturer or Reader under eighteen Years of Age. What were the Ages prescribed by the ancient Canons, *Gratian* shews in his *Decretum*^{¶¶¶¶}. But touching this matter, we have a fresher Canon in the *Clementines*^{¶¶¶¶¶}, which requires a Sub-deacon to be only eighteen Years of Age, a Deacon twenty, and a Presbyter twenty-five Years of Age. The Council of *Trent* has added somewhat hereunto, requiring a Sub-deacon to be twenty-two, a Deacon twenty-three Years of Age, and leaves a Presbyter to the *Clementine* Constitution aforesaid. And 'tis enough for them to have arriv'd at these respective Years, though they have not compleated the same.

A Clergyman that is absent from his Church, in the Affairs of his Church, or his Superior, is said to be present; and, consequently, he shall of Right have the Fruits and Profits of his Prebend. Clergymen are forbidden to exercise the Office of a Notary: But yet if they make Instruments, such Instruments are valid. The antient *Canon Law*, whilst it was pure and uncorrupted, took great care that no more Clergymen were ordained than the Cure of Souls required, lest the Clergy should become Beggars, and be tempted to do unwarrantable Offices for a livelihood: But this wholesome Care of the Church has been long since laid aside, and the Clergy may increase as they think fit, to be a Plague and Burden to the State.





T I T. XXXIV.

Of Soldiers, and the Rights of War; and what Discipline is to be observ'd in an Army; and how to be enforced by Martial Law; and of Crimes and Punishments peculiar to them, &c.

AS there are Laws relating to the Affairs of a State in the Time of Peace, so there are also very wholesom Rules and Institutions concerning the Business of War, and they are accommodated to the very Nature and Exigencies of it: Some of which I shall here mention, so far as they respect Soldiers, and the Discipline of an Army; as that the Valiant ought to be advanced to Honours, and admitted to partake in the Spoil which he did help to get; the Cowardly disgraced; the Disobedient rigorously chastised; the Incurable cashier'd; and the Aged or Worn-out Soldier dismissed to Ease with Reward and Honour. That a Difference of Degrees be observ'd, and a Subordination made, as the Places of Command differ; that, for Military Offences, or Contracts and Promises made between Soldier and Soldier, the Cognizance thereof be in the Court-Marshal, and to be tried by the Law of Arms only *: That Hostages be taken and kept, and may be put to Death, if the Enemy prove perfidious, &c. There are many other Things, which relate to War, *viz.* That there be a solemn Denouncing of War intended, to the End that all Dissenters may withdraw themselves in Time, and divert themselves to other Nations: That it be prosecuted by just and honourable Ways, without Treachery, Corruption, breach of Faith, Poison, or secret Assassination, (which Part the gallant *Romans* disdain'd to act, tho' for never so great a Victory :) That all Articles and Capitulations made, be strictly kept and observ'd, even towards Turks, Pagans, Jews, or Infidels; that they be interpreted in the plainest and most equitable Sense, without any Art or Subtlety at all: That an Enemy, after he has yielded himself, be not killed, but kept alive for Exchange or Ransom: That what is gotten from the Enemy, is good and lawful Purchase, tho' it was newly taken from some of our own People or Confederates, provided it were once brought into the Enemies Quarters: That the Enemies Country, when it offers to yield, be not laid waste, burnt, or destroy'd: That when a Town is to be stormed, Women, Children, Aged and Ecclesiastical Persons, so far as is possible, may be spared: That it be free to Friends or Confederates to trade with the Enemy, provided they carry neither Victuals, Money, Arms or Ammunition: That the Country, through which the Army passes, no Offence being given, be not injur'd, but kept from Spoil and Rapine: That Heralds, or Messengers, sent from the Enemy, be receiv'd, and dismiss'd with Safety: And lastly, That when a Victory is gotten, the Enemy subdued be used with all Clemency and Moderation. But these, and many other Points concerning War, I shall reserve for a particular Title touching War, to be handled in the Second Volume of this Work by themselves.

A Soldier, in *Latin* called *Miles*, is so term'd (as some think) from the Word *Malum*, an Evil; not that a Soldier brings an Evil on us, but because he defends us from an Evil ^a: Or else from the Word *Mille*, ^{a D. 29. 1. 1. 1.} denoting the Number of a Thousand Men; for the *Greeks* called a

Thouſand Men by the Name of *Τάγμα*, or a Regiment of Soldiers, which conſiſted of that Number, and over which a Commanding Officer was placed, ſtil'd *Χιλιαρχός*, or the Commander of a Thouſand Men ^b. But, according to *Ulpian* and *Pompeius Feſtus*, Soldiers are in *Latin* ſtil'd *Milites*, from the Word *Mollitia*, by an *Antiphrasi*; becauſe it is the Part and Buſineſs of Soldiers, among other Things, to undergo many Hardſhips and Fatigues in War: And ſo ſays the Emperor *Severus* in *Herodian's* Hiſtory of the *Cæſars*. Therefore, there have been ſeveral Laws made and conſtituted for this Part of Military Diſcipline, as I ſhall remark by and by.

Soldiers were ſuch as were enliſted into the Service of the Army by the Means of an Oath given them to obey their Leader, and to be faithful to their Country ^c; and, by the *Roman* Law, they were not to be preſſed into the Service, but only to be perſwaded and intreated thereunto ^d: For War was thought to be an honourable Employment, and thoſe that were not induced to it of their own Accord, and upon juſt Motives, were not regarded as Soldiers. Some of theſe were ſtil'd *Tyrones* ^e, or Freſhmen, being ſuch as had not yet gone through with, or perfected their full Exerciſe, or had not been in any Battle: And others were termed *Veterans*, as being by their long Service compleat Maſters and Proficients in the Art of War. Some of theſe were call'd common Soldiers, others ſtil'd Centurions ^f, and others Tribunes ^g, or Colonels, and a fourth Rank or Order were term'd *Prepoſiti* ^h, or General Officers. But the *Juſtinian* Code ſtil's thoſe by the Name of *Veterans*, who had ſerv'd in the Wars for twenty Years, and receiv'd a Soldier's Stipend ⁱ; or ſuch as had obtain'd an honourable Diſcharge ^k. There were ſome Perſons that the Laws would not admit to be Soldiers, (ſo honourable was this Employment among the ancient *Romans*!) as Bondmen, infamous Perſons, and ſuch as were guilty of any Crime: Nor could ſuch Men become Soldiers, as had hatch'd or attempted any malicious Deſign againſt their Adverſaries, under the Umbrage or Pretext of going into the Wars, as Debtors, and ſuch like Perſons ^l. And there were alſo ſome that were excus'd and exempted from being Soldiers, by reaſon of their Age, and the like Privilege ^m. Otherwiſe, all Perſons that were entirely *Roman* Citizens, or Subjects, went into the Service, and were forced to ſerve, tho' no other Perſons could be compelled hereinto. The Duty of Soldiers is to obey their Commanders in all Things lawful and reaſonable, and with great Alacrity to undertake the Dangers and Fatigues of the War, and the like. And the Office of a General conſiſts not only in preſcribing Orders and Diſcipline to be obſerv'd in the Army, but alſo in obſerving the ſame himſelf ⁿ. He ought to remember, that he preſides over the Army for the Good of the State: And, therefore, he ought not to be lavish in granting Furloes, or Leave of Abſence, for the ſake of Money, and private Gain to himſelf, but ought to be very ſparing therein. In the *Roman* Army, according to *Iſidore* ^o, 500 Men made a Cohort, and a Legion conſiſted of ten Cohorts, or 5000 Men, as *Aulus Gellius* remarks. In a Legion there were fixty Centuries, or thirty *Manipuli*: And hence, ſome ſay, there were 6000 Soldiers in a Legion, which made ten Cohorts. A Centurion was a Perſon, who was ſet over one hundred Men, as a *Chiliarcha* was he who preſided over a Thouſand.

Among the *Romans*, a Soldier taken Priſoner by the Enemy, could not receive his Stipend or *Donarium*, whiſt he was in the Hands of the Enemy ^p: But, by the Cuſtom of our Times, a Soldier is not forbidden to demand his Stipend during ſuch Time. Indeed, at firſt, the *Roman* Soldiery went into the Wars at their own Coſts and Charges for above three hundred Years after the building of the City: But afterwards they had a Stipend allow'd

allow'd them out of the publick Treasury ; yet the Learned are not well agreed among themselves, what and how much this Stipend was. But 'tis certain, that this Stipend consisted either in Money, Corn, or Cloaths. The *Romans* took great Care, that Soldiers should have not only their Stipends paid them, but also a full Supply of all necessary Provisions : And this was look'd upon, amongst that brave and warlike People, as it were a fundamental Law of their State, and was very early introduced among them. For as it is a very dishonest Thing for the Father of a Family to suffer his Wife, Children, and Servants to be pinched with Hunger ; so it is the very same Thing, in respect of a Prince or State, if the Army be not supply'd with necessary Provisions, in regard to Food and Raiment : And therefore, this was the first Care of that State, which supported it by Arms, and made so many noble Conquests over those that opposed their Power and Greatness. For there is nothing, but what a hungry Soldier will think of : He will meditate Conspiracies, become a Defserter of the Army and State, and shake off that Reverence which is due to his Leader. The *Roman* Allowance, in Point of Victuals, consisted in Bread, Flesh, Wine, Oil, Salt, and Vinegar ^q. The Emperor *Constantine* ^{9 C. 12 38. 2.} allow'd his Soldiers Bisket for two Days, and Bread every third Day ; one Day Wine, and another Day Vinegar ; one Day Lard, and another Day Mutton or Flesh. In an Expedition, the Soldiers were forbidden to drink Wine, but they were to content themselves with Bisket and Vinegar, as *Spartianus* relates in the Life of *Nigrinus*. The *Posca* or *Poscet* was a Drink temper'd with a Mixture of Water and Vinegar. These were the Banquets and Dainties not only of the common Soldiers, but likewise of their Commanders too, in the Time of an Expedition ; which was the Cause, that they seldom or never labour'd under the Inconveniencies of Hunger and Thirst. So that Parsimony is very necessary in a Camp, lest too great Plenty and High-feeding should render Soldiers slothful, idle, and effeminate, the greatest Evil that can happen to an Army. Wherefore, this provident Emperor commanded Frugality to be observ'd in the Time of an Expedition, and Provisions were deliver'd out unto each Soldier, according to his Allowance, every Day ^r. Tho' sometimes each ^{r C. 12. 38. 6.} Soldier carry'd with him seven or ten Days Provisions, as we may read in *Spartianus*, touching the Life of *Alexander*, who, in the Time of an Expedition, furnish'd his Soldiers with Provisions in this manner. Yet they were not allow'd much Wine ; and such as they drank from the Month of *September* was only new Wine, by reason of the great Expence of old Wine ^s ; for at that Time the Must ceased to be flatulent, and ^{s C. 12. 38. 10} was easy of Digestion. Such was the Care of the Soldiers Health among the *Romans* ; and such was their Frugality in their Expeditions. If there was any Deficiency in the Publick Treasury, so that the Army could not be paid their Stipends and Allowances, the Soldiers were to be maintain'd by a Contribution of those Persons whose Lands they protected and defended : But it was a capital Crime for Soldiers, by Force, to enter into the Houses of the Provincials, and, by robbing them, to live at Discretion. But whatever the Possessors of Lands contributed towards the Maintenance of the Army, was to be charged to the Prince's Account, and repaid when Money came into the Exchequer.

There are Six Things necessary in a Soldier, to the End he should have the Privileges granted unto Soldiers. *1st*, He ought to be girt with a Sword, and to wear the same ^t. *2^{dly}*, He ought to be enlisted, and his ^{t D. 29. 1.} Name wrote in the Muster-roll ^u. *3^{dly}*, He ought to take the Soldier's ^{38. 1.} Oath, Not to fly from Death, in the Service of the State, nor run away ^{u D. 29. 1. 42.} from his Colours ^x : And *Vigetius*, in his Second Book of *Military Affairs* ^{x D. 4. 6. 45.} and *Testaments*, has given us the Form of this Oath. *4^{thly}*, Some ^{D. 29. 1. 11. pr.} *Stygma*,

^y D. 3. 2. 2. 3. *Stygma*, or publick Mark, ought to be inscribed on his Arms ^y. 5^{thly},
^z C. 11. 9. 3. He ought to be Mustered, and to undergo the Examination of a Soldier ^z.
 And, 6^{thly}, He ought not to follow any mean Trade or Business; because
^a C. 12. 34. 1. his Employment is honourable ^a. But yet these Things, tho' required,
^{C. 12. 35. 1.} to entitle Men to the Privilege of a Soldier, in the main, were not so
 entirely necessary, as to vitiate an Act, if any one of these Particulars were
^b I. 2. 11. pr. omitted, as *Viglius* observes upon the *Institutes* ^b.

By the *Roman* Law, Soldiers had many Privileges granted to them, which
 were not common unto other Men: As, That no Civil or Municipal Office
 could be imposed on Soldiers, or on such Persons as assisted in the Wars,
 and spent their Lives in Camps and Garrisons after a military way; unless
 (perhaps) a Person had enrolled or enlisted himself as a Soldier, with a
^c D. 50. 4. 4. 3. fraudulent Intent of avoiding Civil Offices ^c. Nay, the *Civil* Law forbids
^{C. 12. 34. 2.} Soldiers to meddle with Civil Offices, under Pain of being stript of their
^d C. 12. 36. 15. Privileges, and turn'd out of the Army ^d: But this Law is not now
 observ'd, I think, in any Country. Again: Soldiers, in the Service of
 the Wars, or (as we say) *Armatae Militiae*, have this Privilege also
 granted them by the Prince or Emperor, *viz.* That they cannot be com-
 pell'd to answer in any Criminal or Civil Action, if they are convened
^e D. 2. 6. before any other Judge than the *Magister Militum* ^e. Hence it is, that
^{C. 9. 3. 1.} Soldiers taken and arrested by the President of a Province, ought to be
^f D. 49. 16. 3. remitted to their proper Judge ^f, (who is, in some measure, stiled an
 pr. Auditor); unless they have renounced or waved their Privilege of Juris-
^g C. 2. 3. 29. diction ^g, or have render'd themselves unworthy of that Privilege, by
 Desertion of the Service; or unless it be in the Cause of some enormous
 Crime, or in a Cause of Subtraction of Tribute: In all which Cases
 the Provincial Presidents were impower'd to take Cognizance of, and to
^h D. 49. 16. 3. pronounce Judgment against Soldiers ^h. But now, by the Statutes and
 pr. Decrees of the Kings of *Spain*, and some other Nations, this Power of the
 President is abrogated: So that, at this Day, none but Court-Martials, or
 Military Judges, can take Cognizance of the Crimes and Offences relating
 to Soldiers; as of Mutiny and Desertion, and other Causes entirely Military:
 Nor can Soldiers renounce and wave this Privilege. See *Caballa's Criminal*
ⁱ Cont. 3. Caf. *Resolutions*, or *Cases Adjudged* ⁱ. But though, by the *Civil* Law, and the
^{194. 225.} Customs of some Countries, Soldiers are to be impleaded before Courts-
^{n. 25, &c.} martial; yet in *England* and *Holland* they may be convened, in Civil Causes,
 before Civil Judges, without any Regard had to their Court-martial; as
^k Lib. 1. Tit. we may find in *Merula's Practice in Civil Causes* ^k. And the same also
^{40. cap. 3. n. 5.} obtains in criminal Causes, if they are charged by the Fiscal Proctor, or
 Attorney-general, with the Commission of any flagrant Crime, as Murder,
^l Jan. A. D. and the like; and thus it has been adjudged in *Holland* ^l, in the Cause of
^{1640.} killing a certain Soldier.

By the *Roman* Law, if a Soldier committed a publick Crime in any Pro-
 vince, the President thereof caused him to be apprehended, and sent a Letter
 to the *Magister Militum*, wherein were contain'd the Merits of the Cause, and
 in what manner he had offended, and what Proof there was of it: But if the
^m C. 9. 3. 1. Crime was common and enormous, the President might punish him himself ^m.
 A Number of Soldiers might litigate by a Syndick, if (perchance) the Cause
ⁿ C. 12. 31. 18. was such as appertain'd to the whole Number ⁿ. By the old *Roman* Law,
 Soldiers were heretofore, by the Indulgence of the *Roman* Emperors, enabled
 to make their Last Wills and Testaments, according to a Military Right or
 Privilege, and not according to the strict Form of the *Civil* Law: But *Justi-*
^o I. 2. 11. pr. *nian* afterwards restrain'd this Right or Privilege, and would have this
 Indulgence only to extend to the Times of their being in warlike Expedi-
 tions, and Martial Affairs ^o. And the Reason given, why this Privilege
 about Last Wills and Testaments was allow'd unto Soldiers, according to
Justinian's

Justinian's Account, seems to be the Unskilfulness and Ignorance of Soldiers in the Business of Wills, and in the Law itself; as being rather bound to know the Business of Arms, and the Discipline of War, than the Laws themselves ^p. But this, surely, was not the final Cause of this Privilege: ^p I ut supra. For then it would follow, That if a Person skill'd in the Law, should happen to go into the Wars, (as *Trebatius* did under *Cæsar*, and *Julius Frontinus* under *Trajan*) he should not enjoy this Advantage or Privilege: Which is absurd. But even Rusticks, Women, and Minors, who never went into the Wars, had this Privilege; because the Laws were wont to deal with them with more Tenderness and Humanity, in respect of their Ignorance of the Law, than with other Persons: But of this, more hereafter, under the Title of *Wills*.

Touching Crimes and Offences committed by Soldiers, there are some, which are proper to them as Soldiers; and others, which are common to them with other Men: And hence, the Way and Method of Proceeding against them, is either *proper* or *common*. An Offence proper to a Man as a Soldier, is that, which he commits as being a Soldier ^q. As, *First*, A ^q D. 49. 16. 2. Soldier, who absents himself from Duty without the Leave of his commanding Officer, is guilty of a Military Offence, and may be punish'd, tho' not with Death, unless he absolutely deserts the Service. This Leave of Absence given to a Soldier, we commonly call a *Furlough*: But a Soldier, who acts or lives upon a *Furlough*, does not seem to be absent on the Account of the State ^r; and therefore he may be recall'd, whenever ^r D. 49. 16. 1. his Officer pleases. The *Civil* Law makes a Distinction between a *Deserter* and an *Emanſor*. The first is he, who has been absent for a long Time, without Leave from the Army, and is brought back again by Force: But an *Emanſor*, or *Truant*, is he, who tho' he has been absent for a long Time, yet returns to the Camp of his own Accord ^s. The first is com- ^s D. 49. 16. 3. par'd to a fugitive Servant; but the other is like unto a Stroller or Vagrant. ^{2, &c. 3.} *Secondly*, It is an Offence in a Soldier, to transfer himself from one Regiment, or Muster-roll, unto another, unless it be by the Prince's Consent, for the sake of the Publick Advantage ^t; and if he shall act contrary hereunto, ^t C. 12. 36. 14. he shall be liable to a Fine of fifty Pounds in Gold: But now the Penalty of this Law is grown obsolete, and out of Use. If a Person, after his Desertion, shall enlist himself in another Regiment or Company, he shall be punish'd by the Law of Arms as a Soldier ^u. *Thirdly*, Mutiny and ^u D. 49. 16. 49. Sedition moved among Soldiers, has a Resemblance unto Contumacy or Disobedience; and if it be atrocious, it is punish'd with Death ^x. *Fourthly*, ^x D. 49. 16. 3. It was a grievous Offence, among the *Romans*, for a Person to enlist himself ^{20.} as a Soldier, who was not qualify'd to be such, as being a Bond-man ^y ^y D. 49. 16. 8. or Trader ^z among them was not deemed to be; (for the *Romans* look'd ^z D. 49. 16. 11. upon Warfare as an honourable Service or Employment): And this Offence was enhanced, as other Offences are, in regard to the Dignity, Degree, and several *Species* of Military Service, which the Person thus offending was employ'd in ^a. And, in a word, all such Crimes are proper and ^a D. 49. 16. 2. 1. particular unto Soldiers, as relate to the Military Discipline and Order of an Army ^b, as Alienation or Loss of Arms by his own Fault; Contumacy ^b D. 49. 16. 2. or Disobedience to his General, or his Chieftain ^c; stealing the Arms of ^{3, 4, 5, 6, &c.} his Comrade ^d; or wounding his Fellow-foldier, and the like: And all ^c D. 49. 16. 4. 1. these Crimes are punish'd according to Martial Law, and the Rules of ^d D. 49. 16. 3. War, in an arbitrary manner, *viz.* either by corporal Punishment, Fine, ^{14.} Degradation, an ignominious Discharge ^e, &c. But tho' a Soldier may be ^e D. 49. 16. 3. 1. punish'd in his Body, Purse, Honour, and the like; yet, according to the Rules of the *Civil* Law, he can never be condemned *in metallum*, or *in opus metalli*, nor can he be put to the Rack or Question ^f. ^f D. 49. 16. 3. 1.

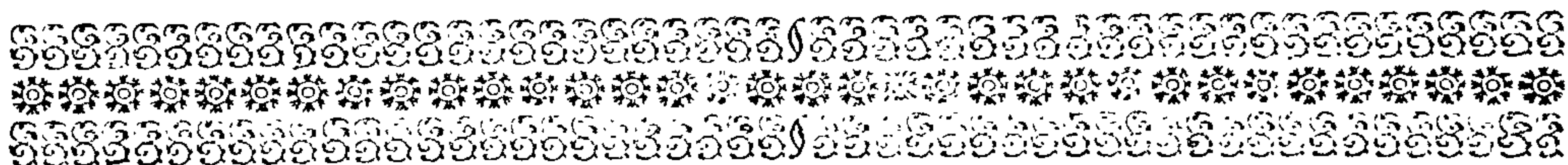
There are some Crimes or Offences in Soldiers, which are punish'd capitally ; it being probable, they can never be committed, without the Intervention of a gross Fault : As when a Soldier is found to be a wilful *Renegado*, he shall, upon his being taken, or reclaim'd, be punish'd with Death g. But if he be taken by the Enemy unawares, on his March or Journey, he shall be pardon'd, a due Regard being had to his pass'd Life and Behaviour in the Service : And if he shall return at the End of the War, he shall be restor'd as a *Veteran*, and receive his pass'd Pay h. By a *Renegado*, we here mean, such a Person as does in a voluntary manner desert the Army, and go into the Service of the Enemy. A Soldier, who has lost his Arms in the War by his own Fault, or has alienated the same, is likewise capitally punish'd i : But he, who only steals the Arms of his Comrade, is only degraded k, or cashier'd. A Soldier, who does not observe the Orders of his General, or Leader, and likewise he who does any Thing which his Leader forbids him to do, is in the same manner capitally punish'd l. A Soldier is not only capitally punish'd, if he runs away from his Colours, and deserts the Army in Time of Battle, but also if he inlists himself into several Companies at the same Time ; or if, being taken Prisoner by the Enemy, he does not return again, when he may make his Escape ; or be any-wise disobedient to his Chieftain or General m ; or if he makes use of any ludicrous Art. If a Person shall lay violent Hands on his superior or commanding Officer, it is a great Offence, and the guilty Person shall be punish'd with Death n : And the Heinousness of this Crime is increased, according to the Quality and Dignity of such commanding Officer. Contumacy and irreverent Behaviour against the General, or a Military President, is also deemed a capital Offence. The same capital Punishment is also inflicted on him who shall desert his commanding Officer in Time of Danger, or refuse to defend and protect him o. Mutiny and Desertion, stirred up among Soldiers, if it be of an atrocious Nature, is likewise punish'd with Death p. If a Person wounded his Fellow-soldier with a Stone, he was only cashier'd ; but if he wounded him with a Sword, the Crime was adjudged capital q. The Law above-quoted, says, That he who goes over to the Enemy, tho' he returns again, shall be put to the Rack, and condemned to the Gibbet, or to fight with wild Beasts : Tho' Soldiers now suffer not any of those Things ; for this Part of the Law, touching fighting with wild Beasts, is now repealed by a novel Constitution r. All Deserters are not to be punish'd alike ; for a Regard is to be had to their Degrees, and to the Course of their past Life, and the like s.

There are Three general Causes or Reasons for the Discharging of Soldiers. The First is stiled *Honourable* ; and such a Discharge is given to Soldiers, when the Time of the War is ended. The second is stiled an *Occasional* Cause ; and is, when a Soldier is disabled either through some Imperfection of Body or Mind ; as, that he is a Cripple, or a Madman, &c. And the Third is termed an *Ignominious* Discharge ; and is, when a Soldier is dismissed, on the score of some Offence committed ; which is usually done, by drumming him out of the Regiment, with a Halter about his Neck. A Person who is cashier'd on the Account of Ignominy, ought to be remitted to his proper Judge, if he be guilty of any Crime, and never more admitted into the Service, tho' he should be willing to be a Soldier again ; yea, tho' such Person should be acquitted t. But a Person who has a Law-suit with another, ought not to be exauctorated, unless he enters himself into the Service on the Account of not paying his Debts u, or of becoming more intractable unto the adverse Party. Persons condemn'd of Adultery, or of any other publick and common Crime, ought not to be among Soldiers, according to the *Roman* Law : But this is not observ'd

observ'd at this Day, to the Dishonour of the Army. Those Crimes that are in a Soldier common with other Persons, are punish'd in a Civil, and not in a Military Manner, according to the Laws of the State under which they live. But even in Courts-Martial, and in Military Places of Judicature, some Matters may be transacted by a Civil, and other by a Criminal Prosecution of them.

By the Civil Law, Soldiers are forbidden to purchase Lands or Predial Estates in those Provinces wherein they act as Soldiers, and perform their Military Duties: And the Reason of this is, lest they should be called from their Military Exercise through a Desire of Agriculture, and the Business of Tilling their Lands ^x: But they may purchase Houses in such ^x D. 49. 16. 9. Provinces, and likewise landed Estates in other Provinces ^y. Note, This ^y D. 49. 16. 13. Part of the *Civil* Law is grown into disuse in *France*, *Holland*, and some other Places; wherefore Soldiers may now purchase where they think fit. A Soldier cannot at one and the same Time have two distinct Offices or Dignities in the Army: But it is otherwise, if they do not tend to the same End and Purpose, or hinder the Business of each other ^z. Yet if ^z C. 12. 31. 5. two Offices are given unto a Soldier, he may retain which of them he pleases.

Touching Soldiers Arms, the Word *Arms* does not only denote Swords, Shields, and Helmets, but even Clubs and Stones, whereby we annoy another, which are stiled *Offensive* Weapons: But these last do not belong to the Care of Soldiers, tho' sometimes made use of in War. And thus not only those Persons are said to be armed, who are provided with Darts, Shields, and the like, but even those who may with any Weapon assault and hurt another, whether it be by a Sword, Dart, Pole, Lance, Gun, Club, &c. Hence it is, that he who drives another out of his Land, either with Stones, Clods of Earth, or with Clubs, is liable to an Interdict *de Armis*. *Arms* are divers: Some are more for Defence and Covering, and these are stiled *Defensive* Weapons, as Shields, Helmets, and the like; and others are for Offence and Mischief, being put into our Hands to annoy and offend our Enemies, and these are called *Offensive* Weapons, as Swords, Guns, Bows, &c. But *Angelus* thinks the Word *Arms* only denotes those Weapons, which are provided for our Defence; which is a wrong Opinion. The Word *Tela*, according to *Bartolus* ^{*}, only signifies those Weapons ^{*} In L. 1. D. which are used for the sake of hurting another; and these were the Arms ^{48. 6.} that a Soldier was to take particular Care of. The *Roman* Emperors, on Account of Seditions, Commotions, and other Broils, where Slaughters might ensue, and to prevent Conspiracies against private Men and the State, prohibited private Men to keep Arms, and order'd that they should not be made in any other Place than at the publick Forges and Foundaries for Arms. And tho' all Arms ought to be laid up in the publick Arsenals, and not worn in common Use either by Laymen or Clergymen [†]: Yet a [†] D. 48. 6. 1. Person might keep Arms in his House, or on his Estate, on the Account of Hunting, Navigation, Travelling, and on the Score of Selling them in the way of Trade or Commerce, or such Arms as accrued to him by way of Inheritance [‡]. [‡] D. 48. 6. 2.



T I T. XXXV.

Of Corporations, Communities, or Bodies Politick; how they are constituted; what Acts they may do, and what not; and how they are extinguished, &c.

A Corporation, or Community, is a Collection or an Assembly of several individual Persons united and formed into one Mystical Body, called a *Body Politick*, by the Permission and Grant of the Prince, but distinguish'd from those Persons that compose a State; and it is establish'd for the common Good of those who are of this Body Politick. *Cassrensis* a files it a *feigned* Person in Law, consisting of many Individuals reduced into one Body. By a *feigned* Person, he here means the Image of a Person, or a Person represented: For a Corporation represents one Person, which is distinct from the individual Members of such Corporation ^b; because, tho' all the Members of such Corporation should be dead, yet it is the same Body Politick still, if others are substituted in their Room ^c. So that a Corporation is distinguish'd from the particular Persons that make the Corporation: And it may be consider'd in a twofold Respect, *vis.* In the *Abstract*, and in the *Concrete*. In the *Abstract*, it is not a Person, nor an animated Body, but is only a kind of intellectual Body, or the Representation of a Body animated. In the *Concrete*, it is taken for the particular Members of such Corporation. The Communities, of which I am here speaking, are filed *perpetual* Communities, and are distinct from those Societies or Communities which the *Civil* Law treats of under the Title of Society or Partnership: For that these last are only for the Interests of particular Men, without any necessary Foundation on the Prince's Authority or Permission, and are only for a certain Time, or (at least) only for the Life-time of the Persons thus associated. There were several of these *perpetual* Corporations or Communities at *Rome*, which were either confirm'd by the Decrees of the Senate, or else by *Imperial* Constitutions ^d.

Now Communities or Corporations are of two Sorts: For I speak not here of a Community as it respects the Body of a State or Kingdom, but only of such Communities as are distinct from that great and universal Body, and are subservient to it. The first sort of Corporations has a respect unto such Persons, whose principal Business regards Religion, as Chapters of Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, Monasteries, and the like: And these are filed *Ecclesiastical* Corporations. The second Sort of Communities extends itself to those Persons, who have to do with Temporal Affairs only, as the Civil Government of Cities, Towns, &c. which are filed the Corporation of such a City, Town, and the like; and inferior unto these we may reckon the Colleges and Corporations of Merchants, Tradesmen, and Artificers ^e, usually called *Companies*. This second Sort of Corporations we term *Secular* Corporations.

A Corporation or *Body Politick*, in *Latin* filed *Universitas*, is a General Term, and is properly so called, whether the Persons live together in the same House or not ^f: But a *simple College* is, when the several Persons of a Corporation do cohabit together; *quoniam plures simul colliguntur*, says *Bartolus* ^g, and the *Gloss* on the Law ^h. Every College is a Corporation, but every Corporation is not a College. *Bartolus* observes, That Colleges have

^a In L. 7. D. 3.
^{4.} N. 1.

^b D. 46. 1. 22.

^c D. 3. 4. 7.

^d D. 3. 4. 1.

^e C. 11. 15. 16.

^f Gloss. in L. 3.
D. 3. 4.

^g In L. 1. D. 3. 1.
^{4.} v. *Collegium*.

^h Gloss. in Rub.
D. 47. 22.

have several Names in Law. For some Colleges are called *Societies*; others are stiled *Guilds*, or *Fraternities*; and hence the Persons of such Colleges, or Communities, are term'd *Confratres* ^{i.}: And others are named *Sodalitia*, ^{1 D. 3. 4. 1. pr.} or Fellowships, and the Members of such Colleges are stiled *Sodales* ^{k.}, or ^{k D. 47. 22.} Fellows. Colleges had their first Rise and Original from the *Greek Law* ^{19 4.} of *Solon*; and, as such, they may make Laws and Statutes among themselves, mutually to oblige each Person in the Society, provided they do not thwart the Statutes of their Founders, nor contravene the Laws of the Realm. By the *Civil Law*, a College, or Community, must consist of three Persons at least ¹: And *Baldus* gives us the Reason, why a College cannot ^{1 D. 50. 16. 85.} consist of two Persons alone, *viz.* Because a Major Part cannot be had in two Persons, if any Discord should happen between the Members in the Dispatch of Business. But the *Gloss* on the *Canon Law* will have it, that two Persons may by that Law make a College ^{m.} A *simple* College has no ^{m Glof. in. c. 1. 10. Q. 1.} Jurisdiction; nor has it a *Merum* or *Mixtum Imperium*, unless it be in those Things which belong to the College itself, or respect the Art or Profession of such as are Members of such College. For in these Things Colleges have a Jurisdiction; and, consequently, may make Laws or Statutes to bind their own Members.

There are some Colleges, or Communities, (for I use the Word *College* here in a large Sense for any Community) which are permitted by the Law of Nations: And some, which are permitted by the *Civil Law*. According to the Law of Nations, the People of every City, Town, or Ville, may be stiled a College, tho' improperly, according to the limited Sense of the Word: For *Innocentius* seems to hold, that such a College, or Community, shall not enjoy the Privileges of a City, Town, or Ville, unless it be approv'd of by the Sovereign Power. But, I think, that such an Approbation is not necessary, according to the Law of Nations; since such a College, or Community, is permitted by this Law; it being no other than a joining of House to House, and an assembling of Persons together for the legal Convenience of the Inhabitants. Yea, such a College, or Community, is not disallow'd by the *Civil Law*; unless it be, when such a Collection of Houses tends to rival some lawful City. These Cities, Towns, or Vills, are often in our Law-Books stiled *Communities*, in order to distinguish them from what the Law properly calls a *College*, or Body of Men assembled in one House. The Word *Corpus* denotes any Corporation or Body Politick whatsoever, which is authorized by Charter or Prescription, and govern'd by particular Laws given thereunto: But a *Community* is a more general Term, and may comprehend the whole State of a Country, as well as of a City, Town, or Ville.

A Corporation approv'd by Law, may have Goods and Estates in common, as any individual and single Person may have an Estate proper to himself; as Woods, Pastures, Fish-ponds, and a common Chest, or Treasury for Money ^{n.} But the Goods and Estates of a Corporation, are not ^{n D. 3. 4. 11. D. 50. 16. 17.} the Goods and Estates of the particular Members, consider'd separately, but of all the Members, as they make one Collective Body, and are allotted for their common Use ^{o.} I say, the Property of these Things belongs to ^{o D. 1. 8. 6.} the whole Body, tho' the individual Members may (perhaps) make use of them: But it is otherwise, if they are simply bought for the Service of the whole Corporation, without adding, That the Individuals shall have the Right of cutting Wood, or feeding Cattle, &c. But sometimes it happens to be, that Pastures and Woods are purchas'd by the Corporation for the use of the particular Members; and in this Case they ought each of them to use them with Moderation, and without Contention, according to the Extent of the Estate ^{p.} But even in this Case, properly speaking, ^{p Marc. Decif. 223. Vol. 1.} those particular Members have not the Ufusufruct of these publick Estates,

^q In L. 7. D. 3. but only the Power of using them, as *Castrensis* ^q observes on the Law here quoted. It has been a doubt, indeed, among the Doctors, whether a Corporation may properly be said to possess a Thing; many of them holding the Negative, *viz.* That a Corporation is only said to possess a Thing by Impropropriety of Speech ^r. Other say, that a Corporation itself cannot be said to possess a Thing, but only those Persons are in Possession, unto whom the Administration is granted ^s. *First*, Because a Corporation is a Person represented ^t; and, therefore, cannot possess a Thing. *Secondly*, Because a Corporation does not seem to have an Ability of Consenting; because in a Corporation there are Infants, Pupils, Madmen, and many others who cannot consent: But Possession is not acquir'd without an Intention and Consent; wherefore, a Corporation cannot possess a Thing. Hence it seems, that as those Things, which are in the common and promiscuous Use of Men, as a Market, and the like, cannot be possess'd, but are only promiscuously made use of by the People of such Corporation, as in the like Manner other Things are in Common to such Bodies Politick and cannot be possess'd by them, according to the Opinion of these Men. But, I think, the contrary is the better Opinion: As that a Corporation and the Inhabitants thereof, may properly be said to possess a Thing, either in their own Persons, or else by their Servants and Syndicks, or by other Administrators ^u. For tho' a Corporation be only a Person by Fiction of Law; yet the Property and Possession of a Thing is lodg'd in the Corporation itself, and not in the Individuals of a Corporation.

A Corporation may, in its own Person, whenever it pleases, do any extrajudicial Act, as make Contracts, and the like, and shall not be compelled to constitute a Syndick (as in Judicial Acts) for the Dispatch of any publick Business of this kind ^x: For a Corporation may celebrate Contracts by its own proper Decree, without constituting a Syndick. And as a Corporation may contract with Persons, which are not of such Corporation: So, according to *Bartolus* ^y, it may make Contracts with its own Members, and they shall be valid. Corporations are bound by their Contracts, after the same Manner as individual Persons are ^z: For tho' a Corporation cannot separately and individually give their Consent in such a Manner as to oblige themselves as a Collective Body; yet, being lawfully assembled, it represents but one Person, and may consequently make Contracts, and, by their collective Consent, oblige themselves thereunto. And thus a Corporation may consent, tho' not with the same Readiness and Facility as particular Persons. But the Question is, Whether a Corporation may, either by itself, or by its Syndick, oblige the particular Members of such Corporation, and their individual Estates, without the Consent of such particular Members? Touching this Point, the Doctors are wont to distinguish between a Corporation that has no superior Authority above it, and consequently has a Power of making Laws and Statutes, and a Corporation which recognizes a Superior, and consequently cannot make a Law or Statute. In the first Case, a Corporation may either principally of itself, or else by a lawful Syndick, who has a Commission to this End and Purpose, oblige the Persons, and the particular Estates of such Persons belonging to the Corporation; as in the Case of Taxes, &c. For every Contract, which is made by him who has the Power of making a Law, has the Force of a Law ^a. For, as a Law or Statute made by a Corporation, that has the Power of making a Law or Statute, binds all the Members of such Corporation: So likewise do Contracts, enter'd into by such Corporation, bind the particular Goods and Person of such Corporation; and all Pacts express'd in such Contracts may, according to *Bartolus* ^b, be cited in Law, as Statutes, against the Members of such Corporation. But it is otherwise in the second Case, where a Corporation acknowledges a Superior.

But

But to the end that such a Statute should be valid, it must be general: For if it be made against particular Persons of the Corporation, it is not valid.

As a Corporation, or Body Politick, may bring an Action, and implead a Person; so it may also be impleaded and brought into Judgment ^c: But ^c D. 3. 4. 7. then such Corporation ought to appear by its Syndick, or Attorney, since it cannot appear in its own Person. And when a Process is served upon a Corporation, it ought to be on the Person of the Administrator or Syndick; (for a Corporation may, in this Case, be compelled to make a Syndick); and an Attachment lies against their Goods, and a Sequestration on their Lands, if they do not appear by their Syndick. But the particular or individual Members of a Corporation cannot be convened for the Debt of the Corporation: For as that which is due to a Corporation at large and collectively, is not due to the particular Members of such Corporation, and cannot be recovered by them in their separate Capacities; so the particular Members thereof may not be sued for the Debts of such Corporation at large ^d. Yet when a particular Member is constituted as a Syndick to ^d D. 3. 4. 7. bind the whole Body, and all and every Member thereof, a particular ¹ & 2. Member may then be sued for the Debt of the Corporation; because such Syndick represents the Corporation, especially if all the Members were present at the constituting of such Syndick.

I have before hinted, That no one can bring an Action at Law for a Corporation without a legal Proxy, call'd a *Syndick*: And he is said to have such a Proxy, who has it from the greater Part of the Corporation assembled together. In which Assembly there ought to be two Parts (at least) present of all the Persons that have a Voice; and he who is elected *Syndick* by the Majority of these two Parts, is deemed to be duly chosen. By the Law of *England*, a major Part of the whole Corporation present is sufficient; and a Majority of the Persons present shall bind the rest. A Corporation or Body Politick ought to be summon'd in their Common Council upon an Original Process; and the Judge may compel the Rector to call a Common Council to this End and Purpose. Such Common Council ought to be assembled in some publick Place, where the same is wont to be assembled and meet together. And the Summons hereunto is either by the Ringing of a Bell, the Sound of a Trumpet, or the Voice of a Crier or Beadle, according to the Custom of the Place ^e; and it ought to be ^e C. 10. 31. 2. convened and called together by the Order of the Rector of such Corporation ^f. Whenever any Act is done, which may prejudice the whole Cor- ^f C. ut supra. poration, two Parts in three (at least) ought to be present, (as aforesaid), according to the *Civil* Law ^g: But when any Act is done, which may be ^g D. 3. 4. 4. to the Prejudice of any particular Members thereof, then the major Part is sufficient, especially if the Law commits this Matter to the Majority ^h. ^h D. 2. 14. 7. In all Acts of a publick Nature, the Consent of the greater Part present is ¹⁹. sufficient, provided they be all legally summon'd; tho' in Acts of a private Nature it is sometimes otherwise; because, regularly speaking, no one may prejudice another without his Consent ⁱ. ⁱ D. 27. 8. 11.

Corporations may commit an Offence, and be proceeded against, and punish'd, as well as particular Men; but then such Offence ought to be committed *Communicato consilio*, and as a Corporation, in their Politick Capacity ^k, according to *Angelus* and *Ancharanus* ¹: But in Crimes and ^k Conf. 165. Offences, which are done by the greater part of a College, or any other ¹ & 167. Corporation, such Offence is not deemed to be done by the whole or all the ¹ Conf. 157. Corporation, if some of the College or Corporation protested against the same by their Opposition. Yea, the major Part only ought to be punish'd: For the lesser Part, which oppos'd the same, ought not to be involved in the Guilt of others; nor ought such minor Part to be punish'd. And this

is

is good Law, when such minor Part expressly contradicts the same : But it is otherwise, if such a Minority be silent therein ; for then this Silence is styled
^m D. 17. 1. 18. *Sufferance*, which is in the Place of an Order ^m, &c. and then they are involved in the Crime, and shall be punish'd for the Offence together with such as were expressly consenting. Because when any one is summon'd to a Chapter or Council, he ought either to give his Consent, or else to oppose and contradict what is there debated or transacted : And hence he is obliged to speak either in the Affirmative or Negative, in giving his
ⁿ D. 17. 1. 18. Opinion ⁿ. Though, regularly speaking, a Corporation may not be
^o C. 9. 47. 22. punish'd for the Offence of some of its particular Members ^o ; because, in such Case, many innocent Persons would suffer Punishments which they do not deserve, for the Fact and Offence of some particular Man, which would be unjust : yet a Corporation may be punish'd for an Offence committed by the particular Members of a Corporation in their individual Capacities, if such Corporation ratifies the Offence by any subsequent Act. As when some particular Persons of a Corporation ousts a Man of his Castle, and the Corporation retains the Possession of such Castle to its own Use : For a Ratihabition, which, in Offences, is compared even unto
^p C. 4. 28. 7. a Mandate or Order ^p, is presumed from successive and continued Acts of this Kind. Hence, by such Ratification, it becomes the Act of the Corporation, and is so called : For that which is done by the particular Members of a Corporation, is deemed to be the Act of the Whole, when the whole Body is apprized thereof, and suffers by it ; provided it be not a momentaneous Act, as Murder, &c.

If a College or Corporation be insolvent, the particular Members of such College or Corporation ought, according to the *Civil Law*, to contribute their private Fortunes towards the discharging of a Fine or Obligation, and may be compelled hereunto, if such Community be subject to a pecuniary Obligation. But it has been a Question among some, whether this Contribution ought to be imposed and assessed *per solidum & libram*, or else *per Capita* ; that is to say, whether it ought to be according to the Substance and Ability of their Patrimonial Estates, or else according to the Number of their Persons. And it seems, that it ought to be impos'd and levy'd *per Capita* ; because as the Offence of each Person is equal, so
^q C. 1. 3. 31. ought the Punishment to be also ^q. But, I think, the contrary is the truer Opinion, *viz.* That such Imposition ought rather to be according to the
^r C. 10. 41. 1. measure of each Person's Substance and Patrimony ^r. Every Corporation may impose a Tax on its own Members, for Discharging the Debts of such Corporation, and for the Dispatch of other necessary Business, without consulting the Prince or Sovereign ^s ; tho' the Business of imposing a Tax, is a Matter that belongs to the *Regalia*. But there are some Cases, wherein a Corporation cannot impose a Tax, without consulting the Prince, or Sovereign Power : As when a Corporation wou'd impose a Tax on Account of the publick Utility, or Necessity ; for a Corporation cannot do this, without the express Leave of the Prince ^t. A Tax imposed by a Corporation,
^s D. B. 4. §. ult. & Gloss. ^t Angel. in L. Un. C. 11. 63. ought to be laid equally, and levy'd by the Consent of all Persons that may be prejudiced or interested thereby, or at least by the Consent of the greater Part of them, and the Book of Rates whereby the Persons are assessed, ought to be laid open to every one that demands a Sight thereof. And, *Lastly*, A Tax imposed by a Corporation, ought to be notify'd to all the Persons that have Possessions in such Corporation, that they may prepare themselves for the Payment thereof.

It is a Matter of known Law, That a Corporation may introduce a
^u D. 1. 3. 32. Custom, if it pleases ^u : And not only the whole Corporation may do this,
^v C. S. 53. 2. but even a Part of it may do the same in their Behalf ^v. For if a whole
^w D. 1. 2. 2. S. Corporation may do it in respect of the whole Body, a Part of such Corporation
ration

ration also may do it in respect of it ¹; because a Part of the Corporation ¹ Arg. D. 6. 1. or Body Politick is in this respect look'd upon as a Body Politick ²; for ^{76.} there may be a Corporation within a Corporation. But in respect to the ² Arg. D. 30. 1. 94. Inducing of a Custom, *Quære*, Whether the Confirmation of the Sovereign Authority be necessary hereunto? and, Whether the Custom of a City extends itself unto the Lands and Vills adjoining to such City, and be subject thereunto? The *Gloss* ³, on the Law, holds the Affirmative: And ⁴ In L. 9. D. *Bartolus* ⁵ is of the same Opinion. Yet touching this Question, he ⁶ ^{3. 1.} distinguishes in this manner, *viz.* If such Vills, or other adjacent Places, ^{27. 1. 1.} have a particular Custom of their own, as the Law permits them to have, then the Custom of the City does not obtain in Places subject and adjacent thereunto, but the Custom peculiar to every Place ought to be observed: But if these Places, as the Suburbs of a City, have no special Customs of their own, then, in that Case, the Custom of the City claims Authority in the Suburbs, and other adjacent Places being subject to the Jurisdiction of the City ⁷. But 'tis otherwise, if those Places are of the District, Ter- ⁸ C. 1. 3. 28. 4. ritory, and Jurisdiction of the City itself: Because, when they have their ⁹ D. 50. 1. 30. own proper Bounds, and a distinct and separate Territory, the Custom of the City itself cannot be extended to Places of this Kind ¹⁰. But if such ¹¹ Arg. D. 41. 1. 16. Vills and Places shall be afterwards united to the City, the Custom of the City shall obtain in Places thus united, according to *Bartolus* ¹²; especially ¹³ In L. 2. C. 8. 53. if such Union be made by the Prince, or such-like Sovereign Power; because, *Quod juris est in principali, idem juris est in adjuncto* ¹⁴. But it is ¹⁵ D. 5. 1. 9. otherwise, if the Place united be not subject to the Jurisdiction of the City, as *Bartolus* ¹⁶ assures us; but has its proper Bounds and Jurisdiction. ¹⁷ In L. 18. D. 13. 7.

All Corporations have some one or more publick Persons, unto whom they grant the Administration of their Affairs; and this either with a full and absolute Power; or else with a limited Authority. These Persons are stiled Administrators, Actors, Syndicks, and the like; and are sometimes trusted with a special, and sometimes with a general Commission. In a City, the Mayor and Aldermen have, generally speaking, the Administration of Affairs; but sometimes not simply, but with Relation had to the Common Council of the City; and sometimes they have the full and sole Administration thereof. The Law has entrusted the Common Council of a City, and of every other Corporation, with great Power and Authority touching the Government and Administration of its publick Affairs ¹⁸: And ¹⁹ Gloss. in L. 3. D. 3. 4. V. *Ordo*. as this Council represents the whole City or People thereof, so that which is done by such Council, seems, according to *Bartolus* ²⁰, to be done by the ²¹ In Rub. D. whole People or City. And hence such Council seems to have the same ²² 50. 2. Power in these Matters, as the whole City has. But then this Council must be legally summon'd and call'd together by the Authority of the Magistrate, or some other superior Person: And when such Council is assembled, such superior Magistrate ought to intervene and be present thereat, unless his own Interest be concern'd therein, in which Case the Corporation may assemble itself without his Intervention, if he refuses to call the same. When a Corporation has not a Rector or superior Magistrate, he who is the more ancient Member thereof, may convene the Council or Corporation itself ²³: And all the Members of the Council or Corporation ought to ²⁴ Marc. Decif. 805. Vol. 1. attend the Assembly; and if there are two Parts in three of the whole Order present, as aforesaid, they may proceed to the Dispatch of Business, tho' the rest do not attend. I have before remember'd, that this Assembly ought to be conven'd in some publick Place, where it is wont to meet: But this is otherwise, if it cannot be assembled in such usual Place, by reason of some War, Pestilence, &c. And when the Body or Council is thus assembled, that which is publickly done by the greater Part of them, shall oblige all the rest ²⁵: And this by a Fiction of Law; because it is not ²⁶ D. 50. 17. 10 160.

to be supposed, that all the Persons will so readily agree among themselves. In these Assemblies the Law does not suffer Persons absent to vote by Proxies, unless Custom has ruled it otherwise; because of the Mischief and Inconvenience that might attend such a Practice, by having only a few of its Members assembled in Council, and likewise to restrain the

^m Joh. Andr. in Contumacy of others ^m.

^c 30. X. 1. 6.

Syndicks and other publick Administrators, having a Commission or Power *in solidum* to act, are bound for each other in the Management of the Business of the Corporation, and each of them must answer for the other *in solidum*, where there are several Persons constituted. Touching these publick Administrators, the Law makes a twofold Difference: For there are some that have the Administration of Justice, and others that have the Administration of their Estates; and it is touching the last, that I here speak. And among these publick Administrators, all of them are obliged to keep a Book of Accounts, and to write all Receipts and Payments therein, and at the End of their Administration to render an Account thereof, with a Restitution of what remains in their Hands ⁿ. These publick Administrators are not only liable to answer for Deceit and Fraud, but also for Negligence. If they are guilty of Fraud, in detaining the publick Money in their Hands, they are obliged to refund the same with Interest. These Officers are bound, at the End of their Administration, to deliver up their Books of Account unto the Corporation, or unto such Persons as are deputed by it to revise the Accounts; which Revisors of the Accounts may, even in the Absence of such Officers, pronounce them to be Debtors to the Corporation: For since no other Cognizance is requir'd, than a bare Computation of the Account, a Sentence may rightly be pronounced against them ^o. No Administrator of a Corporation can Mortgage or Alienate the Goods of such Corporation, unless he has a special Commission from the whole Body, or Council representing the whole Body ^p; for he is placed there for their Good, and not for their Harm or Prejudice.

^a Bart. in L. 3. D. 48. 12.

^o D. 50. S. 2.

^p Bald. in L. 27. D. 12. 1.

A *simple* Legacy, or a Legacy in Trust, may be bequeath'd not only to a Whole Corporation or College, but even to a Part thereof; as to the Warden and Thirteen Senior Fellows of New-College in *Oxford*: But a Legacy left particularly to some certain Citizens, is not deemed to be left to the City itself, but to those Citizens as individual Members ^q. If a Legacy be left to a College, it is necessary to prove such to be a lawful and approv'd College, in order to render such a valid Legacy: For in a doubtful Case, every College is presum'd to be an unlawful Community, unless it be prov'd to be lawful; and consequently is not capable of a Legacy, according to *Jason* ^r. Hence it is, that a Legacy cannot be bequeath'd unto a College of *Jews*. Note, The *Gloss* on the Law seems to make a Difference between a College and a Congregation, saying, That Two Persons make a Congregation, but Three a College. It has been no small Controversy among the Doctors, whether a Corporation may make Statutes and By-Laws to oblige Persons. For *Bartolus* ^s distinguishes, and makes a Difference between a Corporation which has no Jurisdiction, and such a one as has a Jurisdiction. In the first Case, when it has no Jurisdiction, it cannot make Statutes or By-Laws; because this Power depends on Jurisdiction ^t: But in the second Case, when a Corporation has a Jurisdiction, it is otherwise, because then it has the Power of making such Laws. But, dropping this Distinction, I think, it is the receiv'd Opinion of the Lawyers, that all Corporations and lawful Communities, even tho' they have no Jurisdiction, may make By-Laws touching such Matters as relate to the Administration of their own private Affairs ^u. And not only the whole Body, but even a certain Part of it,

^q D. 36. 1. 1.

^r In L. S. C. 6. 24.

^s In L. 9. D. 1. 1.

^t *Gloss* § DD. in L. 1. D. 2. 1.

^u C. 3. 13. 7.

may

may make Statutes in Relation to such Matters, as are incumbent on such Part of it, and which belong to their Administration ^x. But tho' a Corporation, which has no Jurisdiction, may make Statutes touching those Things, which respect the Administration of their own Concerns; yet it cannot add a Mulct or Penalty unto such Statutes, unless such Corporation has been accustom'd so to do; because the imposing of a Penalty is a Matter of Jurisdiction ^y. But a Corporation cannot make a Statute to take away the Right of another Person, without his express or tacit Consent, unless it be upon a just and reasonable Account, *viz.* such as concerns the publick Utility; because no Law ought to be made in Hatred and Prejudice to particular Persons. Statutes made by a Corporation, which recognizes a superior Power, ought to be confirm'd by the Authority of a Superior; unless they are such Statutes which only respect the Administration of their Estates, and the like; because, in this Case, Corporations may freely make Statutes, without the Confirmation of any Superior ^z. But *Baldus*, and several of the Doctors, think, that Statutes or By-Laws made by Corporations, do not stand in need of the Sovereign Authority for the Confirmation of them; because all Corporations have this Power of making Laws for themselves, by a Dispensation of the Common Law, and such Statutes are confirm'd by the Common Law ^a.

Touching unlawful Colleges or Companies of Men, it belongs to the Office of a President of a Province, according to the *Roman Law*, to see that such unlawful Colleges be not erected. So that from this Law it appears, that the Inspection of Colleges is under the Care of those Secular Judges ^b. And such as erect such unlawful Colleges or Companies, and the Encouragers of them, are liable to the *Julian Law* of Treason, and also to the *Julian Law* touching publick Force. But tho' the Authors of such Colleges are punish'd in this Manner; yet the Members thereof are no otherwise punish'd than by a Dissolution of their Society ^c. And it is to be noted, that all Colleges or Companies are deem'd to be unlawful Societies, unless they are found to be permitted and approv'd of by Law ^d.

It has been said before, That some of these Colleges or Corporations are permitted by the Law of Nations, and others by the Civil Law. Among the first it has been observ'd, that the People of a State or City may be reckon'd: But touching the last, the Law confines the Notion of a Corporation to a narrower Compass. Among such Colleges or Corporations, as are approv'd of by the Civil Law, we may *first* include Colleges erected on a Religious Account ^e, as Monasteries, and the like: *Secondly*, Such as are founded on the Score of Learning ^f; and, *Thirdly*, Such as are established for the sake of publick Charity ^g, which we in other Terms call Hospitals. Such as are erected on the Score of Learning and publick Charity, are deem'd Secular Corporations: But such as are founded on the Account of Religion, are reputed in Law to be Ecclesiastical, if they consist of Ecclesiasticks; and, according to the *Canon Law*, such cannot be founded without the Pope's Authority ^h. There are also some other Colleges or Corporations of Tradesmen, which the *Civil Law* permits in some Cities or Places of Traffick, and these we call *Companies*. A College may also be erected for poor Soldiers, on the Account of making some Provision for them: But the Effect of such a College ought not to be extended to other Purposes ⁱ. Yet it is to be observ'd, that Soldiers cannot make these Societies or Colleges, or any other, without the Order of their General: But if they have his Leave or Authority, they may do it ^k. Bondmen may likewise be Members of a College, by their Lords Consent, and not otherwise: And such Colleges or Companies there were anciently at *Rome*.

Colleges and Corporations are under the Visitation of superior secular Judges, and may be convened before them, if such Colleges consist of secular

^x D.D. in L. 9. D. 1. 1.

^y Jaf. in L. 9. D. 1. 1.

^z Glof. in L. 3. C. 3. 13.

^a Bald. in L. 8. C. 1. 14.

^b Inn. in c. 14. X. 5. 3.

^c D. 47. 22. 3.

^d D. 47. 22. 3. 2.

^e D. 47. 22. 1. 1.

^f C. 4. 13. 5. Auth. *Habitat.*

^g Bart. in L. 4. D. 47. 22.

^h Inn. in c. 8. X. 3. 24.

ⁱ D. 47. 22. 4.

^k D. 3. 2. 2.

¹ D. 47. 22. 1. ^{pr.} secular Persons ^l : But if they are Colleges of Clerks and Ecclesiasticks, then they ought to be conven'd before Ecclesiastical Judges, as being under their Visitation and Correction ^m. But if it be a College consisting of Clerks and Laymen together, and the greater Part be Laymen, then they shall be call'd a College of Laymen, and be conven'd and subject as such ; ⁿ D. 50. 1. 19. because the major part draws the Whole after it ⁿ : And therefore, such a College may be convened before a Lay Judge, if it be impleaded on the Score of Temporal Matters ; for, according to the *Canon* Law, a Lay Judge ought not to intermeddle in Spiritual Matters. But if the greater or major Part be Clerks, it shall, for the same Reason, be conven'd before an Ecclesiastical Judge. If they are equal in that Number, or their Power be equal, as, in a City, it often happens to an Hospital ; then (I think) according to the *Canon* Law, at least, they ought to be conven'd before an Ecclesiastical Judge ; because, as that Part which consists of Clergymen is more dignify'd, it draws the Lay Part along with it ^o. But the Law of *England* does not make this Distinction between Laymen and Clerks, as aforesaid.

A College or Company may consist both of Men and Women, provided the Foundation and Institution of such College be not repugnant to the State and Modesty of Women : For a Woman cannot be a Member in a ^p D. 50. 17. 2. College of Doctors and Burgomasters ^p, in *Latin* call'd *Decuriones* ; for, according to the Apostle, the Office of Teaching and Judging is forbidden unto Women. But in Colleges, that are founded for Alms and Charity, Women may be Members as well as Men ; and thus Nunneries are Colleges of religious Women. Some have doubted, whether a Person may be a Member of two Corporations at one and the same time ? Now in answer hereunto, it is to be observ'd, That there are some Colleges, or Corporations, that are subaltern to each other, and are as the Whole and a Part, or as Body and Members of the same Body, which we call a Corporation within a Corporation. Thus, in our two Universities, each University is divided into Colleges, as Members of the whole Body. And in this Case, a Person may be a Member of the whole University, and a Member of a particular College, which is a Part of the University ; as a Person may be a Member of the State, and also of some particular City under that State. And there are some Colleges or Societies, which are unto each other as separate *Species*. And in these it is to be consider'd, whether a Person can be in one Corporation *necessarily*, and in another *voluntarily*. For Example : A Man is a Citizen of *London* by Birth ; and thus he is *necessarily* a Member of the Corporation of *London* : And in this Case, certainly, he may be a ^q D. 50. 1. 20. Member of another City or Corporation *voluntarily* ^q. But if it be a ^{§ 31.} Question, Whether he may be a Member in several *voluntary* Colleges or Corporations ? I answer, That if the Institution of one Corporation be incompatible to the Design and Institution of the other, for which such other Corporation is founded, he cannot be a Member of divers Colleges or Corporations at the same Time ^r. But if the Business or Institution of one of them be no Impediment to the Design of the other of them, there is no Law which forbids a Man to be a Member of two Colleges at the same Time. A Man may, in *voluntary* Societies, quit one, and go into the other : But if a Person in one State becomes a Denizon in another, I conceive, he loses his Freedom in the first State.

Touching the Dissolution of Colleges and Corporations, it is to be known, That there is one Kind of Dissolution, which happens to the whole College or Corporation, by the Consent of its Members ^s ; and another Kind, which happens, when all the Members are dead ^t : And there is a third Kind, which is made against their Consent ; and this is made by the Order of the Sovereign, on the Score of some Offence committed by those of the College or

or Corporation, which we stile a Forfeiture of their Charter of Corporation. As when, under the Pretence of being a lawful Corporation, they commit unlawful Acts ^u; for a Corporation may be dissolved upon ^u D. 47. 22. 5. this Account ^x. Tho' all the Persons of a Body Politick be changed; yet ^x D. 47. 11. 2. the Corporation still remains the same: yea, if there be but one Person remaining of the whole Corporation, the Name and Right of the Corporation is preserv'd in that one Person ^y, tho' a Corporation cannot at first ^y D. 3. 4. 7. 2. consist of one Person.

Touching the Lands and Estates of Corporations upon their Dissolution, it is to be noted, That there are some Corporations, which have their Estates in Common, and nothing in particular is reserved to the Members thereof as their Property, as it fares with Colleges of religious Persons, and the like: And in these Bodies, upon a Dissolution of the College, the Lands escheat to the Prince, or to him unto whom the Prince grants them ^z. And thus it happen'd, when the Corporation of *Knights Templars* ^z D. 49. 14. 1. C. 10. 10. 1. was dissolved by the Pope's Authority: For, as escheated Goods, their Lands came unto the Prince's Exchequer. There are other Colleges, which may have Estates reserved unto particular Members, and in Common also at the same Time; there being some Corporations, that are vested with Estates for the Payment of Salaries, and the Remuneration of Mens Labours, which their Members undergo, for the sake of their Fellow-subjects, as in the Case of Professors of Learning, and the like: And then, if the Corporation be wholly dissolved, the Lands given for the Reward of such Professors do not follow such Dissolution, and escheat to the Prince, but remain with the Professors themselves. And if the Choice and Nomination of such Professors be vested in such Corporation, so that other succeeding Electors cannot be elected upon the Dissolution of such Corporation, the Lands and Revenues of such Corporation, given for the Maintenance of the Professors, shall go to the Donor's Heirs, if such can be found; otherwise, to the Prince's Exchequer, as escheated Goods. Whenever a Lay-corporation is dissolved by Consent, the Lands they purchas'd shall be divided between the Members, if the Corporation has the Power of dissolving itself, and not otherwise: But if it be dissolved by Forfeiture, then the Lands shall go to the Prince, according to the Opinion of the Doctors ^a. Thus, if a Corporation be dissolved by the Prince, on Account ^a DD. in L. 4. D. 47. 22. of Forfeiture, or otherwise, all its Rights and Privileges are gone, and at an end ^b: But if it be dispersed upon the Score of some Mortality, and ^b D. 50. 13. 5. the like, its Privileges and Rights are saved, and shall be restor'd to the Members upon their Return.



T I T: XXXVI.

Of an University of Scholars, in our Books stiled Studium Generale; and of Students, Professors, Doctors, and other Graduates; their Privileges, Immunities, &c.

AMONG the several Sorts of Corporations mention'd in the Books of the *Civil* Law, and stiled *Collegia Licita*, or Lawful Communities; and among such of these as were supported by special Privileges, we may reckon a Corporation, or Body Politick, founded for the sake of the Liberal

Arts and Sciences ; which Kind of Corporation under this Title is stiled *Studium Generale*, and is taken for an Academy or University ; wherein Masters, Doctors, and Professors of divers Sciences are there assembled, for the Education of Youth, in the Business of Learning, and vertuous Principles, by inciting them to Labour and Industry. Hence it is, that they who have laid the first Foundation of a State, have always been solicitous about erecting Universities, or general Schools of Learning, under an Opinion, that no good Polity can flourish, without the Help of good Letters, and a wholsom Institution of its Youth, as *Aristotle* observes in his *Politicks* c. And these publick Schools of Masters, the *Grecians*, who were Authors of all Arts almost, seem first of all to have introduced, who not only at *Athens*, but at sundry other Places, by a mighty Concourse of Students. began in a publick manner to profess divers Arts and Sciences, and to teach them for certain Stipends.

* Lib. 5. c. 9.

Afterwards, by the Liberality of Princes, Men of Learning were hired in divers Places to instruct the Youth in several Sciences : For they deemed a private Education to be very inconvenient on many Accounts ; because the Indulgence of the Parents corrupts the Minds of Children, and at Home they only learn such Things as are particularly enjoind them : whereas in publick Schools they enlarge their Understandings, by learning such Things as are commanded and taught unto others, as *Quintilian* remarks in his *Institutions* d, where he says, That *they add many Things unto their own particular Tasks, to be daily approved of, and many Things to be corrected : so that they improve in Knowledge, by seeing the Sloth and Idleness of one Person rebuked, and the Industry of another commended ; and are excited unto their Studies, by the Praises and Rewards given unto their Fellow-scholars.* And young Men being thus fired and kindled with the Love of Letters, hate to stay at home in their own Countries, but usually travel to see other Universities, and to visit Professors abroad, for the sake of increasing Knowledge. And surely, the going Abroad in Quest of Knowledge, is the best End of Travelling ; I mean, not only to see the fine Buildings of Cities, but likewise to retain the Laws and Institutions of them, and to form a right Judgment of their Policies and Government : So that, by this Means, their Observations might at length be apply'd to the Benefit of their own State, as *Lipsius* advises, in his Epistle to *Launoy*. Wherefore, Men of riper Years, when they can make a proper Judgment of Things, do well to travel into such Countries as are endued with politer Manners ; and, by visiting the most eminent Universities, to hear the Professors, appointed there by publick Authority, instructing the Youth ; from whence they may learn and carry Home something of Advantage unto themselves.

d Lib. 1. c. 2.

In these Universities the Professors of the Law were in high Esteem and Reputation among all Men : But heretofore they could not teach elsewhere than in the Capitol at *Rome*, at *Constantinople*, and *Berytus* ; and no one cou'd be admitted to be a Professor hereof, without the Approbation of the Prince, and the Decree of the Order of the Professors. And such Persons as usurp'd the Title of Professors, and the Authority of Teaching in Publick, without such Licence had, underwent a Mark of Infamy, and were banish'd the City e : But such as were truly Masters of their Profession, tho' they had not obtain'd the aforesaid Decree, were not prohibited the Exercise of their Studies, and the Business of Instructing Youth in their private Families. For only such as were appointed to teach within the Capitol, were interdicted to attend young Students, and to read privately ; and this, under the Pain of being deprived of the Privileges granted to the Order f.

e C. 11. 18.
1. Unic.

f C. ut supra.

Moreover,

Moreover, the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, by this Law, settled a certain Number of Professors in the State; *viz.* three Orators well vers'd in *Roman* Eloquence, for the teaching of Rhetorick, and the Art of Speaking. which was in great Vogue at that Time; ten Grammarians; and five Sophists or Logicians; two Professors of Law; and one in Philosophy: but did not hereby exclude those liberal Arts mention'd by the Constitution of *Constantine*: And thus general Schools of Learning were establish'd by these two wise Emperors. But they only settled this Number of Professors to read the superior Sciences in the aforesaid Cities, and not elsewhere; assigning to each of them particular Schools and Places to read in at some Distance from each, that their Scholars might not disturb one another by a Confusion of Voices, and divert each other's Mind from his Studies. And as they took Care that they should not hinder each other, by this Means, in their Studies; so they also prohibited Smiths and such-like Persons to work near the Schools and Houses of these Professors, since the Publick Advantage ought to be prefer'd hereunto; and by this Means the State was fill'd with Men of Learning and Wisdom. And if any Person averr'd himself to be a Smith settled by publick Authority, for making of Arms for the State, and that he was equally privileged with Scholars, the Magistrate was to assign him a convenient Place in the City to work in, without any Inconvenience to the Scholars. Thus were Universities of Scholars, in former Times, taken Care of, for the Good of the State. But when the Papal Power prevailed, and Popes assumed unto themselves the Founding and Protecting of these publick Nurseries; secular Princes submitted the Care of them unto the Church; and by this Means, Darkness and Ignorance crept thercinto, and Princes grew negligent of this great Work.

As there was a College of principal Physicians in the City of *Constantinople*, so there was likewise there a College of Persons that profess'd the liberal Arts and Sciences in that City: And those Professors were held in so much Esteem, that if they behaved themselves well by an honourable Exercise of their Profession for twenty Years together, they were honour'd with the Dignity of a *Comes* or *Count* of the first Order, and were equal to such as were of *vicarial* Dignity &c. *Quintilian* has a View to this Time, saying, ^{s C. 12. 15. l.} *Post impetratam studiis meis quietem, quæ per 20 Annos in erudiendis juve-* ^{Unic.} *nibus impenderem*; which is an Argument that Professors heretofore, after 20 Years Business, usually had their Discharge or *Quietus* given them, as unto *Veteran* Soldiers, and they had also other Rewards assign'd them after they had finish'd their Labours. And this is a Specimen of a flourishing State (says *Symmachus* ^b) to have the Professors of liberal Arts and Sciences ^{b Epist. 73. lib.} well endow'd with opulent Rewards; for if you take away the Rewards ^{1.} of Learning ⁱ, all Study will soon perish, and come to an End thereby. ^{1 Tacit. An. lib.} Hence it was that the Doctors of the Metropolitan Church of *Constantinople* ^{11.} were honoured with Episcopal Dignity; and in the Patriarchship obtain'd the next Place unto the Vicars of the Church. And at this Day there are sacerdotal Benefices and Canonries in many Places appointed for Doctors and Professors, and these are annexed unto their Professorships, as at *Oxford*, and elsewhere. And there were also several Dignities and Privileges conferr'd on Lawyers, especially on such as instruct the Youth of the Universities in the Knowledge of Law and Equity, &c. ^{k.} ^{k C. 10. 31. 6.}

In an University we meet with these several Distinctions among Men, according to the Degrees of Learning, unto which they arrived, some being called *Doctors* or *Masters*; others stiled *Batchelors* or *Licentiates*; and others termed *Students* or *Scholars*. *Doctors* or *Masters* are those Persons that have gone through all the necessary Parts of Learning in their respective Faculties, and are come to the highest Pitch of Honour in the Schools.

Schools. *Alciatus* says, that *Doctors* of Laws are comprehended under the Title of Masters; and so are *Bachelors* and *Licentiate*s included under that Name: But, I think, all the Books are against him, for a *Licentiate* or *Bachelor* is only such a one, as by an inferior kind of Learning, has Leave given him to read such Books as may qualify him for a Doctor's Degree. In a strict Sense of the Word, a *Doctor* is not comprehended under the Name of a *Scholar*; nor, on the contrary, is a *Scholar* included under the Appellation of a *Doctor*. But *Joh. Andreas* will have it, that in an indifferent and favourable Matter, as in Privileges and the like, a Doctor is comprized under the promiscuous Name of *Scholars*, as an Abbot is under the Appellation of *Monks*; and Senators and the like under the Word *Populus*; and the Master of a Family under the Word *Familia*: But it is otherwise in odious Cases, as in a Citation to Law-Suits, and the like, but the Doctors allow the Rectors of Schools to be included under the Word

¹ In l. 1. D. 24.
3.

Scholars. A Doctor, according to *Baldus* and *Imolu* ¹, is not comprehended under the Appellation of Scholars, even in a favourable Matter: Yet it is otherwise (say they) *in actu individuo*. He who desires to be promoted to a Doctor's Degree, ought to undergo an Examination, and though he shall not be found sufficient on his Examination; yet if there be any Hopes of his Proficiency, he ought to be admitted to his Doctorship, according to some Persons. But this is not the Opinion of *Bartolus*, who says, that no one ought to be admitted *ad docendum*, unless he has been first examin'd and approv'd of in Point of Learning and good Manners, and has all other Qualifications, that are required in the Act of making a Doctor. *First*, *Doctors* ought to excel others in Point of Behaviour and good Manners, and likewise in Learning: And, therefore, for a Defect of Learning and good Manners, they may be lawfully reprobated. *Secondly*, A *Doctor* ought to be so approved of, that the Presentation and Oath of so many Doctors is necessary to such Approbation ^m. This Examination and Approbation of a *Doctor*, according to the Rules of the common Law, ought to be attested by seven Persons in Number. See *Papiensis's* Practice of the Law, in the Preface thereunto.

^m C. 2. 8. 8.

The Promotion of *Doctors* in Law, first began to be in Use about the Time of the Emperor *Lotharius*, a *Saxon* by Birth, who commanded the *Roman* Laws to be publickly read and taught in the Schools: And it is said, that the People were so much delighted with them, that they began to contemn the Knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and the Study of Divinity waxed cold, in Comparifon of the Study of the Law. But afterwards when the Number of Doctors increas'd, certain Constitutions were made touching their Promotion, and the Number of Years they were to compleat before they were to be promoted to Doctorships. And, to prevent farther Mischief by this Novelty in Learning, it was enacted, that all Persons, who treated of Divinity, should not only follow the received Determinations of the Schools, but should also make Use of the Terms and Forms of Speech establish'd in the Schools in Relation to Divinity, as *Rhenanus* upon *Tertullian* observes. As Physicians are said to have the Care of human Bodies, so are Lawyers said to have the Administration of Justice: And, therefore, Doctors of Law are said to be so much more excellent than Physicians, as the Soul excels the Body, and as Justice is preferr'd unto Health, and the Subject of the Profession being of a more noble Nature, the Science itself becomes so too ⁿ.

ⁿ Abb. in c. 5.
X. 2. 7. N. 6.

Professors or *reading* Doctors, which is the same Thing, have many excellent Titles given them in the Laws: For if they do actually read Lectures in Publick, as their Profession requires them to do, they are stiled the *Patrons* and *Defenders* of Mankind, and, in some measure, said to be *the Rays of the Sun*, the World being illuminated by their Light. They make
a lawful

a lawful and approved College: And hence it is, that, as they are the best Ministers of Justice, and of all publick Good, they may make and ordain Statutes according to the *Civil* Law, and do all other Matters which relate to an University or Corporation. Nor is this strange, or to be wondred at, since they exercise a lawful Profession, and, according to the Text in the *Code* ^o, make an University or Body Politick. And hence the *Gloss* there- ^o C. 3. 13. 2. on says, That it is *Doctors*, and not *Scholars*, which make an University; because *Doctors* are those Persons that exercise a Profession, but *Scholars* are only the Disciples of such as exercise a Profession: But that *Gloss*, I think, is not true; because even *Scholars* do constitute and make an University, as having a lawful Power and Call of Assembling together for the Dispatch of Business. A Doctor, who has publicly read for thirty Years, is made a *Count*, in an improper Sense ^{*}: For, properly speaking, he only is styled *Comes*, that is, invested with the Government of a County: Therefore, ^{* Bart. in L. 42. D. 29. 1.} without a County, he cannot properly be termed a *Comes* or *Count*, but only improperly so, and contrary to the true genuine Sense of the Word.

To the Examination of a Scholar, seven Doctors, or Persons skill'd in his Faculty, are requir'd, who ought to depose, as skilful and learned Persons in that Art or scholastick Faculty, whereunto such Scholar belongs, before the Chancellor of the University, touching the Sufficiency of such Scholar [†]. ^{† Id. in L. 10. C. 10. 52.} But if seven Doctors in such Faculty cannot be found in the University, as it sometimes happens in the Faculties of *Arts* and *Physick*, then in such a Case, for the greater Caution, Practice requires to send unto the neighbouring Schools or Universities. A College of *Doctors* often consisted of twelve Persons, and in such a Case the Testimony of the major Part was sufficient to the Approbation of a Scholar's Learning or Proficiency for his Degree; nay, the Testimony of one alone wou'd be sufficient, since the Right of a College may reside in one Person alone, if others should be dead or deficient ^p. And this is the Opinion of *Bartolus*, if more than one cannot be ^p D. 3. 4. 7. found in the Place; but in another Place *Bartolus* dissents from himself ^q. ^{q In L. 7. C. 10. 52.} But, I think, that these seven Doctors are requir'd as Individuals, and not as a major Part of a College: And this the Text seems to prove, saying ^r, ^{r C. 10. 52. 10.} That seven ought to be conven'd of those that are found in a College to make this Proof of a Scholar's Sufficiency for his Degree; but this Matter now differs, according to the local Statutes of each University.

A *Scholar* does not seem to gain a Settlement, or to have a Dwelling, in that Place where he lives on the Score of Study, but is compared unto a Person that has a Stall, Warehouse, or Shop ^{||}: But we have another *Gloss* on the Law which holds a contrary Opinion. But even this last *Gloss* does not say, that he shall gain a Settlement there, but only that he shall be subject to the Court or Jurisdiction of the Place, if he makes a Contract there, so that he may be conven'd either before the Rector of the University, as his own proper Judge, or else before the Bishop of the Diocese, according to the *Canons*. For he shall not be said to have a settled Dwelling there, though he should stay there a thousand Years, if it appears that he was only there upon the Account of Study [‡]: But he shall be said to have contracted a settled Habitation there, if he lived there for ten Years on any other Account. ^{‡ Bart. ut supra. D. 47. 10.}

Scholars have many Privileges granted unto them by the Law, as to be exempted from the Jurisdiction of the ordinary Judge, to be free from ordinary Taxes and Services, and the like. But Scholars, whose Names are not written in the *Matricula*, or Matriculation-book (as we call it) shall not enjoy the Privileges of Scholars. But *Quære*, whether a Scholar, who has been matriculated, and then leaves the University, shall afterwards upon his Return again retain this Advantage unto himself, *viz.* That he was heretofore enrolled or matriculated? In this Question we make this Distinction, *viz.* that he was either a Scholar, who was absent from the University

for five Years, and then his former Matriculation shall be of no Advantage to him on his Return thither again *: or else, that he has been absent from thence for a lesser Term of Years, and if he has betaken himself to Trade, Merchandize, or other manual Occupations, his former Matriculation shall then be of no Avail to him on his Return; for he thereby seems to have laid aside the *Animum Scholasticum*, or the Purpose of a Scholar. But if he has not apply'd himself, or turned his Thoughts to other Employments, then his former Matriculation shall stand him in Stead, and he shall enjoy the Privileges of the University as a Scholar. A Person is said to leave or depart from the University, when he goes from thence *cum Pannis*, that is to say, with Bag and Baggage.

Among Privileges common to Universities or privileged Schools of Learning, the Emperor *Constantine* ordain'd, that Professors and Doctors of Laws, and their Wives, should be exempted from all Civil Offices, from the Reception and Entertainment of Strangers, and that they should have Salaries paid them during their own Time. 'Tis a Privilege also common to Universities, that Scholars being in Possession of Benefices or Prebends, and studying in Universities or privileg'd Schools, should receive the Fruits and Profits of their Benefices: And the Statute of Queen *Elizabeth* has a Respect hereunto. But by the *Canon Law* s they can only receive these Fruits and Profits during the Time of their Incumbency on their Benefices, and no otherwise. But those daily Distributions were excepted out of this Rule, which were only granted to young Students residing in Churches, and present at canonical Hours, and not at others. For they, even by the *Canon Law*, shall have such Distributions as were granted to resident Clerks, tho' they be not present at canonical Hours or divine Service. The Emperor *Frederick*, by the Advice of his Dukes, Judges, Bishops and other great Men, at a general Visitation, made a Law to remain in perpetual Force, enacting, that no one should for the future presume to inflict any Injury on Scholars, nor should any one endamage them on the Pretence of any Debt contracted, or Offence committed in the Province of any Person whatsoever, as by perverse Custom it had sometimes happen'd to be done, but that every such Scholar should be subject to the Chancellor's Court of the University. And the same Privilege, in Favour of our Universities here in *England*, is granted and establish'd by divers Royal Charters, which are in our Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

The Founding of Universities, and granting Privileges thereunto, seems entirely to depend on the Prince's Will, as does also the Authority thereof itself, if any other Person shall think fit to build and endow them, or any such publick Schools, and then they are the Patrons and Visitors thereof. And this is more especially true in Law; because the erecting of Universities is a Matter of a publick Nature: And therefore, the Government of such Communities is committed to the Care of the Prince, or of them who bear chief Rule in the Administration of publick Affairs. And, for this Reason, an University is sometimes in the Law stiled a *publick*, and sometimes an *imperial* Auditory. As the Place of Judgment is frequently in our Law-Books, called *Auditorium Principale*; Suits and Causes being determin'd there according to the Laws of the Prince, and in Vertue of his Authority. *Tho. Aquinas* affirms, that the Erecting of an University belongs to the Prince or Pope, that is to say, to him who has the Sovereign Authority, because it only belongs to them, who bear Rule in a State, to make Laws and Orders touching the Nature and Education of Youth, as the *Roman* Emperors did. And *Aristotle* in his *Politicks* agrees hereunto, saying, "That it is the Business of civil Policy to ordain all Sorts of Discipline, which ought to be among Subjects, and to order what Sort of Persons, Scholars ought to be, and how long they ought to continue such. And it is the Prince's Business

“ nefs alone to give Laws, how long *Scholars* ought to hear their Professors
 “ and remain in the University, and after what Manner the Laws of other
 “ Princes ought to be learnt and studied by them, and what Conventions
 “ shall be admitted to be lawful Schools, ” &c. And as the Prince has the
 Direction of *Scholars* in all such Matters; so are all Schools of a publick
 Nature under his Guardianship and Protection, as before hinted; and it be-
 longs to him to grant them Privileges, and to permit Degrees to be taken
 therein. He may also establish Lecturers and Professors therein, without
 the Privilege and Faculty of taking Degrees: For these Privileges, say the
Canonists, ought to be obtain’d either from the Pope, or from local Princes.
 For, by the Papal *Canon* Law, the Concern and Care of Professors in other
 Faculties, as well as Theology, belongs to the Pope, and the Power of
 Teaching is granted by his Authority in all Parts of Christendom depen-
 dant on his Authority, as he alone is God’s Vicar upon Earth, and St. *Peter*’s
 Successor, as he himself vainly boasts: And, therefore, he pretends to have
 a spiritual Power over the whole World, or (at least over Christendom.)
 For, by the Papal Law, Emperors and Princes cannot confer this Power of
 Teaching out of the Limits of their own Dominions. Therefore, Popes
 have ordain’d, that whatever Persons are called and made choice of to teach,
 read, and treat of any Doctrines whatsoever, in any University or publick
 School, or do publicly profess to teach Divinity in any private House,
 they must have his Licence to do it. Those that erect new Universities,
 usually refer themselves to such Schools as are already founded or erected,
 or else to some one of them: And, in granting Privileges, they ought to
 consider, what Privileges have been granted to some or all of them, accord-
 ing to the Pleasure of the Granter. As when it is said, that the University
 of *Tholouse* shall enjoy the Privileges and Immunities of the University of
Paris; and the University of *Padua* shall enjoy the same Privileges as the
 University of *Paris* and *Bononia*, which Words we ought to understand in a
 relative Sense, as they respect those Privileges, which have been already
 granted, and are to be granted, especially if it be said in the Charter of
 Foundation, *viz. per omnia ad exemplum & ad Formam alicujus Academiæ*
novam Scholam erigimus &c. A Prince may grant Privileges, even to Eccle-^{f Bald. in l. 35}
 siastical Universities and Schools of Learning, as he may also do to Churches^{c. 1. 3.}
 themselves. But the *Canon* Law says, This only ought to be in Respect of
 Temporals, and not in Regard to Spirituals, wherein Laymen ought not to
 arrogate any Right or Power unto themselves: But this Part of the *Canon*
 Law is little observed. It has been a Dispute between the *Canonists* and
Civilians, whether an University be a Secular or an Ecclesiastical Corpora-
 tion? But it has been determin’d to be a Secular Body, especially if it was
 founded for the sake of Learning the liberal Arts and Sciences, and not for
 Ecclesiasticks alone. When the Kings of *France* consented to the erecting
 of new Universities, or publick Schools of Learning, they always declared
 this to be their Intention, *viz.* That they did not thereby design to admit
 the Profession of the *Civil* and *Canon* Law thereinto, any further than they
 would have it used and practised in *France*: And the Emperor *Charles* the
 Fifth did forbid the *Roman* Laws to be quoted in Opposition to the Laws of the
 Empire, which Thing the Parliament of *Paris* prohibited to their Advocates
 for some Time. But the Kings of *Spain* went further, and did at the Pope’s
 Instance, and through a Jealousy of their own Power, by a Statute, ordain,
 that no one should quote the *Roman* Laws in judicial Matters, under Pain of
 Death. And this is the Reason, why the *Roman* Law is so little now re-
 ceived in *Spain*. *Alarick* also King of the *Goths*, by his Edict, decreed,
 that no one should make Use of the *Roman* Laws in Opposition to his own
 Constitutions; not that the *Roman* Law was unjust, but that it was not adapt-
 ed to Conquests, as the *Gothick* Law was.



T I T. XXXVII.

Of Physicians, and their Exemptions; how they may recover their Salaries, and in what Manner they are punish'd for Mal-Practice, &c.

^aD. 50. 13. 13. **P**hysicians, according to *Ulpian* ^g, are those Persons, who promise Health or Ease to any Part of the Body of Man, that is afflicted with Sicknefs or Pain, by an Application of Remedies proper thereunto, and not by Incantations and Exorcisms ^h: For these are no Sort of Medicines, but strange Fancies, found out by the Wickedness of the Priests, to make themselves necessary to a Cure of the sick Person. But, under the Word *Medicus*, the *Civil* Law reckons Apothecaries, Chirurgeons and Physicians, properly so called ⁱ, that is to say, such Persons, as by their Skill in Medicines and Diseases incident to human Bodies, are licensed to practise the Art of Physick.

^b Bald. Conf. 195. Vol. 4. ^c D. 48. 8. 4. ^d fin. D. 50. 13. 5. ^e C. 11. 8. 1. unic. The *Gloss* on the *Code* ^k thinks, that Physick or the Art of Healing Distempers, may be comprehended under the Name of Philosophy. But others maintain, that it has its Foundation only from Physicks or natural Philosophy, and is a distinct Part of Knowledge: For, surely, there is a wide Difference between Naturalists and Physicians, tho' Physicians owe much to the Knowledge of some Part of natural Philosophy. A Naturalist considers all natural Bodies in general, or universally, and a human Body also at the same Time, for the Sake of a thorough Knowledge in natural Philosophy: But a Physician only contemplates the Body of Man, not only to know the Nature thereof, but that he may from this Knowledge put the same into Practice by some Means or other, for the sake of curing Distempers. And, therefore, the Professors of Physick are distinguished from Philosophers ^l.

^{1.} *Suetonius* reports, that *Julius Cæsar*, who had a greater Regard for learned and useful Men than many Princes have had since, granted the Freedom of the City to all Persons that professed Physick at *Rome*. And hereupon at that Time we meet with several eminent Men, that cultivated their Minds, and improved themselves in this Sort of Learning, and were an Ornament to their Profession, as *Zonaras* observes in his Annals ^m. And several wise Princes have since his Days thought these Persons so necessary to a State, that they have endow'd practising Physicians with large Privileges and Immunities, and limited the Number of them ⁿ. But the Care of assigning this Number of Physicians among the *Romans* was not committed to the President of the Province, but was entirely in the Breast of the Magistrates, and such Persons as bore Rule in the Cities, who were to chuse Men of Probity and Skill in Physick; because they committed themselves and their Children ^o D. 50. 9. 1. to the Hands of those for the Cure of their Distempers ^o.

It is not to be doubted, but that the Art of Physick is necessary in a State, as all Persons must acknowlege, who have been cured of dangerous Distempers by this Means. Wherefore the Son of *Sirach* says ^p, Honour a Physician with the Honour due unto him, for the Uses or Necessity you may have of him, for the Lord hath created him, &c. The Abuse of Physick is not always the Fault of Physicians; for they cannot always heal a sick Person; and

and as they cannot know the Causes of Maladies, their Knowledge is but conjectural at the best. But if he dies thro' their Unskilfulness, they may be punish'd for meddling with that, which they do not understand, as I shall again remark by and by. *Diodorus Siculus* assures us ^q, there is a Law in *Egypt* relating to Physicians, who, if they took Care of their Patients, according to the Direction of the publick Book, were not answerable, if their Patients died under their Hands: But if they acted contrary to those Directions, they were try'd for their Lives. See the *Cornelian* Law touching Murder ^r. Yet *Pliny* in his natural History ^s tells us, that there was no Law among the *Romans* in his Time to punish the capital Ignorance of Physicians, nor Precedent or Example hereof. They sacrifice Mens Lives for the Sake of Experiments, and yet come off with Impunity, says he. The *Syracusan* comick Poet *Philemon* observes, that it is only granted to a Lawyer and a Physician to kill with Impunity, and without Danger of the Law. But yet, notwithstanding this, such was the Care of the *Roman* Law to punish the Ignorance of Quacks and bungling Physicians, that if a Physician made Use of a depraved and bad Medicine, he was liable to an Action *ex locato* ^t, and might be punished by the *Aquilian* Law on the Score of Damage for his Ignorance, though he cured his Patient ^u. This, I think, was only peculiar unto such as professed the Art of Physick, among whom we may reckon Apothecaries and Chirurgeons, as aforesaid: For no Action lay against Lawyers, or others who gave wrong Advice unto their Clients, because the Person, who consults such ignorant Persons, must blame himself, that he made Application unto them, when there was a Number of other Lawyers to be had and consulted; and he might have deliberated with himself and his Friends, and likewise with other Lawyers, whether it was expedient for him to follow such Advice, or not ^x? See *Jason* and *Zaxius*, in l. 2. D. 2. 2. And tho' a Physician cannot excuse a Fault committed by himself, through his Unskilfulness, on the Pretence of human Frailty; yet the Event of Mortality ought not to be imputed to him, since all Men must die some Time or other.

Physicians are said to be in Fault three several Ways, *viz.* *First*, before the Fact, as when a Physician intermeddles and concerns himself about that, which he is ignorant of: For he ought to be so skilful in all the Rules of Physick, and to have such a Knowledge in all Maladies and Distempers of the Bodies, that, according to *Hippocrates*, in his Preface or Prologue to his *Prognosticks*, he may be able to prognostick Things pass'd, present, and to come, that is to say, he ought to be acquainted with them. *Secondly*, a Physician may be to blame *in ipso facto*, *viz.* in the very Act of administering Physick: Because though he may be an expert and skilful Person in the Business of his Profession, yet if he acts indiscreetly, and does not follow the Art and Rules of Physick in prescribing, but rather pursues new Experiments, and such as are seldom in Practice, and of little Vogue, or his own proper Will and Fancy, he is in Fault. And *thirdly*, a Physician may be in Fault *in post facto*: For though he be versed in his Business, and all his Prescriptions and Operations are according to Art; yet if he does not give diligent Attendance on his Patient or the sick Person, he is adjudged to be in Fault. But a Physician, who visits a sick Person *gratis* and without a Fee, may leave his Patient at Pleasure, and visit him no more. Now, therefore, from what has been said, four Things ought to concur, that the Patient's Death be not charged upon the Physician, *viz.* *First*, that he does not exceed the Limits of his Profession, because it is a Fault for a Man to intermeddle in those Things, which do not belong to him. And, hence, Apothecaries, whose Business it is to make up and sell Medicines, and not to direct in prescribing of Physick, are in Fault, if they order Physick beyond their Calling, and the Patient miscarries or dies. And the same may

be said of Chirurgeons, who dress and cure Wounds, &c. *Secondly*, A Physician ought to be skilful in the Art of Physick, because Want of Skill is equivalent unto a Fault or Knavery in a Physician. *Thirdly*, He ought to be diligent in attending his Patient, and in seeing that due Care be taken of him. And *fourthly*, He ought to instruct the sick Person in those Things, which are for the Cure of his Disease. And if he does all these Things, which every honest and good Physician ought to observe, he shall be free from all Imputation of Blame, Malice, Deceit, &c. But a Physician is in Fault, if he does not provide that, which a careful Physician is able to provide, or does not consult other Physicians, or make a Report of the Case, when the Danger thereof cannot be avoided. These four Things concurring, if Death supervenes, *Socinus* says *y*, the Physician is safe not only in *foro externo*, but even in Conscience also. It is a common Conclusion among the Doctors, that a Physician ought to be punish'd *extra ordinem*, viz. according to the Will and Discretion of the Judge, when he offends thro' want of Skill, even though it be without Fraud and Malice; but if it be maliciously done, and not through Unskilfulness that he kills his Patient, he shall then be liable to the *Cornelian* Law touching Murder *z*, and shall be punish'd as a Ruffian with Death, it being a greater Crime to kill a Man by Poison than by the Sword.

y Conf. 178.
par. 2.

z D. 48. 8. 4.
fin.

a L. 4. 3. 6.

b D. 50. 13. 3.

A Physician that has promis'd to cure any one of an Ague or Fever, ought to have his Fee or Salary, and is not oblig'd to any Restitution thereof, if the Cause be removed, and the Distemper ceases, by Reason of the Cure apply'd by him, tho' such Ague or Fever should afterwards (notwithstanding) return and supervene from some new Cause, because he seems to mean by such a Promise only a Cure of the present Malady: But if he has promised to cure any one of the Gout, he ought not to have his Salary, if he has not cured the Distemper, or removed the Cause thereof, but only caused the same to cease in some Measure, and afterwards by that Means it returns and comes again unexpected. For a Physician, who promises to make a Cure, is understood to promise, that he will work a perfect one, since Words ought to be understood *cum effectu*. But a Physician does not seem to have worked a Cure, when he has wrought a vicious Cure, and his Cure is not lasting: In which Case a Salary promis'd to him on the Account of a Cure ought not to be paid him, because such Cure is fraudulent. *Alexander de Rhodes* relates, that in the Kingdom of *Tunquin* they agree with a Physician on a certain Price at the Beginning of the Distemper, which Price or Reward he does not receive till he has wrought his Cure; and if the Patient miscarries, he has nothing; by which means they think to quicken the Diligence of the Physician, and heretofore it has been thus practis'd here in *England*. The same Author merrily observes of a Physician, who being consulted and bargaining with his Patient for his Fee, said, that were the Patient a young Man, he would not cure him under a hundred *Scudi*; but since he was old, he would content himself with twenty, because the Life he was to restore was not like to last long. If a Physician, who had undertaken the Cure of a Person, shall forsake his Patient, and leave him destitute of Help, and the Person dies upon this Account, he shall be liable to the *Aquilian* Law *a*. And though this be only said of a Bondman or Servant in that Law; yet it has a Respect to other Persons. But then, I think, a Physician ought to have a Salary promised him for the Cure, unless it be in the Case of a *Pauper*, whom he is obliged to cure without any Fee or Salary, for the Life of our poor Neighbour ought to be of greater Value to us than the Love and Advantage of any Sum of Money. But a Physician may not bargain with his Patient for any unjust or unreasonable Salary; for that would favour of Extortion and Iniquity *b*, as in the Case of Advocates. But a Physician may receive and demand his Salary, though his Patient dies

dies under his Hands : For it is sufficient, if he has began his Business or Cure according to the Rules of his Profession, and with some Advantage unto the sick Person, tho' the Effect does not follow thereon ; for a Physician is not always sure to work a Cure, since the Disease may be more powerful than all his Art ^c. A Physician, who cures a Servant, or administers any Physick to a Bondman, has an Action *for Business done*, against the Master of such Bondmen, for such Physick or Cure, yea, tho' the Servant dies. And an Action *ex Conducto* will also lie for a Physician to recover his Fee or Salary, if it be deny'd him ; because a Physician's Salary is *quid Mercenarium*, and not an Honorary Fee. By the Law of *England*, an Action of Debt lies upon a *Quantum meruit* ; for a Physician may sue for his Salary or Fee, tho' a Lawyer, it is said cannot. Physicians ought to hide and conceal all the secret Diseases of their Patients, otherwise, by the *Civil Law*, an Action of Injury will lie against them.

Plato has divided Physick, or the Art of Healing, into the following *Species* or Methods of Curing. The first Part he styles *Pharmaceutice*, or that Part which cures with Medicinal Potions, &c. The second Part he calls *Chirurgical*, which cures by Causticks, Launcing, and the like. The third he terms *Dieting*, which cures alone, by the Order and Method of proper Food. And the fourth Part, which gives Relief to the Patient, by discerning what his Distemper is, he, in *Greek*, calls Νοσολόγησιν, or the Judging of Distempers. In Physick there are five Things to be consider'd ; *viz.* the Physician ; the Art itself ; the Patient ; the Disease ; and the Force and Virtue of Medicines : Among which there may be such a Conflict, that the Patient often dies. For if the Will of the Patient concurs with the Prescription of the Physician, the Direction of Art, and the Power of the Medicines, the Distemper is conquer'd : But if he does not comply with those Things, he suffers himself to relapse, and often dies. Sometimes a Weakness of Nature struggles with those Things ; and then, tho' the Patient willingly complies, yet no Remedy can be had, tho' the Physician himself be a skilful Person. But if the Physician pursues the Rules of Physick, he is excused, tho' his Patient dies, as before hinted : But if he does not follow these Rules, he shall be punish'd.

The Physicians of our Times do not look upon Physick to be a Science, but an Art ; because of the Rules which they are obliged to follow therein. There are three Sorts of Physicians, according to the present Way of Practice in the World. The first is that of Quacks and Empiricks, which separates the Art of Healing from the *Rationale*. The second is that of those who pursue some Method in their Practice, tho' without the Reason and Grounds thereof. And a third Sort of Physicians there is, who study and follow the *Rationale* of Physick, of which *Hippocrates* the *Coan* was the Author ; and if these, upon Examination and due Proficiency, are promoted unto Degrees in Physick, or licensed by proper Persons to practise, such are stiled *Regular Physicians*.

If a Question be touching Diseases and Wounds, we ought to abide by the Judgment of Physicians ; because we ought to stand to the Judgment of every one that is skill'd in his Profession and Business. Thus, in Matters relating to Building, Architects are to be consulted, as Merchants are in Matters which concern Trade ; and the Opinion of Midwives, who are number'd among Physicians by the *Civil* and *Canon Law*, is to be had in Matters touching the Immaturity of a Woman's Delivery. A Physician, whilst he is in the Service of the Army, is exempted from all Civil Offices ; because he is in the Service of the State : but afterwards he is not excused, unless he can plead some other Privilege of Exemption, or shew some other Cause ^d.

^d C. 10. 52. R.

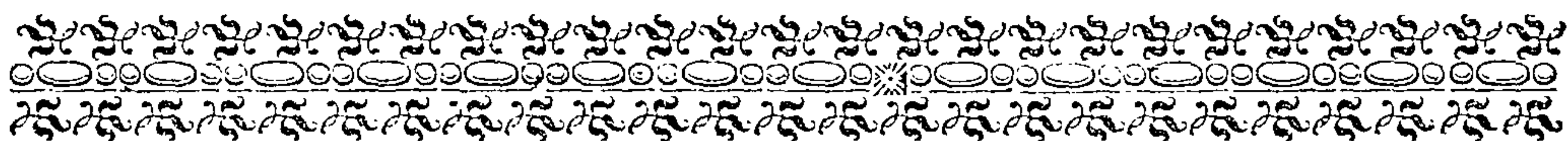
Herodotus

^e Herodotus,
lib. 1.
^f Herodotus,
lib. 2.

Herodotus assures us, That the *Babylonians* made use of no Physicians at all, but the sick Person was to be brought out into the Market, or some other publick Place of Resort; and all Persons that came thither, or passed by, were to be consulted what Methods they made use of in the like Case, to get rid of their Ailments or Distempers; and all were obliged to declare the Means, and not to pass by in Silence, without enquiring what the Person's Distemper was ^e. The *Egyptians* had Physicians for every particular Distemper: And thus all Places, as *Herodotus* observes ^f, were filled with Physicians. For they had some for the Eyes, some for the Head, some for the Teeth, and others for the Belly, &c. All these Persons were answerable for the Care of their Patients, and had strict Duties enjoined them.

^g 32 Hen. 8.
c. 40.

Physicians are discharged from bearing the Office of Constable, or any other Office, within the City of *London*, or Suburbs thereof, and from keeping Watch or Ward; and any of the Company of Physicians in *London* may also practise Chirurgery ^g.



T I T. XXXVIII.

Of Pupils and Minors, and after what Manner the Law treats them; what Things they may do in their own Persons, without the Guardian's Consent, and what not; and how they may be relieved against Craft, Fear, and the like.

^a In L. 239.
D 50. 16.

^b D. 45. 1. 141.

^c D. 15. 1. 7.

^d D. 50. 16. 239.

THE Word *Pupil*, in *Latin* called *Pupillus*, is a diminutive Term, according to *Alciatus* ^b, from the Word *Pupus*, which signifies the same as *Puer*, a Child; and in this Sense the Poet *Catullus* uses the Word *Pupulus*: And, from this Etymology of the Word, a *Pupil* may be said to be him, who is in the Power of the Father, according to the *Roman* Law ⁱ. A Bondman under the Age of Puberty may also, in a large Sense of the Word, be stiled by this Name ^k. But as this Word is more commonly taken by the Lawyers, it is taken in another Sense, *viz.* to denote him who is under the Age of Puberty, and yet is released from the Power of the Father, either by Death, or Emancipation, before he arrives at the full Age of Puberty ^l; tho' sometimes even he is said to be a *Pupil*, who is under the Power of the Father. The full Age of Puberty in Males was at Fourteen, and in Females at Twelve Years of Age, as I have already remembred. A *Pupil*, in Strictness of Speech, differs from a *Minor*; because a *Minor* is said to be him, who is pass'd the Age of Puberty, and yet not arriv'd at the Age of Five and Twenty Years: But these two Terms are in Law confounded, and promiscuously used the one for the other. A *Pupil* was said to be released from the Power of his Father by Death, either when the Father was truly dead, or else sent into Banishment: Because a Person in Banishment cou'd not have a *Roman* Citizen in his Power, as being a Man *Peregrinæ Conditionis*. And hence Banishment, which is a Civil Death, is, in this Case, the same Thing as a Natural Death. And a *Pupil* was said to be released from the Power of Emancipation, when the Father wou'd have his Son become *sui Juris*, and independent on him. See the Title of *Emancipation*.

Tho'

Tho' a *Pupil*, or *Minor*, generally speaking, is not bound by his own Act and Deed ; yet it is otherwise in such a Case, wherein he betters his own Condition thereby : For a *Pupil* or *Minor* may, in two Cases, be obliged, without the Authority of his Tutor or Guardian ^m ; as in the ^m D. 44. 7. 46. Case of Partnership, and the Case of Improving his Condition. But if a Person, that is a Debtor to a Pupil, stiled a *Pupillary Debtor*, shall, by such *Pupil*, pay Money unto the *Pupil's* Creditor without the *Pupil's* Authority, he indeed discharges the *Pupil* from his Creditor ; yet, in Strictness of Law, such Debtor still remains bound to the *Pupil* ; but yet, in Equity, he may defend himself by an Exception *Doli mali*, alledging, That the *Pupil* was a Gainer thereby. *Titius* ow'd an hundred Pounds unto *Mævius* a Pupil, who had a Tutor or Guardian. The Pupil, without his Tutor's Approbation, order'd *Titius* to pay his Creditor *Seius* the said hundred Pounds. And hereupon it was resolved, That the Pupil was discharged from the Debt which he ow'd unto *Seius*. And tho' *Titius* still remain'd bound unto *Mævius* ; yet he might defend himself by this Exception *Doli mali*, or of *Deceit*. If a Person shall, without the Tutor's Authority, pay Money unto a Pupil, that is due to him, and the Pupil enriches himself thereby, or (at least) does not become the poorer, as because he has, with the said Monies paid him, purchas'd some convenient Estate, or other Thing necessary for his Use, which otherwise he would have purchas'd out of his own Money or Allowance : In this Case, an Exception of *Deceit* will lie, if the Money be sued for again ; because he who is enriched by a Payment that is made him, may be repelled or ousted of his Action by such an Exception ⁿ. A Pupil, whether Male or Female, cannot pay Money, ⁿ D. 44. 4. 4. 2. or any Thing else, without the Tutor's Authority, on the Account of a Debt : And if he does, he is not discharged from the Debt, nor does he transfer the Property thereof on him that receives the same ; since a *Pupil* cannot make any Alienation of his Property without the Authority of his Tutor ^o. But some may think this strange ; since every one is allow'd to ^o I. 2. S. 2. fin. better his Condition, without a Tutor's Authority ; as a Person does, in this Case, by being discharged from a Debt : And moreover, because it is said, That a *Pupil* is discharged from a Debt by *Acceptilation* ^p, which ^p D. 46. 4. 2. is but a feigned Payment of a Debt. And why should not the same Thing happen to a true and real Payment ? To which the Doctors answer, That the real Payment of Money belongs to the Administration of an Estate ^q, ^q D. 46. 3. 14. which Administration is not vested in a *Pupil* ^r. But tho' a *Pupil* be not ^{fin.} hereby discharged, yet he shall be relieved against his Tutor, who ought ^r D. 12. 2. 17. 1. to shew a Reason why he has rather thought fit to retain his *Pupil's* Money in his Hands, than to discharge him from his Debts, by a Payment thereof.

What, therefore, shall be done, if a *Pupil* pays Money, and is not discharged from the Debt, the Person to whom it is paid not being the Proprietor thereof ? To which I answer, That if the Money be extant and forthcoming, the *Pupil* may reclaim it by a *real* Action : But if it be spent, the *Pupil* shall be discharged from the Debt ; because the spending thereof, supposes that the Money effectually came from the *Pupil* to the Person that receiv'd the same ; and consequently, no Fraud could happen between the Pupil and Person to elude the Guardian's Trust. And thus, the Spending of the Money, has the Force of Transferring the Property ^s. ^s D. 46. 3. 14. But the Law seems to make a Distinction herein, *viz.* when a Pupil pays ^{fin.} a Debt, which cannot be defeated by any Exception ; then, if the Money be spent, the Pupil shall have a personal Action, according to *Zacius* ^t, ^t In L. 19. to recover the same. But that if Money paid to a Creditor by a Pupil be ^{D. 12. 1.} not spent, but is lost, by some fortuitous Case, in the Hands of the Receiver, as by Robbers, and the like ; Who shall then bear the Loss, the Pupil, or

^u C. 4. 24.
5 & 8.

the Receiver? *Azo* thinks, that the Pupil ought to stand to the Loss of it: For 'tis certain, that a Pupil, paying Money without due Authority, cannot transfer the Property of it to the Receiver, as long as it is extant; but the Pupil remains the Proprietor thereof, and fortuitous Cases do always respect the Proprietors of Things themselves ^u. But it has been frequently adjudged in Courts of Law, That a Pupil shall not stand to the Loss or Hazard of a Thing paid, but he who receives the same; for otherwise a Pupil's Condition would be far worse than that of a Major: For when a Major lends Money, the Person who receives or borrows it, immediately takes the Hazard or Loss of it himself: Who then can imagine that a Law should be otherwise in respect of a Pupil? Nor is the aforesaid Rule in Law any Objection hereunto, *viz.* That fortuitous Cases affect the Proprietors of Things themselves; because this Rule ceases in a Pupil. For it is particularly introduced in Favour of Pupils, that they cannot transfer Property, either by borrowing, paying, or lending Money: And therefore, this Favour ought not to be wrested to their Loss or Disadvantage ^x. What is here said of a *Pupil*, is also understood to be true in respect to a *Minor*, generally speaking.

^z C. 1. 14. 6.

By a Constitution of the Emperor *Justinian*, if a Pupillary Debtor, or a Debtor to a Pupil, pays Money unto a Tutor or Guardian, by an Order or Decree of the Judge, he shall obtain an absolute and full Discharge. But, sometimes, a Payment made to him, without the Intervention of the Judge's Authority, discharges the Debtor: As when Persons are Debtors on the Account of yearly Rents, Pensions, or Interest of Money; and when that which is due, does not exceed the Sum of an hundred Solids or *Aurei*, nor go beyond the Bounds of two Years. Yet a Debtor, who makes a Payment unto a Pupil, is not discharged from an Obligation, on the Payment of such a Debt, without the Tutor's Authority. But yet, notwithstanding this, tho' such Debtor be not discharged, and the Pupil may, *summo jure*, demand such Debt again, which has been paid him; yet, in Equity, an Exception of *Deceit* is given to the Debtor against the Pupil, if the Money be still extant in his Custody, and the Pupil becomes the richer, or (at least) not the poorer, by such Payment, as aforesaid.

^y D. 4. 3. 13. 1.

A Person is said to be a *Pupil*, who is *proximus Pubertati* ^y, or borders upon Puberty: And he is said to border on Puberty, who is within six

^z C. 3. 1. 13. 2.

Months of Puberty ^z. Tho' a Pupil has, in Point of Acquisition of Property, *Legitimam Personam*, that is to say, a Lawful Capacity of acquiring

^a D. 4. 1. 2. 1. 2.

for himself, even in those Things which are Matters of Law ^a; yet a Pupil, who has no Understanding, cannot acquire Possession for other Persons.

A *Pupil* or *Minor* who is capable of Trick or Deceit, is liable to an Action *ex Deposito*, if he betters his Condition thereby, and so in other Cases, though, regularly speaking, he has not, *Personam legitimam standi in judicio*. But a Pupil may be in Judgment or Court in four several Cases, without the Intervention or Authority of his Tutor; tho' he cannot be *civilly* bound, without his Tutor's Consent. As, 1st, In a *Momentaneous* Possession ^b. 2^{dly}, A *Minor* may, in a Cause *Violati Thori*, or where his Bed is violated by Adultery, accuse the Person who injures him, without a Curator ^c. 3^{dly}, He may be thus in Judgment, if he sues, or implores to have the Benefit of Age granted him ^d. And, 4^{thly}, He may appear in Judgment, on the Account of an Interdict *de libero homine exhibendo* ^e.

^b C. 8. 5. 1.

^c D. 4. 8. 5. 2.

^d C. 2. 45. 1
& 2.

^e D. 43. 29. 3.
10.

If there be any Controversy on Foot, touching the Estate or Goods of a Pupil or Minor, in Favour of such Persons, it is ordain'd, That such Suit or Controversy be postponed 'till the Time of the Pupil's Puberty: But if such Pupil or Minor has any Proofs making for him, such Suit or Controversy shall not be deferr'd, but immediate Cognizance and Examination shall

shall be taken thereof. In all those Cases, wherein the Condition of a Pupil or Minor may certainly become better; whatever is done by such Persons, is Valid without the Authority of a Tutor or Guardian: But where their Condition may be rendred worse, whatever is done without such Authority, does not oblige the Person that does it. As when a Pupil or Minor binds himself in an Obligation, assigns over an Action, or sells any Thing to his Loss. There are some Cases, wherein it is doubtful, whether a Pupil or Minor's Condition be made better or worse: As in taking on himself the Office and Duty of an Heir for the Disposition and Administration of an Inheritance; because there may be some latent Incumbrances in the said Office, whereby he may prejudice himself. And therefore, in these Cases, what is done by the Pupil or Minor, without the Tutor's Authority, is not obligatory. And this is the Reason, why a Person under the Age of Puberty cannot take on himself the Heirship or Executorship, as we stile it, lest that which is in Favour of him, should redound to his Disadvantage: For as that which is introduc'd in Hatred and a Punishment unto a Person, ought not to turn to his Advantage; so *vice versa*, that which was introduced in Favour of a Person, ought not to be converted to his Prejudice. By the Law of *England*, when a Person under Age is made an Executor by Will, Administration is granted during the Minority of such Executor.

Though a Pupil or Minor be forbidden to alienate his Estate without the Decree of the Judge; yet such Prohibition in Law is not extended to necessary Alienations, as on the Account of Debt and the like ^f, for then ^f C. 5. 71. 1; his Guardian may do it. A Father mortgag'd his Estate on this Condition, *viz.* That if the Money, which he had borrow'd, was not paid by such a Day appointed, the Creditors might sell the Estate; and then he died, and was succeeded therein by a Minor, who not satisfying the Debt on the Day appointed, the Creditor sold the Estate; whereupon the Minor would resume the Estate as sold contrary to Law, or the Decree of the Senate; which enacts, that a Minor's Estate shall not be alienated without the Judge's Decree: And it was resolved, that such Minor's Petition should be rejected. But yet if the Creditor sold it for a lesser Price than the just Value, the Judge might restore the Minor so far, as that he should have a just Value for the Estate. Thus the Estates of Minors may be alienated on the Account of a Debt, or any other just Cause, after the Testator's Death. But then, I think, in this Case it ought to be done by the Judge's Decree on Cognizance had of the Cause ^g; otherwise, too great a Power and Liberty ^g C. 5. 71. 12; would be given unto Guardians and prodigal Minors. The real or immoveable Estates of Minors alienated without the Judge's Decree, in what Territory soever they are situated, may be resumed, with the Fruits and Profits thereof: But if the Purchase-Money be converted to the Minor or Pupil's Advantage, it ought to be restor'd to the Purchaser, with Interest, on such a Revocation or Resumption, and likewise with the Charges he has been at in improving the same ^h. And such Minor, on a Claim of such Estates ^h C. 5. 71. 16. alienated, shall be set aside from his Claim, if he does not refund the Purchase-Money thus converted to his Advantage, with Interest for the same ⁱ. ⁱ C. 5. 71. 14.

A Minor is presumed to be injur'd in a Loan or *Mutuum*, unless the Person lending proves, that the Money or Thing lent was apply'd to his Advantage; and, therefore, such a Minor may be restor'd *in integrum* ^k. ^k C. 2. 38. 1 & *Titius* lent 100 Pounds to a Minor under 25 Years of Age, and the said ². Minor lost the Money. In this Case the Minor may be restor'd, if he pleases, against the said Obligation of a *Mutuum*, unless *Titius* proves that he enrich'd himself thereby. But the Minor then ought to prove three Things, *viz.* *First*, That he was under Age at the Time of the Contract. *Secondly*, That he did not want the Money for his necessary Occasions, but was rather circumvented, and that he had lost the Money. This Law was particularly made

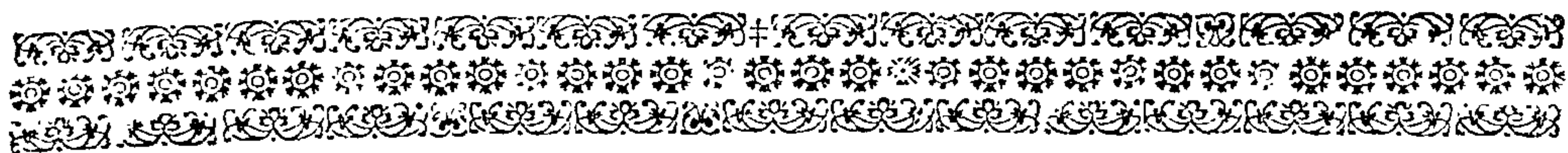
made in Hatred of Usurers, who let Money unto prodigal Minors for the sake of making an Advantage of their Weakness. But I shall treat of Restitution *in integrum*, in a particular Title by itself hereafter. In Crimes or criminal Matters, Minors are not favour'd through a Protection or Suffrage of Age itself ¹: For the Infirmary of the Mind does not excuse the ill Manners and Behaviour of wicked Men, if they are capable of Design and Malice. Yet if the Crime or Offence proceeds *extra animum*, and not intentionally, *viz.* Thro' Negligence, and not thro' Deceit and Malice, a Crime or Offence is not said to be committed, though a pecuniary Mulct or Fine be inflicted *causâ pœnæ*: And, therefore, the Aid of Restitution *in integrum* accrues unto Minors.

A Minor cannot renounce Benefit of Age; and if he should do it, he would by the very Attempt itself seem to be deceived; for a Minor may make his Condition better, as aforesaid, but cannot make it worse. When a Minor alledges himself to be hurt and damnified by some Act, he ought to plead, that he is hurt and damnify'd through his own Easiness and Imbecillity, not that he is bound to prove his own Weakness and Imbecillity, because the Truth of such a Plea results from a Presumption of Law. Yea, a Minor shall be relieved without alledging his own Weakness and Imbecillity, since such Weakness or Easiness is *ipso Jure* notorious: Nor is a Minor bound to prove Damage, where the Damage results from the Face and Appearance of the Act itself. In Favour of a Minor it is introduced, that he cannot be in Judgment without the Authority of his Guardian, and if he liti-gates without Authority, and a Sentence be pronounced against him, such Sentence is null and void *ipso Jure*: But if it be pronounced for him, it is valid. A Person contracting with a Minor cannot resume a Contract contrary to the Will of such Minor, tho' the said Minor may annul the same.

Tho' the Sale of a Minor's Estate made without the Judge's Decree be null and void: Yet it sometimes happens, that such Sale may be confirm'd. As when a Minor, on his coming to full Age, does expressly ratify such Sale: And this is true, whether the Minor sells such Estate himself, or whether it be done by his Tutor or Curator. Such Sale may also be confirm'd by a tacit Ratification: As when the Minor five Years together, after he becomes a Major, makes no Claim thereof. But though a Minor, after he becomes a Major, does ratify an Alienation made by him of his Estate, during his Nonage; yet when less than half of the Value of the Thing is only paid, he may claim the said Estate again by a *real* Action, unless the just Value be afterwards paid him, or a Compensation be made for the

¹ C. 5. 74. 1. same ^m.

A Pupil cannot borrow Money without the Approbation and Authority of his Tutor; and if he shall borrow it, he is not bound to pay it, unless he becomes richer by such Loan. Because whenever a Pupil enriches himself by any Act of his own, he is both *naturally* and *civilly* bound, as any other Person is, according to the common Opinion of the Doctors. And a Pupil is said to become richer thereby, when he pays that which he was to pay out of the Money which he has borrow'd, and not out of his own proper Stock or Estate.



T I T. XXXIX.

Of Guardians and Guardianship, commonly called Tutelage and Curatorship; when it expires; of the several Causes which may excuse Men from this Office; and for what Reasons Persons are removed from thence, as being suspected, &c.

AMONG such Persons as are *sui juris*, and independent on the Power of a Father, there are some that are govern'd by the Authority of Tutors or Guardians; others that are under the Direction of Curators; and some that depend on neither, but are entirely left to their own Will and Discretionⁿ, being such as are of full Age. Wherefore, I shall here^a I. 1. 13. pr. consider what Persons are under Tutelage or Guardianship; which is that Power and Authority, which is given by the *Civil Law* unto Freemen, to defend that Person from all Injuries, who by reason of his tender Age cannot defend himself^o. For a Tutor or Guardian must be a Freeman,^o D. 26. 1. 1. and his Pupil or Ward must be under the Age of Puberty, which is called the *Pupillary Age*. In Males, Puberty regularly begins after they are Fourteen Years of Age compleat; and in Women, after they are Twelve Years old^p:^p I. 1. 22. pr. For a Woman, according to *Plutarch's* Problems, grows and increases faster than a Man, and sooner comes to Perfection. The *Gloss* on the *Digest* says, That a Woman sooner arrives at Puberty than a Man, because she is more Sagacious: But the *Gloss* on the *Code* is a little more severe on the Sex, saying, That a Woman grows faster than a Man, because ill Weeds grow apace.

Now *Tutelage* or *Guardianship*, is not only a Civil, but also a Publick Office, in respect of its Authority, tho' a Private one in respect of its Advantage; and it is likewise, in its own Nature, a gratuitous Office; tho' a Salary may, according to *Bartolus*^q, for a just Reason, be assigned and settled on a Tutor by the Decree and Authority of the Judge. See also^q In L. 9. D. 26. 1. D. 27. *Baldus* on the Law here referr'd to^r. The Word *Tutela*, which we trans-³ I. 6. C. 6. 61. 6. late Tutelage, is very seldom made use of by our *English* Lawyers; but rather the Word *Custodia*, or Guardianship. For, as we have borrow'd many Parts of our Law from the *Normans*; so we have also taken many of their Terms, as appear from the *Grand Customier* of *Normandy* almost in every Page. For him whom the *Romans* called a Tutor, they stile a *Gardien*, and comprehend a Tutor and a Curator under this Word alone; and we in *England* herein imitate the *French* Lawyers, and call him a *Guardian*. These Guardians are by the Law of *England*, as well as by the *Civil Law* sometimes appointed by the Will of the Father, sometimes by a Disposition of Law, and sometimes by the Office of the Magistrate: For by the Law of the Twelve Tables there are three Kinds of *Tutelage*. The first is stiled *Testamentary*, as being assigned by the Testator; the second is termed *Legal*, as being given by the Law itself; and the third is called *Dative*, as being granted by the Order of the Magistrate. By the Law of *England*, if a Father shall leave Monies or Chattels only unto his Children, which he has in his Power under the Age of Puberty, he may commit the Government and Guardianship of such Children, together with their Legacies, unto any Friend whatsoever, to be taken Care of for their Use^s. And as Parents^s Cok. Rep. 3. fol. 37. b. and

and Friends are Guardians unto some, so Lords of Manors were Guardians unto others, till the Court of Wards and Liveries was taken away by Parliament ¹.
^{12. Car. 2. cap. 24.} *Testamentary* Tutelages (I say) is, when Parents do by their Wills assign Guardians unto such Children as are under Puberty, and who are under the Power of the Father. And *Legal* Tutelage is that, which has Place, when there is no Tutor assign'd in the Will, but given by the Law. And this is four-fold. The first is that, which the Law of the Twelve Tables expressly gives unto the nearest of Kin by the Father's Side ^u; and is also now by the Novels, given unto such as are of Kin by the Mother's Side: And this seems to have been first introduced by the Words and Intention of the Law. By the *English* Law, in respect of an Estate belonging to Persons under the Age of Puberty, by Right of Succession, it is an establish'd Rule, That if a Tenant in Socage (as all Persons are at this Day, by abolishing of Knight-service) dies, the next Heir, whether Son or Daughter, being under the Age of Puberty, falls into the Guardianship of the nearest of Kin on that Side, who cannot inherit the said Estate. As for Example, if the Estate shall come by the Father, then the Mother, or, on her Death, the next of Kin unto the Mother, shall have the Guardianship of the Minor: But if the Estate shall come by the Mother, then the next of Kin by the Father's Side. And *Glanvil* says ^x, the Reason of this, is, because Pupils have less to fear from those, who cannot get any Thing by their Death. See the Statute of *Marlebr.* ^y. And such as held in Burgage-Tenure, being under the Age of Puberty, on the Death of the Father or Ancestor, are in the same Manner as Tenants in Socage, committed unto the Guardianship of their nearest Kindred. The second *Species* of *Legal* Tutelage, is that, which Patrons ^z have over their *Liberti*, and their Children: And this also seems to flow from the Law of the Twelve Tables, though it be not there expressly enacted. But touching this Kind of Guardianship, our Law has ordain'd nothing, as I know of. But among us there was a Kind of Patrons, in respect of the Fee we possess'd, who are by another Name called Lords of the Fee: And there were some few Minors succeeding to large Estates under the Guardianship of those Persons: But, as this kind of Guardianship is now at an End, I shall say no more of it in this Place. The third *Species* of *Legal* Tutelage is that of Parents ^a, when they become Tutors unto their emancipated Children, after the Manner of Patrons, by extending the Sense of the Law. By the Law of *England* a Father is preferr'd unto all Persons, in the Guardianship of his eldest Son. For if an Estate comes to such a Person being a Minor, during his Father's Life-time, the Heir himself shall remain in the Custody of the Father; nay, tho' the Lands, if they were held by Knight-service, were in the Custody of the Lord of the Fee ^b. But now both the Person of the Heir and the Lands themselves are in the Father's Custody. And the fourth *Species* of *Legal* Tutelage, according to the *Roman* Law, is that of Brothers, which is called *Fiduciary* Tutelage ^c; and is, when Brothers have the Tutelage of their emancipated Brother, being under the Age of Puberty. But this Kind of Tutelage our Ancestors in *England* seem to have entirely neglected or disregarded; and I find nothing mention'd thereof in any of our old Law-books. Again, by the *Roman* Law, if there was no Tutor or Guardian, existing either by the Testator's Will, or by a Disposition of Law, the Judge or Magistrate appointed a Guardian ^d, as above hinted; and this was called a *Dative* Tutelage, as being granted by the Judge or Magistrate. So that from the Premises, it appears, that the efficient Cause of Tutelage was either the Testator's Will, or a Disposition of Law, or the Nomination of the Judge. And thus a Tutor is he, unto whom the Right and Power of defending his Pupil's Person is principally committed; and, consequently, a Power also of managing and defending his Pupil's Estate. For he is stiled a Tutor, *quasi Tutor*.

Tutor ^e, that is to say, a Defender, from the *Latin Verb Tueor*, to defend; ^e I. r. 13. 2.
Tutors taking an Oath that they will not leave their Pupils undefended.

There is one kind of Tutor with Administration, and another without the Administration of his Pupil's Estate, who is an *Honorary Tutor*, being given *Honoris Causâ*; or else for the sake of instructing such Persons in their Duty ^f, as have the Management of the Pupil's Concerns. Wherefore, I ^f D. 26. 7. 3.
say, that a Tutor is principally assign'd for the sake of protecting the Pu- ¹ 8c. 2. C. 5.
pil's Person, and not his Estate ^g, tho' he may also have the Administration ³ 8. 1.
of his Estate: And therefore, such Persons cannot be Tutors, who cannot ² D. 26. 2. 14.
yield Protection and Defence unto a Pupil; as Persons Deaf and Dumb ^h, ^h D. 26. 1. 5.
Minors ⁱ, Madmen and all others, who stand in need of the Care of another ⁱ C. 5. 30. 5.
Person: nor can Women be Guardians, according to the antient Law, un- ^{D. 26. 2. 10. 3.}
less it be by the Grant and Indulgence of the Prince. But now, by a *novel*
Constitution ^k, the Mother and Grandmother may be Guardians, tho' they are ^k Nov. 72. c.
Creditors or Debtors unto their Children, and may continue Guardians as ²
long as they remain chaste Widows: But if they contract a second Marriage,
or prostitute their Modesty, they cease *ipso Jure* to be Guardians; otherwise
a Creditor cannot be a Guardian unto his Creditor or Debtor ^l, unless he be ¹ Nov. ut sup.
thus assign'd by the Testator's Will, according to *Baldus* and the Doctors ^m. ^m In L. 8. c.
Nor can a Person be a Tutor or Guardian, who has a Law-suit with a ⁵ 30.
Pupil, thro' Fear of Hatred and Enmity ⁿ; nor he who is not subject to ⁿ Nov. 72. c.
the Jurisdiction and Territory, unto which his Pupil is subject; nor a ¹
Bondman, unless he be set at Liberty by the Testator's Will ^o; nor he ^o C. 5. 34. 7
who is a Step-father unto a Pupil, whether such Pupil be Male or Female ^p. ^p C. 4. 58. 3.
By the Law of *England*, every Person who is of full Age, and has the free
Administration of his own Estate, may be made a *Testamentary Guardian* ^q; ^q Glanvil. lib.
yea, even a Woman according to *Britton* ^r. But if a Minor, or a Person ⁷ c. 6.
non compos mentis, be made a Guardian by the Testator, he ought not to ^r Cap. 35.
act as such, till such Defect of Age and Understanding be removed entirely,
as by the *Civil Law*. A Father might also, by Will, assign his own Villain
or Bondman to be a Guardian unto his Children, and likewise the Villain
or Bondman of another Person, at least with the Lord's Consent. But
Quere, whether such Villain obtain'd his Freedom or not. *Brooks* says ^t, ^t Tit. Testam.
That a Person may make his Apprentice Guardian unto his Son: For such
as may be Executors, may also be Guardians.

But though a Tutor be *principally* assign'd for the Sake of protecting the
Pupil's Person ^u, as aforesaid; yet he is deemed to be assigned *secondarily* ^u D. 26. 2. 14.
for the Administration of the whole Estate ^x: Nor is it of any Moment or ^x I. 1. 25. 17.
Consequence of what Dignity or Fortune the Pupil is. With us here in
England, the chief Lords of those Persons, who were Tenants by Knight-
service, had the full Custody or Guardianship of all their Estates, some-
times without the Care, and sometimes with the Care of the Heir's Person,
and by this Means they had the full Disposal of vacant Livings, and might
present thereunto, and might do all other Matters for the Advantage of the
Heir, as they would do in respect of their Estates: But they could not
alienate any Part of the Inheritance, or sell the Remainder. Guardians are
likewise by our Law bound to maintain and uphold all their Minor's
Houses, Parks, Mills, Fish-Ponds, &c. that they do not go to Decay and Ruin
by their Negligence; for this shall be adjudged Waste in them, if they
suffer it ^y. By the *Civil Law* one Guardian may be assign'd unto several ^y Fleta. lib. 1.
Persons, as by our Law: And the Tutelage of several Children in one ^{C. 12.}
Family shall not be reckon'd as several Guardianships. The Children of
Persons banish'd or taken Prisoners by the Enemy, have not a *Tutor*, but a
Curator set over them by the *Roman Law* ^z. ^z D. 26. 1. 6.

It has been said, That Parents may by their Will assign Guardians unto
their Children: And this Kind of Guardianship the Law prefers unto all
other

- other Kind of Tutelage, from a Presumption that they will, thro' the great Affection which they bear towards their Children, have a greater Concern for their Welfare and Prosperity; and, therefore, I shall here, first, in a more particular Manner treat of *Testamentary* Tutelage. And *first*, it is to be noted, that Male Parents may by their Will assign Guardians unto their Children, whether they be of the Male or Female Sex: And this Power a
- ^a D. 26. 2. 1. Law of the Twelve Tables ^a has given them; wherein we meet with these Words, *viz. Tutores liberis in potestate testamento parentes danto*. By the Word *Children*, the Law extends itself even unto Grandchildren, Great-grandchildren, and other Descendants ^b. To establish this *Testamentary* Assignment of Guardians, three Things are requir'd, as before hinted. *First*, the Children ought to be under the Age of Puberty, since Persons above that Age do not want the Direction of *Tutors*, but are under Curators. *Secondly*, Those Persons under Puberty ought to be in the Power of their Parents: For by the *Roman* Law a Guardian could be assign'd by Will unto an emancipated Child, without the Confirmation of the Judge had thereunto. And *Thirdly*, If a Grandfather should have a Mind to assign a Guardian unto his Grandchildren, it was held necessary by that Law, that his Grandchildren after his Death should not come into the Father's Power: For if they came into the Father's Power, he could not do it, because the Father is in the Place of a Guardian. But the Power of the Father, as the *Romans* exercis'd it, is now at an End, and so consequently whatever depends thereon. A Guardian may not only be appointed by Will, but also by Codicils confirm'd by a Will. *Note*, At this Day Codicils do always seem to be confirmed by a Will, and a *tacit* Confirmation of them. But if an intestate Father dying without a Will, assign'd a Guardian in his Codicils, a simple Assignment was not sufficient, but the Judge's Decree and
- ^c In L. 2. C. 5. 28. Confirmation of him was requir'd, according to *Baldus* ^c; because such Guardian is not solemnly appointed. I use the Word *Guardian* here, as being a Term most familiar to us. If a Father assign'd a Guardian unto his emancipated Son, he was to be confirm'd by the Judge, without any Inquisition whether he was a fit Person, or not; because the Testator had judg'd him so: But this was otherwise, if the Father had made his Will, for any Length of Time, before his Death. For the Guardian thus assign'd, might in such Interval of Time, decrease in his Substance, and become very obnoxious, in Point of his Morals and the like: And, therefore, the Pupil's Advantage ought to be more regarded than the Writing of the Will, or of the Codicils. *Accursius* has made a doubt, whether a Guardian thus confirm'd, be a *Testamentary* or a *Dative* Tutor; because *qui confirmat, dare consetur*: Which is true, if the Act which is done has its Substance
- ^d D. 1. 7. 16. from the meer Will of the Person that confirms it ^d; but not otherwise.
- I have likewise observed before, That if there be no Guardian assign'd by Will, the Guardianship devolves by Law to the nearest of Kin. For if the Father died without making a Will, or made a Will and forgot to assign a Guardian, or he who was assigned Guardian, died in the Testator's
- ^e D. 26. 4. 1. Life-time; then the Law, with great Wisdom, (as *Ulpian* phrases it ^e) provides a Guardian, by giving the Guardianship unto the nearest of Kin by the Father's Side: These Persons being most likely to preserve the Estate from Waste and Dilapidation, as having a Prospect of succeeding thereunto. At this Day the Law calls those Persons unto this Kind of Guardianship, whom it calls unto the Hereditary Succession, without the Distinction of *Agnation* and *Cognition*, provided they are the nearest of Kindred in Degree, and otherwise qualify'd to be Guardians. But this is otherwise by the Law of *England*, as already remembred. The *Legal*
- ^f Groenw. de LL. Abrog. Guardianship of Patrons is at this Day out of Use ^f, there being now no Difference between a *Libertus* and a Person absolutely free from the Beginning

ning of his Lineage : And therefore I shall here pass over this *Species* of Legal Guardianship without any Remarks, and proceed to that which was call'd *Fiduciary* Guardianship. For, upon the Father's Death, the eldest Son had the Guardianship of his Brother, if he was under the Age of Puberty, and emancipated : The Law believing no Person would be more faithful and diligent in his Administration, than one Brother towards another : And having this Hope and Confidence in him, this Kind of Tutelage was stiled *Fiduciary* Guardianship ^g ; for he was not call'd a *Legal*, but a ^h *Fiduciary* Guardian ; as an adopted Parent is termed a *Fiduciary* Father. But at this Day a *Fiduciary* Guardian may well enough be named a *Legal* Guardian ; and thus he is stiled in the *Code*. In most Countries now, all Tutelage is either *Testamentary* or *Dative*, according to *Groenwegen de Legibus Abrogatis* ^h : Which brings me, in the *Last* Place, to speak of ⁱ *Dative* Tutelage.

For if there was no Tutor assigned by Will, and the Law could not find a proper Person to cast the *Legal* Guardianship on ; then, according to the *Attilian* Law, the Judge or *Prætor* in the City of *Rome* had the Nomination of a Guardian ; and, according to the *Julian* and *Titilian* Law, the Provincial Presidents in the Provinces had the naming of him ⁱ. And such ¹ *Dative* Guardian was call'd a *Dative* Guardian ; being assigned by the Magistrate either *ex Officio*, or upon a Petition made to him. In *France* all Tutelages are in a manner *Dative* ; and the Pupil's Kindred may name another in Conjunction with the Magistrate, and the Judge will confirm the Choice, and administer the Oath to him ^k. We have sometimes *Dative* Guardians among us here in *England*. For, if the Mother dying first, the Father dies intestate, and leaves Children under the Age of Puberty, that cannot succeed to an Inheritance, the Ecclesiastical Judge often assigns them a Guardian, who is to take Care of their Persons and Estates, until they have compleated fourteen Years of Age : And this is frequently testify'd by an authentick Instrument under the Seal of the Court. But our Laws compel no one to undergo this Office, but the Judges rather chuse them, and stir them up hereunto by kind Perswasions, and name either such as are of the Consanguinity or Affinity. And I think *Bracton* ^l speaks of a *Dative* Tutor, when he says, that a Man who gives Lands or Tenements unto a Minor, ought to give him a Guardian at the same Time : And he gives this Reason for it, *vis.* because the Donor himself cannot be a Guardian, lest he should seem to continue his own Seisin, that is to say, in Possession of the Estate given ; nor can the Minor consent to such a Gift, unless he does this by the Authority of his Guardian. The King may, by his Letters Patents, constitute an universal Guardian unto a Minor, who is to answer for such Minor in all Actions commenced, or to be commenced, before any Judges whatsoever ; or he may appoint two or three Guardians jointly and severally to answer for him, or to prosecute any Action. And, by the same Letters Patents, he may, at the Instance of such Minor, give Authority unto the said Guardians to substitute other Guardians jointly and severally to implead Persons in the Behalf of such Minor, and also to defend him. See *Fitzherbert's Nat. Brevium*.

By the *Civil* Law, if a *Testamentary* be taken Prisoner by the Enemy, a *Dative* Tutor is substituted in his Room, to supply his Place, lest the Pupil should be without a Defender : But if such Tutor return again, he shall be readmitted to his Office or Guardianship by the Right of *Postliminy* ^m, and shall recover the same, as he shall do all other Rights which he seemed to have lost by his Captivity. And this Substitution or Surrogation of a *Dative* Tutor is extended to every other Case, wherein a *Testamentary* Tutor is hinder'd, by any just Impediment, from executing his Office. A Tutor may be assigned either for a Time, or under a Condition, or else absolutely.

If he be assign'd by Will, under a certain Condition, then a *Dative Tutor* may be appointed pending such Condition ; or at the End of the Term, if he be only constituted for a Time certain ⁿ. But a Tutor cannot be assign'd by the Judge *sub Conditione*, tho' he may be thus assign'd by the Testator.

A Tutor or Guardian, as soon as he is made such, is bound to undertake the Administration of his Office ; and if he ceases to do it, it is at his own Peril and Hazard ^o. And because he cannot have the Administration otherwise than by a Decree of the Magistrate, he ought to pray to have the Administration decreed him. But such Administration is not decreed to him, before he has prepared an Inventory of all his Pupil's Effects ^p, deliver'd it to the Court, and taken an Oath *de bene esse* ^q, and given Caution *bona fide* to defend and preserve his Pupil's Estate ^r ; which he ought to do, by subjecting all his Goods as an Hypothecque or Mortgage for the said Purpose. This Caution or Security he ought to give, unless he be a *Testamentary Tutor*, or a Guardian assigned upon Inquisition. For, by the *Civil Law*, such Guardians as were assign'd by the Judge, on Inquisition taken, were not obliged to give Security for the Fidelity of their Administration. But as all Guardians and Tutors are at this Day assign'd by the Judge, on Inquisition taken, or (at least) confirmed by him, according to the modern Usage of several Countries, this Sort of Guardians are not necessarily oblig'd to give Security, but the Matter is left to the Discretion of the Judge ; the Administration being entirely trusted to the prudent Honesty of such as preside over Pupillary Estates. Nor were Magistrates, who have without Fraud and Mal-engine taken insufficient Security of Tutors and Guardians, in those Days, liable to a *Subsidiary Action* : For now, Magistrates not being entirely oblig'd to demand Security of Guardians, they cannot be answerable for taking insufficient Security, unless they shall be convicted of doing it with or through Fraud and evil Design ; in which Case an Action of Fraud and Deceit will lie against them. When Caution is given to a Pupil *rem salvam fore*, such Pupil may then, at the End of his Tutelage, and not before, have an Action, in Virtue of such Caution, against his Guardian, for his Mal-administration ; because he may then implead him in an Action of *Tutelage* ^s. If a Pupil be absent, or cannot speak, this Caution may then be given to him by the Means of his Bondman or Servant ; and if he has no Bondman, a Bondman ought to be purchased for him, according to the *Roman Law*, which is now antiquated : And if he has not wherewithal to purchase a Bondman, or a Purchase be not made for him, the Judge or *Prætor* must substitute a Notary Publick, or some other Officer of the Court, in the Room of such Pupil ^t. I say, this Action may be brought against a *true* Guardian, on the Determination of his Guardianship : But it lies against a Proctor and Curator, as soon as they begin their Mal-administration ^u. Nor shall a Person be exempted from this Action, if he has once acted as a Guardian, tho' he be not a *true* and *real* Guardian : But he who has not acted at all, shall not be liable unto this Action, tho' he be a *true* Guardian ; but yet he shall be liable to a *direct* Action of Tutelage. Of which see hereafter, under the Title of *Action*, in the III^d Volume of this Work. Note, That an *Action* of *Tutelage*, and an *Accusation* of *Tutelage*, are incompatible Things at the same Time.

If a Person, who has taken on himself the Administration, shall refuse or neglect to make an Inventory, (as aforesaid), he shall be liable to make good all Damage that shall accrue, and which shall be adjudged to be due, by an Oath *in Litem* ; and be, moreover, removed, as a suspected Person ^x. And if he shall neglect to make the best Advantage of his Pupil's

Pupil's Money, by suffering the same to lie dead and idle, or converts it to his own Use, he shall be obliged to pay lawful Interest for it *y*. But ^y D. 26. 7. 7. 3. he is not said to convert such Money to his own Use, who, being a Debtor to the Pupil's Father, does not afterwards pay the said Money to himself. But at this Day, by the *Code*, a Tutor and Curator are not obliged to lend out their Ward's Money upon Interest or Usury : For if they thus lend it out, unless the Estate and Substance of their Wards be very small, and not enough to maintain otherwise ; the Danger belongs to the Persons thus lending it, and they shall make good the same, if lost. For if their Ward's Estate be small and slender, they ought then to put out so much of the Minor's Money to Use or Interest, as the Interest or Revenue thereof will serve to maintain them ; and the Residue they ought to lay up for the Purchase of Estates in Land and Annuities *z*.

^z C. 5. 56. 3.

If a Tutor or Curator trades with his Pupil's Money, he is not bound to pay Interest for the same ; Usury being at this Day forbidden by the modern *Civil Law*. So that the *Code* and *Digest* differ in respect of putting out a Pupil's Money unto Interest, and paying Use for the same. The Judge order'd a Guardian to purchase Estates with his Pupil's Money ; and he purchased the same in his own Name, and not in that of his Pupil. In this Case, it is in the Minor's Choice, whether he will demand the Estates thus purchased with his Money, or the Money itself, with lawful Interest *a*, which among the *Romans* was Twelve *per Cent*. If a Guardian ^a C. 5. 51. 5. lends his Pupil's Money for a Term, and the Pupil be fourteen Years of Age before the Day of Payment comes, and demands his Money ; the Guardian, in this Case, ought to pay the said Money, if he could not warrant the lending of it : but it is otherwise, if he could justify the lending of it *b*. A Guardian may not only pay himself what is due to ^b D. 26. 7. 8. him from the Pupil's Father, but may likewise borrow his Pupil's Money, and make himself a Debtor to his Pupil, in the Inventory *c*. A Guardian ^c D. 26. 7. 9. ought not only to expend on the Person of his Pupil that which is ³ & 4. customary, decent, and suitable to his Condition and Estate *d* ; but he ^d D. 26. 7. 12. 2. ought also to pay all Debts and necessary Expences which his Pupil has contracted, and is the Occasion of, if his Pupil has not a sufficient Income to live on : But he can't give away any Thing which belongs to his Pupil. And he ought likewise to impeach such as are Guardians with him, if they are guilty of any Fraud or Mal-administration ; otherwise he makes himself liable, by concealing their Iniquity *e*. For the Act ^e D. 26. 7. 13. 3. of a Fellow-guardian is imputed to his Collegue, if he could accuse him of Mal-administration, and does not do it *f*. But if a Guardian be a proper ^f D. 26. 7. 15. and sufficient Person, and on a sudden breaks, and becomes insolvent, nothing shall be imputed to his Collegue *g*. ^g D. ut supra.

If a Guardian, being assigned *de novo*, has, through his Sloth and Negligence, not demanded the Money which the former Guardian borrow'd, or had in his Hands, or lent unto other Persons, and such Debtors become insolvent ; he is liable to pay the Money which cannot be recover'd from them. And 'tis the same Thing, according to the *Digest* or Old Law, if the new Guardian does not lend his Pupil's Money within six Months from the Time that he was assigned Guardian ; for, in this Case, he shall be liable to pay Interest for it *h*. By the Law of *England*, a Guardian is not ^h D. 26. 7. 15. bound to put out his Ward's Money, without a Decree in *Chancery* ; for if he does, and loses the same, he shall be answerable for it.

If there are several Persons made Guardians, they are all and each of them bound *in solidum* ; because they act in a publick Office : But it is otherwise, if they act separately in such Office *i*. If there be two Persons ⁱ D. 26. 7. 3. 1. assigned Guardians, either of them may bring an Action, or both of them together ; but they cannot bring the same Action separately *k*. Every ^k D. 26. 7. 24. 1. Guardian

Guardian is bound to do that, which a careful and diligent Father of a Family would do for his Family, in the Managment of his own Estate ^l, and is obliged to defend his Pupil's Person from all Injuries: But a Guardian does not seem to defend his Pupil, who only does those Things which every one does in his own lawful Defence ^m.

A Tutor or Curator is not only liable to answer for the Damage inflicted on his Ward, but also if he omits any Thing which may be for his Advantage: But he is not answerable *de culpa levissima*, but only *de lata et levi culpa*, that is to say, for *gross* Negligence or Carelessness; and hereupon the Pupil may either have an Action of *Tutelage*, or for *Business done* ⁿ. But in Respect of demanding Things in Action, called *Nomina Debitorum*, a Guardian is only liable to answer for a *gross* Fault ^o, as supine Negligence is; nor is a Guardian liable to make good such Damage as happens without his Fault ^p, as by Means of fortuitious Cases, and the like. A Prescription founded upon Length of Time, does not hinder Guardians from being conven'd and called to an Account for their Administration: Wherefore, if a Pupil has not brought an Action of *Tutelage* (which is a personal Action) for ten or twenty Years, he shall not be ousted or barr'd by such a Limitation of Time ^q. If a Guardian be negligent, or makes too great Haste in selling Things which belong to his Pupil, such Haste or Negligence is punishable: But if a Guardian does not sell those Things, which perish and consume by Length of Time, he shall abide by the Loss ^r. An Action of *Tutelage* lies against Guardians, if they have made a bad Contract in the Pupil's Behalf; as in Purchasing of improper Estates, &c. But in the Purchase of an Estate, a Guardian is not liable, unless it be on the Account of some Fraud or *gross* Fault ^s.

The *Authority* of a Guardian, is that Approbation which he gives touching an Affair, which his Pupil transacts with a Stranger in the Presence of his Guardian ^t: And hence, or herein, *Authority* differs from *Consent*; for Consent may be had in his Absence, and either before or after the Business transacted; but the Tutor's Authority must be had at the very Time of transacting the Business ^u, in order to give it Life, otherwise it cannot take Effect. Only a Tutor can give an Authority, but a Curator can give a Consent, and such a Consent given either before or after the Act is sufficient; for the Act of a Minor, under a Curator, is only voidable, and not void. Tho' this Nicety be not now observ'd in Practice, according to *Groenwegen* ^x; yet it seems to carry some Weight along with it; because Pupils under fourteen Years of Age are more liable to be circumvented in their Dealings, than adult Persons above that Age. In some Cases it is necessary, that Pupils should make their Condition better, without the Authority of their Tutor; but they cannot make it worse ^y, as I have often related: And, therefore, in those Cases where they can better their Condition, the Tutor's Authority is not requir'd ^z. Yea, a Pupil that borders upon Puberty may *naturally* oblige himself without the Tutor's Authority ^a; but he cannot do this *Civilly* without his Tutor's express Approbation ^b, unless he enriches himself thereby. A Guardian is said to give or interpose his Authority, when he approves of that which is done. If a Tutor interposes his Authority, either by Letter or Messenger, it is not valid, because his Presence is requir'd, as aforesaid. Heretofore if there was any Law-suit between a Guardian and his Ward, the Judge was wont to assign the Pupil a Curator for the Time of such Suit ^c: But at this Day, by the *Novels*, this cannot happen; because a Person, who is a Debtor or Creditor unto his Pupil, cannot be made his Guardian ^d. For if a Tutor, after he has taken the Guardianship on himself, shall become a Debtor or Creditor unto his Pupil, a perpetual Curator shall, by way of Adjunct, be joined with such Guardian ^e. In some Cases, the Law of

England

England extends so much Favour unto Minors, that it does not suffer them to risque the Danger of a Law-suit, even with the Authority of their Guardians, but reserves such Plea till the Minor comes to the full Age of twenty one. See *Glanvil* ^f and *Bracton* ^g. For they can neither sue nor be impleaded on the Property of their Estates, before they are personally possessed thereof. ^f Lib. 7. c. 9. ^g Lib. 5. tract. 5. c. 21.

I shall next consider after what Manner Guardianship is ended: Which is said to be determin'd either by the Act of Man, as by an Excuse, and by the Removal of a suspected Tutor ^h, or else by the Law itself. In Respect ^h I. 1. 22. 6. of the Pupil Guardianship is entirely ended, when the Pupil arrives at the Age of Puberty ⁱ, viz. in Males at fourteen Years of Age, and in Females ⁱ C. 5. 60. 3. at twelve. In Respect of the Pupil, it is likewise ended by his natural or civil Death, or else by the *capitis diminutio*, or the Disfranchising of him ^k: ^k I. 1. 22. 1. 3. & 4. For no one could be under Guardianship, unless he were a *Roman* Citizen, and *sui Juris*. In Respect of the Guardian, Tutelage is ended by his natural and civil Death: But then it is not entirely determin'd in respect of the Pupil; for as long as he is under the Age of Puberty, he must have another Guardian assign'd him ^l. If Curators are assign'd unto a Minor (for a ^l I. 1. 22. 3. Tutor at the End of his Guardianship ought to admonish his Pupil to ask for a Curator) the Administration is transferr'd on them, and the Office of a Tutor is at an end. A Person may sometimes, for just Reasons, desert and quit his Guardianship, even after he has taken the Administration on himself. By the Common Law of *England*, all Wards that were not Tenants by Knight-service, whether Males or Females, were without Distinction released from Guardianship, when they came to fourteen Years of Age. But such held by Knight-service, if they were Males, were not discharged, till they were one and twenty Years of Age, and Women at fourteen ^m, and ^m Little. lib. 2. sometimes at sixteen. For though a Woman might contract Matrimony at ⁿ C. 4. twelve Years of Age ⁿ, yet our Law does not esteem her to be of mature ⁿ Bract. lib. 2. Judgment so soon, as to manage her own Estate. But a Woman might ⁿ C. 37. always discharge her Guardian sooner than a Male in this Point, viz. for if she married, she ceased to be in the Guardianship of her Lord, and entred into the new Power of her Husband ^o. But Tutelage has a cogent Force and ^o Glanv. lib. 11. c. 3. Power attending it.

Because as a Person may by the *Civil* Law be compelled, even against his Will, to accept hereof ^p, as it is a publick Office, according to that ^p D. 26. 7. 1. Law ^q: So may a Ward or Pupil be obliged to receive a Tutor against his ^q I. 1. 25. pr. Inclination ^r. Wherefore, if a Person thus assign'd Guardian shall not ^r I. 1. 25. excuse himself, at the Time he is made acquainted with such Assignment, he shall be liable to the Consequences of *Tutelage*, though he never acted as a Guardian. Yet all Persons without Distinction are not called to this Office of Guardianship. For some are excluded from thence, because they have not sufficient Capacity and Understanding for the Execution of the said Office; others the Law prohibits for certain Reasons; and others may excuse or exempt themselves from it by a Plea of Immunity. I shall first here consider what Persons may excuse themselves from this Office by a Plea of Immunity or Exemption; because I have already touched upon the other Points at the Beginning of this Title, and then afterwards I shall repeat something of them.

There are several *Species* of Excuses, which may be pleaded, in order to exempt Men from Tutelage or Curatorship. Now an Excuse is nothing else but the Alledging of some just Cause or other, for which a Person ought not to be compelled to undertake the Business of Tutelage or Curatorship. And this obtains, when the Assigning of a Tutor or Curator is valid and effectual *ipso Jure*. For if it be not thus valid, as because he who assigns him cannot lawfully do it, or when he assigns him who

ought not to be assign'd, or assigns him after such a Manner; as he ought not to do, an Excuse is not necessary. The first Cause, which affords an Excuse from Tutelage and Curatorship, is a Number of Children ^s: Which Plea of Excuse *Aristotle* in his *Politicks* ^t ascribes to the *Lacedemonians*. For if a Person at *Rome* had three Children, or four in *Italy*, or five in the *Roman* Provinces, he was for this Reason, in Favour of his Children, exempt from this Incumbrance of Guardianship, as he might be from all other personal Offices ^u. Among the Number of these Children, they even reckon'd Daughters and Grandchildren of a Son deceased, but not the Grandchildren descended from a Daughter ^x, since they change the Family of the Grandfather, by the Father's Side ^y. Yet Grandchildren are only of such Service to the Grandfather, herein, that tho' they are several, yet they shall only be computed as one, if they are born from one Son. Children emancipated ^z and as it were emancipated, were likewise of Advantage to the Father herein, as Bishops, Monks, &c. were deemed as Children emancipated. Such Children also as are killed in Battle, fighting for their Country, are likewise of Use to the Father herein ^a; and as they lose their Lives for their Country, they die with Glory. But adoptive Children afford no Excuse at all unto their adoptive Father, and such as are only *lawful* Children: For to give an Excuse they must be *natural* and *lawful*, and such as are already born ^b. But yet adoptive Children are of Advantage herein to the natural Father ^c. Secondly, A Person, that has the Management of the Prince's Revenue, may be exempted from the Office of Guardianship, whilst he has the Administration and Concern of these Affairs in his Hands ^d: For the Prince's chief Treasurer is excused from Tutelage and Curatorship during that Time. And this Exemption is also extended to such as have the Care of Provisions, vulgarly called Clerks of the Market, and likewise to such as have the Superintendency of the Watchmen ^e. But this Exemption is for the most Part only temporal, because it lasts no longer than the Time of the Person's Administration; for at the End thereof the Person returns to the Office intermitted, a Curator being assigned in the *Interim* ^f. The *Civilians* also extend this Plea of Exemption to such as are of the Prince's Privy Council; and such an Excuse is a perpetual Plea. A third Plea of Excuse is Absence, on the Account of the State ^g: Not he, who is thus Absent, is excused from Tutelage and Curatorship, during the Time of his Absence, though he had not then taken such Office on himself. And he, who is likely to go abroad every Day, may plead the same Excuse, as an Ambassador, who is preparing for his Journey, and the like. But this Excuse of Absence lasts no longer than the Person's Absence; for when he returns, he shall be reassumed to his Office ^h. If a Person be a Guardian or Curator unto three other Persons at the same Time, it is a good Excuse ⁱ, provided their Estates are large, and their Account are of an intricate and difficult Nature; for otherwise a Number of Pupils in the same Family is no sufficient Plea of Exemption ^k. And if the Estate to be looked after be not very large, one Guardian is enough ^l. There are several other Excuses admitted by Law: As such a bad State of Health, that the Person cannot well look after his own Concerns ^m; want of Learning in respect of Keeping and Making up Accounts ⁿ; an advanced Age, as being above seventy Years old ^o; Professing the liberal Arts and Sciences, if the Person be exercent or a Practitioner therein, as a Grammarian, Physician, Rhetorician, and the like ^p; and especially if he discharges his Office as he ought to do ^q. If the Father of the Pupil has had a capital Hatred unto the Person of such Guardian assign'd, it is also a valid Plea of Exemption unto him, lest he should be deem'd a suspected Person in his Office ^r: But it is no Excuse, if the Father and Guardian were reconciled before the Father's Death. And lastly, Poverty, if it be such as obliges a Man to

work for his Livelihood, is a good Excuse; for such a Person is very unfit for so great a Task as Guardianship *s.* Such Persons as would plead *s.* I. 1. 25. 6. any of these Excuses, ought not to support their Plea by false Suggestions and Allegations; for if they do, they are so far from being exempted from this Office *t.*, that they subject themselves to the Danger and Consequences *t.* I. 1. 25. 20. of an Administration, from the Time of their Appointment *u.* If a Person *u.* C. 5. 63. 3. has several Excuses to alledge, he ought to propound them all together, and not at different Times; for an Excuse is a *Species* of a Defence, or an Exception *x.* The Time for propounding these Excuses is within Fifty *x.* D. 50. 17. 43. Days after the Appointment of Guardians, if they are within a hundred Miles of the Place where they are assign'd, and have Notice of it *y.*, otherwise *y.* I. 1. 25. 16. within the Space of four Months *z.*, which four Months shall run from *z.* D. 27. 1. 38. the Day of such Nomination, and having Notice thereof.

By the *Canon Law*, Immunity from Tutelage or Guardianship is only granted unto Clerks in holy Orders; wherefore this Immunity is disallow'd to such as are only in the inferior Order of the *Romish Church*, as Exorcists and the like. But tho' Clerks and Monks are exempt from Guardianship, whilst they serve at the Altar, and continue as Monks; yet if they cease so to live, they may be compelled hereunto *a.*; for *cessante causa cessat effectus.* The Laws of *England* take no Notice of these Excuses given by the *Civil Laws*; because by our Law no one is obliged to undergo the Office of Guardianship against his Will. At this Day in *France*, the Number of five Children exempts a Person from Guardianship, according to *Paponius* *b.* *b.* Lib. 15. Tit. 5. Art. 11. and *Charondas* Lib. 3. Respon. 98. And tho' this Law also obtains in *Friesland*; yet in *Holland* it is not receiv'd. Want of Learning at this Day is no Excuse to exempt Persons from Guardianship; because they may be assisted by other Men.

Among such as are excluded from the Office of Guardianship for want of a sufficient Capacity or Understanding, we may first reckon a Person under the Age of Puberty, as before related; because even he himself stands in need of another's Assistance, and cannot defend himself: Wherefore, a Guardian is assign'd to defend his Person and Estate. And for the same Reason a Minor cannot be a Guardian *c.*; because he is not deemed to be qualify'd *c.* C. 5. 49. 1. to take Care of others, who has a Curator himself; and, therefore, the Law sets him aside *d.* If an Idiot shall be appointed Guardian, he is understood to be appointed under this Condition, *viz.* that if he shall be able *d.* D. 26. 2. 10. to discharge the Trust of a Guardian: And in this Case the Judge shall in the mean Time assign the Pupil a *dative* Guardian *e.*; for if the Impediment *e.* D. 27. 1. 10. of Idiocy or Madness be removed, he may undertake the Guardianship *f.* *f.* I. 1. 14. 2. But, I think, a Prodigal can by no means be admitted to be a Guardian, because his riotous Inclinations render him incapable of this Trust. Persons naturally Deaf and Dumb cannot be made Guardians: But it is otherwise, if a Person be not entirely Deaf or quite Dumb, though he be Thick of Hearing, or Stammers in his Speech *g.* Touching Women, the Law did not *g.* D. 26. 4. 11. think it suitable to the Character and Modesty of their Sex to make them Guardians, this being a publick Office; and, therefore, they were forbidden. But of this, see before *h.*; as also touching Debtors and Creditors being made *h.* Page 223. Guardians. In short, all Persons that seek after this Office are prohibited as suspected Persons *i.*

The last Thing I shall consider in respect of Guardians, is, for what Reason they may be removed from their Trust and Administration as suspected Persons. For not only the Crime of Dishonesty, but the very Suspicion thereof is a sufficient Motive for thus removing them. And a Tutor or Curator is said to be suspected not only for his Mal-administration, but even when he does not discharge his Office as he ought to do. Hence a Person is said to be suspected, not from his small Estate, or the Lowness of his Fortune,

Fortune, but from his Manners and Behaviour : For a Man may be poor, and in mean Circumstances, and yet be diligent in Business, and honest in his Trust ^k. This Crime of a suspected Tutor and Curator, had its Rise not only from a Law of the Twelve Tables ^l; but it likewise became a Crime, and is punish'd by a Law in the *Code* ^m. And as it is a Crime in Law, an Accusation of it ought to be solemnly propounded, *viz.* by a Libel in Writing. But yet, in Favour of a Pupil, it is admitted, that an Accusation and a Removal may be made even without such Libel ⁿ, when the Judge enquires by way of Office : but if there be an Accuser, it cannot be done without a Libel in Writing ^o. All Persons may be accused, and all may become Accusers, even Women that are led thereunto either by Affection ^p, or Nearness of Kindred ; for it is, as it were, a publick Action ^q. And tho' Persons under the Age of Puberty are not allow'd to accuse suspected Tutors ; yet adult Persons are, by their Relations Advice, admitted to such Accusation ^r.

A Tutor may be removed, not only on the Account of Fraud and gross Negligence in his Office, but upon the Score of some atrocious Acts and Crimes. And atrocious Acts or Crimes are said to be the Denial of Alimony to his Pupil ^s; the not making of an Inventory ; or if he shall refuse to make a Purchase of Lands with the Pupil's Money, being order'd by the Judge ; or shall, by evident Fraud, alienate his Pupil's Substance, &c. A Tutor may be removed, on the Score of selling Things contrary to a Rate or Price warranted by Law ^t. But tho' a Tutor may be removed on the Account of any Fraud committed in his Office ; yet it is otherwise, if it be not committed in his Office of Tutelage ^u.

A Person may be removed from his Guardianship, *ex Officio Judicis*, without any Accusation at all, if he be suspected ^x : But if a Magistrate, *ex Officio*, removes a Tutor, as suspected, the Reasons of such Suspicion ought to appear by very clear and liquid Arguments ^y. This Cause of Suspicion may be handled both before an ordinary and a delegated Judge, as it was anciently before the *Prætors* of Rome, and in the Provinces before the Presidents, and their Delegates ^z. But if a suspected Tutor was a *Plebeian* ; he was remitted to the Prefect of the City, and was punish'd by him ^a : But all Persons were not so punish'd, but only Persons of the lower Rank ^b. If a Person accused a Tutor or Guardian of being suspected, and failed in his Proof, he was punish'd *Pœna Talionis*, *viz.* by Infamy ; tho' a suspected Tutor suffers other Punishments besides, which the Accuser shall suffer, or (at least) be punish'd according to the Discretion of the Judge ^c. Tho' a Tutor, removed on the Account of Fraud and Deceit, becomes infamous ; yet he is not stigmatized and branded with Infamy, if he be removed for any other Reason ^d ; as, for gross Negligence, and sometimes also on the Account of a light Fault ^e, which he may be guilty of.

If the Process of a Cause be commenced against a suspected Tutor or Curator, the Cognizance of such Cause is extinguish'd, if either of the said suspected Persons shall die before it comes to a Determination ^f. Finally, It is to be observ'd, That such Persons as are guilty of a fraudulent Administration, are to be remov'd from their Guardianship, though they offer sufficient Security, that they will keep and preserve their Pupils Estate in Safety, &c. Because such Security or Caution does not change a malevolent Purpose, but only serves to give them a Power of being greater Rascals in the Management and Administration of their Pupils Estates ^g.

The Common Law of *England* makes little or no Provision against knavish and suspected Guardians, but only gives the Heir within Age an Action of Waste against the Guardian in Socage ; and the Heir at full Age

Age shall have an Action of Waste against a Guardian appointed by the King ^h. When an Heir within Age brings an Action against his Guardian in Socage, he may constitute an Attorney to act in his Name in the Suit. A Writ of Account also lies against a Guardian in Socage; and the Heir at full Age shall have a Writ of Account against the Guardian for the Profits until he comes to the Age of fourteen Years, and then shall have a Writ of Account against him as Bailiff, and not as Guardian; for he cannot be a Guardian longer for Socage Lands, than 'till the Heir comes to fourteen Years of Age ⁱ. If an Heir would remove a Guardian as suspected, he must apply to the Lord Chancellor, who is the King's Delegate in this Matter. ^{Br.}

Guardianship, in a large Sense of the Word, denotes a Contract; and, by Impropriety of Speech, may be stiled a Contract, tho' in Reality it is only a *quasi*, or an *improper* Contract, (as I shall note hereafter, under the Title of *Obligations*). The Pupil, by an Implication of Law, contracts with his Guardian for his Advantage; and, on the other hand, the Guardian, by the same Implication, contracts with his Pupil to be indemnify'd as to all Expences he shall be at in his Office ^{*}. And as a Guardian or Tutor is obliged, by Virtue of an *improper* Contract; so likewise is a Pupil, in three Cases: For when a Tutor or Guardian is employ'd in his Pupil's Affairs, and has the Dispensation and Management thereof, tho' it be not by a direct and express Agreement stipulated that he shall have his Charges born, yet he shall recover the same by a tacit Contract for *Business done*. And, on the other hand, if such Person shall be guilty of any Mal-administration, the Pupil shall have an Action against his Guardian, by Virtue of an *improper* Contract [†]. For if the Guardian has laid out his own Money on his Pupil's Estate, or has personally engaged himself as a Surety for him, or has pledged and mortgaged his own Estate in his Pupil's Behalf; it is but Equity that the Guardian should be indemnify'd by his Pupil; which he may be by a cross or contrary Action. ^{† D. 27. 4. 1. Pr.}

There are two Actions, that lie against a Tutor or Guardian: The one is stiled an Action of *Tutelage*, which lies *in simplum* on the Account of any Deceit, and for what we call a *gross* or *light* Fault ^k. And the other Action, unto which a Guardian is liable, is an Action *de distrabendis rationibus*, viz. for not rendring a fair Account of his Administration: For a Guardian is obliged, at the End of his Office, and oftener, (if Need be) to pass his Accounts, tho' appointed Guardian, without Account, by the Testator; for it is a publick Concern, that Minors should be protected, and that Guardians should discharge themselves with Fidelity. ^{k D. 27. 3. 1.}

In *France*, if the Guardian obtains a Release from the Minor, when he comes to full Age, without giving a particular Account of his Administration, such a Release is void; for it looks like a Contrivance, and an Act of Deceit ^l. But a Guardian may voluntarily pass an Account during the Minority of his Pupil, if he thinks it necessary ^m; and he shall be allow'd all necessary Expences for Reparations, Costs of Suit ⁿ, Journies, Voyages, for necessary Allowance to a poor Mother or Sister of the Pupil, &c. ^o. And for these Expences he has Security from his Ward's Estate ^o, and has a Privilege before other Creditors. By the *Canon* Law, and in *Germany* and *Holland*, (according to *Bokelman* ^p), a Guardian ought to pass his Accounts every Year. Tho' a Person leaving Guardians to his Children, should say in his Will, That he will not have such Guardians accountable to them; yet such Guardians shall be answerable for any Fraud they shall be guilty of: because he cannot remit such Fraud to them, tho' (perhaps) he may remit the rendring of an Account. But he may remit any Damage they shall sustain through the Fault and Negligence of their Guardians ^q. An Action of *Tutelage* lies against a Guardian and his Heirs; but an

^r D. 27. 3. 1
& 2.

Action de Distrahendis Rationibus, to bring the Guardian to a fair Account, lies only against the Guardian himself ^r, and on the Score of Deceit alone. But if one Action be commenced, the other vanishes, tho' there is more contain'd in the one than in the other. If a Father has in his Will assign'd a Guardian to his Son, and therein declared, that he has left his Son an hundred Pounds in Effects, whereas he has only left fifty Pounds; such Declaration shall not prejudice the Guardian in rendring an Account; for his Ward shall demand no more than fifty Pounds: Nor shall it prejudice the Pupil from demanding more, if the Testator shall say, That he has bequeath'd all his Goods to him, amounting to five hundred Pounds, when they amount unto a thousand Pounds ^s.

⁶ C. 5. 51. 1.

All the Guardians and their Heirs, in an Action of *Tutelage*, ought to be convened before the same Judge on the Account of the same Guardianship: For when several Persons are bound by the same Law or Obligation, and in respect of the same Office, they ought all of them to be remitted or referred to the same Judge ^t. Therefore, if your Father has acted as Guardian with another Person, and your Father be dead, his Heir shall be liable to the same Judge or Jurisdiction as the other Guardian. Where there are several Guardians, it is in a Minor's Choice to ratify an invalid Sale made by one of his Guardians, and likewise to recover a just Price, (if the Thing be sold for less than it ought), from the Seller himself, according to the Common Law; and afterwards he may come at the other Guardians, if he be not satisfy'd: And if all the Guardians were equally concern'd in the Sale, he may convene one of them *in Solidum*. But if one of them be only convened, such Minor ought to assign over Actions to him against the others, that the Person convened may indemnify himself ^u.

^t C. 5. 51. 5.

^u C. 5. 51. 6.



T I T. XL.

Of Madmen, Idiots, Lunatics, Prodigals, &c. how they are taken Care of, and restrained from acting in their own Concerns: must have Curators or Governors set over them by Law; and how it is proceeded to convict them of Madness, Idiocy, Lunacy, &c.

AS the Civil Law shews more Compassion to the Case of *Madmen, Idiots, Lunatics*, and *Prodigals*, than any Law I know of; I shall here, *First*, consider, what Persons may come under any of these Appellations. *Secondly*, I shall examine what Acts they may do, and what not. *Thirdly*, I shall enquire, what Provision the Law has made for taking Care of their Estates. And, *Lastly*, shew what Proof is necessary to convict them of Madness, Idiocy, Lunacy, and Prodigality. Among Madmen, properly so called, there be some Persons that are *actually* Mad; some that are *habitually* so; and others that are so at certain Times and Seasons of the Year. Those are said to be *actually* Mad, who are so at this very Instant of Time, being agitated by an outrageous Emotion and Impetuosity of Mind, which is caused by a violent Hurry of the animal Spirits; and from hence they know not what they do or say. Those Persons are deemed *habitually* Mad, who have their right Senses for some small Point of Time, and then presently fall back and relapse into Madness again. These Persons,

in

in the *Civil* Law, are stiled Men *inumbratæ quietis*. The third Sort are those, whom we stile Lunatics, or by a new Name *statu-furiosi*; as we do such as are *statu-liberi*. These are those that have their stated lucid Intervals, and are sometimes raving, and then again in their right Understanding, by a ceasing of their Madness for some considerable Time, and afterwards their Madness returns on them again. An *Idiot* is a Person, that cannot give a suitable Answer to any plain or vulgar Question; and is in our Law-books stiled *mente captus*, and sometimes *demens*; as a Madman is termed *Furiosus*. See *Alciatus* touching this Matter in his *Parergon juris*. For the Lawyers term him *Furiosus*, who has by some violent Means entirely lost the Light of his Understanding, and wants common Sense, as is reported of *Athamantus*, *Alcæon*, *Ajax*, *Orestes*, &c. But him they stile *Demens*, or Half-witted, in *English*, who is not so far deprived of his Understanding, but that he has some Gleams of Reason still left him, and is only in part led by some Error. The Doctors say, that the Difference between a *Madman* and an *Idiot*, is, that the first is acted by a Kind of Rage of Mind; but that the latter is more Calm, and has his Mind at Rest, shewing no external Signs of Madness. By a *Prodigal*, I here mean such a Person as has no Regard, either to the Time or Measure of his Expences, but in a profuse Manner squanders away his Estate in a riotous and wanton Course of Life, without considering the Waste he commits thereof ^x. And ^x D. 27. 10. 1. the Care of Prodigals is near of Kin unto that of Madmen: For Prodigals are *parum mentis suæ compotes*. For in Words and outward Appearance they may seem Wise Men; yet in Reality they act as Madmen. And therefore, according to *Ulpian*, the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* admitted the Mother's Complaint, touching her prodigal Children, praying, they might have a Curator assign'd them. 'Tis no new Thing (says he) that tho' some Persons from their Discourse seem to be in their right Senses and of sound Understanding; yet they so manage their patrimonial Estates, that unless some Care be taken of them, they will be reduced to Poverty; wherefore, a Person shall be chosen, who by his Counsel and Advice shall have the Government of them. For 'tis fit, says the good Emperor, we should take care of those, who, in respect of their Estates, act like Madmen. And, therefore, as Madmen, they are forbidden to enter into any Obligation or Engagement with a Curator.

A *Madman* and an *Idiot* are said to have a *quasi voluntas*, or an improper Will: which is true, when an *express* or *tacit* Consent is not requir'd. But ^y D. 44. 7. 24. it is otherwise, where an *express* or *tacit* Consent is required. For the Words *Voluntas* and *Consensus* do very often in our Books denote the same Thing, and are us'd promiscuously in the same Sense ^z. In Cases, ^z C. 6. 61. 8. wherein Consent is not required, a Madman, Idiot and Lunatick are not looked upon as Persons dead, but only as Persons not dissenting. Though a Madman cannot enter into a Monastery; yet if he be once admitted, he cannot be ousted; for a Madman may retain a Benefice, though he cannot obtain one. A Madman or Idiot cannot be said to be *in culpa*; for what Fault is he in, that is not *sanæ mentis*? some have compared a Madman unto a *Quadrupes* or brute Beast; but a Madman is not in every respect like unto such a Creature, since an *Action de Pauperie*, or for Damage done by a Beast, lies on the Score of a *Quadrupede*, but none on the Score of a Madman ^a: For a Madman is sufficiently punish'd by his Madness; and the ^a D. 6. 1. 60. Unhappiness of his Fate, is a Defence unto him. Thus if a Madman kills his Father, he is not punishable, since we ought not to add Affliction to an afflicted Man: But then he ought not to pretend or counterfeit Madness, or commit an Offence in the Time of his lucid Intervals; but he ought to be in Custody, and if he shall commit a Crime thro' the Negligence of his Keeper, his Keeper shall be punish'd. But what if a Person has committed

Homicide

Homicide or any other Crime, at the Time when he was *compos mentis*, for which he has been condemned to suffer Death, and after Sentence he becomes a Madman, shall such a Sentence be executed? Some say, that he ought not to suffer Punishment in his Body, but only in his Estate and Goods, because a Madman is in the Place of a dead or absent Person, who cannot be condemned and punish'd in his Absence. And tho' the contrary Opinion may be defended in Strictness of Law; yet we ought not to recede from the first Opinion in giving Sentence, especially since in Punishments the more gentle Part ought to be follow'd. And thus that, which is done thro' Madness, produces Impunity: For Madness carries its own Punishment

^b D. 26. 7. 61.
^{fin.}

^c D. 26. 5. 8.

^d I. 1. 14. 2.

^e D. 27. 10. 1

^{&c.} 13.

^f D. 1. 18. 14.

along with it ^b. But a Man in his Madness may be punish'd for those Crimes and Offences, which he committed in perfect Health, if no judicial Process be requir'd to the Punishment. As the Power of the Father is not dissolved by Madness in him, so neither does a supervening Madness toll a Jurisdiction ^c: But he, who has no Understanding, though he has Jurisdiction, yet cannot exercise the same. If a Madman, or Person under twenty five Years of Age, be by Will assign'd a Guardian unto any one, he shall then become a Guardian, when he becomes *compos mentis*, or is above twenty-five Years of Age ^d: But a Judge or Magistrate cannot assign a Madman or a Minor to be a Guardian, though a Testator may; because Guardianship requires a Person that is able to defend such as are weak through Imbecillity of Age, and is proper for the Management of their Concerns, which a Madman is not. Upon which Account such Madman is interdicted the Management of his own Estate ^e, and is committed to his Kindred by the Father, to the Intent that they should help and take Care of him ^f. But because Madmen are not under a continual Alienation of Mind, but have their Senses by Intervals, it has therefore obtain'd, that a Testator, may in his Will make a Madman his Heir, as well as a Guardian to his Children, and such Heir or Guardian may act as such, whenever they return to their perfect Senses.

But both a Madman and an Idiot are prohibited by the Law to make a Last Will and Testament: For in making Last Wills and Testaments, Sanity of Mind and not of Body is requir'd. Wherefore, Notaries say, in Last Wills and Testaments, that the Person was of sound Mind, though he was weak and languishing in Body: Which Soundness of Mind is not in a Madman or Idiot, who are reputed to be in the Place of absent or quiescent Persons, and in the Room of a Person deceased. So that a Madman and Idiot cannot make a Will, even to charitable Uses: Nor is the Will of a Madman valid, though he should afterwards return to his Senses, and die *compos mentis*, unless such Madman should, during his lucid Intervals, declare his Will to be valid, because at such a Time he may make a Will; or unless he should have made his Will before he became a Madman, because Madness afterwards supervening does not annul a Will, which was made before such Fit of Madness. But see more of this under the Title of *Testaments*. A Madman, Idiot, &c. cannot transact or manage any Business, because they do not understand what they do: Nor can a Madman, Idiot or Prodigal, who is like unto a Madman, be obliged by any Promise they shall make. But though a Madman and a Prodigal are in this respect under the same Predicament as to the Bond of an Obligation; yet the Condition of each of them is not alike, as to the Power of acquiring of a Thing. For a Madman, Fool, Idiot, and the like, cannot make a Contract for Business upon any Account at all, tho' they would stipulate for themselves; because they have no Gleams of Judgment in the least respect; But a Prodigal, who has only the Administration of his Estate interdicted him, that he should not indiscreetly alienate the same, is not forbidden to better his Condition by any Stipulation made, lest that the Interdict, which is made in

Favour



Favour of him, and for the Sake of preserving his Estate, should reflect and turn to his Disadvantage. But a Prodigal, by the *Civil Law* ^g, is prohibited ² I. 2. 12. 2. the making of a Last Will and Testament, as Madmen and Idiots are, since he has not the Management and Disposal of his own Estate, it being taken from him by the Judgment of the Court upon Cognizance had of the Cause: But a Testament made by him, before the said Administration was interdicted him, is not made void, though it plainly appears, that he was a Prodigal. For the common Opinion here obtains, *viz.* That in whatever Case the Judge's Decree is necessary, if an Act be done before such Decree be had, the same shall be valid: And therefore, a Prodigal may do all Things before such Decree be made, as well in respect of Contracts as in regard to last Wills and Testaments ^h. But to return to the Case and ^h D. 45. 1. 6. Business of Madmen and Idiots.

A Madman may not only oblige others, but be also obliged himself in such Matters as are not performed by Consent: For a Madman and Idiot are looked upon as Persons consenting, when a true and real Consent is not requir'd in Law ⁱ. If a Madman lends his Money to me, and it afterwards ¹ D. 24. 3. 2. appears, that he was a Madman, and not capable of consenting; *Quære*, ² whether I am bound to repay him his Money? And it is held, that I am obliged, and he may have a personal Action to recover the Money: But then he cannot have this Action in his own Name and Person, but shall have a Curator assign'd him, and the Curator shall prosecute the Action; because 'tis a Rule in Law, that *ex quibus causis, nobis ignorantibus, acquiruntur Actiones, ex eisdem causis furioso acquiritur*. Madness and Idiocy, though each of them do hinder a Contract of Matrimony; yet Madness dissolves not Matrimony after it is contracted; for a Madness is sufficiently punish'd by Madness itself, without adding any Punishment thereunto, as already remembred. A Madman cannot divorce or repudiate his Wife, nor can he be repudiated upon this Account, unless such Madness grows intolerable, and of so fierce and pernicious a Nature, that there is no Prospect of his Recovery, and he becomes terrible unto all Ministers and Servants round about him ^k: And the Reason, is, because Madness is no Offence or Crime ^h D. 24. 3. 22. in a Person, but a Misfortune only. And hence it is said, that a Man and ⁷ his Wife shall not each of them share in the Punishment of their respective Crimes: Yet they shall each of them bear their Part in the Punishment of their respective Misfortunes, according to *Bartolus* ^l. For there is nothing ¹ In L. 22. D. more agreeable, than that the Wife should share in the fortuitous Cases of ^{24. 3. 7.} the Husband, and the Husband in the fortuitous Cases of the Wife ^m. A ^m D. 24. 3. 22. Husband is bound to maintain his Wife, being seized with Madness, and to ⁷ allow her all manner of Necessaries: And if the Husband shall waste and dissipate her Dower, her Dower shall be put under Sequestration, that the Woman together with her Family may have from thence a competent and comfortable Subsistence ⁿ, and the *Pacta dotalia*, entred into between them at ⁿ D. 24. 3. 22. the Beginning of Marriage, shall remain in their proper State. And they ⁸ are to wait for the Recovery of each other, in Case of Madness; or else for the Event of Death, which dissolves all Things. By the *pactum dotale*, I mean the Marriage-settlement. But this Alimony or Allowance ought to be in Proportion to the Wife's Dowry or Wedding-portion. The Wife's Curator or Kindred may apply to a competent Judge upon this Account, as likewise for a Sequestration on the Score of Waste ^o, as aforesaid. Some [•] D. 24. 3. 22. will have it, that if the Wife has no Dowry, the Husband is not bound ⁸ to maintain her in her Madness: But this Opinion of theirs, I think, to be false. But though a Daughter cannot repudiate her Husband in her own Person, because she wants Understanding; yet her Father may pray such Divorce or Separation for her, and may bring an Action for himself and his Daughter ^p. And this is looked upon to be good Law among ^p D. 24. 3. 22. us. ⁹.

us. And if the Father be Mad, his Curator or Daughter may have an Action for the Recovery of her Dower: And it is the same Thing, if the Father be taken Prisoner by the Enemy ^q. See afterwards the Title touching *Dower*.

^q D. 24. 3. 22.
^{10.}

As a Madman, Idiot, Prodigal, &c. are by Law interdicted the Administration of their own Goods ^r; so the Law assigns them Curators and Governors to take Care thereof; and on Cognizance had of their Condition, by the Magistrate, he assigns them a Curator, *viz.* the nearest of Kin by the Father's Side, if he be a fit Person; if not, then some other Person is appointed ^s. And these Curators ought to give Security, by Sureties, for the safe Keeping and Preserving of their Estates, unless they have sufficient Estates, to answer for the Estates under their Care and Management.

^s C. 5. 70. 7.
^{§. & inventa-}
^{rio.}

And they ought also to make an Inventory of all the Goods and Effects of such calamitous Persons, and deliver it to the Judge; and by a Constitution of the Emperor *Justinian*, the Judge ought to give them an Oath for the faithful Discharge of their Office ^t. This Curatorship is determin'd, when the Cause, for which the Curator was assign'd, ceases, as when a Madman returns to his Senses again, or a Prodigal conforms himself to good Manners, and a sober Way of Living ^u.

^t C. 5. 70. 7. 4.

^u D. 27. 10. 1.

^{pr.}
^x D. 27. 10. 11
& 12.

But a Curator cannot alienate any Part of his Ward's Estate, without the Judge's Decree ^x. The *Priætor* or Judge assigned a Curator unto a Madman, decreeing, that the said Curator should give Caution by Sureties, *rem salvam fore*. But the Curator did not give this Caution or Security, and yet he alienated the Madman's Estate with the Judge's Decree, by selling it for a just Price, the Madman's Interest and Advantage requiring such a Sale: And thus this was deemed a legal Alienation. Afterwards the said Madman died, and his Heirs claimed the said Estate from the Purchaser, who urged, by Way of Exemption, that the Madman's Curator had sold the Estate to him. Hereunto the Heirs reply'd against the Purchaser, that the Curator had given Caution, according to the Judge's Decree, when the Estate was sold; and therefore the Alienation was void. But this Replication of the Heirs was over-ruled, as an insufficient Plea, because the said Estate was sold by the Judge's Decree, for the Payment of the Madman's Debts, which was for his Advantage; and, therefore, the Purchaser was held safe in his Possession. The Curator of a Madman or Idiot ought not only to have the Custody and Guardianship of his Estate, but likewise that of his Body and Person ^y.

^y D. 27. 10. 7.

A Curator is not only assign'd unto Idiots, Madmen and Prodigals, but even unto others who cannot intend their own Estates; as to Persons entirely Deaf and Dumb, and to such as labour under any perpetual Disease and Infirmary. A Curator is sometimes assign'd to look after the Effects of a Person deceas'd: As when the Heirs appointed, debate and deliberate with themselves, whether they shall accept of the Heirship, or not ^z. Several Persons above the Age of twenty-five Years at *Rome*, and elsewhere, feign'd themselves to be Madmen or Idiots, in order to have a Curator, that they might avoid civil Offices of a personal Nature: Wherefore, the *Priætor* was not rashly to assign a Curator with a full Administration, without Cogni-

^z D. 27. 10. 3.

^a D. 27. 10. 6.

zance first had of the Cause ^a, as he might otherwise do in a Curatorship, *in litem*. *Titius* dying, left his Wife big with Child; from whence the *Venter*, or Child in the Womb, was put into the Possession of the Goods of the Deceas'd; and the *Priætor* without any Inquisition, assign'd a Curator in the Name of the *Venter*, to take Care of the Goods. In this Case, the Curator ought to give Caution with Sureties, *rem salvam fore*, to see the Goods safely forth coming: But if a Curator had been assign'd upon Inqui-

^b D. 27. 10. 8.

sition, he was not obliged to give this Caution ^b. Those that have the Administration of their Goods interdicted them by the Judge, cannot transfer the Property of any Thing to another Person; because, in respect of this

this

this Matter, they have nothing to do with their own Goods, as being forbidden to administer or diminish the same : But the Curator of such Person may rightly do it, if he alienates a Madman's Estate, declaring it to be the Estate of such Madman ; yet he cannot alienate a Madman's Estate as his own Estate *c.* And thus a Pawn made by the Curator of ^c D. 27. 10. 10. a Madman is valid, if the Curator made it for the Madman's Advantage *d* : ^d D. 27. 10. 11. But *Azo* thinks that it is otherwise of Immoveables, or a real Estate, which cannot be mortgaged without the Judge's Decree.

This Law of assigning Curators unto Prodigals and Madmen, the *Romans* borrow'd from the Custom of the *Lacedæmonians* *e* : But in *England* it has ^e I. 1. 2. 10. not Place in respect of Prodigals ; for which Reason, many Estates are consumed by riotous Persons, and ancient Families of Nobility and Gentry are reduced to Poverty and Obscurity. But by the Law of *England*, the King, of Right, ought to have an Idiot in his Custody, and to rule him, and his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, as appears by the Statute of *Prærogativa Regis* *f* ; because such a Person cannot defend and ^f Cap. 8 govern himself, nor order his Lands, Tenements, Goods, nor Chattels. And therefore, when the King is inform'd, that one who has Lands or Tenements is an Idiot, and a Natural from his Birth, the King may award his Writ to the Escheator of the County where such Idiot is, or unto the Sheriff, to enquire thereof. See the Form of the Writ which shall be thus directed to the Escheator, in *Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium* *g* ; ^g Pag. 517. where we have also the Form of the Writ recorded which is sent unto the Sheriff *h*. And tho' a Man be found an Idiot, by Inquisition taken before ^h Pag. 518. the Escheator, or before the Sheriff, and by their Examination, &c. and that he be return'd into the Chancery as such ; yet he who is so found an Idiot, may, in his Person, or by his Friends, come into Chancery, before the Chancellor and the King's Council, and shew the Matter, and pray that he may be examin'd before the Chancellor and King's Council, whether he be an Idiot or not. Or he may sue forth a Writ out of Chancery, to certain Persons, to bring him who is thus found an Idiot before the King and his Council to *Westminster*, to be there examin'd : And if he be brought thither and examin'd, and found to be no Idiot ; then the Inquisition found before the Escheator, or Sheriff, and also the Examination which the Sheriff has made, and return'd thereupon, shall be of no Effect, but the same Office shall be taken as void, without any other Traverse. See the Form of the Writ, directed to the Party to bring the Idiot before the King's Council, in the said *Natura Brevium* *i*. And he ⁱ Pag. 519 who shall be said to be an Idiot from his Birth, is such a Person who cannot account or number twenty Pence, nor tell who was his Father, or Mother, nor how old he is, &c. so as that it may appear, that he has no Understanding or Reason what shall be for his Profit, or what for his Loss : But if he has such Understanding, that he knows and understands his Letters, and can read, by the Teaching and Information of another Man, then it seems he is no Idiot or natural Fool.

I shall next consider, how we are to know whether a Man be Mad or not : For every Person is presumed to be of sound Mind and Understanding, unless the contrary appears to be proved *k*. And the Proof is incumbent ^k C. 6. 36. 5. on him who avers a Person to be a Madman, as it has been determin'd in the *Imperial* Chamber, and elsewhere. See *Mynsinger's Observations* *l*. ^l Obs. 77. Cent. 3. Now Madness may be proved by several Arguments ; as, when a Man who has been raving, or any other ways extravagant in his Behaviour, upon his being examin'd or interrogated upon easy Questions, answers very wide from the Purpose, and utters Things inconsistent, not knowing what he says. And thus he may be adjudged a Madman, from his Speech and Discourse, and from his Speech and Actions, when they are not agree-
able

able to the Speech and Actions of a Man in his sober Mind. Madnefs is also proved, if the Person wanders up and down the Country after the manner of a Madman ^m; or tears his own Cloaths through Rage and Fantasticknefs; or throws Stones, without any regard had to Fear and Discretion, according to *Alexander* ⁿ; or commits any other extravagant Actions, whereby Madnefs may be evidently inferr'd ^o. And if a Man has been once proved to be a Madman, he is always presumed to be such, unless it appears that he has lucid Intervals. But he is not deemed to be a Madman, according to *Lud. Romanus*, in his *Singularia Juris* ^p, who throws Stones in Defence of himself, when he is assaulted ^q; because this shews a Token of Discretion. Tho' Madnefs is not presum'd; yet great Credit herein is given to the Depositions of Physicians, as to skilful Men; because Madnefs depends on the Disposition of the Body, as well as of the Mind.

^m D. 21. 1. 4.ⁿ In L. 22.

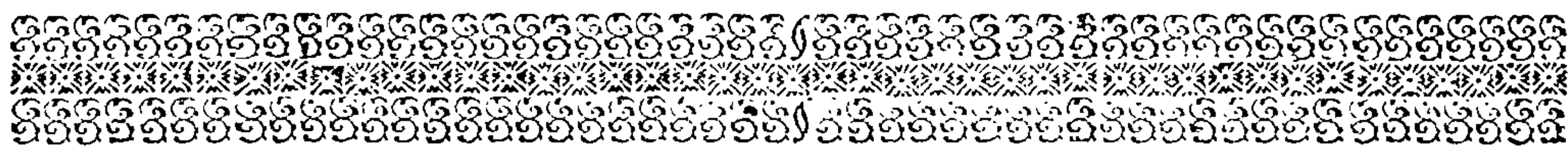
D. 24. 3.

^o 3. Q. 1. 14.

Gloss. ibid.

^p V. *Furiosus*.^q Gloss. in C. 1.

Dist. 41.



T I T. XLI.

Of Restitution in Integrum, granted unto Pupils, Minors, absent Persons, &c. and of the great Advantages of this Law to such as have lost the Opportunity of alledging any thing in their own Behalf, or have been deluded through the Deceit of others, or the Imbecility of their own Minds, &c.

AS there are some Persons, who may be compelled to ratify and confirm such Acts of theirs, which they transact by the Means of other Men, as by Proctors, and the like; so there are others, who are not bound by the Acts which they do even in their own Persons, as Pupils, Minors, Madmen, Idiots, &c. being relieved and assisted herein by a Judgment of Restitution *in Integrum*: Which is rightly described to be an extraordinary Remedy in Equity, whereby the Prince or Magistrate, for some just Cause or other, replaces a Person that has been injur'd or circumvented, either by his own Weakness or Absence, in that State wherein he was before such Injury or Circumvention happen'd to him ^r. And by this Means, a Person may rescind and void his own Acts, if they are founded upon Fear, Force, Deceit, Want of Age, Absence, and other the like Causes, reckon'd up in the *Digests* here quoted ^s. Among these Causes, some are just and certain, as now mention'd, *viz.* Fear, Force, Deceit, Want of Age, Absence, &c. And others are uncertain, and contain'd under a general Clause, set down at the End of the first Law in the *Digests* ^t, touching this Matter. Wherefore, having already treated of Pupils, Minors, Madmen, &c. who may be thus injured and circumvented, and therefore are not bound by their own Acts; I shall here discourse of Restitution *in Integrum*, and consider the just and certain Causes, for which Restitution *in Integrum* may be granted; and, in the *First* Place, enquire, what is a sufficient Fear, to cause Restitution *in Integrum*; and then shew what Kind of Action arises from that which is done on the Account of Fear.

^r D. 4. 4. 24. 4.^s D. 4. 4. 1 & 2.^t D. 4. 6. 1.

In respect of Fear, let it be remember'd, That the ancient Edict of the *Prætor* was drawn after this manner; *viz.* That *that which shall be done thro'*

thro' Force, or on the Account of Fear, shall not be ratify'd. Which Form of Words Cicero calls *Formulam Octavianam*; because the Prætor *Livius Octavius* propos'd it in his Edict; and it was used by all the ensuing Prætors 'till *Adrian's* Time, and then it was alter'd. By Fear, mention'd in this Edict, we only mean a just and present Fear ^u, and such as may ^u D. 4. 2. 9. happen to a Man of Prudence and Resolution ^x, either thro' a Dread of ^x D. 4. 2. 5 & 6. some bodily Torture; the being in Danger of his Life ^y; the Fear of ^y D. 4. 2. 7. 8 Bondage; Loss of his Estate; some real Infamy; and the like: And it ^{& 9.} matters not whether he fears any of these Things will happen to himself, or to his Wife and Children, for whom he is concern'd ^z. *Bartolus* and ^z D. 4. 2. 8. fin. *Baldus* think, that if there be a *Constat* of a light and vain Fear in the Person that does any Act, it is sufficient to induce a Restitution *in Integrum*, at least, by means of the Judge's Office ^a. *Sed Quære?* Because a light ^a Bart. & Bald. and vain Fear is as no Fear at all. See how Fear may be inferr'd from ^{in L. 14. C.} the Nature and Quality of a Person, and from the Circumstances of ^{2. 4.} Things, according to *Decianus* ^b, in a foregoing Title related. For some ^b In L. 39. Persons are more fearful than others, and Women naturally more easily ^{D. 50. 17.} stirr'd up to Fear than Men: And what is a light and vain Fear in a Man, may be a powerful Fear in a Woman; and consequently, she may be restor'd on a lighter Fear than that of a Man ^c. But a reverential Fear ^c D. D. In L. does not come within the Words of this Edict, unless some other Violence ^{14. C. 2. 4.} or Impression be added thereunto ^d. Nor is the Fear of Power and Dignity ^d D. 4. 2. 8. fin. alone sufficient to induce a Restitution *in Integrum* ^e; nor of Menaces ^e D. 4. 2. 6. and Threatnings, unless they are utter'd by Persons that are wont to execute the same.

Force, is that which controlls and imposes a Necessity upon the Will, by some external Act of Violence, and which cannot be repelled ^f. He that ^f D. 4. 2. 2. offers Force, does at the same time induce Fear ^g; which was the Reason ^g D. 4. 2. 1. that the Form of this Edict was afterwards alter'd: Wherefore, Force is ^{fin.} now comprehended under the Name of Fear ^h. By Force, I here mean ^h D. 4. 2. 3. such an Act as is contrary to good Manners, and not that which is inflicted by the Magistrate in Pursuance of the Laws ⁱ. But as I have already ⁱ D. 9. 2. 29. discours'd of these just and certain Causes alledg'd for obtaining Restitution ^{pen.} *in Integrum*, under proper Titles apart in this Work; I must, to avoid Repetition, and for Brevity's sake, refer the Reader to these several Titles. Wherefore, I shall next consider Restitution *in Integrum* in respect to the Want of Age, which very often happens. For the Law so far favours Minors, or Persons under Age, on the Score of the Infirmary of their Mind and Understanding, as not being able to advise themselves, that it not only restores them to a Thing *in Integrum*, but it likewise orders that the Thing shall be restor'd to them, with all the Fruits and Profits thereof ^k. ^k D. 4. 4. 24. 2.

And under this Paragraph, which respects the Restitution of Minors, ^{D. 4. 4. 27. 1.} I must observe, that Two Things are to be proved, in order to come ^{D. 4. 4. 40.} at an effectual Restitution on the Account of Nonage; *viz.* First, The Person, who prays Restitution, ought to prove that he was a Minor at the Time when he sustain'd an Injury ^l. And a Person's Age may be ^l D. 4. 4. 7. 3. proved either by Witnesses, or by Instruments; that is to say, by publick Acts, and the Register-books of Mens Births, in *Latin* stiled *Tabulæ Gen-suales* ^m. And, Secondly, He ought to prove, that he has been circum- ^m D. 27. 1. 2. 1. vented or injured: And such Injury or Circumvention may be deduced ^{D. 22. 3. 29. 1.} and prov'd, after the same manner as he proves his Age, *viz.* either by Instruments, or by Witnesses ⁿ. But it is not necessary to prove, that ⁿ D. 22. 4. 1. such Injury was founded upon Fraud and Deceit; for it is enough, if I simply prove that I have been injur'd in my Minority ^o. Minors or ^o D. 4. 4. 7. Persons under twenty-five Years of Age, if they are injur'd, may be ^{3 & 7.} restor'd *in Integrum* within the *Annus Utilis*, within which Time they

might pray Restitution p : And it was called *Annus Utilis*, because this Year did not from the beginning thereof run against them, when they were hinder'd to sue for Restitution. But at this Day it is otherwise ; for now Minors, after they are twenty-five Years of Age, may, within four continued Years, pray Restitution, if they are anywise injured q. And they are call'd *continued* Years, because they do immediately begin to run on continually, and without Intermiſſion, after Minors have compleated twenty-five Years of Age, whether ſuch Minors are hinder'd or not from ſuing Restitution. And thus a Minor had heretofore twenty-fix Years, within which he might pray Restitution ; which laſt Year was call'd the *Annus Utilis* : but now he may do it within twenty-nine Years ; the four *continued* Years being added to his Lawful Age.

Persons injur'd, have ſometimes Restitution *in Integrum* granted them, in reſpect of the whole Cauſe, if they are Minors or under Age, tho' they have been admitted to their Defence, and have juſtify'd themſelves : But ſuch as are out of their Minority, and are ſiled *Majors*, tho' they have been abſent even in the Service of the State, ſhall not be reſtored, unleſs it be by an Appeal, if they have been admitted to their Defence r. But a Man ought not to be reſtored *in Integrum* in a Matter of a light and modern Nature, ſo as to prejudice a Major thereby. As when I have ſold Farms and Eſtates unto a Minor, and he ſays, that he was deceiv'd in the one of them ; and thereupon prays Restitution *in Integrum* : For in this Caſe he ſhall not be heard, unleſs he be willing to forego the whole Purchase of Sale s.

A Minor may be reſtor'd *in Integrum*, even againſt an Oath, which he has given the Defendant in a Suit ; provided he proves himſelf to have been a Minor at the giving it, and that he is abuſed thereby ; and this he may do either by the Help of an Exception or Replication. For Example ; *Seius* being under Age, ſued *Titius* for a Debt of an hundred Pounds. *Titius*, upon *Seius*'s giving him his Oath, deny'd himſelf to be his Debtor, and ſwore that he ow'd him nothing. *Seius*, afterwards, by many Documents, found that *Titius* had taken a falſe Oath : And thus, when he ſaw himſelf abuſed and circumvented, he renew'd his former Action, by demanding the hundred Pounds. *Titius* propounded an Exception upon the Account of the Oath taken, ſaying, That no Demand ought to be made, on ſuch an Oath taken. *Seius* replied, That he was a Minor, and therefore pray'd to be reſtor'd *in Integrum* againſt this Oath. And it was held, That he ought to be reſtor'd and heard touching his Right, notwithstanding *Titius* pleaded an Oath taken by him.

A Minor ſhall not be reſtored upon the Account of his not Appealing, unleſs he appears to be prejudiced thereby ; becauſe (perhaps) the Sentence may be juſt. Nor is the bare Confeſſion of a Minor alone, in Civil Cauſes, ſufficient to reſtore him *in Integrum*, unleſs it appears that he has been injur'd by ſuch Confeſſion : As when he confeſſes a Debt that is not due, and the like : But in Criminal Cauſes, his Confeſſion of an Offence not committed ſhall reſtore him.

A Sentence pronounced againſt a Guardian who has not the Adminiſtration of his Pupil's Eſtate, or who has not given Caution *Rem pupilli ſalvum fore*, is null *ipſo Jure*, and ſhall not prejudice his Pupil t in ſuch a manner as to require Restitution *in Integrum* : For where an Act is void *ipſo Jure*, the Miniſtry of the Judge is not requir'd ; ſo that here there is no need of Restitution *in Integrum*. If a Man lends Money to a Minor, ſuch Minor is preſum'd to be injured thereby, unleſs the Lender ſhall prove that ſuch Loan tended to the Minor's Advantage : And from ſuch a Preſumption, the Minor ſhall have Restitution *in Integrum* granted him u. And this Law was made in particular Hatred to Uſurers, who were wont greatly to prejudice Minors, by lending them Money. Whenever the Law would have any Thing to be

be restored, it is always to be understood, that it ought to be restored with the Fruits and Profits thereof ^x. Thus when a Man becomes a Possessor ^z D. 22. 1. 38. *malæ fidei*, and the Thing is taken from him, before he can prescribe there- ^{D. 50. 17. 173. 1.} unto, he ought not to gain the Fruits and Profits thereof; because such a Possessor does not make the Fruits of the Thing his own ^y. All lawful ^y D. 6. 1. 35. Communities, and especially such as are for charitable Uses, which are ^{ib. Bart.} govern'd by Curators and Ministers, do enjoy the Benefit of Minors: And therefore, Restitution *in Integrum* accrues unto them, as unto a Minor ^z. ^z Bald. Conf. 465. lib. 1.

I have before observed, that a Judge ought not to restore a Person, that acts on the Score of any vain Fear, but only such as act thro' a just Fear of some very great Evil, which may ensue, and thro' such a Fear as may happen to a Man of Prudence and Resolution: For he that runs away on the Sight of armed Men, before they enter his House, is said to incur a vain Fear. But it is otherwise, if he shall run away, after they have entred his Doors: And thus of other Matters of the like Nature, touching which, see *Cicero's* Oration for *Cæcina*. Though a Judge ought to be more easy in granting Restitution *in Integrum* to a Person deceived by his own Weakness, than in granting an Action, which draws Infamy after it, as an Action of Theft, and the like do; yet he ought not readily to restore a contumacious Person, in Opposition to a Sentence pronounced against him, unless he proves a just Cause for such Restitution, *viz.* for that he had not Notice of the Citation, or (perhaps) did not hear the Voice of the Beadle, or did not appear, being deceived by the Artifice of the adverse Party ^a.

^a D. 4. 1. 7.

Restitution *in Integrum*, is either the Revival of a Cause that is lost, or else the Reinstating of a Person in the Condition he was anciently in, or lastly, the Restoring of some Thing to its former State. And it ought to be demanded and sued for in that Place, where the Defendant has his Dwelling or Residence ^b; but, according to *Paulus*, in the first Book of his Sentences ^c, ^b C. 2. 47. 2. it ought not to be decreed more than once. Nor is it wont to be granted ^c Sent. 7. without Hearing, and Cognizance had of the Cause, by summoning such Parties, as ought to be summon'd, or (as we say) *vocatis vocandis* ^d: And ^d D. 4. 1. 3. it is always to be sued for from some superior Judge or Magistrate; for an inferior Magistrate has not the Power of granting Restitution *in Integrum* ^e. But by the Law made Use of in *England* and *Holland*, if it only ^e D. 50. 1. 26. concerns a Matter relating to a judicial Process, it may be sued for in ^{C. 2. 47. 3.} the inferior Courts, as when it is sued for against the Lapse of a Day on which the Citation is made, or that it may be lawful to produce Witnesses, after a Conclusion had in the Cause, &c. But if such Restitution concerns the Cause, it is when any one desires to be restor'd against a Contract, he ought then, according to *Zipæus* ^f, to sue for it from that ^f Not. Jur. Bel. Court, which presides over the whole Province. Not only the Persons ^{de in Int. rest.} themselves, that are injur'd, but even their Heirs shall be restor'd *in Integrum*, if their Testators have been injur'd ^g.

^g D. 4. 4. 6. pr.

But as Restitution *in integrum*, is an extraordinary Remedy, it ceases, if a Man has any other Remedy or Means whereby he may defend himself ^h: And, therefore, regularly speaking, that Person cannot be ^h D. 4. 3. 1. 1. 4. restor'd *in Integrum*, who has in his Absence constituted a Proctor; since he ^g 4. D. 4. 1. 16. pr. may have an Action *ex mandato* against his Proctor, on the Account of his Sloth and Negligence ⁱ, if he has been injur'd by it; and thus it has been ⁱ D. 3. 3. 42. 2. adjudged at *Utrecht*, upon a solemn Argument in a Cause of Review ^k. I say ^k A.D. 1605 regularly, because if a Proctor has submitted himself unto a Sentence, and has pray'd a Term, to satisfy the Judgment within the said Term, this shall not affect his Client, but that he may (notwithstanding) pray to be restor'd; because an Action *ex mandato* does not lie in this Case; the Proctor's Proxy in the first Instance, being ended by a definitive Sentence in the said Instance:

- Instance: And in this Case the Proctor is not admitted to appeal without a new Proxy ^l, as it has been adjudged before the supream Court of *Savoy*. Restitution also ceases, if there be not a fit and proper Cause for granting Restitution *in Integrum*: which several Causes I have already enumerated; and therefore shall here omit to speak of them again. *Thirdly*, as Restitution *in Integrum* ceases, where the Matter is of little or no Importance ^m, as before hinted; so it also ceases, if the Person injur'd, does not sue for the same within four Years, from the Time that the Injury happen'd ⁿ, unless as a Minor or an absent Person cou'd not pray the same sooner. In which Case the Term runs, either from the Time that such absent Person returns into his own Country, or from the Time that the Minor becomes a Major ^o, as above remembred. At this Day in *Holland*, it runs from the Time that it appears the injur'd Person had Knowledge of the Injury, as it has been adjudged there, in a Cause of Review ^p. So that now it is not enough for a Minor to be a Major, but he ought also to have Knowledge of the Injury done him. In *Scotland* they follow the *Civil Law*, and four Years only are granted after full Age, to recover what a Minor did to his Prejudice, during his Minority. See *Mackenzys Institutes of the Laws of Scotland* ^q. In *England*, by an Act of Parliament, four or six Years are allow'd, according to the Nature of the Action ^r. *Fourthly*, Restitution *in Integrum* ceases, when a Minor has transacted any Business, by the Authority and Commission of his Guardian ^s: And likewise, it does, if a Person, when he becomes a Major, has approved of that which he did, when he was a Minor ^t. But yet Restitution shall be granted in the Behalf of a Minor, if he be circumvented, tho' the Tutors and Curators were present and consenting to an Act, and tho' the Decree was made against the Minor in a judicial Manner ^u. *Note*, It is not an unsuccessful Event, but an inconsiderate Laziness of the Person, that produces Restitution *in Integrum*, when a Person is hurt at the very Beginning of a Contract ^x. In Offences, the Law admits of no such Thing as Restitution *in Integrum* ^y in Favour of Minors, lest it should give Encouragement unto Offenders: But yet if a Minor be deceived thro' the Frailty of his Judgment, and be ensnared by many captious Artifices, it has Compassion on him, and in these Matters is wont to mitigate the Punishment ^z.
- As soon as the Judge has decreed Restitution *in Integrum*, the Party injur'd receives his full and perfect Right, and all his Costs and Charges, laid out on the Thing, shall be restor'd him, together with all the Fruits and Interest that arises thereupon ^a. And those Persons, who have contracted with Minors, are put into the same State they were in before such Contract made. A Minor is said to be circumvented by his own Easiness and Facility, upon an Allegation made, that he has not done that which a careful and diligent Person ought to do. *Titius* sold several Commodities unto a Minor, as Wine, Oyl, Corn, &c. and in one Part of the *Species* the Minor was deceived: And it was resolved, that he shall not be restor'd upon this Account; because from his Skill in the other *Species*, he is presumed to have a good Judgment in Buying. Where a Minor offends or commits a Trespass with an evil Intent of hurting another, he shall not be restor'd *in Integrum*, but where he commits such Offence by some Default, as through Imprudence, and the like, he shall have the Benefit of Restitution: or thus, a Minor shall be relieved by Restitution against an Offence or Trespass committed *per Culpam*, but not against an Offence or Trespass committed *per Dolum*, if the Suit be criminally commenced; but 'tis otherwise, if it be civilly commenced ^b. A Minor may be restor'd against a Sentence, that is partly *condemnatory*, and partly *absolutary*, in that Part wherein he is injur'd: But if the Sentence happens in the Time of his Majority, Restitution ceases ^c. If a Minor has transacted

transacted the Business of another Person, without a Mandate or Proxy, he may in this Case be restor'd *in Integrum*, lest another Person should be damnify'd by him: But if he will not be thus restor'd, he may be conven'd *for Business done*, and being conven'd, he shall be compelled to quit the Benefit of Restitution, *in Integrum* ^{d.} Hence, it appears, that ^{d D. 4. 4. 24.} tho' Minors may sometimes be relieved, in respect of their own Acts; yet this is not always true: For if it were, they would be deprived of all human Commerce and Dealing; since no one would be willing to contract with them; and this might be a great Prejudice to them, in Regard to the Necessaries of Life.



T I T. XLII.

Of Ambassadors, and the Rights and Privileges granted to them, and to other Foreign Ministers residing in a Country; the Nature of their Office; their Admission, or Non-admission by Princes and States; their respective Precedency had of each other, after they are received; the Right of Detaining and Imprisoning them, for publick Crimes committed against the Sovereign Majesty of the Prince or State unto which they are sent, &c.

IN treating of Ambassadors, and other publick Foreign Ministers, and also of their Rights and Privileges, &c. I shall here, in the first Place, for a better Understanding of this Matter, explain by some Description or Etymology, what I mean by the Word *Ambassador*, in the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, commonly known by the Name of *Legatus, ab eligendo*; because, in the Time of the *Roman* Commonwealth, their Ambassadors were wont to be chosen and elected to this high Office, by the publick Voice of the *Roman* Senate. *Varro*, in his Treatise *de Lingua Latina* ^{e, ob-} ^{e Lib. 4.} serves, that the Word *legare* and the Word *mittere* have each of them the same Signification, and that the first of them is so called *à legendo*: So that an Ambassador signifies both a Person chosen, and a Person sent. In some of our ancient *Civil* Law-books (indeed) and even among some of the *Roman* Historians and Poets too, we meet with Ambassadors under the Appellation of *Orators*, *Nuncio's* and *Interpreters* (in *Latin* stiled *Oratores* ^{f, e D. 48. 6. 7} *Nuncii* & *Interpretes*); but, according to the Criticks, very improperly: For in a strict and legal Sense of Words (say they) those Distinctions ought only to be apply'd to Persons in respect of the particular Nature of the Employment in which they acted, when they were sent Abroad for the Management of some publick Business. As for Example;

Those Persons are stiled *Oratores*, who were delegated and sent abroad, to argue and plead some particular Cause of the State with a Foreign Prince or Commonwealth: And, for this End and Purpose, heretofore, the *Romans* elected the most eloquent Person to administer the Office and Province of such an Ambassador. *Budæus* says, that an *Orator* differs from an Ambassador; for that he, who came *ad orandum*, to intreat, and the like, was stiled by the Name of an *Orator*: But the learned *Albericus Gentilis*, in his Treatise of *Ambassadors*, disapproves of this Reason, as being repugnant to the Usage of ancient Authors, who tell us, that an Ambassador was some-

times called *Legatus*, and sometimes stiled *Orator*. By the modern Usage of this Political Term, we do not call every Ambassador by the Name of an *Orator*, but only the first and chiefest Ambassador of the greatest Kings and States alone. Thus the Emperor's Ambassador at the *Porte*, that is to say, at the Court and Palace of the great *Turk*, is by Way of Excellency termed *Orator*. The *Venetian* Ambassador to the Emperor, Pope, &c. is stiled after the same Manner. And he is said to be an *Orator*, who is the Head and Chief Person of the whole Embassy, as *Augerius Busbequius* was in the Reign of *Ferdinand* the Emperor, whose elegant Epistles, touching his Journey to *Turky*, are still extant. And,

Thus, for the same Reason also, as I suppose, those Persons were stiled *Nuncii*, or (as we say in *English*) *Nuncios* or *Envoys*, who were sent to deliver some special Message of the Senate, without further Authority, to act or debate in the Matter, about which they went; much like unto our *Envoys* or Ambassadors of *Condolance*, *Congratulation*, and the like. An Ambassador is distinguished from what we here call an *Envoy* or *Nuncio*, not only because a *Nuncio* is sent without any Solemnities, and usually passes between Friends, without any Pomp or Noise, but because he is sent in a private Manner about private Business; and, *lastly*, because he comes from such as have not the Power of sending an Ambassador. Thus *Livy*, discoursing of the *Carthaginians*, informs us, that they sent *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* by Letters and *Nunciatures*, as Friends and Collegues, and private Monitors, without any Solemnities; and (at length) they sent by Ambassadors as publick Magistrates, and used their publick Authority. Nor had *Turnus* the Power of sending an Ambassador (as some will have it) but only a *Nuncio* or private Messenger, because he fought under the Command of King *Latinus*, though otherwise an independent Prince of himself: But it appears from *Virgil* (I think) that this Message was sent, not by the private Authority of *Turnus*, but by the publick Order of *Latinus*, as that excellent Poet subjoins in the following Verses, *viz.*

*Æneas acuit Martem, & se suscitât ira
Oblato gaudens componi fœdere Bellum, &c.
Regiq; jubet responsa Latino
Certa referre Viros, et Pacis dicere leges.*

Thirdly, There were some Persons, that were stiled *Interpreters*, whose sole Business and Commission it was (by Way of Interpretation) to adjust the Meaning of ambiguous Alliances, Leagues, and other national Contracts referr'd unto the Determination of the *Roman* Empire. They had likewise the Interpretation of all Mandates, Commissions, Words and Sentences, without the Solemnity of a Mission, and the Right and Power of an Embassy. But at present, he is stiled an *Interpreter*, who is assign'd and given to an Ambassador, for the sake of interpreting Languages among Foreigners: And it was, heretofore, the same Thing among the *Romans*, in the like Case. For we read, that *Cato* had an Interpreter join'd to him, when he was sent Ambassador unto the *Greeks*; for that he did not then understand the Pronunciation of the *Grecian* Language. And, in an Embassy from the Emperor to the Landgrave of *Hesse-cassel*, there came in that Ambassador's Retinue, an Interpreter to the Court of Prince *Maurice*, who translated the Answers of that illustrious Prince into *Greek* and *Italian*, and interpreted them to the *Persian* Ambassador.

And now, since I am upon the Business of Etymologies, or rather the Signification of Words, I desire Room to add the Original of that of an *Ambassador*, in our modern and barbarous *Latin* call'd *Ambaffiator*; and sometimes *Ambasfciator*, from the *German* Word *Ambachtien*, which, *Lindenbrogue* says, signifies a Minister, or one employ'd in the Service of a Master.

But

But others will have it to be derived from the old *French* Word in *Cæsar's Commentaries*, call'd *Ambactus*, denoting a Servant or Vassal : And from hence, in the *Basil* Edition of the *Salique* Laws, we may find it thus recorded, *viz. Si in Dominicâ Ambasciâ fuerit occupatus* ; meaning, *If he shall be employ'd in the Service of his Master* : Which another Edition of those Laws mentions, with a various Reading, in this manner, *viz. If he shall be employ'd in Jussione Regis*, or in Obedience to the King's Command. So that an Ambassador, according to the bare nominal Description of him, is one who bears in Trust, and executes the Commands of his Sovereign and Master.

But this Account does not sufficiently give us an adequate Idea, or perfect Notion of an Ambassador. Wherefore I shall, in a large Sense of the Word, define him to be a Person sent Abroad by some Sovereign Prince or State, with a legal Commission, and proper Instructions, for the Dispatch of Business relating to the publick Weal of the Country from which he is sent, to be transacted by him, in a peaceful and amicable Manner, with that Prince or State unto which he is sent ; *viz. to conduct and manage the Arcana imperii*, which cannot with Safety be committed to common Expresses, and Letters sent by Couriers : And from hence the Use of Embassies and Legations first began, and seems to be necessary. I say, *a Person sent Abroad by some Sovereign Prince or State* ; because Ambassadors are only sent by such as are vested with Sovereign Power and Authority, and, by this Means, have the Right of Legation : The Power of sending Ambassadors, entirely depending on the Right of Majesty. 'Tis true, the Princes and Electors of *Germany* have of late obtain'd the Privilege of dispatching and receiving Envoys, and other Ministers of the like Nature ; but then it is only by a *secondary* Right. And 'tis observ'd, That they who have the Power of sending Envoys or Ambassadors by a *secondary* Right only, do not send them *pleno Jure*, with an universal or general Power, namely, with a Commission to treat of, and conclude Matters relating to the whole *German Empire collectively* : But that Power is limited, and only respects such Affairs as belong to their own peculiar Territories, and not to the State of the Empire. And the *Hanse-Towns* may act in the same manner, by claiming the like Privileges ; for they being Free Imperial Cities, do partake of the same Regalities, either by Prescription, or by Grants from former Emperors, whose Necessities (perhaps) compelled them to part with those Gems of the Imperial Crown. And, generally speaking, for the most Part, they send two Persons for their Deputies or Ambassadors ; the one a Person of high Birth and Quality, who has been a Soldier, to maintain Respect and Decency ; and the other a Person or Doctor well skill'd in the *Civil* Law, to manage the Affairs of the Embassy with Learning and Judgment.

Again : Ambassadors, properly speaking, are only sent to a foreign Prince or State, that is endued with the like Sovereign Power and Jurisdiction with themselves, and is in nowise tributary to any Superior Authority : For if there be not this Parity of Power between the Person sending, and the Prince or State unto which Ambassadors are sent, the Embassy is entirely void, and of no Effect ; since, in Propriety of Speech, they that are appointed by a Prince of an inferior Jurisdiction, are rather call'd *Agents* or *Residents*, than Ambassadors, by the *Civil* Law : tho' this Distinction does not much obtain at this Day, as I shall shew hereafter, in discoursing of the several modern Titles of foreign Ministers. Wherefore, we never give that of an *Ambassador* to any of the Ministers sent by the aforesaid *German* Electors, and the like Powers : For an Ambassador is a Person who represents the publick Character and Dignity of the Prince that sends him Abroad ; and he is, in some respects, like unto the Person
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whom the *Civil Law* files a *Mandatary*; an Embassy being a *Species* of Commission, in *Latin* termed *Mandatum* §. So that an Ambassador, Envoy, and the like, is a *Mandatary* solemnly sent by his Prince or State, having the Power of making an Ambassador, and the like, for the Dispatch of publick Business. For the Form of an Embassy consists herein, viz. 1st. That the Person be both *solemnly* and *justly* sent; that is to say, he must be sent by him who has the Right and Power of sending Ambassadors: And, 2^{dly}, He must be sent on the publick Business of the State. But herein an Ambassador differs from a Mandatary of *private Right*; because this last is sent by a private Person, and his Mandate or Commission is for private Administration. And tho' an Ambassador, Envoy, Agent, and Resident be the same; if we only consider the Duty of their Functions and Employments in the general: yet in this they differ. For that an Ambassador represents the Greatness of his Master, and his Affairs; whereas an Agent or Resident only represents the Charge of his Affairs. And as Agents are generally made use of, where and when there is some Suspicion that the Envoy or Ambassador will not be honour'd as he should be; and therefore, it has been usual, of late Years, for the Kings of *France* to have no Ambassadors at the Emperor's Court, but only Agents, because of the Competition for Precedency betwixt Him and *Spain*: So are Residents often substituted, upon an Envoy or Ambassador's leaving any Prince's Court, 'till either the same Envoy or Ambassador returns, or some other be appointed or sent in his Stead.

But as, by the Law of Nations, no one under the Degree of a Sovereign Prince can name or send any Person in the Quality of an Ambassador: So, on the other hand, no Subject can send or receive an Ambassador, be he never so great and powerful, as just now remember'd and inferr'd from that Parity of Power which ought to be between the Person sending, or the Prince or State unto which Ambassadors are sent: And if a Viceroy shall presume to do it, it is no less than High Treason in him. And thus it was declared, when the *Scots*, without consulting their Prince, sent *Lowden* and others secretly in the Quality of private Commissioners, to treat with the *French King Lewis XIII.* in the Name of the whole Nation, for his Assistance against the *English*: And the *French King* would not receive or admit them to an Audience. And thus did Queen *Elizabeth*, when *Christopher Assonville* came into *England* in the Character of a foreign Minister of State, sent from the Duke of *Alva* then Governor of the *Netherlands*, refuse to admit him; because he had no Commission or Credentials from the King of *Spain*. And *Grimston*, in his History of *France*, assures us, That the Trumpeter, who brought Letters from the Maid of *Orleans* to the Earl of *Suffolk*, was burnt; because he did not come from a lawful Prince, nor from one commission'd and impower'd to send an Herald or Trumpeter.

The *Roman People*, indeed, received Ambassadors from their Subjects, and from those who paid them Tribute; which Ministers were often distinguish'd under the Titles of *Municipal* and *Provincial Legates*. And in *Italy*, even at this Day, there are some Towns, which are in Subjection, that have the Power preserv'd to them, of sending Deputies, under the Character of Ambassadors, to Sovereign Princes unto whom they are subject, and yield Obedience: As for Instance; the Town of *Bologna* and that of *Ferrara* send Ambassadors to his pretended Holiness the Pope; and the Town of *Messina* some Time since sent Ambassadors to the King of *Spain*. There are also some Towns in the *Netherlands*, whilst under the *Spanish* Dominion, which had this Pre-eminence continu'd to them by *Grace* alone. But then these pretended Ambassadors had only an honourable Name, and empty Title, without enjoying the Rights and Privileges appertaining to real Ambassadors, and the Envoys of Sovereign Princes and States.

And

And 'tis probable, that this Similitude of Name has given Occasion of Error to many Lawyers, not thoroughly vers'd in the Prerogative of Sovereign Princes, in relation to Ambassadors, whereby they have confounded the Rights of Princes with what they find in the *Civil* Law; believing, that Ambassadors are subject to the Jurisdiction of that particular Country where they reside, without considering the Difference there is or was between the Ambassadors which the *Romans* received from their Towns, Provinces, and Colonies paying them Tribute, and the Ambassadors of independent Princes and States, who represented their Principals in all the Countries unto which they are and were sent. For here 'tis to be observ'd again;

That in all the *Roman* Law, those Persons that were sent by *Hanse* Towns and Cities, in Subjection to the *Roman* Commonwealth, were not properly stiled *Ambassadors*, but frequently known by the Name of *Commissioners*, *Deputies*, and *Syndicks*, as being at this Day dispatch'd by them to explain and lay open the Requests of the Common-Council of such Cities. And these Deputies and Syndicks were not always sent to Princes or foreign States, but sometimes even to private Persons: And their Privileges were not of the same Stamp with those of Princes Ambassadors; because Towns and Cities have not a *Jus Publicum*, unless they be free and exempt from a superiour Power and Jurisdiction. Yet these *Municipal* or *Provincial* Legats, being sent to *Rome* to represent the Affairs of their Councils and Provinces, had many eminent Rights and Privileges allow'd them in common with Princes Ambassadors: As likewise had the Deputies and Syndicks of large and populous Cities, which I shall have a better Opportunity hereafter to enquire into in another Place under this Head. And therefore, because there were many Persons in these Towns and Cities, who solicited Legations of this Kind, more for the sake of ambitious Ends and Purposes, and rather on the score of serving themselves, than bringing any Advantage to the Publick thereby, it was ordain'd and provided by an Imperial Constitution, ^h That Cities and Towns should not send Ambassadors to Princes, ^h C. 10. 31. 16. unless they were sent by the Consent of the Common Council, and the intervening Authority of the superior Magistrate in such Town or City presiding in Council i. And 'tis to be noted, That, in this Council, the ⁱ C. 10. 63. 6. Consent of absent Persons was not held necessary, whether they were absent on the account of Sicknefs, or hinder'd from coming thither by the means of some inexcusable Exigency: But that Act was confirm'd, and look'd upon to be of solemn Authority, which had the Assent and Consent of the greater Part present k. For avoiding all Occasions of Ambitions among ^k C. 10. 63. 5 some Men, that in Towns and Cities consult more their own private Advantage than the publick Good, a Law was enacted, That none should be employ'd in Embassies, who were Candidates for this Employment only for the sake of their own Advantage. Nor ought Persons that are Debtors to the State or Commonwealth, and to whom Postulation is forbidden, to be chosen or sent as *Provincial* or *Municipal* Ambassadors: But, notwithstanding this Law, Fiscal Debtors might be appointed Ambassadors ^l D. 50. 7. 4. In like manner, among these Towns and Cities, Persons in their Absence ^{Pr. 1 & 2.} might be constituted Ambassadors, and their Commissions were sent them by their Council. For the *Romans*, in the Choice and Creation of their Ambassadors, were, for the most Part, strict Observers of Order; and no one was oblig'd to discharge this Office, unless he had been first chosen into the Office of a *Curialis*, and had first undergone the chief Office in some Ward. And he who took on himself the Office of a *Municipal* or *Provincial* Ambassador, and going to *Rome*, executed the same, was not to intermeddle in the Affairs of other Men, nor to busy himself in his own Matters, as in commencing Law-suits ^m, &c. But this Law does not seem ^m D. 50. 7. 8. 2. to ^{to} D. 50. 7. 15.

to comprehend the Person, who gave his Advice *gratis*, and acted in Participation with his Friend, the *Prætor*.

They undertook their Embassies, either at their own Expence, and then ⁿ D. 50. 7. 11. they assigned Vicars ⁿ; or else they received the Expences of their Journey from the Publick, which was called *Legativum*; and then they could assign [•] D. 50. 7. 4. 3. no other, but their own Children ^o. If such a Person died in the Office of his Embassy, the *Legativum* was not refunded by his Heirs, but descended to ^p D. 50. 7. 10. them ^p. As Debtors to the State, and infamous Persons could not execute the Office of Ambassadors: so there ought not more than three Persons to be employ'd as Ambassadors to any one Court; at the same Time, unless ^{1.} the Dignity of the Embassy requir'd it ^q. And as a *Municipal* or *Provincial* Ambassador at *Rome* could not implead another, as just hinted; so neither could he be impleaded himself, lest the Suit should be an Hindrance to the Business of the State ^r. And thus much, touching these Kinds of Ambassadors peculiar to the *Romans*, who according to the *Civil Law* might be compelled to undertake this Office, especially within the Bounds ^{12.} of the *Roman Empire*. See *Bartolus* on the *Digests* ^s. But the *Romans* had likewise other Kinds of Ambassadors, whom they sent unto their Allies and other Foreign Courts, of which I shall next speak.

There are two particular Times or Seasons, which all States and Empires have to deal in: The first being called a Time of Peace, and the other a Time of War. So that whatsoever Matters are managed in a Commonwealth, may fitly enough be divided according to these Seasons: There being some Things, which relate to the Business of Peace, and others that belong to the Offices of War. Now, according to this Diversity of Affairs, there are two Kinds of Ambassadors; the one of them for transacting the Business of the State in Times of Peace, as the other does in Times of War. The *first* of these are properly stiled *Legates*, and do in a particular Manner reserve unto themselves the Name and Title of Ambassadors; and are admitted to all those Offices, that may happen in Time of Peace. The others are those that are sent Abroad, either to denounce and declare War, or else to put an End to a War already declar'd by solemn Leagues and Treaties; or else, *thirdly*, to demand those Things, which have been taken away from us by Force of Arms: And these were by a particular Name in *Latin*, termed *Feciales*; and in *English* stiled *Heralds*; tho' the two last of these two Offices, *viz.* to put an End to a War by solemn Leagues and Treatises, &c. now come under the modern Appellation of *Plenipotentiary* Ambassadors.

Embassies in Time of Peace, in *Latin*, called *Togatæ Missiones*, may be made for several Ends and Purposes: Which yet we may reduce to these two chief Heads or Kinds, *viz.* they may be undertaken, either on the Account of some Business to be done; or else on the Account of some Honour or Compliment to be paid, as already related: The Word *Negotium*, which here signifies *Business*, is a *Civil Law* Term, and includes all those Acts which are comprehended within the Verge of human Society. But here, in a stricter Sense, it is taken for all those Treaties and Transactions, which Ambassadors perform and do in their own Name, in the Behalf of the Commonwealth. As when ancient Leagues and Friendships are renewed between Princes and Kingdoms; when new Alliances and Marriages are made between Kings and Empires; when Aid and Confederacies are desired against some more powerful Prince or State; when Methods are entred into, for adjusting and defending the Limits of their Dominions against some Invader, and for propagating and extending the same; when Counsels and Deliberations are taken about Trade and Commerce; and, *lastly*, about all such Matters as tend to the Good of the Community. Embassies are also sometimes undertaken, *Honoris Gratia*, *viz.* to exhibit only some friendly Compliment,

Compliment, or some honourable Piece of Respect to the Prince or State, unto whom such an Embassy is sent: As when Ambassadors are sent to congratulate a Prince upon some Victory obtain'd; some new Marriage contracted; upon the safe and happy Delivery of some Lady of the Blood-royal; and the like. Thus *Chosroes* King of *Persia* is said to have sent an Embassy of Congratulation unto the Emperor *Justinian*, on his Victory obtain'd in *Africa* *: And the *Carthaginians*, who were wont to congratulate * *Procop. Hist.* the Conquerors on their Success in the Wars, sent the like Embassy to *Rome*, *Honoris Gratia*, on the Conquest of the *Samnites* †. Some Persons † *Liv. Hist.* called these Embassies by the Name of *Officious Embassies*, because they were made *Officii Gratia*: But herein they were mistaken, since an Embassy of *Office* seems to be one thing, and an Embassy of *Honour* seems to be another. For this last Thing is entirely spontaneous, and (as the School-men say) an Act of meer Will: But the other is an Act *coactæ Voluntatis*, and is refused if it be not perform'd. The last has nothing in it but a bare and naked Declaration of Friendship and Kindness, which may by some Kind of Right oblige the Person, who sends such an Embassy: But the former, *viz.* that of *Office*, has such an Obligation going along with it, that it may be lawfully demanded and requir'd, if it should be omitted. All our Annals and Histories are full of these Kinds of Embassies: But, among the *Romans*, Embassies of *Office* were constantly sent unto the Emperors, from the Provinces depending on the *Roman Commonwealth*, *to rejoice with them that rejoice, and to weep with them that weep.*

Now Ambassadors or Envoys solemnly sent by our Sovereign Prince or State, unto another of the same Quality or Condition, are in two Capacities, *viz.* either *Ordinary* or *Extraordinary*. Ambassadors in Ordinary, which are sometimes stiled *Liege Ambassadors*, are such as are commanded to stay and reside in the Place whereunto they are sent, till such Time as they receive Letters of Revocation from the Prince or State that sent them: And as the Time of their Return is indefinite, so is their Business likewise uncertain, as arising from emergent Occasions; and it commonly concerns the Protection and Affairs of Merchants, which, generally speaking, is, and ought to be their greatest Care. And because such Ambassadors are in some measure Persons, whose Business it is also to explore, and with Diligence to enquire into the Affairs and Transactions, which are handled and treated of in the State or Kingdom whereunto they are sent, they are therefore generally less acceptable to those Princes and States to which they go as Envoys or Ambassadors, as *Alberie gentilis* well observes in his Treatise of Ambassadors †; as being looked upon as Spies.

† *Lib. 2. c. 12.*

Ambassadors or Envoys *Extraordinary* are those, that are employ'd upon some particular great Affairs: As Condolements, Congratulations, Overtures for Marriage, &c. if I may be allow'd to repeat what I have already mention'd. And tho' they are of greater Honour and Dignity than others, yet their Office only lasts for a Time certain, that is to say, for the Dispatch of that particular Business they are sent about. Their Equipage is generally very pompous, splendid and magnificent: And as they are only for a Time, they may return Home without requesting Leave, as soon as they have performed the Business of their Embassy, unless their Commission contains some restraining Clause. I have before observed, these are sometimes stiled Ambassadors of *Office*, and Ambassadors of *Honours*. For that the Prince is oblig'd to make the first, on the Account of some Duty to be perform'd by him, as an Embassy at this Day from the Emperor of *Germany* to the Pope, upon every new Creation or Succession of an Emperor in respect of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and from the King of *Sicily* in respect of this Kingdom also: Both of these Kingdoms, according to *Guiccardin's* History, being held in Fief from the Pope. The Embassy on the Account

count of Honour, though it does not seem so entirely necessary: Yet it ought not to be omitted, lest it should administer Grounds of Jealousy, and a Foundation for a Difference between Princes and States. For such an Embassy is a Kind of Testimony of mutual Amity and Friendship between them, especially when it is used and practised to Princes on their Inauguration and new Accession to the Throne. An Embassy *propter Negotium*, is that, which is undertaken for the Sake of a Marriage-contract, or to demand and pray Succours, and the like.

As to the personal Abilities and Qualifications of an Ambassador, Envoy, Agent, and the like, to be chosen and sent Abroad; that Matter rests entirely in the Judgment and Opinion of the Prince or State, that sends him: whose proper and peculiar Interest it is, to make Choice of such only for Ambassadors, Envoys, &c. as are conspicuously renown'd for their Prudence, Probity and Fidelity, and well vers'd in the *Civil Law*, and in all Sorts of History; weighing with Judgment all the Circumstances of Action and other Affairs therein represented, and especially such as relate to the Countries whereunto they are respectively sent: By which Means they make themselves acquainted with the Constitution and Establishment of Estates, the Limits and Bounds of that Kingdom where they are to reside, the Genealogies of its Princes, and of others with whom it has to do. And, moreover, Ambassadors will hereby become better acquainted with the Pretensions of several Kings and Princes made upon the Estates and Territories of others. Ambassadors ought also to know the Number of their Forces, the Extent of their Revenues, and the Strength of their Alliances with Foreign Potentates.

In Point of Prudence, an Ambassador ought to be resolute and courageous in what he has once wisely deliberated on, secret in Affairs of Importance, and discreet in his Speech and Behaviour; no Detractor or evil Speaker of any King or State whatsoever, but more-especially of him or them, with whom he resides: He must speak freely of his Master's Pretensions, if there be any Occasion to assert and maintain the same. Furthermore, Prudence in an Ambassador consists in an excellent *Genius* of Wit, whereby he may with Elegance and Subtilty propound and give an Answer to all Matters and Questions put to him, transacting them (as we say) *solerti Judicio*. An Ambassador ought also, in Point of Prudence, to be careful, that he be not in the least guilty of any Excess, through Intemperance; because the Sayings and Actions of Ambassadors are naked and expos'd to the Judgment and Censure of all Persons, in the Country where they live and reside.

Under *Probity*, I comprize Truth and Sincerity, by Reason of the Prince represented: So that an Ambassador ought to affirm nothing but what he has explor'd, and does certainly know to be true; in Opposition to that witty Definition of an Ambassador, made by Sir *Harry Wootton*, viz. that he is a Person sent abroad, *mentiendi Causâ*, for the sake of telling Lyes, &c. This Kind of Probity gives Weight to his Administration, and makes him regarded in all Conferences with other Ministers: But he is not hereby obliged to discover the whole Drift and Design of his Mission, but may artfully conceal the same. For, says *Octavius Mag.* ^u. It is the Office and Duty of an Ambassador to act *ex animo*, viz. with Integrity, and to do all Things with Sincerity: considering the Character of the Prince his Master, who commits all Things to him. Under *Probity*, we may reckon *Fidelity*, or the not betraying his Master's Interest and Secrets; for that brings Contempt and Ruin on the Prince that sends him, and often endangers his own Head; for all Princes hate a Traitor, tho' they make use of him. By *Modesty*, which is another good Ingredient in the Character of an Ambassador, he will more easily accomplish his Wishes, and obtain his Demands, than by a rude and insolent Behaviour.

Eloquence,

• Lib. 1. c. 2.

Eloquence, which has given the Name and Title of an Orator unto an Ambassador (as aforesaid), is so necessary to him, that he cannot be an accomplish'd Person in his Business without it. For all the other Ornaments of Learning, and the Force of *Genius*, lie buried and concealed, without the Light of Rhetorick, and a persuasive Eloquence, whereby we insinuate ourselves into the Minds and good Opinion of Men. For as there is no Use of a hidden Treasure, or of concealed Musick; so the most perfect Knowledge of Things is of no Advantage to Men, unless they can express themselves handsomely, and let the World see that they are Masters of all that Knowledge they profess, by a ready and flowing Eloquence. Add hereunto, it is said, That there is nothing that so powerfully Lords it over the whole World, as this Goddess, which we make use of as the *Delphick* Sword, to subdue and obtain all Things, which we undertake, with Success.

By ancient Institutions, the *Egyptians*, *Persians* * and *Romans* made use of Interpreters in all their Embassies, and would never suffer any Ambassador to approach their Persons, but by an Interpreter; for the State and Grandeur of their Dignity requir'd it †. This Office *Philotas* made use of, as we may read in *Quintus Curtius* ||, who was upbraided thereupon, for that being a *Macedonian* born, he was wont to give Audience unto Men, by an Interpreter of his own Language. An Ambassador ought to have Audience, and to publish his Embassy in the Language of the Country whose Ambassador he is. * Herod. Lib. 6.
† Plin. de Trajan. Lib. 6.

Thus, in like manner, an Ambassador ought to be a Person acceptable to the Prince or State unto which he is sent, and in no wise hated or irksome thereunto: For Affection has a powerful Influence and Command over every Person, and such is the Force of Benevolence, especially in respect of Ambassadors, that a Suitor, who has the Art of Pleasing, has already obtain'd his Suit as soon as it is made evident: so that a Person, that is offensive and grievous, seldom obtains those Things that are just and reasonable. And thus, as it is not adviseable to set an odious Magistrate over a State or City, or a hateful General over an Army; so such Persons as go Ambassadors with an ill *Omen*, and are likely to prove offensive or unacceptable to the Powers to which they are sent, seldom obtain their Ends, or any Good to the State that sends them. If the Person be displeasing, his Speech, Opinions and every Thing else become ungrateful: For we are apt to think, that nothing can come friendly and in a profitable manner from the Hand of an Enemy, how kind and favourable soever it may appear to be at first View. Thus if a Prince makes Courtship to another State, on the Part of his Daughter, by an Ambassador advanced in Years; and by one, who by Imbecility, has lost all the graceful Carriage of his Person, it is certain that the Nymph will not so much regard him, as if such Person was of a florid Age, and mercurial Temper of Body and Mind, who thus represents and pleads the Cause of Love.

Tacitus assures us, by many Examples, that a Prince may often obtain that by Ambassadors, which he cannot obtain and procure in his own Person and by himself: And, therefore, it well becomes him to make choice of fit and proper Persons for his Ambassadors; not such as are morose and surly. For he that asks a Thing, which is Displeasing, is not only not heard, but is often rejected with Scorn and Contempt, as being arrogant in his Demands; and can never ask again. Wherefore, let an Ambassador endeavour to render himself amiable and courteous, that he may gain upon the Affection of the Court which receives him, and do his Master's Business with Justice, Moderation and Temper.

These Ambassadors are sent to Princes in Amity and Friendship: But to Enemies, the *Romans* sent such Persons as we in *English* stile *Heralds*, and

the *Latins* called *Feciales* and sometimes *Caduceatores*, as already remembred. And these were such as were versed in Craft, and well acquainted with military Affairs; and could thereby search and penetrate into the Designs and Counsels of the Enemy. But, I think, Men of hot and fiery Tempers ought to be in nowise sent on such Errands as these; For such Spirits will rather serve to renew the War, than compose and adjust Differences between Enemies. Some Statesmen and Politicians have made it a Question, Whether Foreigners can be sent in Embassies, or not? And some say, even to those Princes, in whose Dominions they were born. Cardinal *Pool* being declar'd a Traitor by the Government in *England*, did thereupon fly to *Rome* for Sanctuary and Protection; and lest the Pope should be obliged to send him Home, he sent him as his *Nuncio* or Ambassador to the *French* King, of whom the King of *England* demanded his Subject: But he did not prevail because he was there as an Ambassador *. But touching the Protection of Ambassadors, I shall have Occasion to speak by and by.

* Cok. 4. Inft.
fol. 153.

But tho' Foreigners may be sent as Ambassadors; yet, surely, it is of far greater Prudence and Safety to send Natives, who have had their Education chiefly in their own Country, and who are not so easily perverted with Gifts and Promises, as Foreigners will be, against their own Country; being presum'd to manage the Business thereof with greater Care, Fidelity and Affection to it, as having an Interest therein. But though it be entirely in the Power of the Prince, to chuse his own Ambassadors; it being with him to judge, what Person is best qualify'd for this high Employment; yet 'tis fit, that all Ambassadors should be Persons of some Birth or Distinction in the World, at least. For the Dignity of an Ambassador becomes Vile and Contemptible, unless it carries along with it the Splendor of a good Family or Education, at least: Low Births and Beginnings producing Envy among those of the Nobility, who will not easily bear to be postpon'd and overlooked. And Foreign Princes, moreover, think themselves slighted and despised, if such Persons are sent into their Dominions and to their Courts, as are of a mean Extraction. *Lewis* Eleventh, King of *France*, sent one *Oliver*, his Barber, to *Genoa*, as his Envoy or Ambassador, but he was not received and admitted: Yet *Mat. Palmerius*, an Apothecary of *Florence*, met with better Fortune than the *French* Barber. For he being sent in the Quality of an Ambassador to *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, and, having acquitted himself with much Elegancy and Generosity at his first Audience, he gave the King an Occasion to say, upon Information given, that this Man was an Apothecary, *Se tali sono gli speciali di Firenze, quali debbono essere gli Medici*; meaning, If the Apothecaries of *Florence* are such Men, what ought their Physicians to be *? There may be also a Cause assign'd by him, from whom Ambassadors are sent, why they ought not to be received: As the *Roman* Senate refus'd to admit the *Carthaginian* Embassy; because the *Carthaginian* Army was then in *Italy*. And thus the King of *Spain* would not receive the Ambassadors of *Holland*, nor the Pope the Ambassadors of *Henry* King of *England*, after the Murther of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

* Mariel. de Legat. lib. 1. cap. 24.

An Ambassador ought to carry along with him, Letters Credential, as well as Instructions, from the State that sends him Abroad; because Credit is not given to Ambassadors without such Letters: And he ought likewise to have a Passport from the State or Prince to whom he is sent, that he may travel with Safety to his Person. When he comes to the Place where the Court resides, unto which he is sent, he ought to notify his Arrival in proper Form, and pray an Audience that he may deliver his Credentials, and be heard as soon as possible. But Ambassadors ought not to be admitted to an Audience, or to give in their Credentials immediately on their Arrival; because this does not consist with the Dignity of him unto whom they

they are sent. And Humanity itself requires, that such Persons as come from a great Distance, should have some Time given them to compose themselves, and (if I may use the Expression) to wipe off the Dust from their Feet. Thus we read *, that *Achilles* would not receive the Credentials, * Hom. II. which *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors, brought with them, till they had rested their weary Limbs, and refreshed themselves with Eating and Drinking. And the Goddess *Calypso* exhilarated *Mercury* with *Ambrosia*, before she asked him the Reason of his Errand. The Audience of Ambassadors is one of the most difficult Things that a Prince has to deal in. For it is not enough, that he hears them with Modesty, Respect and Attention, but it behoves him also to answer them with Prudence and Constancy; as well to remember what he is himself, as what the Prince is that treats with him, and to manage the Ambassador so well, that of a publick Witness and a Spy (as most Ambassadors are) he may make him a Friend and a true Mediator between the two Courts. At *Rome*, the Month of *February* was allotted for giving Audience to Ambassadors †. The Ambassadors of † Ros. Anti. Kings were there introduced by the superior Magistrates, as by the *Consuls* and *Prætors*; but the Ambassadors of Republicks were introduced by some Tribune of the People, on which Account the *Rhodian* Ambassadors were introduced by *Anthony*, who then bore that Office of Magistracy. With us and in other neighbouring Kingdoms, the modern Practice is something-like hereunto, where Kingly Ambassadors are introduced by some great Officer of the Court. The Ambassadors, which are sent by Kings, ought to take Place of such as are sent by inferior States and Cities; and so it was anciently in *Greece*, the politest People then in the World.

The Person, who is sent in an Embassy, ought not to be a Man of an ill Name and Conversation, as *Theodorus* the Atheist was, unto whom *Lysimachus*, for that very Reason, refus'd to give Audience. So, where the Cause of sending Ambassadors administers Suspicion, as to disturb the Mind of the People; and rather with an Intent to sow Sedition than to conclude a Peace (if such be their pretended Errand) or for the like dishonourable Reasons, an Ambassador may be refused Audience. For those assiduous Embassies or Legations, which I have before stiled Embassies, *propter Negotia*, and which are so common now-a-Days, may (according to some Mens Opinions) be rejected upon a very good Foundation of Right and Law; because (say these Men) there appears no Necessity for their Coming, and for that they are not warranted by the Practice of ancient Times, to which these Kinds of Embassies were wholly unknown: Which made *Henry* the Seventh of *England* (as my Lord *Bacon* observes in his History of that Prince's Reign) to admit of none of them. The *Venetian* State, tho' they admitted the Ambassador of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, yet interdicted him to come with the other Ambassadors to the Chapel, till the King was reconciled to the *Romish* Religion.

I have before hinted, that an Ambassador is not admitted to an Audience, till such Time as he has, according to Custom, produced and shewn his Prince's Letters, or the Letters of his Principals, commonly called his *Credentials*, or Letters of *Credence*; for that, generally speaking, no Credit is given to Prince's Ambassadors, without these Letters, not even in those Things which accrue *Jure ordinario Legationis* y. For such Matters as are y C. 1. 15. unic. of publick Authority cannot be transacted and done, according to *Siehardus*, without a publick Instrument: But *Brunus* says, It is sufficient and well enough, whatever the Means be, whereby his Mandate or Commission appears. And the Lawyer *Scævola* seems to insinuate the same Thing, saying, That if it does not appear whether he be an Ambassador, or not, *let the Roman Prætor have Cognizance thereof* ||. A *Quasi*, or an improper || D. 50. 7. 5. Embassy, if it be denied, ought to be proved by Witnesses, after the same manner

manner as a Man proves his Residence or Dwelling in such a Place. But in *Popish* Countries, Credence is usually given to the Pope's Cardinal Legate, by Reason of the Prerogative of his high Dignity, without any Letters *Credential* or other Proof of his being sent, unless he extends his Power beyond the common Bounds of Law. And from hence, some would have this Point of Prerogative to be extended to Men of the first Rank of Nobility, and to Persons stiled *Illustrious*, according to the *Civil* Law; whose Dignity, Honour and Integrity are so well known, that Credit ought to be given to them, without Letters *Credential*; but this is not practised or received any where. Yet in *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, before the Pope's *Legates* or *Nuncio's* are received, their Power and Commission is well examin'd, in Order to admonish and put them in Mind of the Power and Commission they ought to execute or exercise, lest any Detriment should thereby happen to the Commonwealth. For as the Apostolical *Legates* are for the most Part Foreigners, and not sufficiently acquainted with the Precautions to be used, they may easily be deceived by false Suggestions, and thus abuse their Power. In the same Manner likewise, the Apostolick *Legate* or *Nuncio* has no Power to exercise his Commission in *France*, but only from the Day on which the King receives and gives him publick Audience, and till he has promised not to usurp or attempt any Thing against the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and that he will conform himself to the Limitations, which are wont to be made in the Court of Parliament.

If an Ambassador, on exhibiting his Credentials, be not admitted, and Respect shewn to his Character, the Law of Nations does hereby, in some measure, seem to be broken and violated, and the Prince, who sends him, is contemptuously used: But then such Ambassador must come in a decent Manner, and be sent for just and honourable Reasons of State; otherwise Audience may be denied him, as just now related: For if he be sent as a Spy, or to embroil the State, &c. he may be refused. Thus the *Romans* deservedly rejected the Ambassadors of *Pyrrhus*; because they came with Gold to corrupt the Populacy of the Commonwealth. Yet some affirm, That Ambassadors may, with a *Salvo* and due Regard had to the Law of Nations, tempt and try the Fidelity of a Prince's Ministers of State: And tho' such Ministers be sworn unto Fidelity; yet the Ambassador may search and fish out all the evil Designs and Machinations of other Princes (if possible) against his own Master. But from the Day of their Legation or Embassy committed to them, that is to say, from the Day of their Commission, the Persons of Ambassadors are accounted sacred, and their Rights ought to be secur'd to them, as well by the Protection of human Laws, as by the Sanctions of divine Precepts: And therefore, to violate them, is not only unjust, but also favours of Impiety. For there is a Kind of Security, which is granted unto them by the Law of Nations, and no one may offend them with Impunity *. And as Protection is given to the Ambassadors of Sovereign Princes; so heretofore, by the *Civil* Law, Safeguard was provided and given unto *Provincial* Legates, Heralds, and Consuls.

* D. 50. 7. 17.
D. 1. 5. 8.

Sometimes Princes send Men learned and skilled in the *Civil* Law, along with their Ambassadors, and do often send them solely as Ambassadors; because in Foreign Countries, and especially among the *Romans*, they reckon'd *Civilians* (as they are Men of Learning) amongst their Nobility; and all Advocates in Foreign Parts have the Title of *Illustrious* given them. Thus *Albert* Archduke of *Austria* and Prince of the *Netherlands* sent certain Men, learned in the *Civil* Law, to the Kings of *England* and *France*. And it has been a just Observation among all good Statesmen, that the Affairs of their Country never succeeded better, than when the Conduct and Management of them have been

been committed to the Care of Persons, learned in the *Civil* Law. And this Advantage they have in Foreign Nations, where the *Civil* Law is more study'd and learn'd, that almost all their Gentry and Nobility are bred up in the Knowledge thereof, and it is no small Reproach to their Education to be without it.

Livy informs us, that this Right of *Legation*, or sending Ambassadors, was originally design'd for a Foreign State or Prince, and for a Citizen, or any Person of the same Commonwealth; though, in Civil Wars, Necessity sometimes makes Room for this Right, *besides* or *contrary* to a general Rule of Law: As when the People are so divided into equal Parts, that it becomes doubtful on which Side the Right of Empire lies, or at a Time when two Persons of equal Force and Strength contend for the Right of Succession to a Crown or Kingdom. For, in these and the like Cases, one Nation is reckon'd as two: And such was the State of *England*, when the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* contended for the Crown. But then these Persons are properly stiled Commissioners, and not Ambassadors. But Kings conquer'd in a solemn War, and deprived of their Kingdoms, with other Royalties, lose the Right of sending Ambassadors: As *Pub. Æmilius* detained the Herald of *Perseus*, whom he had conquer'd in Battle and deprived of his Kingdom.

And as Ambassadors are protected in their Rights and Privileges, of which more largely by and by; so (as I have already hinted) they ought to be religiously secur'd in their Persons against all Affronts and Injuries which may be committed by that Nation unto which they are sent. Their Persons are so sacred both at Home and Abroad, that no Man may lay violent Hands on them, without Breach of the Law of Nations ^a. Nay, ^a D. 50. 7. 17. the Person of an Ambassador is so sacred, that, in a foreign Country, it is more inviolable than even that of the Prince himself who sends him would be, were he in the Places where his Ambassador represents him. For a Prince, that is in another's Territories or Dominions, is only secur'd by the Laws of Hospitality, which make but a Part of the Law of Nations: But his Ambassador is under the Protection of the Laws of Nations themselves, taken in the utmost Latitude of their Signification, and of their Privileges; provided he be not out of his Business in a strange Country; nor there for his Pleasure, nor for his private Affairs, but for the Common Good of the two States. The Ambassadors of Enemies are also inviolable, and ought not to be treated injuriously: For, (says *Cicero*, in his first Oration against *Verres*) "Ought not Ambassadors, even among Enemies, to be protected in their Persons?" And the Reason why Ambassadors are in Safety in the Country of an Enemy, is not so much on their own Account, or their Masters, but because, without them, Hostilities often will have no End. And the Lawyer *Pomponius* declares, That if any one should assault or offer Violence to an Enemy's Ambassador, this would be thought a Crime committed against the Law of Nations; because all Ambassadors are accounted sacred in their Persons ^b. And therefore, ^b D. 50. 7. 17. when War is declared with any Nation that has Ambassadors residing there, those Ambassadors ought to remain free and exempt from all Violence: This being agreeable to the Law of Nations. But then it is not lawful for an Ambassador to take up Arms against Those with whom he resides and discharges the Office of an Ambassador; as the three *Fabii* did, on their being sent Ambassadors into *Gaul*. For as *Livy* and *Pliny* both write, this is a Violation of the Law of Nations. Wherefore *Quintus Fabius* gave them a Day to answer the same. See *Cujacius*. But what if they conspire and enter into evil Counsel against those to whom they are sent? In this Case, the Law of Nations sometimes prevails, *Livy* tells us ^c; and some- ^c Lib. 2. times,

^d Lib. 2.^e Lib. 3.

times, not according to *Thucydides* ^d, speaking of the *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors that were sent unto the King of *Persia*, and intercepted by the *Athenians*. So see *Livy*, in his 3d *Decad* ^e, who says, that the *Romans* intercepted the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors going to the King of *Macedonia*.

This leads me to consider next, Whether an Ambassador may be retain'd by those Persons unto whom he is sent? And, if this be admitted, Whether the Ambassadors of those Persons, to whom the Injury is offer'd, may be retain'd by way of Hostage or Reprisal? Now 'tis certain, that Ambassadors may be retain'd for great and weighty Causes, *pro re natâ*: As when they privily attempt by any Acts of Hostility, or have manifestly promoted or enter'd into any treasonable Design against the State; or when our Ambassadors are first detain'd. In the Senate of *Carthage* a Debate happen'd about detaining of *Scipio's* Ambassadors, 'till such Time as those that were sent from *Carthage* to *Rome* had made their Return in Safety. The *Spartan* Ambassadors were detain'd at *Athens*, and were therefore imprison'd 'till the Return of *Themistocles*, who was Ambassador for the *Athenians* unto the *Lacedemonians* ^f. Nor did *Belisarius* dismiss the Ambassadors of the *Goths*, until the Ambassadors, which *Justinian* had sent, were honourably dismissed ^g.

^f Diod. Sic. lib. 11.^g Procop. l. 2. de Bell. Goth.

Quintilian observes, That if a Citizen, namely, a Subject of the same State, be injuriously treated, an Action of *Injury* will lie against the Offender. If he be a Magistrate that is injured, then an Action *Violatæ Majestatis* will lie: But if the Person offended be an Ambassador, then the Law, or War, must give Relief therein, and redress the same. Nay, this Right of sending Ambassadors, has been accounted so very sacred among some States, that the Messengers even of Rebels have been protected; as were those of *Holland*, by *Philip* King of *Spain*, upon the Revolt of the *Netherlanders*. And so great a Respect have Nations had in all Times to such Men, that even Traitors, Pirates and Robbers, who being no Society of Men, have not any Protection from the Law of Nations, nor ought any Faith or an Oath to kept with them, (as some conceive) do obtain a Kind of Right of Legation, as once the Fugitives in the *Pyrrhenean* Forest did. But (notwithstanding what has been said) Ambassadors may be warned, by way of Precaution, not to come within a Prince's Territories; which if they shall presume to do, they may be taken and treated as Enemies: But if they have been once admitted, tho' with Enemies in Arms, much more with Enemies not in actual Hostility, they ought to have Safeguard and Protection, according to the Law of Nations. And therefore, their Quality being admitted by Passports and Safe-conduct, they ought to be defended, and preserved from Violence, as the Sovereign Prince himself: And thus it was declared in Parliament, wherein the killing of *John Imperial*, Envoy or Ambassador from the States of *Genoa*, was adjudged High Treason ^h. So likewise of *A. de Walton* the King's Ambassador, who was murder'd by one *John Hill*, in *Edward* the Third's Reign. Whereupon, this Offence was adjudged High Treason; and accordingly *Hill* was drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd ⁱ. For the Prince's Ambassador sustains and represents the Person of the Prince from whom he is sent; and therefore ought to be honour'd and treated as him whose Person he bears. Note, This Case of *Hill* was three Years before the making of the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third: Therefore, *Quære*, if such a *Process* may be constru'd and understood to be within the View of that Statute at this Day?

^h Rot. Parl. 3. Ric. 3. n. 18.ⁱ 22. Assiz. Pl. 49.^k D. 48. 6. 7.

By the *Julian* Law ^k, He who violates Ambassadors, is guilty of a publick Act of Violence, because he has prostituted and broken the Faith of the Law of Nations. And, by the Papal *Canon* Law, such Violence admits of no less Punishment than a *Piaculum*, and the being interdicted the Benefit of holy Things. *Philomela* sung a fatal *Requiem*, for the bloody

bloody Entertainment which she gave to the Ambassadors of *Frederick Barbarossa*, who were sent by that Emperor to treat of a Peace : For they, instead of treating of a Peace, avow'd the bloody Action of those who murder'd his Ambassadors. Whereupon, the offended Emperor, after he had taken the City, razed it to the Ground, and executed all the People therein as Rebels and Traitors against the Law of Nations. But by the Law of Nations only, an unjust Force and Violence is kept off from the Bodies of Ambassadors : For if an Ambassador himself breaks the Laws of Nations, he is subject to Punishment, according to some Mens Opinions, in the Place where he transgresses. Yet this Point has been disputed by all Nations and Men eminent for Wisdom and Knowledge in these Affairs ; and Precedents have been alledg'd and avouched on both Sides, as I have already observed. And there is one, which seems to refute this Position or Opinion of such Ministers of State, *viz.* the Ambassadors of *Tarquin*, who had committed Treason at *Rome*, and (as *Livy* observes) were in the State of Enemies, were (notwithstanding) preserv'd inviolable, by a Right of Nations, (as he himself terms it), tho' in a Case of actual Hostility. On the other hand, *Sallust* remarks, That *Bomilcar*, one of the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, who came to *Rome* on the publick Faith, was adjudged guilty of Treason, rather (says he) by the Rules of Equity, than by the Law of Nations : For Equity, which is the meer Law of Nature, suffers Punishment to be exacted, where and whensoever there is found a Delinquent that cannot otherwise be punish'd : But the Law of Nations excepts the Persons of Ambassadors ; because their Security does surely overbalance the Profit arising from any Punishment which may be inflicted by the Prince who sent him, if he be willing to punish him. But if that Prince be unwilling, it may be exacted of him as an Approver of the Crime. Again, *Livy* observes, That the Privileges given to Ambassadors by the Law of Nations, do not oblige those Princes through whose Lands or Territories they pass without Leave : For if they go or come from their Enemies, or make any hostile Attempt therein, they may be put to Death.

Moreover, as Ambassadors are not regularly to render any Account of their Actions to any other Person than to him by whom they are sent ; so 'tis impossible they shou'd (by reason of the various Interests, and other Secrets of State, which pass through their Hands) be entirely free from all manner of Suspicion : For something may be said against them (peradventure) which bears the Shew and Face of a Crime, tho' without any Reality (perhaps) ; and the examining into the Truth thereof, may be of dangerous Consequence. And therefore, if the Offence be such as it may be condemn'd, 'tis usual to dissemble and connive at the same ; or else the Ambassador must be commanded to depart the Realm within a limited Time. And if the Crime be grievous, and publickly mischievous, the Ambassador may be sent Home with Letters of *Request* to his Principal or Master, in order to have Punishment inflicted on him according to his Demerits. So likewise, for the Prevention of any great Mischief, and (especially) a publick one, if there be no other Remedy, Ambassadors may be apprehended and executed too, as just now said ; and if they make Resistance by Force of Arms, they may be slain. *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor of *Germany*, commanded the Duke of *Milain's* Envoy or Ambassador, as being in some measure a Subject, not to go out of his District or Country. In the Bishop of *Rosse's* Case¹, there was a Question put, *viz.* ^{1 An. 13 Reg. Eliz.} Whether an Ambassador, who stirs up a Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is sent, should enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador, and not be subject to Punishment as an Enemy ? And it was resolved, That he had lost the Privilege of an Ambassador, and was liable to Punishment.

I have

I have said before, That the Law of Nations does not extend to such Ambassadors as pass through a Prince's Territories without his Leave, going to the Enemy of such Prince ; or if they make any hostile Attempt, &c. they may be intercepted, and put to Death. For the Name and Person of an Ambassador is not so inviolable, either in Peace, or Time of War, but that there may be a convenient and good Time and Occasion offer for punishing them. And thus the *Athenians* used and treated the Ambassadors that passed between the *Persians* and *Spartans* : And the *Illyrians* served the Ambassadors, that went between the *Essians* and the *Romans*, in like manner, as we may read in the History of *Thucydides* ^m, already quoted. And the *Romans* themselves seized *Hannibal's* Ambassadors, as they were going to the King of *Macedonia*. But of this before. Which Examples plainly shew, That Princes may intercept the Ambassadors of Enemies carrying a Commission with such Instructions as are prejudicial to the Country of such Princes, and detain them in Custody : For in an Enemy, the Right of a free Passage, which Ambassadors otherwise enjoy, entirely ceases, and their Persons cannot be accounted

^m Lib. 2.

ⁿ D. 50. 7. 17.
D. 48. 7. 7.

^o D. 50. 4. 1. 1.
D. 50. 6.

^p In L. 4. C.
4. 63.

^q D. 50. 7. 7. 8.

^r Bart. in L. 24.
D. 5. 1. 1.

^s D. 5. 1. 2. 3.

^t D. 5. 1. 25.

^u D. 50. 7. 3.
⁸ 4.

It has been remember'd already, That an Ambassador bears a publick Office ; and that Persons deputed thereunto, may, according to the *Civil* Law, be compelled to undergo the same ^o. Hence the Doctors infer, That whatever Damage an Ambassador suffers in his Embassy, the State which sends him is bound to make good unto him ; provided he does not carry such Effects along with him which are not necessary to his Embassy. But then an Ambassador ought to take the common Rout, and not to travel through dangerous Roads, and ought to render himself unblameable in his Journey. If an Ambassador be detain'd by Sicknefs, his Expences ought to be defray'd by the State that sends him, 'till such time as he makes his Return home. But if he delays his Return home, and wanders up and down in the Country to satisfy his Curiosity, and the like, he loses the Privilege of an Ambassador : And if he shall sustain Damage by such Delay, the State is not obliged to repair the same, (according to *Bortolus* ^p). An Ambassador, among the *Romans*, had an Immunity from all publick Offices and Services, not only during the Time of his Embassy, but also for two Years after his Return ^q. An Ambassador also has a further Privilege, *viz.* That he cannot be convened or sued in the Place of his Embassy, unless it be for such Things as he has purchased and acquir'd in the Time of his Embassy ^r. For those Persons who are sent unto any Place in the Business of the State, if they are convened or sued, have an Exception *Revocandi Domum* ; that is to say, they may pray that the Cause may be remitted to the Judge of the Place where they have their Residence and Dwelling ; lest that, in the mean time, they should be hinder'd and divided from their publick Employment ^s ; and this Exception is granted unto Ambassadors. But this Right *Revocandi Domum*, or of demanding a Suit to be transferr'd to the proper Place of their Dwelling, ceases, if they shall have made any Contract in the Place or Country to which they are sent, during the Time of their Embassy, or in any other peculiar Place. For *Julian* adds, They may be compelled to receive Judgment in that Place where they make the Contract ; lest they should otherwise, under this Pretence, be enabled to transfer those Things, which belong to another Person, to the Place of their own Country or Habitation ^t. And *Julian* rightly adds those Words, *viz. During the Time of their Embassy* : For Ambassadors have a Right of being sued in their own Country, for Contracts made before the Time of their Ambassadorships ^u. And this is true ; because they should not be hinder'd in the Execution of their publick Office : Which Reason obtains and has Force, when they have

have contracted at *Rome*, or have agreed to perform the Contract there ^{x. x} D. 5. 1. 8. But as Ambassadors, that have contracted at *Rome* during the Time of their Embassy, ought to be convened and sued there; so, for a better Reason, a Person that is not an Ambassador, contracting there as a Stranger, may be convened and sued there; because *Rome* was the Habitation and Common City of the *Roman* Empire, and the whole World: Nor shall such a Person have the Right and Power of carrying his whole Cause of Action to his own proper Country ^{y.} See *Covarruvia's Practical Questions* ^{z.} ^y D. 50. 1. 33. ^z Cap. fin.

If an Ambassador, during the Time of his Embassy, takes upon himself the Business of an Executorship, or an Heir (as called in the *Civil* Law), an Action does not lie against him, according to *Celsus*, though he shall have taken the Heirship or Executorship on himself at *Rome*, or shall have made a *quasi*, or an improper Contract, upon such Account: Because this Affair is a Matter of much Fatigue and Trouble; and by such an Action, his Function of an Ambassador would be much hindered and incommoded ^{a.} Yet ^a D. 5. 1. 26. (notwithstanding his Function) the Legataries and Hereditary Creditors shall be admitted into the Possession of the Inheritance, unless such Ambassador shall give them sufficient Caution and Security, to pay the Debts and Legacies bequeath'd ^{b.} In the like manner, Agents, who are in the Place ^b D. 5. 1. 26. of Ambassadors, are in the same Condition and Circumstances, in a Cause of the same or the like Nature; tho' this be not easily granted to them, *viz.* that they should be re-conven'd in that Place, as if they were resident, or subsisting there, tho' their Embassy or Legation be at an End; for the Reason of this Impediment ceases ^{c.} But Persons, prosecuting any Injury or Damage done them, do not prejudice their Right of bringing their Action in their own Country, lest (as *Julian* observes) they should otherwise be treated with Affronts and Contumelies, and be injuriously damnify'd (with Impunity) by such Ambassadors. Nor shall it be in the Power of any Person that strikes an Ambassador, to subject him to the Jurisdiction of the Place where the Blow was given, when he would revenge and punish the Affront offer'd him ^{d.} For he may return home, and demand Satisfaction, ^d D. 5. 1. 2. 5. by the Means of his Principal, who ought to write to the Prince of the offending Party, either to punish the Offence, according to the Law of Nations, or else to deliver up the Offender to the Principal of such Ambassador, to be dealt with according to the said Law.

I shall next consider, whether Ambassadors, or Persons named to be such, may excuse themselves from undertaking that Office? And it is held by some, that they cannot; especially (say they) according to the *Roman* Law, if they be Persons fitly qualify'd for such an Employment. *Cicero* in his Offices, says ^{e.} that *Servius Sulpitius* undertook the Office of an Ambassador, ^e Lib. 2. under a severe Fit of Sicknefs, which brought him almost to his last End: And the Republick of *Venice* has made an Ordinance against such Persons, as refuse the Office of an Embassy, if they shall be judged fit Persons for this Employment by the Senate. Wherefore, *Ulpian* rightly says, that Persons may be compelled hereunto, if they shall refuse the same, by proper Remedies at Law, as Tutors or Guardians may be compelled to undergo the Office of Tutelage or Guardianship, impos'd upon them ^{f.} And this is ^f D. 50. 4. 9. true, on the Account of that Damage which they do the Commonwealth, by such a Refusal ^{g.} and their Prince, whom they ought to serve, and ^g D. 50. 1. 2. 1. yield lawful Obedience unto. But, I think, this is otherwise by the Common Law of *England*, which does not oblige Persons to undergo this Office, but they may refuse it, tho' not with good Manners, if they are qualify'd, and their Affairs will permit them.

Hereunto we add, that Ambassadors do sustain an honourable and Authoritative Office, representing the Majesty of their Prince, and enjoying all the Privileges above-recited, if they rightly perform the Duty enjoyn'd

them: Which Office, therefore, they cannot seem rightly to refuse, without an Inconvenience to the Commonwealth, and a Contempt of their Prince. But even by the *Civil Law* (in my Opinion) the Prince cannot compel a Person against his Will and Inclination, to undergo an Embassy, if he can lawfully excuse himself from thence: For oftentimes a Person, that is sent against his Will, proves perfidious; and rather wishes to see his Employment at an End, than considers the Profit and Advantage thereof to his Principal. And it shall be adjudged a lawful Excuse to a Person, if he knows himself unfit for the Office enjoin'd him; or if he be deterred from it, by Dangers and great Fatigues threatening him; or he be not very acceptable to the Prince, unto whom he is sent; because he has either in a publick Manner accused, or else affronted one of his Domesticks and Friends ^h: and lastly, if he be in no wise fit on the Account of a bad State of Health, or on the Score of Age, and a large Family of Children. And for this Reason the Emperors *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, by an imperial Constitution, ordain'd, That the Father of three Children, that were all living, should be exempt from all publick Embassies ⁱ. But he was not discharged from other Offices in the State, but was liable to them, unless he has a greater Number of Children. For it was Necessary, that a Father should be relieved herein, and not be oblig'd to undergo the Function of an Ambassador, upon the Account of that Service; which in other Respects he does unto the Commonwealth; and on the Account of the Damage, which he and his Family may sustain from thence, in his Estate and his own proper Affairs, during the Time of his Embassy. For during that Time he ought not to interest himself in his own Affairs, nor intermeddle in the Business of other Men; devoting himself to no other Mandates or Commissions, besides those of his Prince ^k. And hereunto an Ambassador is so far oblig'd, that he ought not to do any Thing contrary to the Duty of his Office, tho' it might seem more for his Advantage to act otherwise by the Prosperity of some casual Event; nay, not if it should be for the Advantage of the Prince himself that sent him.

Besides the Privileges already mentioned, Ambassadors had formerly all Rights of Superiority in their own Houses, and over their own Domesticks; and to punish and deal with them according to their Demerits, and not the Prince or Laws of that State, unto which they are sent. But at this Day this Sovereignty or Superiority rather depends on the Concession of him with whom an Ambassador has to deal: Because, regularly speaking, the Authority of a Prince, and the Badges of Sovereignty, do not extend themselves out of the Province or Territory of the Prince. The Actions of Ambassadors are not subject to the Examination and Enquiry of any one, and their Persons ought to be entirely safe and free in their own Houses, not only in that which they have made their own by Purchase and Property, but even in that which they have hired for their Dwelling and Habitation. So that a Right of *Asylum* or Sanctuary accrues to their Domesticks, and to all other Persons flying thereunto: Provided such Persons thus betaking themselves (as aforesaid) have not opposed the Laws of the State or Commonwealth where they are resident, or violated and impugned the publick Peace and Tranquillity thereof. For this is a Prerogative not comprized under the Rights of Ambassadors; nor does it extend itself to all Ruffians and disorderly Persons, but only to such unhappy Wretches as are the Objects of human Pity and Compassion. And therefore, the Protection of Ambassadors reaches not to the more atrocious and heinous Crimes, but to such only, as are of a light and inferior Nature, and to such as are committed through any Imprudence or Mishap: And therefore, this Protection does not exclude Debtors, unless they have spent their Estates, and are become Bankrupts,

Bankrupts, thro' Fraud or Prodigality. But Ambassadors give no Protection in their Houses to such as fight Duels, Rencounters, and the like. Touching the Protection given to or by Ambassadors here in *Great Britain*; see a late Statute in Queen *Anne's* Reign.

It has been a Question among some Persons, whether the Security which accrues to Ambassadors themselves, be of so sacred a Nature, as not only to guard them against all unjust Force and Violence, but even against a judicial Force, in Case they shall commit any Crime or Offence against the State? And herein some Persons make a Distinction, *viz.* between common Crimes and such as are committed against the State of him unto whom they are sent. Others think that Ambassadors are indistinctly exempt from the Jurisdiction of him unto whom they are sent; and ought, in respect of every Crime whatsoever, to be sent home to their Principal or Master, with an Accusation or Remonstrance of their Crime; and that Satisfaction ought to be demanded of him, in order to have the Crime punish'd, lest otherwise the Prince, to whom they are sent, should become a Judge in his own Cause, and by this Means be both Judge and Plaintiff therein: which Opinion, tho' founded on Equity, yet (I think) considering the Reason of the Law, ought not to be admitted and allow'd of. Because, in Crimes and Offences, there is no Prescription or Favour allowed: But every one ought to be convened on the Account of Punishment, to which he has made himself obnoxious by his Delinquency, in the Place where he committed the Offence, and is found resident ^{l.} For the Dignity of an Embassy, from ^{1 D. 5. 1. 20.} which they have excluded themselves by their Guilt, does not exempt Ambassadors from a Charge or Accusation made against them ^{m,} lest the ^{m C. 3. 24. 1.} Benefit granted to them, should be found to be unjust, as tending to the ^{un.} Detriment of the Prince and People, unto whom they are sent. *Theodatus* rightly observes, as we read in *Procopius*, touching the *Gothick* War, That Ambassadors ought to be safe, so long as they themselves shall observe the Office and Duty of their Embassy. Wherefore, Ambassadors residing at *Rome* shall be compelled to undergo a Judgment there, for Offences committed in their Embassy, lest they or their Domesticks should otherwise offend with Impunity, by their Departure and Going from thence, having (perhaps) no Reason to fear Punishment in their own or another Prince's Dominions. And it will be more lawful to intercept the Enemy's Ambassadors going to other Kings, than to procure their Friendship, by praying Aid and Assistance from them, as we are taught by several *Roman* and *Athenian* Instances, already related. For the *Athenians* intercepted the *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors going to the King of *Persia*, in order to beg his Alliance and Confederacy with the *Lacedemonians* ^{n:} And *Livy* assures us, that ^{n Thucyd. lib. 2.} the *Romans* seized *Hannibal's* Ambassadors, going to the King of *Macedonia* ^{o,} as before remembred. ^{o Liv. lib. 3. dec. 3.}

But it is not in any wise lawful for a Prince to seize the Papers and Writings of an Ambassador, under the Pretence of a treasonable Intercourse and Correspondence, unless they are sealed up with the Ambassador's Seal, as well as his own, and kept under strong Guard, until such Time, as Notice is given to such Ambassador's Master, that he may send over Persons to be present at the Examination of such Writings, if he pleases: For, under such a Pretext and Colour, a Prince may pry into the secret Transactions of all Courts and Nations, and become injurious to the Prince with whom he seems to cultivate Friendship; which is contrary to the Laws of Humanity.

It has been already hinted; that, by the *Civil* Law ^{p,} as well as ^{p D. 48. 4. 1.} by the Law of Nations, it seems to be Treason to offer Force and Violence to the Ambassadors of any Prince or State; because this Crime is committed against the publick Safety of the State and Prince that have the Power

- ^a D. 48. 6. 7. Power of sending Ambassadors. And the *Julian* Law, touching Force ^q, (as before related) seems to countenance this Opinion, whereby he is answerable, who violates Ambassadors or Envoys, and injuriously treats them, or any of their Retinue. And *Egesippus* assures us ^r, that among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* it was accounted a very unjust Thing so to do. The Right of Embassy, even among Enemies, is (as *Cicero* remarks in his third Oration against *Verres*) protected by the Law of God and Man. And
- ^s Lib. 22. c. 2. *Pliny* informs us ^s; that heretofore there was no Designation or Appointment of Ambassadors, without consecrated and holy Ceremonies, whether they were sent as Heralds, to declare War, or as Plenipotentiaries to treat of Peace; and hence also they were deemed to be *sancti* ^t. And this Act of Religion, in the Choice and Sending of Ambassadors, was practis'd anciently among the *Franks*, as *Gregory of Tours* observes in his History of the *Franks* ^u; where he says, that *Gundebald*, who stiled himself the Son of *Clotaire* deceas'd, sent two Ambassadors unto *Gunthran*, viz. with consecrated Rods, according to the Custom of the *Franks*, to the End that they might not be detained by him, but return with his Answer at the End of their Embassy.

And as the Law of Nations deems it to be a Matter of Religion, not to violate Ambassadors, whilst they are employed in a publick Embassy ^x: So it is a just Cause of War, if Ambassadors are treated with Violence. And, according hereunto, King *Philip* wrote to the Senate of *Athens*, as *Demosthenes* relates the Matter, in an Epistle sent by *Philip* to the Senate, that he had justly commenced a War against them, because *Diopithes* had imprisoned his Ambassador *Ampholochus*, and had taken nine Talents for his Ransom or Enlargement. And the *Athenians* themselves were so inflamed with Resentment, that the People of *Megara* had hanged or offer'd Violence to their Ambassador *Anthemocritus*, that the *Athenians* forbade them their Mysteries, and erected a Statue before the Gate, as a Monument of this Injury.

- An Ambassador represents the Majesty of the Prince that sent him: And therefore, a Contempt of him, is an Affront offer'd unto the Prince himself, and a heavy Punishment ought to be inflicted thereon. Yea, an Ambassador is not exempt from a Crime, if he behaves himself with more Submission unto the Prince unto whom he is sent, than his Prince himself would do. Wherefore the *Athenians* put *Evagoras* to Death, who going in an Embassy unto *Alexander*, fell down on his Knees to him. See *Athenæus* ^y. By the *Civil* Law, those who violated the Person of an Ambassador, sent even by the Enemy, were deliver'd up to the Enemy, whose Ambassador he was, to be punished according to their Discretion ^z. See an Example hereof in *Florus's* Abridgment of the *Roman* History. And therefore, much more ought he to be punished, who kills or puts an Ambassador to Death; because, as *Polybius* observes ^a, this is doubtless a just Cause of declaring War. Hereupon the *Romans* commenced a bloody War against the *Fidenates*, because they had, for a slight Offence offer'd them, put the *Roman* Ambassadors to Death, as *Livy* ^b and *Diodorus Siculus* ^c do both testify. The *Sybarites* were destroy'd Root and Branch by the *Crotoniata*, because the first had slain the Ambassadors of the latter People. See *Athenæus* again ^d. And *Egesippus* informs us ^e; that the *Arabians* were all put to the Sword, for destroying *Herod's* Ambassadors. And the whole *Athenian* Territory, together with the City itself, was laid Waste, because they had injuriously treated the Ambassadors which *Darius* had sent thither to fetch Water and Earth, by putting those Ambassadors into a Dungeon and Well. This Account we read in the History of *Herodotus* ^f. So that, from these Examples, we find what was the Resentment of ancient Times, when Ambassadors were ill dealt withal, if the *Civil* Law was silent herein. By the

the *Canon* Law, those, who molest or infringe the Rights of Ambassadors, are to be excommunicated g.

But Ambassadors themselves ought to be very careful of their own Behaviour, in the Country whereunto they are sent, and not flatter themselves too much with their high Station, Character and Honour, which often puffeth up, so as to render them immoderately insolent thereupon: For it is one Thing to perform the Office of an Ambassador as Men ought to do, and another Thing to betray and abuse that great Trust of Power. For the Right of not Violating Ambassadors only remains so long to them, as they themselves observe the Laws of an Embassy, and preserve a decent Behaviour in the Country where they reside, as *Theoda* has told us in the History of *Procopius*, touching the *Gothick* War ^h, when he addressed himself to the Ambassadors of *Constantinople*, who had behaved themselves amiss. For Guilt and evil Manners divest even the highest Persons of all Honour, Dignity and Respect otherwise due to them.

Not only an Ambassador's Family and Retinue, but even the Ambassador himself is liable to Civil Actions; yet this is to be understood under some Distinctions and Limitations, as the Lawyers stile them; which, I think, may be consider'd in one View, in this manner, *viz.* Ambassadors may be convened and impleaded on the Account of such Contracts as they have made during the Time of their Embassy, lest they should, under the Colour and Pretext of an Embassy, be empower'd to carry off other Mens Goods into their own Country, as aforesaid ⁱ. But in respect of other Matters, for which they contracted before they entred on their Embassy; an Ambassador ought in no wise to be impleaded in the Country unto which he is sent, unless it be thus agreed, that a Debt should be paid, contracted during the Time of his Embassy. For if this be expressly said in the Libel or Declaration, wherein Ambassadors have contracted before their Embassy, they have a Right *revocandi Domum*, *viz.* of remitting the Cause to their own Country, tho' they have contracted in the Place where they reside, provided they made such Contracts before the Commencement of their Embassy; because Ambassadors are deemed in Law to be never absent from their own Country. Nor are they compelled to defend themselves in foreign Jurisdictions, so long as they stay abroad on the Account of their Embassy. But if Ambassadors continue there after the Determination of their Embassy, they may be convened in a Foreign Court of Law. On the other hand, they may try a Cause there for any such Damage as they have suffer'd, during the Time of their Embassy: For it would be unjust, that an Ambassador should be compelled to suffer those Things, which tend to his Damage, or are designed for his Injury, without having some Redress. See a Statute made in Queen *Anne's* Reign, touching Ambassadors and their Retinue, on the Arrest of the *Russian* Ambassador in *London* ^k, which privileges Ambassadors from Arrests in their own Persons: But then this Statute does not extend to their Servants, unless their Names are first enter'd with one of the Secretaries of State, and transmitted to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*. Nor does this Law give Privilege to Traders and Merchants of *Great Britain*, &c. that become Insolvent, and enter into an Ambassador's Family with a Purpose of defrauding their Creditors.

^g Dist. 94. c. Siquis.

^h Lib. 7.

ⁱ D. 5. 1. 25.

^k 7 Anne c. 12.



T I T. XLIII.

Of Innholders, and other Persons of common Trust, as Carriers by Land and Water, &c. how they are bound, by Law, to restore such Things as they have taken in Charge to keep, &c.

IT being oftentimes necessary to put a Trust in Innholders, and such as keep Publick-houses, for the Reception and Entertainment of Strangers travelling from Place to Place, the Law has made them liable to answer for the Goods of such Persons as commit them to their Care and Custody, and which they have receiv'd from their Guests : And the Reason of this, is, lest they should have Commerce and Dealing with Thieves in a secret manner, and, by this Means, injure those Persons whom they receive into their Houses ^p. For the *Prætor* has given an Action against Innholders, and all such other Persons as have the Charge of Mens Goods, whether it be by Land or Water ; as Waggoners, Carriers, Masters of Ships, &c. compelling them to restore whatever they have receiv'd into their Custody, or to answer the Loss thereof ^q. And Things are said to be thus receiv'd, tho' they are not precisely and in an express manner deliver'd to their Custody, but only brought into the House, or put on Board, with the Knowledge of the Master of the House, or the Owner of the Vessel ^r ; for they ought to be made acquainted with it. And such publick Masters of Houses, or Owners of Ships, are not only answerable for themselves, but likewise for their Ministers and Servants ^s ; because they ought to employ none in their Business but careful and honest Men. Wherefore they are obliged *Nomine Custodiæ* ^t, even tho' they are not guilty of any Fraud or Negligence in their own Person ; unless something shall happen which cannot be foreseen by human Prudence ^u ; or have before-hand protested and given Notice, that each Guest or Passenger should take Care of their own Effects, and that they will not stand to the Loss and Damage ; and the Guests or Passengers have consented unto such Notice ^x.

For there is a *tacit* Contract or Agreement made between an Innkeeper and a Traveller, by which the Innkeeper obliges himself to the Traveller to find him Lodging, and to keep his Goods in safe Custody, *viz.* his Horses, and other Equipage : And the Traveller, in like manner, obliges himself, on his Departure, to pay and satisfy all his Expences. For this Obligation or Engagement is not usually made by an *express* Agreement, but by a *tacit* Consent of the Parties, at the Time when the Traveller enters into the Inn, and by committing his Goods and other Things either to the Hands of the Innkeeper himself, or else to the Care of those whom he intrusts and charges with the Care of the Inn, for the Safe-custody thereof.

The Innkeeper is obliged, by the Act and Deed of such Persons as are of his Family, and of him who is his menial Servant, pursuant to the Offices and Duties which are committed to them. Thus, when a Traveller gives to a Servant, or any of the Family who has the Keys of the Chamber, his Cloak-bag, Portmantua, or other Goods, or when he puts his Horse into the Stable, and commits him to the Care and Keeping of the Hostler or

or Groom of the Stable, the Master of the Inn is answerable for the same ^{y. 1.4.5.3.} But if a Traveller, upon dismounting his Horse, shall, out of the Master or Mistress's Sight, deliver a Bag of Money to an Infant or Child, or to a Kitchen-drudge about the House, the Master shall not, in Consequence hereof, be bound to make Good the Loss of such Bag of Money deposited and trusted in such a loose and idle manner: For, doubtless, had the Master or Mistress seen him committing the same to the Hands of such Persons, they wou'd, by a proper Intervention, have taken Care thereof.

An Innkeeper is not discharged from a fortuitous Case, which may happen, if his Care and Vigilance might have prevented the same. No Innkeepers are to be paid in Particular for the Safe-custody of such Things as are committed to their Trust in an Inn ^z, but only for Lodging, and such other ^{z D.4.9.5.} Things which they ought to provide and furnish Travellers withal: But, I think, they are not obliged to take the same Care, as when they are expressly paid for the Safe-keeping thereof. According to the *Gloss* ^a on ^{a In L. 7.} the *Law*, an Innholder, who has deliver'd the Keys of a Room or Chamber ^{D.4.9.} unto his Guest, is not thereby discharged from the Person's Goods; for he may have other Keys or Ways of getting at them. If any of the Domesticks of the Innkeeper's Family shall cause any Loss or Damage unto a Traveller, that he be robbed thereby, even of that which he has not given to be safely kept in the Inn, or to be any otherwise damnify'd in his Goods, the Innholder shall be obliged to make good the Value lost, and shall repair the Damage which shall happen thereby: As when his Servants or Domesticks shall give Intelligence unto Highwaymen, and such-like Robbers, of what Goods the Traveller lodged in the House. But the Obligation of an Innkeeper for the Act of his Domesticks, is limited to such Things which pass in the Inn, and are brought thereinto: And if any of his Domesticks rob or do any Damage in another Place, he is not bound thereby. And what is here said of an Innholder, also holds good in respect to a Waggoner, Carrier, Master of Ship, &c. *Mutatis mutandis*.

Tho' a Person be not obliged *ab Initio* to keep an Inn, or to receive Guests; yet after he has once begun to act as an Innholder, and to receive Strangers, he shall be compelled thereunto ^b: For this is an accessory ^{b D.47.5.1.} Incident to their Trade and Business; and it is the Interest of the Publick, that, in such a Necessity, there should be Publick Houses for the Reception of Travellers. And thus Innholders, after they have once open'd a Publick House of Entertainment, and have taken on themselves the Business of Hosts, may regularly be oblig'd (according to *Bartolus* ^c) to entertain ^{c In l. 1. D. 4.} such as come to their Houses. And in the same manner, a Bargemaster, ^{9.1.} or a Person that keeps a Boat for the Carriage of Goods, &c. is obliged to carry Goods for Persons requesting the same. If Goods are stolen in an Inn, a Presumption of Theft lies against the Innholder; because he ought not to keep any other than honest Servants about him, and only to entertain honest People: And in the Case of such Robbery, Credit is given to the Oath of the Person robbed.

It is to be observ'd, That a threefold Action accrues to a Person who lodges Goods in a Ship, Inn, or publick Stable, if his Goods are taken away; and if he chuses either of these Actions, he ought to be contented with it; for he can only implead the Defendant in one of them. The first is stiled a *Prætorian* or *Honorary* Action on the Case *de Recepto*: And this is given, unless Restitution be made ^d; which, as it contains a Claim or ^{d D.4.9.3.fin.} Prosecution of the Thing, is perpetual, and not limited by any Space of Time; and it lies as well for the Heir, as against the Heir ^e. Besides this ^{e D.4.9.3.pen.} Action, those Persons are also liable to an Action on the Case *in Duplum*, if they, or either of them, whose Assistance they make use of in their Business, shall commit Theft, or do any Damage to the Person that intrusted his

^f D. 4. 9. 5 & 7. his Goods with them ^f. It is given upon the Account of an *improper* Offence, or a *Quasi maleficium*, as the *Civilians* term it : For it is a Fault
^g D. 4. 9. 7. 4. in a Master to employ dishonest Servants ^g. Tho' this Action is not cut off or barr'd by any Limitation of Time ; yet it does not lie against an Heir,
^h D. 4. 9. 7. 6. because it is a penal Action ^h. And it lies against the Master, though the Mariners should give Warning to those Passengers which are in the Ship to take Care of their own Effects, unless such Passengers comply with such
ⁱ D. 4. 9. 7. pr. Notice ⁱ. By the Law of *England*, if a Man be lodged in any Inn, and any of his Goods be taken or stolen from thence by a Stranger, he shall have an Action upon the Case against the Innkeeper. See *Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium* ^k.

^k Pag. 208. As common Inns are instituted for Passengers and Wayfaring Men, (for the *Latin* Word for an Inn is *Diversorium*, he that lodges there *est quasi divertens se à viâ*) : And therefore, if a Neighbour that is not a Traveller, as a Friend, at the Request of the Innkeeper, lodges there, and his Goods are stolen, he shall not (according to *Coke* ^l) have an Action : For the Writ runs, *Ad Hospitandos homines per partes, ubi hospitia existunt, transeuntes, & in eisdem hospitantes*. See *Caley's Case* ^m. The Innkeeper shall answer for nothing that is out of his Inn, but only for those Things which are *infra Hospitium* : For the Words of the Writ are, *Eorum bona & catalla infra hospitium illa existentia*. And therefore, the Horse which, at the Request of the Owner, is put to Pasture, being not *infra Hospitium*, the Innkeeper is not bound by the Law to answer for him, if he be stolen : But if the Owner requires not this, but the Innkeeper of his own accord puts the Horse of his Guest to Pasture, he shall answer for him, if he be stolen. *Hospes est, quasi hospitium petens*. The Host requires his Guest, or *Hospes*, to put his Goods in such a Chamber, under Lock and Key, and then he will warrant them, otherwise not : The Guest suffers them to be in the outward Court, where they be stolen. In this Case, the Host shall not be charged for the Fault that is in the Guest ⁿ. And herein the *Civil* and our *English* Law do both agree.

^l Ibid.

I have already noted, That the Host shall not be charged, except there be some Default in him, or his Servants. Therefore, if one brings a Bag or Chest of Evidences or Obligations into an Inn, and they are stolen, through the Default of the Host, the Innkeeper shall answer for them ; otherwise not : For the Words of the Writ are, *Ita quod per defectum hospitatorum, seu servientium suorum, hospitibus hujusmodi damnum non eveniat*. And if the Guest delivers not the Goods to the Host to keep, nor acquaints him with them ; yet if they be stolen, the Host shall be charged. But if the Servant of the Guest, or he that comes with him, or he who desires to be lodged with him, steals his Goods, the Host shall not be charged ; for it was the Fault of the Guest to have such a Companion or Servant : But if the Host appoints one to lodge with another, he shall answer for him. If a Man lodges with any one that is not an Innkeeper, upon Request, and he be robbed in his House by his Servants, the Person lodging him shall not be liable ; for the Words of the Writ are, *Hospitatores qui communia hospitia tenent*.

An Innholder, Master of a Ship, &c. do not *principally* receive a Reward or Hire for the Custody of Goods. The Master of a Ship receives Freight-money, for the transporting of Goods or Passengers ; an Innholder, for the lodging or abode of Travellers in the Inn ; and a *Stabularius*, for suffering Beasts to stable with him : And yet all these Persons are liable to an Action
^o D. 4. 9. 5. on the Account of Custody ^o.



T I T. XLIV.

Of Absence, and the several Kinds thereof; when it affects a Man, and when not; and when a Person may be said to be Present, &c.

A Person may be said to be Absent, several ways: As, when he is not to be found at his usual Place of Residence or Dwelling; or, is out of the Territory or Jurisdiction where he is legally sought. For it is not always necessary that a Man should be beyond Sea, to give him the Denomination of an absent Person: For if he be not in that Place where he is legally enquir'd after, he may be stiled an absent Person ^o; and thus, if he be not within ^oD. 50. 16. the Confines of the Town or City of which he is an Inhabitant, he is said to be an absent Member ^p. Again: If a Person be in Court, and ^pD. 50. 16. sculks or hides himself behind the Pillars, and the like, he seems to be absent; because he is not effectually present: But a Person taken and detain'd by the Enemy, does not seem to be absent, as a Person detain'd by Highwaymen and Freebooters does ^q. A Person who has not a local ^qD. 50. 16. Dwelling or Habitation, at which he may be cited, is not *ad hoc* said to be absent, though he be not corporally present there. A Person absent or banish'd from the City or Country where he had his wonted Dwelling, is presum'd to be ignorant of those Things which are then done in the City, &c. And thus a Person absent at the Time of a Proclamation, is not presumed to have Notice of such Proclamation; and, in a doubtful Case, Absence is presum'd, unless the contrary be proved. ^{199.}

Now there are five Kinds of Absence, which the Law takes Notice of. The first is stiled a *necessary* and *probable* Absence *conjunctively* consider'd: As when a Person is absent on Account of the State or Commonwealth; and thus Ambassadors in their Embassy, and Soldiers in the War, are said to be absent ^r. The second is termed a *probable Absence only*, but is not ^rD. 4. 1. 8. so *necessary*: As those that travel and go abroad on Account of their Studies, and the like. And here, by *probable* Absence, I mean, such as the Law permits and approves of. The third Kind is *necessary only*, and not *probable*: As in the Case of Persons who suffer Banishment or Relegation, and those that absent themselves through Fear of being punish'd for some Crime committed by them. The fourth Kind, is a *voluntary* Absence *without Contumacy*: As in Merchants and others that are absent on the Account of some Profit accruing to them thereby. And the fifth is a *voluntary* Absence *with Contumacy*, which may be called a *malicious* Absence. Under a *necessary* and *probable* Absence, we may also reckon Captivity, great Sickness and Indisposition of Body, &c. Absence on Account of the State, (as aforesaid), is in our Books sometimes stiled a *laudable* Kind of Absence. A Cause of Absence, is not reputed to be collusive and malicious, when a Person is bound to reside in some certain Place, and thereupon absents himself: For if a Man, who is thus bound to reside, be absent, his Absence is presum'd to be just and lawful, and not to be *ex malitia*, or from a fraudulent Purpose; as a Person that is absent on Account of the State, or on his own necessary Avocations, since no Man is presumed to be a Delinquent. And a Person that is absent on a just Account, shall be restored *in Integrum*,

if he has not been defended according to Law. A Person that is absent on the Account of the State, is more favour'd in Law than a Minor. Absence, in a doubtful Case, ought to be understood and interpreted in a good Sense.

A Person absent, whether he be so before or after Contestation of Suit, ^{s D. 48. 19. 5.} cannot be condemned in Crimes of a capital Nature ^s; tho' he may, in his Absence, be condemned in Civil Causes, after Suit is contested or Issue ^{t D. 3. 1. 13. 1.} join'd in the Cause ^t. But if a Criminal be present at the Time of his Accusation, and the Crime be then well proved against him, he may be condemn'd, tho' he should afterwards absent himself at the Time of Sentence. For in Crimes wherein the Punishment extends not to Banishment or Relegation, or to that of a higher Nature or Kind, it may be proceeded to a Sentence of Condemnation after Contestation of Suit against a Person contumaciously absenting himself, and likewise to a Sentence of Confiscation of Goods for Contumacy even before Contestation of Suit; because this last is an *Interlocutory* Sentence, as a first Decree is, which punishes Contumacy in Civil Actions. By Confiscation of Goods, here, I mean, what our *English* Lawyers stile an *Outlawry*; tho' such Confiscation may be taken for a total and absolute Forfeiture, without any Prospect of having the Goods restor'd by a Reversal thereof. When a Criminal Process is carry'd on against an absent Person to a definitive Sentence, there ought to be an evident *Constat* of the Crime by legal Proofs, as in Civil Causes when the Process is to such a Sentence ^u: For Flight or Contumacy is not full Proof, unless it be in such Causes where there is a vehement Suspicion, and other Proof cannot be had. And this is true, according to the Common Law: But, by the Statute Law, a Person may be taken *pro Confesso*, on the Account of Contumacy alone; and Contumacy, by that Law, is deemed a legal Proof: And where there are Statutes, they ought, according to *Bartolus* ^x, to be preferr'd to the Common Law. But an Absentee personally cited, cannot be taken by the Judge *pro Confesso*: For no one can be fined by a Judge, unless his Contumacy be *real*, and not so by a Fiction of Law. But a Person guilty of *real* Contumacy, tho' absent, is deemed as a Person present.

^u Nov. 112.
c. 3. C. 7. 43.
Auth. *Qui
semel.*

^x In L. 5.
D. 48. 19.

A Person absent for five Years together, is not presumed to have *animum redeundi*; as in the Case where a Man goes away from his Wife, and leaves her for five Years; for then, according to the *Civil* Law, she may marry again, if she has no Knowledge of his being alive ^{*}; yet the *Canonists* and *Divines* dissent to this Doctrine. That Person seems to cease to be absent, when he returns or might return to his Home or Dwelling, after he has finish'd his Business, for which he was thus absent; for then every one is said *desinere abesse*, unless he shall be hinder'd from returning Home on the Account of some justifiable Cause. And twenty Miles a Day are allow'd for returning Home, which are to be reckon'd from the Time his Business ended.

^{*} Nov. 22. c. 7.

When a Process is awarded against an absent Person, the Judge ought not to proceed *ex mero motu*, but only at the Motion and Petition of the adverse Party: And this proceeds even in such criminal Causes wherein an absent Person may be condemn'd. Tho' an absent Person has been cited, and a Return of the Process has been made by the Messenger or Apparitor that executed the Citation; yet he is not said to be contumacious, unless such his Contumacy be accused by the adverse Party, as I shall shew under the Title of *Contumacy*.

A Person absent, and not appearing, is not said to consent and agree in a Thing that is done against him in his Absence: And therefore, if the Judge be an incompetent Judge, and proceeds against an absent Person, even tho' he has been cited; yet an Exception always lies against him
on

on the Account of his Incompetency. 'Tis the common Opinion of the Doctors, that a Person, propounding Causes of Absence in the Name of another, ought to be heard *absque mandato*, that is to say, though he has no Warrant or Authority in Writing for so doing: Yet, I think, the Person thus propounding, ought to swear to the Truth of such Causes. For it is not sufficient to alledge a Cause of Absence, unless such Cause of Absence be proved. He that alledges Absence, is not only bound to prove the same, but also that he was so far remote by Reason of the Distance of Places, that he could not easily appear within the Time. A Libel may be given in against an absent Person, if he has once appear'd in Court: For a Libel is not given in to proceed against him to Sentence directly, but in order to compel his future Appearance.

Presence is directly contrary to Absence: And, therefore, if one be known, the other is known; because, *contrariorum eadem est Ratio & Disciplina*. Thus a Person present, is presum'd to be knowing and acquainted with what is then done in his Presence, contrary to what an absent Person is. Presence may be had *sine visu*, if the Person understands what is done: For there is a Bodily and Mental Presence; and without this last, a Person cannot be said to be present at any Act. If *Caius* be commanded to do any Thing in the Presence of *Titius*, he does not seem to have done it in his Presence, unless *Titius* had Understanding and Knowledge thereof: Wherefore, if *Titius* be a Madman, Idiot, Infant, or asleep, and the like, the Party thus commanded, does not seem to have done it in his Presence; since *Titius* ought to have Knowledge of what is done. And it matters not, whether he consents or not; since that which is commanded may be rightly effected, without his Will or Consent had thereunto. A Person present, and silent, seems to dissent, when he cannot prevent and hinder the doing of an Act, which concerns himself, by contradicting and opposing the same: And a Person present, and silent, seems also to dissent, when the latter in Agitation is very much to his Prejudice and Disadvantage *y*.

y D. 24. 3. 33.

The Words *Coram* and *in Præsentia* have the self-same Signification; and relate to a corporal Presence. Wherefore, if a Witness should say, that something was done *coram Titio*; yet such Witness would not be deemed from thence a Liar or false Witness, tho' *Titius* does not understand it, provided, *Titius* was corporally present. And thus the Law, which requires that the Solemnities of a Will should be executed in the Presence of Witnesses, does not hereby require that they should know the Contents of such a Will, but only that they should know the Matter or Cause for which they are made Use of. But yet it often happens from the Nature of Things, that a Thing does not seem to be done before any one, who has not a right Knowledge or Understanding thereof; as in the Case of *Caius* and *Titius*, above-mentioned: For what Occasion have we of the Presence of him who does not know what is done? For, as the Philosopher *Epicharmus*, heretofore, said, *It is the Mind here that sees, and not the Eye of the Body*: Wherefore, he that is not present in Mind, seems to be absent in such a Case. And, therefore, if a Notary, who ought to make Instruments according to the Understanding of the Witnesses, *simply* writes thus, *vis.* that such a Matter was acted before this or that Person, he may be punish'd as a *Falsarius*, if they were not admitted to an Understanding thereof. For when it is Necessary, that the Witnesses should understand the Business thereof, this Word *coram* ought to be understood according to the Nature of the Act or Thing, that the Witnesses be not present in Body only, but also in Mind: And if it be found otherwise, the Notary himself may be impleaded and punished. Wherefore, when an Advocate, in the Presence of his Client, makes an Answer to any Libel or Petition in the *Latin* Tongue, the Notary ought not to declare and say in the Acts of Court, that he made this

Answer

Answer *coram Cliente*, unless he be sure that the said Client had such Skill in the *Latin* Tongue, as to understand his Advocate.

² Bald. Conf.
488. lib. 1.

A Person may be said to be present several Ways, and in divers Respects. For he is said to be present in the Place, if he has his Dwelling in the Place where the Action is brought, though he be absent with his Person ². In respect of convening Persons to a Council, they ought to be present in the Province or Territory where such Council is held. Where a Citizen has a Dwelling at *Pisa* or *Placentia*, and lives more frequently there than at other Places, he is rather present there, than at other Places: And in this Sense Presence is the same as Residence. There are some Acts, which may be done in the Absence of the Party, and in these he shall be looked upon as a Person present: I mean such Acts, as consist in the Mind and Intention of a Man, as an Act of Ratification, accepting of the Heirship, and the like. Thus a Promise made by Letters, is valid to an absent Creditor. Improper Contracts do not require the actual Presence of Parties, as Contracts; and they are, therefore, of Advantage, and do aid absent Persons in the Absence of the Fact. And thus much of the Presence and Absence of Persons: Only in a doubtful Case, a Person is presum'd to be present and resident in the Place where he is a Citizen, or an Inhabitant; unless he be proved to be absent.

In respect of Things that may be said to be *Res præsens*, which a Man may easily have and obtain upon Search thereof. And thus the Sense and Meaning of the Law is said to be *present* with us, when we may readily obtain the same after an easy Search thereof. And in this Sense, Money is also said to be *present*, when it lies ready for Payment, and may be easily had, tho' we have not actually received one Farthing thereof: For in this Sense, Persons, that are Men of Wealth and Riches, are said to have *present* or ready Money. Hence it happens, that if any one buys with ready Money, saying, *I will pay you ready Money*, he may be said to buy with ready Money, tho' he does not actually pay down the Money, or has not actually the same by him, because he may easily have it; and such a Person is rightly said to have satisfied his Contract on a speedy and voluntary Payment of the Money.

^a D. 18. 1. 64.

^b D. 12. 6. 26.

⁴.

^c D. 45. 1. 110.

A Grant made to a Person, absent and present, is valid *in Solidum*, for the Advantage of the Person present, *in Causa onerosa*: As, when I purchase an Estate for myself and *Titius* in his Absence, the Person of *Titius* is in this Case taken *pro Supervacua*: And, the Purchase of the whole Estate appertains to me ^a; because the Buyer purchases the whole Estate, and cannot compel *Titius*, his Partner, being absent at the Time of the Purchase, to ratify and accept of the Purchase of an Estate, that carries an Incumbrance along with it, if he refuses so to do ^b. But if a Grant of this Kind be made upon a *lucrative* Consideration, it is valid, and confirm'd for one Moiety, not only in respect of the Person present, but the Person absent ⁴ may also have his Moiety, if he pleases ^c. See further touching the Business of *Absence*, in my *Parergon Juris Canonici*.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

BOOK



B O O K III.

Of THINGS, the second Object of the Law.

T I T. I.

Of the Quality and Division of Things: First, into such as are in a Man's Patrimony, and such as are not; and into Things Common, Publick, and Private: Secondly, into such as are Sacred and Religious, and what the Lawyers term Res Sanctæ: Thirdly, into Things Corporeal and Incorporeal: Fourthly, into Things Lawful and Unlawful: And fifthly, into Things Ordinary and Extraordinary.

IT has been already remembred, That all the Right which Men make use of, has either a respect to Persons, Things, or Actions: And having in the two foregoing Books discoursed of Laws, Persons, and Human Acts; I shall here, in this Book, treat of Things, the second Object^a and Division of Law, and consider their Differences, and after what^a I. 2. 1. pr. manner the Dominion and Property of them may be acquired, either by an universal or particular Title, as founded either on the Law of Nations, or else on the Civil Law.

Now though the *Latin* word *Res*, which we in *English* render by the Name of *Things*, be a generical Term^b, comprehending both corporeal and b D. 12. 1. 1. incorporeal Things, as Services and other Rights; yet here it denotes whatever is foreign to Persons and Actions, the other two Objects of the Law. The word *Res* appertains also to every Obligation, Contract, and to Things in Action, with *Civilians* stiled *nomina Debitorum*. Hence, if I give or bind all my Estate unto you under the Phrase of *omnes Res meas*, Rights and Things in Action are understood to be given and bound over to you. But I shall only here speak of Things as they are the second Object of the Law^c, and of their Division and Quality. And, c I. 2. 1. pr.

First, It is to be observed, that Things are either such as are in, or out of our Patrimony^d. Things, which are in our Patrimony, or, which is the d I. 2. 1. pr. same thing, that are reckoned among a Man's Estate and Goods, are all those Things which may be either demanded by an Action, or retained by an Exception^e: And, therefore, Obligations^f, Services^g, and other incor- e D. 41. 1. 52. f D. 50. 16 49. g D. 32. 1. 5. 9. poreal Rights may come under this Head. I have here used the word *Patrimony* in the general and extended Sense thereof, and not in its strict

and proper Acceptation, when it signifies that Estate only which was derived *à Patre*: For *Paulus* says, that all Actions and Inheritances are couched under the Appellation of *Meum* and *Tuum*^h. But in a proper and particular Sense of the Word, a Patrimony only includes that Estate, which a Person has by Descent from his Father, as just now hinted; and which he possesses by a certain kind of Property, as being Heir to it; and then the *nomina Debitorum*, or Things in Action, are not comprehended. Wherefore, *Pomponius* saysⁱ, there are some Things in our Patrimony, and some Things which consist *in nominibus*, or in Action. This first Division of Things is explained by another, *viz.* that Things are either common or publick, or Things belonging to a Body Politick, or particular Persons, or to no one^k.

Things *common* are those, which in respect of their Property are the Goods of no Man, but as to the use of them are the Goods of all Men^l; as the Air, Sea, Running-Water^m, and the Sea-shore, &c. For as the Sea cannot be occupied, it cannot be reduced to any Man's Property, unless (perhaps) a small Portion of it be let in on a Man's Land, or Moles are built on the Seaⁿ, and the like. The Sea-shore (I say) may also be reckoned as a Thing common, so far as the high Water-Mark runs, *viz.* as far as the greatest Wave extends itself in the Winter-time^o. Things *publick* are said to be those, which as to their Property do belong unto some People, or private Man, but in respect of their Use they belong unto all Men equally, who do belong unto that State or People where they are; as publick Rivers, Ports, Banks, and the like^p. And these Things are entirely different from Things common, though, in the general Sense of Things *publick*, Things *common* may also be said to be Things *publick*, and sometimes are so called^q. Thus Banks are said to be Things *publick*, though the Property of them belongs to those Persons, that have Estates adjoining to them^r. A *Bank* is that, which contains the River within its due Bounds from over-flowing the Land, when it is at the fullest, restraining the natural Force of its Current on each side^s. A *Port* is an inclosed Place in the Sea, or in some River, where Merchandizes are imported, and also exported from thence; and we in *English* sometimes call it a *Dock* or *Quay*. Thus a *Haven* is a Place where Ships may safely ride or remain at Anchor^t, in *Latin* called *Statio navium*: And if this be inclosed and fortify'd, it differs not from a Port.

Things belonging to a Body Politick, or Corporation, are such as belong to the Corporation or Body Politick, in respect of the Property of them; but as to their use, they appertain to all those Persons that are of the Corporation or Body Politick, as Theatres, Market-Houses, and the like^u. A Corporation, College, or Body Politick, is a collective Body of Men, which is neither a Family, nor a Free State or Commonwealth, but is distinct from the Method of its first Creation and Existence: And to constitute such a Body, three Persons are (at least) required^v, though one be sufficient to conserve the same^w; as may be seen under the Title of *Corporations*, to which I refer the Reader.

Things are said to be the *Goods of no one*, several ways: *First*, by Nature^x, as that Right which is common unto all Men; for no one can call that his own. *Secondly*, by Censure: And these Things are the Goods of no Man in such a manner, that they cannot become the Goods of any Man; and hence they are also said to be of *divine Right*^y; such are Things sacred, religious, and what our Books stile *Res sanctæ*. Things *sacred* are those Things which are in a solemn manner consecrated unto God by the means of the Priesthood; as Churches and Temples which are solemnly dedicated to the Service of God^z. And these Things cannot be alienated, unless it be for the Redemption of Captives^a, or for paying the Debts of the Church in case of necessity;

necessity^a; or for the Maintenance of the Poor^b. Things *religious* were so^a Nov. 120. called by the Ancients, by reason of some Sanctity suppos'd to be in them, as^c C. 10. being removed and separated from common use: And hence we say, that^b C. 1. 2. 21. that is *quid Religiosum*, which, being exempted from common use, ought to be revered on the score of some Sanctity in it, as *Cicero* calls the Heathen Temples *Religiosa Delubra*, being full of Majesty and Veneration. But as there is no Religion so holy, but that at some time or other it is traduced and vilify'd by some vain Error of Superstition, and which does not deviate from the right Way and Truth, it happens, that sometimes Religion is taken for Superstition, and he is by the Ancients called a religious Man, who is engaged, and binds himself down in a superstitious Religion, and who pretends to a great Zeal for Religion. From this Text, therefore, it is to be observed, that that is called a *religious* Place into which the Corpse of a dead Man is brought to be bury'd, whether it be the whole Body, or only the principal Part thereof^c, which is the Head. For tho' no Place^c D. 11. 7. 44. was accounted *sacred*, unless it was appointed and made such by publick Authority; yet heretofore every Person was suffer'd to make a Place *religious* by his own private Authority^d, by bringing a Corpse thereinto. But^d I. 2. 1. 9. it is at this day otherwise, by reason of the Papal Law published about the Consecration of Church-yards: By which Law no Place becomes *religious* without the Pope's or Priest's Consecration of it^e. That Place also was^e X. 3. 40. formerly subject to *religious* Uses, where the Body of any Person was burnt, and a Turf thrown over it. But the whole Place, which was purposely set aside for Sepulture, did not become *religious*, but only that Place (as *Celsus* observes) where the Body itself was bury'd. But by the *Civil* Law a Place does not become *religious* by Consecration, or a solemn Form of Words^f. *Thirdly, Res sanctæ*, or Things holy are those, which are guarded^f D. 11. 7. 2. 5. or defended by some Sanction of Law, against the Violation of Men, as the Walls and Gates of a City^g, &c. And the Punishment inflicted on^g I. 2. 1. 10. such as scaled, or committed any Offence against the Walls of a City, was^h D. 1. 8. 8. pr. capital^h. A *Sanction* is that part of a Law, which inflicts a Punishment,ⁱ D. 1. 8. 11. on such as violate a Law: For the word *Sanctum* is so called from *Sagmen*, Vervain, a sort of an Herb which the Ambassadors of the *Romans* were wont to carry to preserve their Persons from Violence by this distinctionⁱ.^j D. 1. 8. 8. 1. There were other ways whereby Things become the Goods or Property of no one, *viz.* by Fact^k, Time^l, and Chance^m, as Derelicts, hidden Treasure,^k I. 2. 1. 39. and the like; of which I shall treat in the Sequel of this Work more at large.^l I. 2. 1. 46.^m D. 1. 8. 1.

It has been said, that Things *sacred*, *religious*, and what we term *Res sanctæ*, (for we have no Word in *English* to express these last by well) are Things of *divine Right*ⁿ; and such Things as are of *divine Right*ⁿ D. 1. 8. 1. are not to be reckoned among Things of human Property: Wherefore,^o I. 2. 1. 7. the Law forbids them to be alienated or plighted by way of Pawn or Mortgage, except it be for the Redemption of Captives, and in some other Cases^o, as before remarked. Those Things which adhere to Things *relig-*^p I. 2. 1. 8. *ious*, as Stones to a Monument, are deemed as Things *religious*: Wherefore, if such Stones are removed or taken away, they cannot be recovered by a real Action, but must be sued for by an Action on the Case^p, because^p D. 6. 1. 43. they are not Things of a profane Nature, when they are thus apply'd.

Another Division of Things, is, that there are some Things which are stiled *corporeal*, and others that are called *incorporeal*^q. *Corporeal* are those, which^q I. 2. 2. pr. may of their own Nature be seen, touched, &c. as Gold, Silver, a Garment, a Man, and the like^r. All corporeal Things are Dividuals according^r I. 2. 2. 1. to their Nature, since they may be divided. Hence Artificers have several Names given them, as Masons, Carpenters, Joiners, and the like. The same Things also by an Interpretation of Law admit of a Division either into integral Parts, or *Quota's*, or into discreet Parts, or *Quota's*. *Incorporeal*
Things

Things are those, which cannot be seen, or touched, &c. being such Things as consist only in Right; as an Inheritance, an Use, Usufruct, and all Obligations however contracted, Services^r, &c. Nor does this belong to the Matter, so as to hinder an Inheritance from being deemed an *incorporeal* Thing, because Succession consists in Things corporeal: For even the Fruits and Profits which are received from an Estate, are Things corporeal, and that which is due to us from any Obligation, is very often reputed to be a corporeal Thing, as a Bondman, Money, &c. But the Right itself of an Inheritance, and of an Obligation, is an incorporeal Thing^c; and so likewise is the Right of an Usufruct. And among *incorporeal* Things we may likewise reckon the Right of the *Prædia Urbana* and *Rustica*; that is to say, City and Country Estates, which are Services^s. A *corporeal* Thing (I say) is that, which has a visible Body, and a limited Form, in such a manner that it may be seen with our Eyes, and touched with our Hands: And though there are corporeal Things which cannot always be *actually* seen or handled, as Things in the Abyss of the Earth, and Depth of the Sea, &c. yet they may be seen or touched *potentially*. Among corporeal Things we reckon Moveables and Immoveables, which some will have to be a third *Genus*.

Again, there is another Division of Things, whereby they are distinguished into Things *lawful* and *unlawful*. Now all those Things are said to be *lawful*, against which there lies no legal Penalty or Action; that is to say, such as are not forbidden under a legal Penalty or Action. But tho' all Things are lawful, which are not expressly forbidden by some Law; yet every Thing is not said to be honest and decent. Some Things are said not to be lawful before they are done, which afterwards shall be lawful: And so *vice versâ*. And a Thing is said in respect of the Place where it is done to be lawful, which otherwise would not be lawful. If it be lawful to do that, which is greater, it is much more so to do that, which is less. Things expressed are sometimes lawful; which being not expressed, but only tacitly implied, are unlawful. But this is not universally true: For there are some Things, which being expressed, are prejudicial, and hurt the Party, but being tacitly imply'd, do not hurt him: As for example, a Legacy given at the Will of another Person, is not valid; as when I devise an Estate unto *Seius*, if *Titius* will have it so. But yet if it be not expressly given at the Will of another, but only tacitly, such Legacy shall be valid: As when it is said, *I give to Titius such an Estate, if Sempronius shall come to Rome*, &c. Some Things are found to be lawful from their Quality and Difference, which otherwise would not be so: And some Things are found to be lawful for lack of proof, which otherwise would be unlawful. A Thing is sometimes lawful by reason of a Pact or Promise, which otherwise would not be lawful. 'Tis sometimes lawful for me to do that by another, which is not lawful for me to do in my own Person. And 'tis sometimes lawful for a Man to do that in particular, which it is not lawful for him to do in general; as in the Case of a special Proxy. An unlawful Thing ought not to be committed for the sake, or under the pretence of doing that which is lawful. Every Thing is unlawful that is either contrary to express Law, or good Manners. By *good Manners* I here mean virtuous Actions; contrary to which are ill Manners, which are found in many Persons. And *first*, in respect of young Men, there are commonly reckoned to be six *Species* of them: For *first*, young Men usually follow their impetuous Passions, and care not what they do. *Secondly*, they are light and unstable in all their ways. *Thirdly*, they are often cruel, and have little regard to Humanity. *Fourthly*, they are verbose, noisy, and contumelious in their Discourse. *Fifthly*, they are, for the most part, Lyars, and love romantick Tales. And *sixthly*, they have little or no Moderation in

in their Actions^s. But the evil Manners of old Men do commonly consist^s herein, *viz.* *First*, they are too fearful and suspicious, having went thro' many Perils and Dangers of Life. *Secondly*, they are greedy and covetous through fear of Want before they die. And *thirdly*, they are too censorious of other Mens Actions^s. ^s Terent. Com.

The fifth Division of Things, is, that there are some, which are stiled *ordinary*, and these are such as are ordained by the Law itself, according to the limited Sense of the word *Lex* in the *Roman* Civil Law; or else such as are ordained by some Plebiscite, Decree of the Senate, Edict of the *Prætors*, or by some general imperial Constitution; and lastly, whatever is enjoined by any written Law, the same becomes a certain, general, and uniform Law, and may be termed Things ordinary; as all ordinary Proceedings and Process at Law, Punishments, &c. Things contrary hereunto are stiled *extraordinary*, as being determin'd by no certain Law, but left to the Discretion of the Judge in many cases; as the extraordinary Cognizance of Causes^u, &c.^v ^t Ter. ut sup.

The last Division of Things, is, that there are some Things which are said to be Matters of *Law*, and some which are said to be Matters of *Fact*. Those Things which are founded on the *Civil* Law in respect of their Origine or Approbation, are, according to *Alciatus*^w, stiled Matters of *Law*:^w In l. 1. But those that are founded on the Law of Nature, or of Nations, and are not aided in any respect by the Civil Law, he will have to be Matters of *Fact*; as natural Possession is a Matter of *Fact*, but civil Possession is a Matter of *Law*^x, as I shall show hereafter under the Title of *Possession*.^x Thus just Pacts, meaning such as are cloathed with a Consideration, or which the civil Law has approved, are also Matters of *Law*^y, as I think: And upon this account *nominate* Contracts are said to be Matters of *Law*^z, tho' they may be said to be Matters of *Fact* in respect of their Origine, as being founded on the Law of Nations^a. For though the Law says, that a Sale has more of *Fact* in it, than of *Law*; yet this is to be understood of the *Fact*, which consists in the making of such Contract: For those Contracts are *Facts* in respect of the making them; but when they are made, they become Matters of *Law* and *Right*, and produce the Effects of Law. ^u D. 50. 13. ^v D. 47. 11. ^w In l. 1. ^x D. 45. 1. ^y D. 46. 3. ^z l. 3. 18. 1. ^a D. 46. 4. 8. fin.

We say, that Things are *common*, which do of their own Nature and Original afford equal advantage to Man and other Animals: And they are, therefore, said to be *common*, because they are in common according to the natural Use of them; as I have before observed of the Air, Sea, and the like. Hence 'tis inferr'd, that every Person may not only have access unto the Sea-shore, if this may happen without any Detriment to the Publick, or Inconvenience to the private Right of another Man; but may also fish in the Sea, and have an Action of *Injury* against him who shall hinder him so doing^b, unless (perhaps) another shall be in the *Quasi* Possession of the Right of fishing there alone: For then he may prohibit another that has a mind to fish there, and have an Action against him by an Interdict of *Uti Possidetis*. But the Property of the Sea, and of the publick Sea-Coasts, may be prescribed unto by immemorial Custom^c, (as I shall hereafter prove) though it cannot be acquired by a Prescription of thirty Years^d. But to distinguish between Things *common* and *publick*, 'tis to be observed, that those Things are said to be *common*, which are of a promiscuous Use unto other Animals, as well as unto Men, of their own Nature: But those Things are said to be *publick*, which are only for the publick Use and Service of Men. For the word *Publicum* is, in some measure, the same as *Populicolum*, from the word *Populus*. Hence, if we consider the natural Advantage which accrues from a Thing, we say that such a Thing is common: But if we consider the Use of it among Men, as it arises from Industry, we call it a Thing *publick*, if it extends to publick Use. And, therefore, a Thing may be said to be *common* by Nature, and *publick* by Use and Industry. ^b D. 47. 10. 7. ^c C. 11. 42. 4. ^d D. 41. 3. 45.



T I T. II.

Of Goods; what is to be understood by this Term, according to the Civil Law; and of moveable and immoveable Goods, what they are, and what is comprized under them; whether Rents, Things in Action, stiled Nomina Debitorum, &c.

UNDER the Appellation of Goods, in *Latin* stiled *Bona*, we comprehend both *moveable* and *immoveable* Goods, according to the *Civil* and *Canon* Law: And though Rights and Actions do not come under the Name of *moveable* or *immoveable* Goods^e, but make a third *Species* of Effects distinct from those; yet under the Name of *Goods* simply expressed without this Addition, *viz.* of *moveable* or *immoveable*, all Rights, Titles, Specialties and Actions are included in a large Sense^f. Thus the Prince, by a Grant of *Goods*, seems to grant all Obligations and Actions^g. The word *Bona* or Goods may be understood either *naturally* or *civilly*. Those are said to be *Goods* in the natural Sense of the Word, *quia beant*^h; that is to say, because they make Men happy, or (at least) ought so to do: And thus the word *Beare* imports the same as *Prodesse*. But in a civil Sense, not only those Things are reckoned among our Goods, which are of our Property, but even those which we are possessed of *bonâ fide*, and claim by a lawful Title: And in such a Sense all Actions, Demands, and Prosecutions are comprehended. But the words *Bona* and *Res* do admit of a Distinction and Difference, according to the Law here quotedⁱ. Debts to be demanded, or sued for, do also come under the Appellation of *Goods*, but the Expences of the Suit ought then to be deducted^k: But, I think, future Debts do not come under this general Appellation, unless it be in some particular Cases. See *Bartolus* on the Law here cited^l. *Adventitious* Goods are said to be those, which are acquired by the Labour and Industry of a Son. Those Things are said to be the Goods and Chattels of a Person, which remain to him after all Debts are paid and discharged^m. Though the words *Bona moventia*, or Things moving themselves, have a respect unto an *active* Signification, as the words *Bona mobilia* are taken *passively*; yet these words *Moventia* and *Mobilia* are oftentimes used for the same thing, unless the Mind of the Person appears to be otherwise: As in the *Prætor's* Edictⁿ, wherein it is said, That Execution of a Sentence ought not to be made on Things *moving* themselves, as Horses, Mules, Asses, Oxen, &c. until it has been first served on Things *moveable*; provided this be more for the Debtor's Advantage. But neither *Moveables* nor *Immoveables* are couched under the word *Rights*; for *Rights* make a third separate *Species* of Things, as just now hinted: Yet, by an Interpretation of Law, or an Impropriety of Speech, even *Rights* are reckoned among *Immoveables*. Perpetual Rents, Pensions, and lasting Revenues are also reckon'd among *Immoveables*: But if Rents or Revenues are only to last for a short space of time, they are then reckoned among *Moveables*. But some will have it, that, by reason of the word (*All*) put in any Law or Deed, both *Rights* and *Actions* are comprehended under the stile of *moveable* and *immoveable*

immoveable Goods, if, according to the Subject of the Obligation, they depend on the Will of the Disposer, and may and ought to be presumed so to do: And though this Opinion does not please *Tiraquellus*, who has said much for the Proof of both sides of this Question; yet it sufficiently pleases me, by reason of the vulgar and common way of Speech, according to which this Clause of, *all my Goods moveable and immoveable*, ought to be extended to *Rights* and *Actions*, according to the Mind and Intent of the Parties contracting. And *Oldradus* thinks^o, that *Rights* and *Actions* are ^{o Conf. 219.} included under the Name of *moveable* and *immoveable* Goods, by reason of the common way of speaking, where such Usage of Speech has obtained.

Under a general Hypotheque or Mortgage of all a Man's Goods, even *Rights* and *Actions* are couched; and so likewise are all Fines and Specialties in our Books stiled *Nomina Debitorum*: But, under the Appellation of *moveable* and *immoveable* Goods, *Rights*, *Actions*, and *Specialties* are not contained, even in the Businels and of an Hypotheque or Mortgage. Thus if all my *moveable* and *immoveable* Goods shall be engaged by way of Pawn or Pledge, *Bartolus*, *Decius*, and others think, that only Goods strictly so called are engaged, and not *Rights* and *Actions*. But it has been a great Question among the Lawyers, whether the *Nomina Debitorum* or Debtor's Accounts may be reckoned among *moveable* or *immoveable* Goods? The Gloss on the Law says, that when *Immoveables* come in Action; that is to say, if an Action be brought for them, then the *Nomina Debitorum* ought to be reckoned among *immoveable* Goods: But if *moveable* Goods come in Action, then they ought to be reckoned among *Moveables*. Others will have it, that these Debtors Accounts are a third *Species* (as before related) in their own Nature: For they are not circumscribed in Place, as corporeal Goods are; whereas both *moveable* and *immoveable* Goods are circumscribed to Place. And this, I think, to be true; when it is not necessary that the *Nomina Debitorum* should necessarily give place to another *Species*. But when it is necessary that they should give place, as when the Question is about the Alienation of a Thing, which is permitted or forbidden, according to the *Civil* Law touching the Goods of Minors, then the said Distinction has place. As when a *moveable* Thing is contained in an Action, they are among *Moveables*; but if an *immoveable* Thing, then among *Immoveables*.

It has been said, that yearly Rents and Pensions are reckoned among *Immoveables*, when they have a respect to length of time: But *Federicus de Senis*^p limits this Rule and Conclusion in Law. For if yearly Rents or ^{p Conf. jur.} Pensions of six or eight Years Continuance are bequeathed to any one, they are not reckoned among *Immoveables*: But the Rents of Possessions, that is to say, of real Estates, are equivalent unto *Immoveables*, when the Disposition of the Grantor has a relation to length of time, as thirty or forty Years Continuance. *Lastly*, in a general Sense of the word *Goods*, is contained every kind of Profit and Emolument, accruing to a Man from a real and personal Estate, and even from his Labour and Industry.

Goods found in the Husband's House are presumed in Law to be the Goods of the Husband, by reason of that Preheminence which is in the Husband. Hence it is, that when a Feme-Covert avers Goods to be hers, (for by the *Civil* Law the Husband and Wife had formerly distinct Properties) she ought to prove the same, otherwise she shall not be admitted thereunto^q. And *first*, the Woman in this case must prove the Goods to be hers ^{q Mat. Math. in l. 1. C. 7. 73.} by some private Writing or Contract of the Husband^r: And if this cannot ^{r D. 23. 3. 9. 2. Imol. in l. 41. D. 41. 2.} be clearly proved, Proof had by Conjectures and Presumptions is sufficient, according to *Socinus* in his *Consilia Juris*^s. But Goods thus found are not presumed to be the Husband's, when a Presumption arises in favour of the ^{s Conf. 128. vol. 1. Arg. C. 5. 17. 8.} Wife from the Nature and Quality of the Goods, as in the case of Womens Apparel,

Apparel, and such other Goods as are suitable unto a Woman's Estate and Condition, as her Toilet and dressing Implements: For in this Case, he that denies them to belong to her, ought to prove his Intention^o. Secondly, this Conclusion holds good in respect of the Wife's *Paraphernalia*, which of *common Right* belong unto the Woman, unless the contrary be proved; because as they are used by her alone, they are presumed to be hers^o. The *Bona Paraphernalia* are said to be those Goods which the Wife has *extra dotem*, viz. because the Wife does not deliver them to her Husband by way of Dowry, but reserves them to herself, not only in respect of their Property, but also in respect of the Usufruct and Administration of them. And of this kind we may reckon not only those which the Wife reserves to herself upon a Contract of Matrimony, but also those which she has acquired after such Contract, by Donation, Legacy, or other ways; and even those which the Wife has acquired by her own Labour and Industry, after a Deduction of the Work and Service, which she owes to her Family. Those Goods are stiled *Bona Dotalia*, and not *Paraphernalia*, which a Woman has not at the time of her Marriage, either expressly or tacitly reserved unto herself; because a Woman at the time of her Marriage is deemed to assign all Goods unto her Husband by way of Dowry, unless it appears otherwise either by Words or probable Conjectures. Thus there is a manifest difference between the Dowry and the *Paraphernalia*: For the Dower remains in the Power and Disposal of the Wife in respect to the Property of it; but, in respect of the Usufruct and Administration of it, it belongs to the Husband, as I shall consider hereafter under the Title *Dower*: But this is said of a *Dos inestimata*, which cannot be alienated by the Husband: But a *Dos aestimata* belongs to the Husband in respect of the Property, Usufruct and Administration of it; the Estimation making it saleable, whereas the other cannot be sold.

A Father that has the *adventitious* Goods of his Son under his Care and Administration, and pays a Sum of Money for him, is in a doubtful Case presumed to make such Payment out of his Son's Goods, and not out of his own Effects^u: yet if a Father has any of his Son's or Daughter's Goods in his possession, and gives or promises a Wedding-Portion, he is presumed to do it out of his own Estate, and not out of his Daughter's Goods^v: And the reason is, because he cannot dispose of the *adventitious* Goods of his Son or Daughter^w; and, moreover, is bound to endow his Daughter. Hence the Father cannot give them by way of Dowry, but the Daughter may so give them, and then it is the Father's Business to consent to such a Gift, which is his Interest to do, as having only the Usufruct of them^x. And this Conclusion holds true, even though the Father shall *à principio* say, that he has already endowed his Daughter. The Goods of the Mother do belong to the Son of the Mother deceased, in respect of the Property of them; but in respect to the Usufruct of them, they belong to the Father.

Bona Superficiaria are the Goods and Possessions of him, who possesses an Edifice built on another's Soil or Ground, which we call the Ground-Rent, unto which the *Superficiarius* has an *Utilis Actio* in the realty^y: And he differs from an *Emphyteuta*, because this last both holds the Soil and his own Improvements from the Lord, and pays a certain Pension or Quit-Rent upon this account. But a *Superficiarius* oftentimes pays nothing at all; nor is he said to hold this Improvement from the Lord, unless he shall rent the *Superficies*, and become a Ground-Tenant. The *Superficies* here signifies that which is built on the Soil^z.

There are also some Goods that are stiled *Bona Residua*; and these are such Goods as are not specify'd by the Testator in his Last Will and Testament, but pass under a general Clause. And with such a Residue as this, the Ordinary ought not to intermeddle: For the Office of the Ordinary, according

according to the common Opinion of the Lawyers, does not extend itself to those, but only to such Goods and Chattels as are left to Legacies and charitable Uses.

The *Fiscus* or publick Treasury is often increased by the Accession of Things, which were the Properties of private Men; and this may happen several ways: As *first*, when their Goods and Effects are without an Owner to assert and claim the same; because (perhaps) the Owner died without an Heir^a; or because no one will accept of the Heirship or Inheritance, and the like: And these Goods we call *vacant* or *escheated* Goods. The *Greeks* term them *Adespota*, because they have no Owner. By the *Julian* Law it was provided, that these Goods should be forfeited to the Exchequer, as being deserted; and *Justinian* afterwards confirmed this Right, and settled some Methods for establishing the Forfeiture of them. At this day, in several Places *escheated* Goods do not belong to the Exchequer, but are granted out to Lords of Manors, together with full Jurisdiction, and other kinds of Royalty: But by the *Roman* Law, no one could seize them but by the Prince's Indulgence, and that for the Use of the Exchequer too. Among *Escheats*, we may reckon the Goods of Bastards born out of lawful Wedlock, if they die without Children, or making a Last Will and Testament: And these are also in many Countries granted out unto Lords of Manors. But then, in order to give these Lords a Succession unto the Goods of Bastards, it is necessary that such Bastards be born within the Lord's Territory or Jurisdiction, and dwelling there, die without Children: For if they leave Children, or make a Will, they exclude such Lords of Manors. See *Peregrin. de Jure Fisci*^b. In *France*, the King succeeds to the Goods of Foreigners dying there, by the Right of *Albinage*, unless they are naturalized; and the like Law we have in the *Netherlands*: But at *Hanover*, the Exchequer succeeds thereunto. But whoever succeeds to *escheated* Goods, they ought to make an Inventory of them, to pay all Creditors their just Demands, and to satisfy all *simple* Legacies, and Legacies in Trusts^c; because these Goods pass *cum suo onere*^d. If the Exchequer, or any other Person, shall neglect to seize *escheated* Goods for twenty Years, or shall not be apprized thereof for the said Term, it shall lose its Right, if such Goods consist in Actions^e, but if in real Goods, it is otherwise; for no Prescription or Limitation of Time shall bar the Prince in respect of such Goods^f.

The Goods of those Persons also are forfeited to the Exchequer, who, through a Consciousness of their Guilt and Crimes, make away with themselves before any Judgment or Sentence is passed upon them, being looked upon as Persons convicted and guilty^g: And so likewise are the Goods of Men, who stop the Mouths of their Adversaries with Bribes, that they should not follow the Law against them^h. But in both these Cases, the Criminal ought to stand charged with such a Crime, whereby he loses his Goods. If the Heirs of a Person, that thus lays violent hands on himself, will undertake to defend the Cause, they shall be heard; and if they prove that this Self-murder was committed upon some other account, as through Impatience of Pain, Irksomeness of Life, &c. or that the Deceased was an innocent Person, his Goods shall not be forfeitedⁱ.

The Law having passed Sentence upon an Offender, in such a manner as that he should lose his Life, Liberty, or Country, his Goods become immediately forfeited to the Prince^k; such Goods (I mean) as are of value: But as for the other, the Law allows them to the Prisoner for his Maintenance during the Time of his Imprisonment, and for satisfying such Fees as are due to the Officers thereof: which has place, when the Offender has no Children, otherwise one Moiety of his Goods come to his Children^l, unless it be in case of Treason, where all is confiscated. But only the Goods of

the Person condemned are forfeited, and not the Effects of other Persons, as of his Wife, &c. For she shall have her Dower and her *Paraphernalia*^m. Nor are the *Peculia* or Properties of Children under the Power of the Father, or of Servants, forfeited through the Offence of the Father or Masterⁿ. The wearing Apparel of the Person condemned, when he is carry'd to Execution, is not confiscated, but the Sheriff or Officer of the Law ought to have it as a Fee of his Office^o. But *Justinian* has by a *Novel* Constitution provided, that the Exchequer shall not claim the Goods of Persons proscribed, if the Criminal has any Descendants *in infinitum*, or Ascendants to the third degree, as in the Case of Persons that kill themselves^p. Neither the Goods of Persons condemned, nor of such as lay violent hands on themselves, do come under the Name of *escheated*, but of *Felons* Goods.

Lastly, Under the Notion of *Goods*, we may comprehend all that which belongs to a Thing sold. So that in the Sale of a House, every thing fixed to it is contained^q, though not particularly expressed; and also the Locks and Keys which are necessary thereunto. In the Sale of Lands, the Trees and the Mines pass, but not the Cattle upon it, or the Fishes in the Ponds. In the Sale of an Horse, the Bridle and Saddle is not sold^r, for they are only for Ornament: But *Custom* oftentimes determines what shall be comprehended in such a Sale.



T I T. III.

Of Dominion or Property; how it is distinguished, and the several Methods of acquiring it, both by the Law of Nations and the Civil Law; as by Occupancy, Accession, Specification, Confusion, Delivery, Receiving of Fruits, &c. These, with many other ways of acquiring, are, according to the Law of Nations, and shall be the Subject of the ensuing Title.

HAVING already, in a foregoing Title, touching the Division of Things, briefly discoursed of Things common, publick, and of Things belonging to a Corporation or Body-Politick, and also of Things in the Property of no one; I shall here principally speak of Things as they may be in the Property of particular Persons, commonly called *private Property*; and consider how this kind of Property may be acquired according to the Law of Nations, and in other subsequent Titles enquire into the ways of acquiring it, according to the *Roman Civil Law*; as by Succession, Legacy, Donation, *Fidei-Commissum*, &c. For all kind of Property is either owing to the Law of Nations, or else to the civil and municipal Law of every particular State^s: And by the Law of Nations, and the *Roman Civil Law*, it is to be observed, that Property may be acquired by no less than three and twenty several ways.

Now *Property*, in *Latin* stiled *Dominium*, is a Right, whereby any Thing becomes a Man's in such a manner, that he may alienate and dispose of the same, according to his own Will and Pleasure^t, unless he be prohibited

to do the same, either by some Law, Covenant, or Last Will and Testament. The *Latin* word *Dominium* is derived from the *Greek* Verb *Δομαίω*, and not from the word *Domus*, a House, as some would have it: There being no Analogy between *Dominion* and *Building*; because he that builds a House is not, therefore, said to have the Dominion or Ownership thereof. Yea, a Thing built on another Man's Ground or Soil, rather gives place to the Soil, and becomes the Property of him who is Lord and Owner of the Soil, as I shall observe hereafter. Wherefore, Dominion or Property is said to be a Power or Faculty, whereby a Man has the sole Command and Authority over a Thing, in order to dispose of it at pleasure, as aforesaid: And, in this Sense, the Lawyer *Paulus* calls the Power which the *Romans* had over the Persons of their Bondmen and Vassals, by the Name of *Dominium*, and the Power which any one had over the Persons of Freemen, by the *Latin* word *Imperium*. According to *Paulus*, and some others, Property had its beginning from Possession: And, therefore, the Right of Property and Ownership comes under the Name and Title of *Possession*, and among them the Right of Property, and of corporeal Possession, is one and the same thing; the *Latin* word *Dominium*, with them often signifying Possession. But, properly speaking, this word *Dominium* only denotes the Property of any Thing; and the word *Possession* points out the Use of a Thing. Indeed, Dominion and Property had its beginning from *natural* Possession; and may in some certain Cases be transferr'd without Possession: I say, *natural Possession*, because by the Law of Nature, every Man made that his own, of which he was possessed: For the Properties of Goods and Estates are distinguished either according to the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, or the Law of God. By the Law of Nature Men have a Right unto all the Goods of this World, so far as they tend to their necessary Subsistence. By the Law of Nations this Right or Property accrues to them by human Compact and Agreement. And by the Law of God it is confirmed to them by the eighth Commandment of the Decalogue delivered unto *Moses*, viz. *Thou shalt not steal*.

Again, Property is distinguished into what we call *Plenum* and *non Plenum Dominionum*. The first, is, when we have the Property and Possession of a Thing, with the Emoluments thereof: And the second, is, when the Property is separated from the Possession and the Emoluments of it^t. But this is commonly divided into *Dominium Directum* and *Dominium Utile*. A Man is said to have the *Dominium Directum*, or the *direct*^{t Wesemb. in D. 41. 1.} Property of a Thing, when the Property of it is vested in him without the Fruits and Emoluments thereof: And thus the Lord of a *Fief*, and an *Emphyteusis*, has the *direct* Property of those Estates. And he is said to have the *Dominium Utile*, or *Usufruct*, who has the Possession of the Thing, with the Fruits and Emoluments, but not by a Right of Property: And such a Person is a Vassal and an *Emphyteuta*, according to *Bartolus*^{u. u In l. 17 D. 41. 2. 1}. There is one kind of Property, which is stiled *civil*, and another which is termed *natural* Property: For the Woman has the *natural* Property of her Dower, but the Husband the *civil* Property thereof^{v. v C. 5. 12. 30}.

Now the Properties of such Things as consist in Commerce, are acquir'd either by the Law of Nations, or by the Civil Law^w, and not by the Law^w of Nature, which is common to all Animals; because the distinction of Property, as here understood, was introduced by the Law of Nations^x: ^{x D. 1. 1. 6.} And as this kind of Property was more ancient than that which is founded on the *Civil* Law, I shall first discourse of Property, as introduced by that Law. The ways of acquiring Property by the Law of Nations, are six, principally speaking, viz. *Occupancy*, *Accession*, *Specification*, *Confusion*, *Delivery*, and *Receiving of the Fruits of an Estate*: which Methods, though they may be well enough reduced to three, viz. to *Occupancy*, *Accession*,

Accession, and *Delivery* ; yet I shall follow the Order and Number of them as they are marked out to us by the *Justinian Institutes* ^y.

^y I. 2. 1.

Now *Occupancy* is a seizing or possessing ourselves of those Things which belong to no particular Person or Body of Men, and thus making them our own ^z. For, by the words *Res nullius* in the Law ^a, we mean those Things which are not the Goods of any Person by natural Right, or in respect of Time. The *Species* of Occupancy are three, *viz.* *Hunting*, *Finding*, and *Seizing* of Things in time of War belonging to the Enemy. Again, *Hunting* may be subdivided into a threefold manner ; and it includes Hunting, properly so called : *secondly*, *Fowling* ; and *thirdly*, *Fishing* : All of which I shall handle more largely hereafter. *Occupancy* founded upon the Right of War ^b, we may call *Captivity* : For there are some Things which we make our own by the Right of a just War, as being taken from the Enemy ^c. And there are others which become our Property by a *special* Occupancy, as just now hinted : being such Things as are in the Property of no one, but may become the Property of any one ; and these Things are granted to the first Occupant by the Law of Nature, or right Reason ^d.

^z D. 41. 2. 3. 3.

^a I. 2. 1. 12.

^b D. 41. 1. 6.

^c D. 41. 1. 7.

^d D. 41. 1. 3.

I have before, under the Title of *the Division of Things*, observed, that Things are said to be the Property of a Person, either by Nature, or else by some Fact ; or *thirdly*, by Time itself. Among those Things which are of no Man's Property by Nature, and yet become so, we may reckon Things animate and inanimate. The first of these we make our own by the *Occupancy* of Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling, as already said : And the others become so by *Invention* or *Finding* of them. Therefore, all wild Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, which are bred upon the Land, seen in the Air, or found in the Sea, as soon as they are taken by any one, do immediately become the Property of that Person, who seizes or takes them, by the Law of Nations. For that, which was the personal Property of no particular Man before, is now granted by natural Reason to the *Occupant*, or Person that first seizes it ^e. And the Law distinguishes not, whether the Person takes them on his own, or on the Estate of another Person ^f ; provided they are not in Parks, Fish-Ponds, or other Inclosures ^g. But the Proprietor of the Land may forbid another from coming thereon ^h, and if any one shall contravene such Prohibition, he may have an Action of Injury or Trespass against him ⁱ. By *wild Beasts*, I mean not only such Animals as are of a fierce and savage kind, but even such as are of a wandering Nature, and are not kept within any certain Inclosures ^k. But these Things, though they are inclosed, and rendered tame by Art and Nature, do yet become the Property of the first Occupant, if they recover their ancient Liberty, and not otherwise, unless they are accounted Derelicts, or are otherwise transferred by the Proprietor unto another Person ^l. Princes have at this day taken away these Rights of Hunting from their Subjects, and reserved them to themselves, how warrantably I shall not here determine.

^e I. 2. 1. 12.

^f D. 41. 1. 3. 1.

^g D. 41. 1. 3.

^h I. 2. 1. 12.

ⁱ D. 47. 10. 13.

^k I. 2. 1. 12.

^l I. 2. 1. 16.

Wounding of wild Beasts or Animals in Hunting, is not sufficient to give a Man a Right thereunto ^m, but occupying or seizing the same is also necessary thereto, whether it be done with a Man's Hand, or with an Instrument, as with Nets, Toils ⁿ, &c. Nor is it enough once to have occupy'd and seized them, if they afterwards make their escape, and the Pursuit of them is different ^o. But it is lawful to seize wild Beasts in this manner, and not such as have been made tame, if they go away with a purpose of not returning again ^p. It is not lawful to seize by *Occupancy* such tame Animals as are, for the most part, in a Man's Property, as Hens, Geese, Turkeys, &c. For if any one shall seize these with a *Lucrative* Intention, he commits Theft ^q.

^m I. 2. 1. 13.

ⁿ D. 41. 1. 55.

^o D. 41. 1. 32.

^p I. 2. 1. 15.

^q D. 41. 1. 44.

I. 2. 1. 16.

That,

That, which a wild Beast takes away by force from us, still remains in our Property as long as we can pursue it. *Martius* delivered his Sheep or Hogs to a Shepherd or Swineherd to drive to Pasture; and as he was driving them along, a Wolf seized a Sheep or Hog, and carried it away by force. A certain Countryman being near, followed the Wolf with his Dogs, and recovered the Beast out of the Jaws of the Wolf. *Quære*, Whether the Sheep or Hog belongs to the Countryman that rescued it, or to *Martius*? Some have thought, that it belongs to the Countryman. As when a Person has taken a wild Beast, and afterwards it makes its Escape, in this Case it becomes the Property of him who then seizes it: But in the former Case, certainly the Sheep or Hog ought to be restored to *Martius* the Owner. As when I have lost a Thing by Shipwreck, and another seizes it, the *Occupant* ought to restore it to me, otherwise he shall be liable in two-fold according to the antient Law: so that the Case of tame and wild Beasts differs. If the Person, who rescued the Sheep or Hog, refuses to restore it, he shall be liable to an Action of Theft, and to an Action *ad exhibendum* on a Claim of the Sheep or Hog¹; for the Property thereof still remains with the Owner, so long as they may be recovered. D. 41. 1. 44.

By *wild Beasts*, we mean such as live at random, and not in Herds, and which on their Escape return not to their Owners. And the same may be said of other Animals; as of Fishes in a River, and of Birds not cooped up and made tame. As to wild *Beasts* and *Birds*, they belong to the Person that first seizes them, as before related, by Hunting or Fowling, whether it be in his own or another's Ground: But Fish are the *Occupant's*, if taken in the Sea, or publick Rivers only; for if they are taken in private Rivers or Ponds, they belong to the Owners of the Water². D. 47. 10. 7.

Titius laid a Snare or Toils for the sake of taking a wild Boar: into which a wild Boar fell, and could not get out. *Seius* passing by, saw the Boar therein, and took him from thence. *Quære*, Whether *Seius* be obliged to restore the Boar unto *Titius*? And it was held, that he is not; because as *Titius* did not take him out of the Snare, he could have no Property in him. But if *Titius* had seized and taken him out of the Toils, by this means it would have been his, and then he may have an Action on the Case against *Seius*, if *Seius* by receiving him, or taking him away from *Titius*, suffers him to make his escape; though the Boar by such Escape ceases to be the Property of *Titius*. But in this Case, I think, it ought to be considered, whether the Snare was laid in a publick or private Place; if in a private Place, whether in a Place belonging to me or another Person; whether I had his Consent or not; whether the Beast was so hamper'd, that it was improbable he could get loose by struggling: If it was in my Ground, or if the Snare was laid in another's Ground by his Consent; and if it were unlikely that the Beast could escape, an Action then lies for taking them away, or for letting them loose.

Under the Appellation of *wild* Creatures or Animals, we may reckon *Bees*, which are of a *wild* Nature, (though *Pliny* in his natural³ History⁴ Lib. 11. c. 5. will have them neither to be of a tame, nor of a wild Nature:) And, therefore, Bees that swarm and settle themselves on a Tree of yours, are no more understood to be yours, before you have hived them, than Birds in their Nests on your Trees⁵. Wherefore, if another Person shall hive them before you⁶, he shall be the Proprietor of them. But if you shall see a Person entering on your Ground or Land, you may, before he has taken the Bees, by Law forbid him entering thereon⁷. Moreover, it is held, that the Swarm which flew out of your Hive, is so far understood to be yours, as long as you can have sight of them, and the Pursuit is not difficult:

But otherwise it becomes the Property of the first *Occupant*. By a *Swarm*, I here mean a new Offspring of Bees, which their Parents or Stock have forced out of their Hives to seek a new Habitation. Therefore, it is to be observed, That though the Nature of Bees be wild, yet their Swarm is so far yours, so long as it retains a Purpose or Custom of returning to you, or you do not despair of having them again. For why should another occupy those Bees which are in your Possession, and are wont to go and return again? But if any one should forbid or hinder you from hiving them, you may commence a real Action against him^w. But in this Case we ought to consider what is the customary Law in every Place. In some Places this distinction is made, *viz.* whether the Proprietor of the Bees did well observe and mark the Tree, on which Bees settled, or not; and whether he kept sight of them all the way from the Hive, or not^x. The Philosophers heretofore doubted, whether Bees were *feræ naturæ*; some thinking, they ought rather to be reckoned among Insects than among wild Creatures: For Insects are such Animals as have Incisures sometimes on their Necks, and sometimes on their Backs, Breasts, or Bellies, as the Earwig, Bee, and the like. And some of these creep only on the Ground, and are called *Reptiles*; others fly in the Air, and are stiled *Volatils*; as Bees, Wasps, &c. and others both crawl and fly, as Pismires, &c. And there are Insects which are without Feet and Wings, as the *Tineæ*, which are bred in Men. The Lawyer *Paulus* gave this Answer touching Bees, *viz.* if they swarm on a Tree in your Ground or Estate, and any one has a mind to hive them, or take their Honey-combs, an Action of Theft will not lie in your Behalf, because they were not your Bees, and also for that they were in the Number of such Bees as are without a Hive^y: But if it appears that those Bees flew out of my Hive or Stock, and, according to Custom, are wont to return, they are no longer in a State of natural Liberty, but are of my Possession after the same manner as other volucrous Animals are, which we keep pent up in Cages, and the like^z. And thus Bees remain a Man's Property so long as a Custom of returning home, or (as we say in other Words) *animus revertendi*, remains with them.

^a D. 47. 2. 37. *Peacocks* and *Pidgeons* are also of a *wild* Nature^a: Nor is it to the purpose to urge, that they are wont to fly out and return again according to Custom; for *Bees* also do the same thing, which are evidently of a *wild* Nature. Thus Persons have Stags of so gentle and tame a kind, that are wont to go into the Woods, and return again; and yet no one will deny, but that they are of a *wild* Nature. Hereof we have a remarkable Example in the seventh *Æneid* of *Virgil*, touching *Sertorius's* Stag. But, in such Animals as are accustom'd to go and return again, this is an approved Rule, *viz.* That they are yours, so long as they retain the Purpose of returning: For if they cease to have this Custom, they cease to be yours, and become the *Occupant's*. And they seem to cease to have this *animus revertendi*, when they have forsaken the Custom of returning home^b. Some of the Doctors think, that if they fail twice together of returning, it is sufficient to determine the Custom: But, I think, this matter is better left to the Discretion of a good and upright Judge, who ought to pronounce according to Circumstances. If a Hawk may be known by his Bells, or a Stag by something which he usually wears about his Neck, they ought to be sent back to the Owners, as it is agreed among Men.

^c I. 2. 1. 15. Yet *Geese* and *Hens* are not of a *wild* Nature, but are properly Domesticks, though there are some *Geese* and *Hens* too that are wild. And, therefore, if your *Geese* or *Hens*, being disturbed, shall fly away, they are understood to be yours, in what Place soever they are, though they get out of your sight; and he, who detains such Animals with a *lucrative* Intent, is adjudged guilty of committing Theft^c. And this may also

^w D. 6. 1. 5. 3.
^x D. 41. 1. 5. 2.
^y D. 47. 2. 26.
^z D. 41. 2. 3.
^a D. 47. 2. 37.
^b I. 2. 1. 15.
^c I. 2. 1. 16.
 D. 44. 1. 44.

be said of Hogs and all other Animals, which are accustomed to be of a gentle Nature, though there are some Hogs that are wild, and live altogether in the Woods. I shall next speak of *Captivity*, or of Things taken in War, which is by another kind of *Occupancy*.

For those Things which we take from the Enemy in a just War, do by the Law of Nations become our own, whether such Seizure be made of Persons, or of Things^d: so that even Persons of a free Condition are, by the Right of *Captivity*, (which we now make use of instead of *Servitude*)^{d D.49.15.28. I.2.1.17.} obliged *sub pœnâ nominis & famæ*; that is to say, on Parole of Honour. But here it may be asked, whence it is that *Captivity* is derived, and how it comes to be founded on the Law of Nations? To which I answer, that if private Defence be a Matter of natural Right, *à majori*, publick Defence is much more so. Hence it is, that he who thus offends, and commits publick Force by disturbing the Peace of human Society, is to be subdued by a defensive War undertaken against him, and brought to Reason; and as by his turbulent Spirit he renders himself unworthy of Society, he is not to be spared, either in his Goods or Person, by him whom he thus annoys; for even his Person shall not be spared. Therefore, as Persons taken in War do become the Property of those that take them; so likewise ought their Estates to become subject to Property^e. But yet this ought to be restrained by the Laws, which dictate it to extend only to Things moveable, and to such Things as are in the Enemies Dominion and Property. For 'tis to be observed, that, by the Law of Nations, Things immoveable, as Cities, Towns, Castles, Houses and Lands do not become the Property of the Captors, as moveable Things immediately, from their being taken by the Enemy; because all such immoveable Goods and Estates are either applied to the Prince's Exchequer towards the Maintenance of the War, or else are given to the General of the Army. Yet these Estates, if they are again re-taken from the Enemy, do return to the former Lords and Proprietors^{f D.49.15.26.} of them^f. By the *Civil* Law, the whole Substance taken is left to the Discretion of the General or Commander, who ought to distribute the Plunder among the Soldiers, according to the Merits of each Man; and this seems to have been the Foundation of the *Feudal* Law. If particular Persons seize any Thing, upon a Party sent out to forage or annoy the Enemy, they acquire it unto themselves as Booty or Plunder: But if they take Things in a publick Act of War, they only act as Ministers, and they go to him, under whose Banner they fight as to the General. If Plunder becomes a publick Spoil in War, and is confiscated to the Prince, they who take such Plunder away without the Consent of the Publick, are guilty of *Peculate*^g.

This *Species* of Occupancy is entirely just and lawful, if the War be just and lawful. And a just War is said to be that, which any free State rightly wages against us, or we solemnly declare against them^h, as shall be^{h D.50.16. 118.} shewn hereafter under the Title of *War*: For only those were stiled Enemies (*Hostes*) against whom the *Romans* publicly declared War, or those who publicly denounced War against the *Romans*; others were rather termed Pyrates or Robbersⁱ. By the ancient *Civil* Law, Freeman taken^{i D. ut supr.} Prisoners in War were brought into Bondage, as above hinted; and this was properly called *Captivity*, (for *Captivity*, strictly speaking, had a respect unto Persons, and *Seizure* unto Things.) But, by a general Custom and Usage at this day among all Christians, Captives are not reduced to the Condition of Bondmen or Slaves, but may be ransomed by Exchange, or by a Sum of Money, pursuant to the Chartels and Agreements on both sides. Yet Prisoners taken between *Christians* and *Mahometans* are generally sent and sold into Slavery; the latter forcing the others to such Methods

Methods by a barbarous Usage of Christian Prisoners. See the Constitution of Charles the Vth, published at *Spires* ^k.

The next general Method of acquiring Things by the Law of Nations, we stile *Accession* ^l: And this is that Method whereby we acquire a Thing by the Force and Power of another Thing, which is our own already; and it is either *natural*, *artificial*, or *mixt*. *Natural* is that which happens without the Act of Man, by the Operation of Nature alone, as by Procreation or Foeture of Animals, and the Benefit of a River, and the like. For whatever is produced, or arises from Animals that are subject to our Property, belongs to us ^m: As when my Handmaid or Bondwoman is delivered of a Birth ⁿ, or my Cow brings forth a Calf, &c. By the Benefit of a publick River, we are said to acquire the Property of a Thing, *first*, by Alluvion; *secondly*, by the Force of the River, and the Avulsion thereof; *thirdly*, by an Island arising or made in such River; and, *fourthly*, by the River changing its Bed or Channel ^o.

Now *Alluvion* is, when a River has by its Inundation or Overflowing secretly added any Thing to my Land: And that seems to be added by *Alluvion*, which is so added by little, that we cannot perceive how much is added in a Moment of Time ^p. For though you should fix your Sight upon it for a whole Day, the Weakness of a Man's Sight is such, that it cannot perceive the minute and great Increases thereof: so that it may be called a *latent* Increase of Soil, by the Force of a River ^q. But if the Force of a River apparently takes away any Thing from your Estate, and brings it to mine, it is plain that it still remains to be yours ^r. But if it shall continue on my Land for so long a time, that it cements and cleaves to my Soil, and brings Trees along with it, which take root in my Ground, from that time I seem to have acquired the Property of it, and of the Trees themselves ^s. In private Lakes and Ponds, the Right of *Alluvion* ceases, though a Lake or Pond sometimes increases, and sometimes grows dry and decreases ^t. A *Lake* is that which has a perpetual Water in it: And a *Pond* is that, which has Water in it only some time of the Year; and in *Latin* is called *Stagnum*. The Right of *Alluvion* has not place in Lands assigned unto Soldiers ^u, stiled *March-Lands*. I say, if the Effects of any Person be by *Alluvion*, or the Inundation of a River carry'd on another Man's Ground, they still remain the Property of the Owner: And, therefore, if Restitution be denied him, he may, according to *Baldus* ^v, have an Action to recover the same; for Things exported by an Inundation do not change their Owner. And the Owner may also have Relief by an Interdict of the *Prætor* ^w, called a Remedy in Equity; provided the Person gives caution *de damno infecto*. But what if the Proprietor does not take care to carry his Effects off of the Land, and the Possessor of the Soil suffers Damage in the *Interim*? Why, in this Case, he may be conven'd either to carry them away, or else to give them up as a Derelict ^x.

An Island either rises up in the Sea, (which seldom happens by reason of the great Depth thereof, or the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tides) or else it appears in a River. An Island arising in the Sea is the Property of no one; and, therefore, it belongs to the first *Occupant* ^y. But an Island may arise in a River four several ways: For, *first*, either some Place in the middle of the River may be left dry by accident; or, *secondly*, something may by little and little increase by the way of a Mole or Hillock of Earth under the River, in such a manner that it may afterwards begin to appear above the Surface of the River ^z. In both which Cases, if it be in the middle of the River, it is common to those who have Estates near the Bank of the River on each side, according to the Length and Breadth of each Person's Land that is nearest the Bank ^z. *Note*, an Island is deemed to be part of the Channel, and the Channel is part of the neighbouring Estates.

Estates. But if the whole Island is nearer to one Inheritance than the other, the nearest Estate shall claim the whole. This is to be understood, where the Lands on each side have not any certain Bounds and Limits; for if they have, there can be no Claim or Title made to such an Island, but it belongs to the *Occupant*^a. *Thirdly*, if the River shall divide its Course or^a D. 43. 12. 1. Stream, and make an Island of Land by uniting its Streams afterwards, or⁶ shall overflow a Ground, such Island shall not belong to any Occupier, or to the neighbouring Estates, but is still subject to its first Owner^b. *Fourthly*,^b I. 2. 1. 22. an Island may arise from the Mud of the River, in such a manner cleaving^d D. 41. 1. 7. 4. to Rushes and Twigs growing in the River, that it may float on the River, and not reach the Bottom of the Channel^c. See *Mela de Situ Orbis*^d,^c D. 41. 1. 65. 2. and *Pliny* in the second Book of his Epistles^e: In which case it becomes^e Lib. 1. c. 9. the Right of that Person, unto whom the River belongs, *viz.* the Publick^f. An Island rising in private Rivers and Lakes, wholly belongs to such^f D. 41. 1. 65. private Persons as claim such Lakes or Rivers. But if a River changes and³ forsakes its natural Channel, the Channel which it leaves becomes the Property of those who have Estates next adjoining thereunto, and the new Channel begins again to be publick^g: And if the River forsakes its new^g I. 2. 1. 23. Channel, it does in the like manner become the Property of those that have^d D. 41. 1. 7. 5. Estates next it; but in Equity and Reason, it ought to be restored to the Owner, if the River shall by its new Course occupy the Land of any one^h.^h D. 41. 1. 7. 5. But it has been a Moot-Point among some, though without any Colour of Reason, if the Course of a River is changed, which is the Boundary of an Empire, whether the Limits of the adjacent Territories be not also chang'd.

The Law separates and distinguishes *Alluvion* from *Inundation*. Now *Inundation* is, when a River being encreased by Snow, Rain, or the like, overflows the neighbouring Fields in such a manner, that it does not forsake and change its ancient Channel, or its Banksⁱ. And if the wholeⁱ D. 43. 12. 1. Field of any Person shall be thus flooded or overflow'd, such an Inunda-⁵ tion does not change the *Species* of the Land, when the Water goes off from thence: And, therefore, the Property thereof is not lost by an Inundation^k, though it be otherwise in respect of the Possession^l.

Artificial Accession, is, when we acquire another Thing by virtue of^k I. 2. 1. 2. that which is our own already, by the Act and Industry of Man alone:^l D. 41. 2. 3. And of this there are several *Species* or Kinds: As *first*, *Specification*; and *secondly*, *Adjunction*, &c. *Specification* is, when a Person does *bonâ fide*, out of his own and another Person's Matter or Materials make a new *Species*^m.^m I. 2. 1. 25. But the word *Matter* is here determin'd not to be that which is without a^d D. 41. 1. 7. 7. Form, but that unto which a new Form is added or given; and, therefore, I call it *Materials*. Several of the old Lawyers have administred Reasons for doubting, touching the Position of this Title in the Law-Books; and their Opinions are diametrically opposite to each other. For *Massurius Sabinus* and *Cassius Longinus* have, by way of Answer, declared, That if any one had in his own Name made a new *Species* of any Matter belonging to another Man, he should not remain Proprietor of the *Species* which he had made, but he unto whom the Matter did belong; and that for two particular Reasons. *First*, because it being the Property of another Person, it ought not to be transferr'd to another without the Act of him, unto whom the Matter did belongⁿ. For example, if *Titius* has the Pro-ⁿ D. 50. 17. 11. perty in a Piece of Cloth, and *Caius* turns the same into a new *Species*,^d D. 10. 4. 12. such new *Species* ought to be the Property of *Titius*; because it cannot be transferr'd without the Act of *Titius*. *Secondly*, because there can be no *Species* or Work effected without Matter^o: Therefore, the Proprietor^o D. 50. 17. 11. of the Matter or Materials ought rightly to be preferr'd to the Property of^d D. 41. 1. 7. 7. the Thing. I here call that by the Name of Matter, from whence any Thing is wrought or made up into some Form; as the Metal in a Cup, Consent

in a Contract, and the like. And it differs from the Form and Substance of the Cup, or Contract: For the Substance is that, whereby the Matter is deduced and brought into a certain *Species*, as the Workmanship in Vessels and Garments; and in a Contract of Bargain and Sale, the Price is stiled the Substance of the Contract. But the Form of the Matter is that, which gives a Name to that *Species*; yet 'tis otherwise in respect of the *Civil Law* itself: For that is necessary to give it the Appellation of a Form, in respect of Law, which has a respect unto Order. As in a Stipulation it is necessary, that a Question be previously put, and that an Answer do immediately ensue thereupon. But to return to the Business of this Title. *Nerva* and *Proculus* were of a different Opinion from *Sabinus* and *Longinus*, thinking him to be the Proprietor of the *Species*, who had wrought and worked it up; and that for this Reason, *viz.* because that which is wrought and made up, was before no one's Property, it being a new *Species*. Therefore, he that works it up, ought to be deemed the Proprietor^p. The Form gives the Essence to a Thing: But he that has wrought or made a Thing, has added a new Form; and, therefore, the Essence and Property of the Thing belongs to him. Many of the Ancients have reconciled this Disagreement of the Lawyers, by the Help of a Distinction, which Distinction *Justinian* approves^q, *viz.* such *Species* may either be reduced to its former rude State and Matter, or not. If it may be thus reduced, then the Opinion of *Sabinus* holds true; because the *Species* then does not seem to have taken on itself a new Form, when it may be so easily reduced to its rude and pristine Matter, or else it cannot be so reduced; and in this case the Opinion of *Proculus* is good, *viz.* That he seems to be the Proprietor, who has made a new *Species*. For when a *Species* cannot be reduced to its former Matter, the Matter is looked upon as lost and destroyed: And when the Matter is destroyed, the Property is deemed to be taken away. As for instance, when a Cup is made of another Man's Silver, which after it is made and fashioned, may be reduced to the rude Matter of Silver, and then it does not become the *Specificant's*, because a Thing, which may be so easily reduced to its former Matter, does not seem to have taken on itself a new Form; or else such *Species* cannot be reduced to its former rude Matter, as Wine, Oil, a Garment, &c. cannot be reduced to Grapes, Olives, or Wool, &c. And then the Opinion of *Proculus* prevails, *viz.* that it becomes the Property of the *Specificant*, and the Matter is looked upon as lost. In the first Case, where the Matter cannot be brought to its first State, a just Payment must be made for the Grapes, Olives, or Wool^r; and in the other, a reasonable Allowance for the Workmanship. But this Decision only takes place in favour of the Workman, where the Work was designed for his own use, and where he erroneously, and by mistake, thought the Matter was his own. For if it was intended for the Use of any other, it is upon the same Terms, for whose Use it was working^s; and if it is known that the Grapes and Wool are another's, and yet thereof he proceeds to make his Wine or Garment, he shall lose his Labour and Workmanship^t; the whole shall accrue to the Use of the Owner, and an Action may be maintained against him. The same Distinctions are to be observed, if the Matter is *partly* the Workman's, and *partly* a Stranger's, where the Thing made cannot be cast into its first Matter^u. If it can be, each shall have his share^v, or both may possess proportionally in common, according to that which is contributed.

Adjunction is, when something is added to the Subject itself more than was in it, or it had before; as Interweaving or Embroidery to a Garment, building on another Man's Soil, writing on another Person's Paper or Vellum, &c. And thus we have many *Species* of Adjunction. Now as to these things in general, it is to be observed, that the *Accessory* follows its

its *Principal*^v, though the Accessory be of greater Value than the Principal: For by *Accession*, the Accessory seems to be merged or extinguished^w. ^{v D.34.2.19.}
^{13.}
^{w I 2. 1. 26.}
 Therefore, if any one shall interweave or embroider another Person's Purple in his Garment, though it be done *malâ fide*, yet by *Accession* it goes along with the Garment^x: But the Owner of the Purple, though by this means^x he loses the Property thereof, had an Action *ad exhibendum*, and that even against a Possessor *bonâ fide*^y, or a Condictio *sine causâ*, as he shall think^y. ^{x D.10.4.7.2.}
^{y D.10.4.7.2.}
² But against a Possessor *malâ fide*, he has an Action of Theft, and a ^{2 I. 2. 1. 26.}
Condictio furtiva^a, and likewise an Action *ad exhibendum*; and a real Ac- ^{a I. 2. 1. 26.}
 tion to claim the Thing, as against a Person who ceases to possess a Thing by some knavish Act or other^b. In Adjunction, which is nothing else but ^{b D.47.3.2.}
 the joining of one thing to another, as a golden Head to a Cane, and the like, we must consider which is the *principal* Thing, and which is the *accessory*: And Conjectures may be made thereof from the Intention of the Agent. And though the *Accessory* should be of most Value, yet it does not lose the Denomination of an *Accessory*^c: As Purple is the Accessory in ^{c D.34.2.19.}
 respect of a coarse Garment, a Jewel to a Gold Ring, &c. But Gold may ^{13.}
 be an Accessory to a Jewel; as when that is made for the Conveniency of its Carriage; and the Garment may be an Accessory to the Jewel, when that is made for the sake of it. We are apt to call a Thing by the Name of a *Principal*, with respect to another Thing, when it is not so, but (perhaps) they are both *Principals*, and usually go together, as a Last Will and a Legacy: Therefore, if it cannot be determined which is the *Principal*, and which the *Accessory*, such Names ought not to be applied. Where one Thing is added for the sake of the other, (which we call the finishing of a Work) there is a Foundation for it, and then only can the Accessory follow the Principal, and the Owner of what is the *Accessory*, must yield up the Possession to the Proprietor to the *Principal*. This Rule holds good, though the Addition of another Person's Goods to my own, was knowingly and dishonestly contrived^d: For here only Regard is had to the ^{d I. 2. 1. 26.}
 Thing joined, and not to the Person, as I have already shown in *Specification*. The Property of the Thing added is lost so long as *Adjunction* continues; yet an Action lies, that the Thing added may by Sentence be separated and restored, at least for the Price and Value of it. If any one shall by Mistake and erroneously join one Thing of his own, to something of more Value belonging to another, as the principal Thing, supposing that to belong to himself; if he hath Possession, he shall keep the whole till he is paid the Value of the Thing added^e: But if this was done knowingly^e and *malâ fide*, it may be interpreted as a Gift to the Proprietor of the ^{e D.6.1.23.4.}
Principal.

A third *Species* or Kind of Accession is by *Confusion*, viz. when Things of the same, or of a different Nature, are mixt together by the Consent of two Proprietors, or a certain *Species* is made out of them. For then that Body which is thus made by Confusion, by natural Reason becomes common to each of the Proprietors, by reason of the Consent of the Proprietors. As when they mix their Wines together, or shall melt down Gold and Silver, and work them up together^f. But it is otherwise, if only the ^{f I. 2. 1. 27.}
 Consent of one of them intervenes: For then the *Species* made is not common, but becomes the Property of him only, who made it. Things thus mixt by some fortuitous Case, do also become common to both Persons, if the Things mixt cannot be separated from each other: But it is otherwise, if they may be separated^g, as in a Mass of Gold and Lead. For *Confusion*, properly speaking, has a respect unto Liquids, as *Commixtion* has unto Solids. Those Things are said to happen by *Confusion*, which produce a new *Species* on their Mixture, as Wine and Honey, &c. But Things are said to happen by *Commixtion*, which, in their being blended together,

together, do not pass into a new *Species*, but remain under the same Substance. For if by Accident two Bushels of Wheat belonging to different Persons shall be mixed, the whole Heap ought not to be in common, because each Corn in itself remains the same: But because each Grain cannot easily be distinguished by its Owner, the Judge shall divide the whole Heap, making a greater Allowance to one in Money or Corn, if his Grain was better or finer than the other^h. And the same Amends ought to be made in such a Confusion of Liquors. But if the Commixtion be made by the Consent of the Proprietors, then they are Proprietors in common, and if they will divide the Substance, the one may have an Action of *Communi dividundo* for his part.

^h I. 2. 1. 28.

ⁱ D. 41. 1. 7. 10.

^k I. 2. 1. 29.

^l I. 2. 1. 29.

^m D. 6. 1. 23.
fin.

A fourth *Species* or Kind of *artificial* Accession, and whereby the Dominion and Property of Things is acquired, according to the Law of Nations, is by *Building*: Which is effected two several ways, *viz.* either because a Man builds on his own proper Soil with another Person's Materials; or else, because he builds on another's Soil with his own Materials. When a Person builds on his own Soil with another's Materials, he is understood to be the Proprietor of the Building, because all that is built on his Soil, gives place to and goes along with the Soilⁱ. But yet he, who was Proprietor of the Materials, does not therefore cease to be the Proprietor thereof^k. But he cannot bring a real Action to claim the Materials, nor an Action *ad exhibendum* thereupon, because it is provided by a Law of the twelve Tables, that no one shall be compelled to pull out those Materials which he has employed in his Buildings, though they do belong to another Person; but yet he shall be obliged by an Action, stiled *de Tigno juncto*, to pay two-fold for those Materials, if he used them, knowing them to belong to another Person. By the word *Tignum* is meant all sorts of Materials, that are serviceable to Buildings^l. And this the Law of the twelve Tables has provided, to the end that no one should be obliged to pull down his Buildings after they are raised and set up. But if such Building shall be pulled down upon any account, then, and not before, the Owner of the Materials may claim the same, if he has not obtained the Value of two-fold, and have an Action *ad exhibendum* thereupon, notwithstanding any Prescription or Limitation of Time^m. When I here say, that *the Building gives place to the Soil*, I do not speak of moveable Buildings or Edifices, which may be transferr'd from one place to another, but such only as are fix'd and cleave to the Soil: For the Soil is a Foundation or Firmament created by God, without which no Edifice or Building can subsist. And this natural Right of acquiring Dominion, the Lawyers call a publick Right. I have said in *his own proper Soil*: And that is called a Man's own proper Soil, though another has the Usufruct thereof, if the Property of such Soil be only with the Builder. And it is the same thing, if the Soil be in common with me and another Person: for even in this respect I may call it my own proper Soil. But it is otherwise, if the Soil be in common unto all Persons: For the Soil shall give place, and go along with the Edifice, *viz.* because it is granted or given to the first *Occupant*; and thus the Answer of *Martianus* the Lawyer ought to be taken and understood.

On the other hand, if a Person shall build a House on another's Soil with his own Materials, he shall be the Proprietor of the House, unto whom the Soil belongs. But in this Case, the Proprietor of the Materials loses his Property therein; because it appears, that he had a mind to alienate the Materials, as if he had known, that he built on another's Soil: And, therefore, though the House be pulled down, yet he cannot claim or recover the Materials, nor his Expences for the same, if he built the same *malâ fide*ⁿ. But if he shall build *bonâ fide* on another's Soil with his own Materials,

ⁿ I. 2. 1. 30.

Materials, believing the Ground to be his own, he does not lose the Property of the Materials^o, but may (at least) recover the Value thereof: And ^{o C. 3. 32. 2.} may as long as he is in possession, repel the Proprietor of the Soil demanding the House, and not paying the Price of the Materials, and the Charges of the Workmen, by an Exception of Deceit^p; and thus indemnify himself^{p D. 50. 17.} as to the Charges. But if he be not in possession of the House, there lies ^{129.} no Action in Law for him, whereby he may recover the Value of the Ma- ^{1. 2. 1. 30.} terials, nor his Charges¹. But if the Person thus building on another's Soil ^{D. 41. 1. 7. 12.} with his own Materials, makes it appear that he did not build there *animo* ^{q D. 12. 6. 33.} *donandi*^r; or shews any good Cause for so doing, for example, if (perhaps) ^{D. 24. 4. 14.} he built on Ground of a disputed Title, which (he believed) would be adjudged in favour of himself, or on that Place which he first had Possession of *bonâ fide*, and expected to obtain by *Usucapion*^r; or even in a Place rented, ^{r C. 3. 32. 2.} that he might use it more to his advantage; in these Cases he does not lose the Property of the Materials, but shall be paid for them². And a Builder ^{r D. 6. 1. 37.} *malæ fidei*, unless he can shew some approveable Cause, shall not recover the Expences he has been at, though he be in possession: For it may be objected to him, that he rashly built at his own Peril on that Ground which he knew to be another's Soil^r. ^{r I. 2. 1. 30.}

What I have before said touching the Payment of two-fold to the Proprietor of the Materials is now out of use, since those legal Penalties that deprive any one of his Right are now entirely at an end and abolished. And being agreeable to Equity and the Law of Nature, that no one should enrich himself by another's Loss and Damage, it is therefore enacted, that he who knowingly builds on another's Soil or Ground, shall not lose the Price of his Materials, nor the Wages and Hire of his Labourers, but may not only retain all profitable Expences whatsoever, by way of Exception, which he has laid out on such Improvement, but may likewise sue for the same by way of Action. And though in *France* such a Builder has only an Action to recover the necessary Charges he has been at; yet in *Holland* he has an Action or Exception at pleasure, and may (if he pleases) retain the Building, till all his Expences are paid him.

The first *Species* or Kind of *mixt* Accession, whereby the Dominion and Property of Things is acquired, according to the Law of Nations, is by *Planting*: For as Buildings and Edifices give place to the Soil, whereon they are erected^u; so *à majori*, ought Plants to do, which are not only raised ^{u I. 2. 1. 30.} and supported from the Earth, but do also receive their Nourishment from thence, and, as it were, from thence draw Life for their Growth and Increase. Hence, if any one plants another's Plant in his own Soil, or sets his own Plant in another's Soil, the Plant becomes the Property of him who is Lord and Master of the Soil^v, which is true, if the Plant takes root: For be- ^{v I. 2. 1. 31.} fore it has thus fixt its Roots to the Soil, it is no part of the immoveable Estate^w, but remains the Property of him who had the Property of it be- ^{w D. 41. 1. 28.} fore^x. And this holds true, whether a Man has planted in another's Soil ^{& 60.} *bonâ* or *malâ fide*. But yet this admits of a distinction, *viz.* if the Planter ^{x D. 41. 1. 9.} planted it *bonâ fide* in another's Soil, he shall recover of the Proprietor of the Soil the Value of his Plants by an *Utilis Actio*, or an Exception. And if the Planter be in possession *bonâ fide*, he may by an Exception of *Deceit* repel the Proprietor of the Soil, who refuses to pay him the Charges and Value of the Plant^v. But if he be a Possessor *malâ fide*, and shall plant ^{v I. 2. 1. 31.} in another's Soil, he shall not in this case recover the Plant, nor even his ^{D. 41. 1. 9.} Charges, by the Office of the Judge, as he may do in the former Case; because these Expences are not necessary, but only of Utility to himself. For if a Man plants Trees, or sows Corn in another's Soil, knowing it to be such, the Owner of the Soil shall have the Property of the Trees or

^a C. 2. 32. 11. Corn, when they have taken Root^a; because the Planter is presumed to do this *animo donandi*, as in the Case of Building aforesaid.

Touching a Tree that has taken root in my Neighbour's Land, by extending its Roots, this distinction is to be observed, *viz.* either a Tree being set in the Confines of my Land has taken root in each Person's Land; and then the Tree becomes common^a in such manner, that the Fruits thereof ought to be equally divided between each Party^b: or else the Tree being planted on my Soil, so presses upon *Titius's* Land by its Roots that run thereinto, that it cannot be nourished elsewhere: And then the Tree in respect of its Roots, whereby it is nourished and lives, belongs unto *Titius*^c; for more regard ought to be had to the Roots from which the Tree is nourished, than to the Trunk or Branches. But *quære*, whether I can by my own proper Authority cut the Roots which another Man's Tree puts forth in my Land, or the Tree itself, or the Boughs of such Tree which hang over my House? And the Doctors say by way of distinction, that I may do this by the Authority of the Judge, upon Application made to him^d. But if I give notice or intimate to you, that you would take away the Boughs, and you neglect or refuse to remove them, I may then by an Edict of the *Prætor, de Arboribus Cadendis*, even without the Judge's Authority, not only cut the Boughs and Roots by my own Authority, but also the Tree itself, and remove the Wood cut down^e. And what is here said of Trees, may be also said of Vines: For Vines are comprehended under the word *Arbor*^f. But if a Tree has more Roots in one Man's Soil than in another's, then the Fruits are not equally divided^g. But I shall treat and handle this Matter more largely hereafter, under the Title of *Trees cut down, &c.*

Growing Corn is also considered as an Accessory cleaving to the Soil: And, therefore, if a Person sows Seed-Corn, and it takes root, it goes to the Proprietor of the Soil, as Trees or Plants do^h. *Titius* sowed his Corn in his Neighbour's Ground: And it was held, that for the same reason that Plants, which take root in another's Soil, do become the Property of him who is Owner of the Soil, Corn thus sown does the like by the Right of Accession. And as we have said before, that as he who has built on another's Soil, if the Proprietor of the Soil claims the Building of him, may defend himself against the Proprietor making such Claim, by an Exception *doli mali*, unless the Proprietor of the Soil be ready to pay him for his Materials, and to re-imburse him the Charges of the Building: So he, who has *bonâ fide* sown Corn at his own Expence on another's Land, may by the Help of the said Exception defend himself against the Proprietor of the Land, if he claims the Corn of himⁱ. But what if a Person shall sow my Seed in another Soil, against whom shall I bring my Action? I cannot do it against the Person sowing, because he is not in possession of the Land, nor has he acted by any fraudulent means to quit the Possession thereof: nor can I bring it against the Person in possession; because nothing was done by his Act or Deed. But, I think, in this Case the Action lies against the Proprietor of the Soil, like unto the Case of a Person's putting my Timber into another's Building, who is liable, though he has put it therein by another's Order^k.

Writing on Paper, Parchment and Vellum, is another Kind of *artificial* Accession, whereby we acquire Things by the Law of Nations: For the Owner of the Paper, Parchment, or Vellum, shall be Master of the Writing too, though the Letters be of Gold or of greater Value than the Paper which bears them^l. And, therefore, if *Titius* shall write a Poem, History, or an Oration on your Parchment or Paper, *Titius* shall not be the Proprietor of this Writing or Book, but it shall be surrendered to you the Owner of the Parchment or Paper; as it is in the Case of Building, Planting, and Sowing

on another's Soil, where the Things built, planted, or sown must yield to the Proprietors of the Soil. But if you demand your Books of *Titius* by a real Action, and are not ready to pay the Charges of writing, *Titius* may defend himself by an Exception *doli mali*, as if he had *bonâ fide* acquired the Possession of those Papers or Parchments. At this day Writings do not go to the Proprietor of the Paper, generally speaking: For indeed it seems very absurd, and the contrary Practice is observed by the *Moderns*. For suppose I should write my Accounts on the Paper or Parchment of another, which would be prejudicial to me, if they were communicated, and would be of no advantage to the Owner of the Paper: What reason is there that I should be deprived of my Accounts, when I am ready to pay the Price of the Paper ^m?

In respect to *Painting*, which is another *Species* of *artificial* Accession, there has been a great Dispute among the ancient Lawyers, unto whom the Picture belongs, if a Person shall paint on another's Cloth or Tablet: For some thought, that the Tablet went along with the Picture; and others, that the Picture (of what kind soever it was) gave place to the Tablet: But *Justinian* has determined, that the Tablet shall yield to the Picture. For it is an absurd and ridiculous thing, that the Painting of an excellent Painter, as *Apelles* or *Parrhasius* were in their Times, should give place to a mean Tablet ⁿ. And this is so ordained, contrary to the foregoing Reason, in respect of Writing, &c. because of the great Esteem the An- ^a I. 2. 1. 34. cients had for the Art of Painting^o. The Tablet must be *moveable*; for ^o D. 4. 1. 1. 9. 2. if the Painting be drawn upon a Wall or on a Tablet that is fixed, it is otherwise. But yet the Proprietor of the Tablet may have an Action against the Painter to recover the Value or Price of the Tablet, if it be in his Possession ⁿ. And an Action of Theft lies against a Possessor *mala fidei*, and ^p D. 4. 1. 1. 9. 2. Likewise a real Action, and a *Condictio furtiva*^o: But against a Possessor ^q I. 2. 1. 34. *bonæ fidei* an Action on the Case^r. ^r D. 6. 1. 3. 5.

The last *Species* or Kind of *mixt* Accession, whereby Property is acquired according to the Law of Nations, is by *Perception of Fruits*^r; that ^s I. 2. 1. 35. is to say, by receiving and gathering the Profits of an Estate, to which a Person truly and really thinks he has a good Title^s either by Purchase, ^t D. 50. 16. Gift, Exchange, Descent, Legacy^t, &c. The Profits arising from this Estate, ^{109.} ^u I. 2. 1. 35. and the Persons gathering and receiving these Profits, ought to be consider'd. ^{8c} 40. By the *Profits* or *Fruits*, I here mean the *natural*, and not the *civil* Profits, as *Rent* or *Interest* for Money lent is, but such only as are the Product of the Land or Estate *itself*, and either *chiefly* arise by the Operation of Nature, as Wood, Grass, Fruit, &c. or chiefly by the Labour and Industry of Man, as Corn, Pulse, &c. for these are the *natural* Profits of an Estate ^u. ^u D. 33. 2. 59. 1. And thus the natural Profits of an Estate may be sub-divided into such as are *natural only*, and into such as are acquired^v. *Secondly*, Fruits are ^v Arg. D. 22. either such as are growing, or still depending on the Estate, and to be ^{1.} 45. gathered, or else such as are actually gathered: And again, these last are either such as are *extant*^w, or such as are *consumed*. Therefore, to the ^w C. 3. 32. 22. end that a Person should make the Fruits his own, which he has received or gathered from another's Estate, he ought first all to be the Possessor of such Estate by a fair and honest Title, believing the Person from whom he received it to be the Proprietor thereof, or else thought he had Power of alienating the same^x. He ought also to have received them from such Estate ^y. ^x D. 50. 16. And such a Possessor is said to have received them to this End and Purpose, ^{109.} ^z D. 18. 1. 27. who receives the Fruits as soon as they are sever'd from the Estate he is ^y D. 4. 1. 1. 48. possessed of *bonâ fide*^z. And such a Possessor makes all the Fruits so re- ^{1.} 2. 1. 35. ceived his own, *viz.* the *natural* Fruits as well as those which arise from ^z D. 6. 1. 78. his Industry^a: For he receives the Fruits in the Right of the Soil, and by that ^a D. 4. 1. 1. 48. Right which is given to the Proprietors of predial Estates. So that this ^{D.} 7. 4. 13. Right

Right is not founded so much on the Tillage and Care of the Land, as on honest and fair Dealing^b. But if the real Proprietor supervenes and claims the Estate, such Possessor *bonâ fide* shall only be obliged to restore him the *extant* Fruits, which are his *pleno jure*, and not the Value of the Fruits consumed^c, though he has enriched himself thereby^d. But it is not the same thing with a Person, who knowingly has had the Possession of another's Estate *malâ fide*: For he is compellable to restore all the Fruits together with the Estate, even though consumed, or (at least) the Value of them^e. Yea, even those Fruits which he has not received, if he might as a Demandant have honestly received the same, if he occupy'd the Estate^f. But then an Allowance shall be made him for his Expences. Yet it has been questioned, whether the Heir, not privy to the Fraud, shall account for these Profits that are *spent*.

Note, When I say, that in *artificial* Accessions this Thing belongs to such an Owner, I mean that his Possession or Title is favoured in Law, *viz.* That it shall be in his *Election* to pay the Price and Value of the Thing added, or to quit the whole. And it is affirmed, that upon these Accessions, what the *Roman* Law has appointed in several Cases is not Reason, or natural Equity, or the Law of Nations, but meerly civil and positive, for the Benefit of Trade and Commerce: And there is scarce one Head in the Law where there are so many different Opinions of the Lawyers, and more frequent Mistakes, which I have endeavoured to correct. As if natural Equity suggested in some of these Cases, that the thing should be in *common*, proportionally to what each one had contributed; and that in the Case of acquiring by *taking the Profits*, an allowance ought to be made to the Person in Possession, only for his Expences and Labour. And thus I have done with *Accessions* for the present, and shall further mention them in the Sequel of this Work, as they necessarily occur to the Subject in hand. Wherefore I shall proceed to speak of *Tradition* or Delivery, another way of acquiring according to the Law of Nations.

For *Delivery* is that Method of gaining the Property of a Thing, whereby an Owner having the free Administration and Disposol of his Effects, or he who has received a Power of alienating it from the Proprietor, willingly transfers the corporal Possession thereof unto another, who accepts of it, upon a just and valuable Consideration^g: And surely nothing is more agreeable unto natural Equity than to suffer the Will of the Donor to take effect, when he would transfer any thing upon another. All Things would be of little Use and Advantage, if they must always remain with one and the same Person, and by the Formality of a Delivery rash Alienations are prevented, and Men forced to act with some Deliberation. And, therefore, it is a vulgar Rule in Law, that the Propertys of Things may be transferred by way of Delivery, in *Latin* called *Traditio*; but not by Nude-Pacts, that is to say, not by naked Titles^h. And this is true, whether the Delivery be *true* and *real*, or else a *feigned* Delivery: For there are these two Kinds of Delivery in Law. The first is, when a *moveable* Thing is given or delivered by the Hand, and out of the Possession of one Man, into the Hand and Possession of another; or if the Thing be *immoveable*, when a Person is brought into the Possession of it, which we call *Induction*ⁱ. The second Kind, which we stile a *feigned* Delivery, is, when a Delivery happens and intervenes by a Fiction of Law, which may be made several ways^k, as I shall show by and by. It is agreed on all hands, that in an *immoveable* Estate there is a necessity to remove all Persons from the Land when *Possession* is taken, or *Induction* given; but it is a Question, whether this be required upon transferring the *Property* only. Possession of *Part*, in the Name of the Whole, is sufficient^l; and that may be delivered by the Owner himself, or by Proxy^m.

From

From what I have above hinted in the Definition of a *Delivery*, it appears, that several Things are necessary in order to pass the Property of Things by Delivery, *viz.* *First*, the Person who makes the Delivery ought to be the Proprietor of the Thing delivered^a: For if he be not the Proprietor, he cannot convey that Property which is not vested in himself^b, unless another Person delivers it by Commission, in the Name, and by the Will of the Proprietor^c. *Secondly*, 'tis necessary, that the Proprietor delivering the same should have the free Administration and Disposal of his own Goods, and by this means be a Person qualified to transfer the Property thereof: For a Pupil, Idiot, Madman, and a Prodigal, who have not the Administration of their Effects, cannot transfer the Property of a Thing delivered to another^d. *Thirdly*, there ought to be a good or valuable Consideration previous unto a Delivery, in order to transfer the Property of the Thing delivered: For a *nude* Delivery without a Consideration does not convey the Property^e; because (perhaps) it might impoverish Persons unawares. And this also distinguishes a Thing alienated from a *Commodatum* and a *Depositum*, wherein the Person that delivers them expects to have them returned him again, and (perhaps) has not a proper Title to transfer the Property of them. *Fourthly*, the Thing delivered ought to be subject to Commerce and Alienation, and not prohibited as a Thing sacred is^f: And so likewise is a jointur'd Estate, in our Law-Books called *Fundus Dotalis*^g. *Fifthly*, in a Contract of Bargain and Sale there ought to be a Price paid^h. And, *sixthly*, in incorporeal Things, Sufferance is in the place of a Delivery: And he is said to deliver a Service, who suffers me to pass and re-pass through his Estate, as often as I please; and to use and enjoy such Serviceⁱ.

It has been already observed, that Property may be transferred, not only by a true and natural Delivery, but also by a feigned one, if the Will and Consent of the Proprietor be had thereunto. Now a *feigned* Delivery is in Terms, when a Person delivers a Thing unto you by way of a *Commodatum*, or Thing lent to be returned again, (or lets its to Hire,) and then afterwards either gives or sells it to you, tho' he did not at first deliver it to you upon that account; but by the very Act of suffering it to be yours, you do immediately acquire a Property therein^j, as if it was deliver'd to you *eo nomine*: And thus a Delivery being made according to an unqualify'd Title, is joined with a subsequent qualify'd Title; so that Sufferance even in Things corporeal is in the place of a Delivery, and the bare Will of the Proprietor is sufficient to transfer Property without a real and natural Delivery^k. By the Law of Nations, also the Property of Things sold is transferred by the Delivery of the Keys of the House or Warehouse, where the Merchandizes are laid up, and sold unto the Buyer^l: And this holds good, if such Delivery of the Keys be made in the sight of such House or Warehouse, though the Buyer does not open the same^m, if there be a just and proper Consideration previous thereunto, as Bargain and Sale requires. But it is otherwise, if the Keys be only delivered for the sake of Custody; because then the Delivery of the Keys imports nothing else but the bare Custody of the House or Keysⁿ: For in a doubtful Case, the Delivery of the Keys of a House is presumed to be made for the sake of keeping them or the House, unless a Title proper to convey a Property be previous thereunto^o. And in the same manner, a Horse seems to be delivered by a Delivery of the Bridle, Saddle, or Harness belonging to a Horse^p. And this Rule in Law which says, that Property is transferred by a *feigned* Delivery, is extended several other ways. For the Property of a Thing contained in a Deed or Instrument is transferred by a Delivery of the Deed or Instrument itself, since the Charter alone is not deemed to be given or sold^q. Again, this *feigned* Delivery may be made *per appositionem*

Custodis, by setting a Keeper over the Goods sold: As when I buy a Pile of Wood, or Parcel of Wine, and the Seller bids me take it away, and instead thereof I place a Keeper over it; such Wood or Wine in this Case is deemed to be delivered^e. *Thirdly*, a *feigned* Delivery may be made by signing or marking of the Thing sold: As when the Buyer puts his Mark or Seal on the Goods bought^f, lest another Commodity should be put in the place of the Goods purchased^g: And this we properly call *consigning* of Goods, when both Buyer and Seller, or each of them, do set their Mark or Seal thereon. *Fourthly*, a *feigned* Delivery may be made, and Property transferr'd by View alone, if there be a proper Title precedent thereunto^h: As when I order the Seller to leave the Goods, which I have bought, at my House, and the like.

Delivery is proved, if I prove that I was in possession of the Thing at the time of the Sale of it, and that I have ever since been possessed of it with the Knowledge and Privity of the Seller: For this is a Presumption of a Delivery, which amounts unto a Proofⁱ. The receiving of the Keys proves the Possession of that Thing, which belongs unto the Keys: And, therefore, if a Person be ousted of Possession, it is sufficient to prove, that he had once Possession by a Delivery of the Keys; but then the Keys ought to be delivered at the House unto which the Keys belong^k, as already hinted. For by a Delivery of the Keys, the Possession of a Thing is only transferr'd; when such Delivery is made in the Presence of the Thing, or in sight thereof. But of Delivery I shall have occasion to speak further hereafter under the Titles of *Possession* and of *Bargain and Sale*: Wherefore, I shall next here treat of *Finding*, the last Method of acquiring Property according to the Law of Nations.

Finding, in *Latin* stiled *Inventio*, is, when any one finds and seizes Things which are not in the Property of any one according to the Law of Nations, or (at least) have ceased so to be: As when a Man finds and seizes Jewels, or Precious Stones on the Sea-shore, or any other Things there, which have not been in the possession of any other Person before^l; for by the Law of Nature, *viz.* right Reason, such a Finder becomes the Proprietor of the Things thus found^m. By *Jewels*, *Gemmae*, we mean such valuable Materials as are of a lucid and transparent kind; and by *precious Stones* such as are of an obscurer Nature. Those Things which have ceased to have an Owner, are *hidden Treasure*, which no one can make claim to; and which has been out of the Property of any one beyond the Memory of Manⁿ: And those Things which are accounted as *Derelicts*. But if other Things than what are before related, are found on the Sea-shore, or in a private Place, or on the publick Roads, which have been in a Man's Property, and which he has lost there in his Passage to and fro, they do not become the Property of the Finder; and he who does not restore a Thing thus found, according to *Augustinus*^o, commits Theft. But to the end that a Man should make himself a Proprietor by *finding*, it is not enough for him to have the sight of the Thing alone, but he ought also to seize and occupy the same^p. Thus, if a Reward be promised to a Person that discovers a Highwayman or a Thief, he shall not receive the same, unless he seizes and apprehends him^q. Heretofore, by the divine Law, an *Israelite* was obliged to receive into his House or Custody Things that were lost or gone astray. "Thou shalt not see thy Neighbour's Ox or Sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them: Thou shalt in any case bring them again unto thy Brother. And if thy Brother be not nigh unto thee, or if thou knowest him not, then thou shalt bring it unto thine own House, and it shall be with thee, until thy Brother seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again^r." So that, according to the Custom of the *Hebrews*, the Person who found his Neighbour's Goods, was to cry the same, as Mr. *Selden* observes

observes in his Law of Nature^f. Hence, according to the Custom of *Holland*, and some other Countries, the Finder of Things lost, not only incurs an Action of Damage, but also falls into a Suspicion of Theft, if he does not make publick Proclamations by the Mouth of the Cryer, and afterward restore the Things found unto the Owner, claiming the same: But if the Owner does not appear, the Finder ought to render them to the Exchequer, or the Fiscal Proctor, on a Reward given him^g. In *England*, the King has the Goods belonging to him, whereof no Person can claim the Property, if he has not already made a Grant of them to some Lord of a Manor^h.

In respect to hidden Treasure discover'd, which we in *England* call *Treasure-Trove*, it does not indistinctly go to the Finder. For if a Person shall discover it in his own Land, or in a Ground that has no particular Owner, or in a Religious or Burying-Place, whether it be by Chance, or upon deliberate Search made after it, it shall become the Property of the Finderⁱ; provided this be not done by the Help, or the Art of Conjurat^jion. And this is very agreeable unto right Reason, either because it is of the Property of no one^k; or else because it may be supposed to be deposited there by some of the Finder's Ancestors. Nor is it of any moment, whether a Man's own Ground be a religious or a profane Place, provided it be found in his own Burying-Place by chance, and not upon search made after it. But if the religious Place be publick (as mentioned in the Law here quoted^l) the Law is otherwise. But if a Person shall by chance find Treasure in another's Ground, whether the Soil be private or publick, as belonging to the Prince, &c. he shall only have a Property in one Moiety of it, and the Lord of the Soil shall come in for the other half^m. And the reason here assigned, why the Finder in this case only comes in for one Moiety alone of the Property, when other Things, in the Property of no one, go entirely to the *Occupant*, is this, *viz.* because Treasures are not truly in the Property of any one, for really the Heir of the Person that deposits them is the Proprietor, but by reason of the Uncertainty thereof, they are looked upon as the Goods of no one. If the Finder shall suppress that part which belongs to the Exchequer, he shall be obliged to pay the whole that he findsⁿ. At this day Princes in several Countries claim entirely unto themselves all Treasure found in any Place whatsoever within their Dominions: And this is true in *Germany*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*^o, and *Denmark*, as *Grotius* informs us in his Book *de Jure Belli*, &c. And *Covarruvias* thinks, that the same Law is introduced all over the World. But at the same time he tells us, that if the Finder has taken any pains in the Discovery of it, wheresoever it be found, he shall only have a fifth Part thereof according to the Laws of *Spain*, and the King shall have the Residue^p. By the *Saxon* Law, all Treasure lying under Ground, and found by the Furrowing of the Plow, appertains to the *Regalia*, contrary to the Disposition of the *Civil* or Common Law. But *Zobellus* says, that this royal Right or Prerogative only obtains in Metals, and not in respect of Money^q: For in respect to the finding of Treasure, properly so called, he submits it to the common Law; that is to say, to the Disposition of the *Civil* Law. By the Laws of *England*, *Treasure-Trove* is, when any Gold or Silver in Coin, Plate, or Bullion has been of antient Time hidden, wheresoever it be found, and where no Person can prove any Property to it; in this Case it belongs to the King, or to some other Person by the King's Grant or by Prescription. For such Goods, whereof no Person can prove a Property, belongs to the King, as Wrecks, Strays, &c.^r But even by the *Civil* Law, if a Person found Treasure, though it were in his own Ground, by the Help of Magick or Conjurat^jion, it was by such Crime forfeited to the Exchequer^s, and the Person punished with Death.

Treasure

Lib. 6. c. 4.

Groenv. de
ll. Abr. D. 47.
2. 40. 9.Cok. 3. Inf.
cap. 58.

I. 2. 1. 39.

C. 10. 15.

l. un.

I. 2. 1. 39.

D. 49. 14. 3.
§. pen.

I. 2. 1. 39.

D. 49. 14. 3.
fin.Leg. Reg.
Tit. 12. lib. 6.Covar.
Tom. 1. Fol.
248.Conf. Sax.
P. 2. Quæst. 59.Cok. 3. Inf.
cap. 58.C. 10. 15.
l. un.

Treasure found in a *Feudal* Estate does not go to the Vassal, but to the Lord of the Soil where it is found: For a *Feudal* Estate, properly speaking, is not the Estate of the Vassal or Feudatory ^f, but of the Lord of the *Fief*; and, therefore, the Lord shall have it according to the *Feudal* Law. But by the *Civil* Law it is otherwise. For a Tenant, who only pays a small Pension out of his Estate granted to him *for ever*, or who has a long Term of Years in it, is Owner of the Soil ^g; and he, not the Lord or Proprietary, shall have the Benefit of the Discovery: For such a Possessor shall have all manner of Advantages arising from the Estate, as much as the Proprietor himself had, if there is no Reservation to the contrary. But, why by the Law of Nations does not Treasure found in another Man's Soil, upon Search and Industry, belong also to the *Occupant*, as well as Birds, wild Beasts, and Derelicts? Now the reason of this difference in the Law, besides what I have before hinted, seems to be, because in those Cases there is no Prejudice to the Owner of the Land, whereas a liberty to dig after Money will create a manifest Damage. But then it may be asked, why is not the whole adjudged to the Occupier only, as other things are when the finding is by chance, as upon plowing in the Ground, and digging for its Improvement? I take it to be, because Birds, wild Beasts, Derelicts, and precious Stones found in the Sea, or upon its shore, do really and truly belong to no body, whereas certainly the Money dug up has an Owner if he could be discovered, as above remembred; and probably it might be hid there by some of the Ancestors of the present Owner, who in reason may be thought to have concluded, that their own Grounds would be the safest Place, rather than those of any other. Hence we may apprehend, that if it be known who hid the Money, and who is the Owner ^h, upon what account it was hidden, (as for fear of Thieves, or in Time of War) the Finder can have no Title; but if he takes it, he has committed Theft.

The Property of a Thing is sometimes given to an uncertain Person, even by the Will and Consent of the Owner himself; and this according to the Law of Nations. As when a Man wilfully throws away his Money, or any thing else among the People or Mob, with an Intent that he who can catch it shall make the same his own by seizing it: And this we in a vulgar Phrase call a *scrambling* for it. Like unto this, is that which the *Civil* Law styles a *Derelict*: which is, when the Proprietor of a Thing has left it, or cast it away, with a Design that it should not hereafter be reckoned among his Goods or Effects; and, therefore, he immediately ceases to be the Proprietor thereof ⁱ. And not only *Moveables*, but also *Immoveables*, and *real* Estates ^k may be looked upon as *Derelicts* (though the word *abjecerit* in the Law seems only to have a respect unto *Moveables*;) As a Man relinquishes his Land in such a manner, that he will no longer deem it to be of his Substance, he does immediately in this case cease to be the Proprietor of it, and the Thing thereby returns to its native Liberty; and becoming a *Derelict*, it is understood to be in the Property of no one. And, therefore, according to natural Reason, it is granted by the Law of Nations to the first *Occupants* ^l; because, according to the Law of right Reason, Things cease to be ours by the same Methods whereby they are acquired ^m. But what if the *Occupant* thinks a Thing to have been made a *Derelict* by the Proprietor, when the Matter is doubtful, shall he gain the Thing to himself, though he does not know by whom it became a *Derelict*? As for example, *Titius* without any manner of force obtained the Possession of a certain Estate vacant through the Absence or Negligence of its Proprietor, or because the Owner died without leaving an Heir: And it was adjudged in this Case, that if he has held the Possession thereof for any long time with the Privy of the Owner, or for thirty Years without his Privy, he shall acquire such Estate by *Usucapion* ⁿ; and may by an Exception bar the Owner, if

he gives him any Disturbance or Interruption afterwards°. *Accursius* says, ° C. 7. 22. 1. there ought to be a true *Constat*, that the Thing is a real *Derelict*, before a Man can make it his own; and that the Opinion of the Vulgar is not sufficient^p: And a legal Proof may be made hereof by Witnesses, or by an Interpretation of Law. For the Intention of quitting a Property is sometimes presumed by an Interpretation of Law in a Person, who foregoes the same: As when a Master denies Alimony to his Bondman or Handmaid, and commands him or her to be delivered to another^a; or if he deserts or exposes his Servant being sick and in a languishing Condition, or being in Health leaves him in want of the Necessaries of Life. In this case he seems to intend him as a *Derelict*, and loses the Property of his Servant: And then such Bondman or Handmaid, by a kind of *Occupancy* of themselves, may claim unto themselves the true Liberty of *Roman* Citizens^r, ° C. 7. 6. 1. 3. and do not then become the Property or Acquisition of any other *Occupant*.

But Things thrown out of a Ship in a Storm or Tempest, for the sake of disburdening the same, are not looked upon as *Derelicts*: For those Things remain in the Property of the Owners; because, 'tis plain, they are not cast out with a Design of abandoning them, but that the Ship should escape the Dangers of the Seas^r; and the Master of them commonly ties^r I. 2. 1. 47. a Buoy to them to know them again. Nor are mercantile Goods and Commodities, that suffer Shipwreck, to be accounted as *Derelicts*; for the Property of them continues in him in whom it was vested before such Shipwreck. Wherefore such mercantile Wares and Commodities are not granted to the *Occupant*, or Person that first seizes them. Yea, he that collects, wastes, or converts such shipwreck'd Goods to his own Use, commits a grievous Theft; and by the *Civil* Law at this day, shall undergo a Forfeiture of all his Goods^r. Wherefore, it follows, that he who seizes and possesses himself of Shipwreck'd Goods, cannot through length of Time plead a Right thereunto by *Usucapion*; nor can any other Person do this, though (perchance) such Goods come into his Hands as a third Person, if he knew them to be shipwreck'd Goods, because *Usucapion* is not admitted in stolen Goods^r. ° C. 6. 2. 18. Auth. *Navigia*.

It is one Thing to have Goods as a *Derelict*, and another to have them as Goods *lost*: There being a wide difference between a *Derelict* and a Thing *lost*. For a Thing is said to be a *Derelict*, when it is left and exposed with a Design, that the same should cease to be in the Property of the Owner thereof, as already remembred: But that is said to be *quid deperditum*, or a Thing *lost*, that happens from a casual Event, and which does not go from the Proprietor on a set Purpose: For those Things which we lose contrary to our Wish and Expectation, we look upon as Things *lost*. Nor do I know any Text in the Law that makes a better distinction between a *Derelict* and a *Deperditum*, than what I have here made. From whence I infer, that he who finds Things that are lost, whether they be Rings, or any other *moveable* Goods which be lost, does not thereby make them his own by finding them, because they are still in another's Property: nor shall he possess the same by *Usucapion* through length of Time; and he that does so, approaches to the Commission of Theft. So that the Person who finds the Thing, ought to cry the same, as already observed, where such Things are usually cried: And if there be no Owner extant, or appears, then, according to *Imola* on the *Canon* Law, and *Hostiensis*^u, ° In c. 5. x. 5. the Thing so lost and found ought to be presented to the Bishop or Parish Priest, to be distributed to the Poor; but by the *Feudal* Law, to the Lord of the *Fief*. And thus I have done with the several ways of acquiring Property according to the Law of Nations. I shall only further add some

useful Observations touching Property in general, and so conclude this Title.

And *first*, it is to be noted, that if in an Action on a *Pawn* or *Mortgage*, a Question should arise touching the Property thereof, the Creditor ought, according to some Mens Opinion, to prove that the Debtor was the Owner and Proprietor of the Thing pawned or mortgaged to him, at the time of the Obligation or Engagement made: But the Doctors do, for the most part, reject this Opinion as false and contrary to Law, affirming the Proof of Property in this case to be in no wise necessary; since a Proof of this nature is the most difficult of all kinds of Proofs. And it is sufficient Proof, if at the time of the Engagement made, or Obligation given, the Thing pawned or mortgaged was deemed among the Debtor's Effects; that is to say, if the Debtor was then in the Possession of the Thing thus pawned and mortgaged, as being his own. And this is not so difficult to be proved, since what we are possessed of *bonâ fide* is reckoned among our own Goods, though in reality we have no Property therein. But, *secondly*, it is to be observed, that he who claims any thing by a *real* Action, ought to prove himself to be the Proprietor thereof. As for instance, *Titius* is in possession of an Estate belonging to me. If I would in this Case bring a *real* Action for the effectual Recovery of such Estate, I ought to prove the Property to be vested in me: which if I shall not do, the Estate shall remain with *Titius*; for it is not necessary that the Possessor should prove the Estate belongs to him^v. For even in a doubtful Case, where no Proprietor appears, he has the Property and Ownership of a Thing, who is in possession thereof, and is thereby presumed to be Lord of it. *Thirdly*, it is to be observed, that Dominion and Property is a matter of Law, and is not placed in the Understanding of Man, nor is it immediately perceived by any corporeal Sense, but only by the Reason and Judgment of Man; as that *Caius* saw *Titius* himself buy that Thing, and that he has been in possession of it for so long a time, as that he may plead Prescription for it: And, therefore, it is no Proof of Property for *Caius* to affirm, that *Titius* was Proprietor thereof, unless upon Interrogatories he answers to the Reason thereof. *Fourthly*, it is an establish'd Rule in Law, that Property may be proved as well by Deeds as by Witnesses, and also by other Documents^w: For Property may be proved even without Deeds or Instruments, by proving a Title of Bargain and Sale on the Payment of a Price, and on Delivery of Possession^x. *Fifthly*, in a Question touching Property, it is to be known, he has the Preference, unto whom Possession is delivered by the true and real Owner^y: And a Thing seems to be the Property of that Person, not with whose Money, but in whose Name it is purchased^z; that is to say, it is the Property of him, whose Name is contained in the Deed or Instrument of Sale^a. For that which is purchased with another's Money, or with Money in common, does not become the Property of him whose Money it was: But this is otherwise in respect of a Minor's Money, in the Money of Soldiers, and in respect of a Wife's Portion. *Sixthly*, a Pupil, as to the Business of acquiring the Property of a Thing, does not stand in need of his Tutor or Guardian's Authority^b, though it be otherwise in the Business of accepting of an Heirship according to the Gloss: But he cannot alienate the Property of a Thing without the Authority of his Tutor; nor can he transfer Possession on another without such Authority^c. *Seventhly*, it is to be noted, that by a Statute or Custom the Dominion and Property of a Thing may be transferr'd to the Heir *ipso facto* without any Possession or Delivery, and such a Statute or Custom is good and valid in Law; such a Custom being every where received in *France*.

It often happens between particular Partners, Brothers, and others, that they lay out Money upon Wares or other Things *simply*, without saying that

that such Money was in common between them, or that it was the proper Money of such a Person: In this Case, if any Question arises touching whose Money it is, it is always presumed to be the Property of him who pays the Money, and not Money in common ^a. Thus if a Brother buys an Estate for himself and his Brother, and the Seller acknowledges that he received the Purchase-Money for it of the Brother that drove the Bargain, and the Purchase-Deed does not mention that it was bought with the Money of the two Brothers, or of their Money in common, it is presumed to be bought out of the Money of him who pays the Price for it, and he shall acquire the Property thereof^c. If a Brother does not apply himself to Trade and Industry, and has nothing besides Effects in common, he is presumed to have acquired what he purchases out of the common Stock. But a Person that has the Management and Administration of another's Business, and receives his Money, if he makes a Purchase, is presumed to pay the Purchase-Money out of the Stock of his Principal, if there are any Conjectures that concur and lead hereunto. If the Head of a College, or any Community, purchases in the Name of the College or Community, he is presumed to do it out of the Money of such College or Community; and, therefore, the College shall have the Property of the Estate.



T I T. IV.

Of a Peculium, what it is, and the several Species thereof; what Right the Father, Mother, and Son has therein; and of an Action de Peculio, &c.

THE words *Peculium* and *Peculatus*, according to *Varro*^f, are both derived from the word *Pecunia*, *quasi pusilla pecunia*, or a small Patrimony: For the word *Pecunia* comprehends all Things which are in our Patrimony, and is derived from the word *Pecus*, as noted under the Title of *Money*. And thus a *Peculium* is that Money which is left to a Bondman, or a Son under the Power of a Father, or which such Son or Bondman, through the Will and Consent of the Father or Master^g, acquire to themselves by their own Industry, (for a Son or Bondman can acquire nothing of his own :) And this Money was kept separate from the Money of the Father or Master, and never brought into their Accounts or Substance^h. And hereupon, if the Father had an active, lusty, and industrious Son, who was willing to follow Trade, and the Father trusted him with a Sum of Money to trade with, this Money was in some measure said to be the Son's Estate, though in reality it was not: But because it was so separated from the Father's Stockⁱ, the Father did not reckon it among his own Effects, but kept distinct Accounts thereof; and, therefore, in some measure it was said to be the Son's Patrimony. And the same might be said in respect of Bondmen: Because it is certain, there have been Bondmen sometimes, who have been Traders, Physicians, Songsters, and other

other Masters of Industry. And these Bondmen, that were so qualified, are in Law stiled *Ordinariz* and *Atrienses*, as having other Bondmen in the *Peculium* granted them by their Master: which Under-Bondmen are stiled *Vicarii*, who sometimes supply'd the Place, and did the Duty of the *ordinary* Bondmen, in case these superior Bondmen were (perhaps) otherwise employed. And not only that was stiled a *Peculium*, which a Bondman had in a distinct manner from his Master's Accounts, but even that which the Master himself had separated, that he might have it *in Peculio*, having Power to increase or diminish the same at pleasure: As when a Master, being a Creditor unto his Bondman, granted him the Substance which he had in his Hands belonging to such Bondman, to be his own *Jure Peculii*, though no Delivery had intervenen. The word *Peculium* has various Significations, but I shall only use it here in the Sense above given.

A *Peculium*, as here understood, is four-fold. The first *Species* of it is stiled *Profectitious*; and so called *quasi proficiscitur à Patre vel Domino*^k, as flowing from the Father or Master. The second is termed *Adventitious*, because the Son may acquire it by other means than by the Father; as (perhaps) from being Heir to his Mother, Brother, Friend, or Neighbour^l: And the same may be said in regard to a Bondman, because whatsoever was given unto a Bondman, or he acquired by his own Industry, and not from his Master's Goods or Stock, or in his Master's Employment, might be termed the Bondman's *Peculium Adventitium*, because these Things were foreign to the Master's Stock or Service. For these Things are stiled *adventitious*, because they proceed not from the Person, Goods, or Estate of the Father or Master^m. The third *Species* is called *Peculium Castrense*, being that which was given to a Person in the Service of the Wars, either by his Parents or Kindred, or even by other Persons Strangers to him; or that which a Son under the Power of a Father acquired in the Wars, which if he had not been in the Service of the Wars, he had not otherwise purchasedⁿ. The last is the *Peculium quasi Castrense*, which a Son under the Power of a Father acquired by a Profession of the liberal Sciences, or from some publick Office or Function, as from the Revenues of the Priesthood^o, or from the Patronage of Causes, and the like, or if he laid up Money by a parsimonious way of Life^p.

In a *Peculium Profectitium*, the Property and Usufruct did belong to the Father, though the Son had his Accounts separately kept from the Father's^q. Wherefore, in the Business of Succession, such a *Peculium* was to be divided between the Son and the Coheirs. Touching this matter, I shall here take notice of a very remarkable Decision of *Jason's*^r, in a case very often in practice, *viz.* a Father during his Life-time had several predial Estates belonging to him, but being in his Dotage, or otherwise infirm by reason of Sickneſs, could not manage and intend the same as he ought: whereupon his eldest Son had the Care and Management of his domestick Concerns, as well as of his predial Estates; and the other Brother being (perhaps) an Infant or Minor, had no Employment therein. The Father being dead, the eldest Brother said, that he had for a long time had the Care of the Family-Estate; and, therefore, demanded, that before any Division was made of the Father's Substance, he might have so much allowed him for a Salary, as the Father would have given to any one Steward or Bailiff of his Estate. Now *Jason*, by way of Decision, says, that the Brother after the Father's Death could not demand a Salary of his Brother, because the Son was obliged *ex debito reverentiae paternae* to undertake this Task or Employment, and for that a Power or Commission is usually executed *gratis*, by a Person not accustomed to take a Fee or Wages for Business done^s.

As to a *Peculium Adventitium*, which does not accrue to the Son from the Father's Stock, but advenes to him some other way, as aforesaid, the Property belongs to the Son himself, as owing it (perhaps) to the Liberality of Fortune, and the like; but the Father acquires the Usufruct of it during his Life-time^s. And in such a *Peculium*, the Father is the lawful Admi-^s I. 2. 9. 1. nistrator^s, and the same does not come to be divided between Coheirs^u:^s C. 7. 4. 1. But though the Son has the Property thereof, yet he cannot make a Will^u C. 6. 20. 21. touching the Disposal thereof^v. By the way it is to be observed, that these^v C. 6. 22. 11. two Titles in the *Code*, touching the Mother's Goods, and those which[&] 12. Children have the disposal of, never were received in Saxony; viz. as that the Father should have the Usufruct in the Mother's Effects, and the *adventitious* Goods of the Son during his Life-time, provided he gave Security to see the Goods forthcoming to the Children after his Decease, as the Civil Law directs: For by the Custom of the Country, these two Titles of the Law were rejected there, and the Usufruct only accrues to the Father, so long as the Son does not separate himself from the Father. For when he does this, the Father is then compelled to restore him all the Mother's Effects, and other *adventitious* Goods, whether he be a Son in the Power of the Father, or not. See the Laws of Saxony^w.^s Art. 11. lib.

As to the *Peculium Castrense* and *Quasi Castrense*, the Son was deemedⁱ to be in the Place of a *Pater-familias*: so that in respect of the Property and Usufruct thereof, they are the Son's entire Acquisition, and the Father has no Right in them; and the Son may dispose of them even by Will^x,^s C. 6. 60. 6. nor shall they be divided in the Succession. But it has been a Question, whe-^s C. 6. 12. 11. & 12. ther when the Son's Patrimony or Estate is increased, it may be presumed to be *profectitious* or *adventitious*? And here we ought to distinguish, viz. That either the Son is diligently industrious, and such a one as has been accustomed to work, and the Father is poor; and then such Things as accrue to the Son are presumed to be *adventitious*: or if the Son be slothful, and knows not how to work, and the Father is rich; then the *Peculium* may be presumed to flow from the Father's Substance, and thus to be a *profectitious Peculium*. And this distinction, according to *Zazius*, ought to be regarded; because by means thereof, he, upon a time, obtained for his Client a thousand Florins.

Having thus in the Premises given a Definition, and treated of the several Kinds of a *Peculium*, I come in the next place to speak of an Action *de Peculio*. And here it is to be observed for the Explanation of this Action, that there are two Obligations arising from the Contract of a Son under the Power of a Father. The one arises against the Son *in solidum*: For tho' he be under the Father's Power, yet he is bound *in solidum* on the account of every Contract, whether *proper* or *improper*, and on the account of every Trespas, whether *proper* or *improper*, even in the Father's Life-time: so that he may be convened by Creditors, and by a Sentence condemned to pay the whole Debt^y. And this not only proceeds, when he^y D. 5. 1. 57. has a *Peculium* adventitious, *Castrense* and *quasi Castrense*, but even when^{D.} 44. 7. 39. he has no such Thing as Property, and all the Effects are the Father's. For here an Execution may be served against him, and if he pays not the Debt, he shall be imprisoned, unless he makes a *Cession* of his Goods^z. The other^z C. 7. 71. 7. Obligation arises against the Father by the *Peculium* on the account of the Son's Contract, yet not *in solidum*, but only so far as the *Peculium* extends^a, unless the^a D. 5. 1. 57. Father ratifies and confirms the Son's Contract. For then the Father may on the Score of such Ratification be convened *in solidum*. But this admits of a Limitation in two Cases, viz. first, in the Case of a Vow; for if the Vow or Promise be of Money to sacred Uses, neither he nor his Father shall be liable^b. Now a Vow,^b D. 50. 12. 2. 1. in *Latin* called *Votum*, is a just and deliberate Promise of doing, or not doing something in respect of God, though the Antients were wont to call several

Acts made for the Prince by the Name of *Vows*, as elsewhere to be remarked. *Secondly*, in case of Money borrowed; for if a Son under the Father's Power borrowed Money, regularly neither he nor his Father were bound to pay it, but each had the Exception of the *Senatus-Consult. Macedonianum*^c, as already related.

^c D. 14. 6. 1.
& t. t.

An Action *de Peculio* was a personal Action, whereby we demanded of the Father or Master to pay a Debt for the Son or Bondman bound unto us by Contract, even in the Life-time of such Son or Bondman, according to the Extent or Amount of the *Peculium*^d. This Action was introduced by the *Prætor*, for it is not founded on the old civil Law: And the Reason of it was, because the Father and Master had the Usufruct of the Bondman and Son's Labour. An Action *de Peculio* continued as long as the Son or Bondman was under the Power of the Father or Master: But after the Death or Emancipation of the *Filius-familias*, or the Manumission or Alienation of such Bondman, it was limited to a Year^e. The Father had this Interest over the Son's Estate, because by the *Roman Law* they were supposed to be but one Person: But the Laws of *England* make no such Supposal; and this Title *de Peculio* is now every where grown out of use.

^d I. 4. 6. 10.

^e D. 15. 2. 1.



T I T. V.

Of Services; and therein of Predial and Personal Services; and likewise of Rural and City Services, according to a Sub-division of them; and what these are, &c.

^f I. 2. 2. pr.

HAVING before treated of Things *corporeal*, viz. of such Things as may be seen and touched in their own Nature^f, and which are the Object of Property, and subject unto corporeal Possession: I shall next speak of Things *incorporeal*, which cannot be seen or touched, but do only consist in *Right*; and, therefore, are not subject to corporeal Possession, but yet may be the Object of Property, as Services, Inheritances, and Obligations. And *first*, of Services in general, under the present Title; and hereafter of Inheritances and Obligations.

^g D. 8. 1. 1.

D. 7. 1. 32.

^h I. 2. 3. 3.

ⁱ D. 8. 1. 8. &
15.

^k I. 2. 3. 3.

^l D. 8. 3. 1. 1.

Now a *Service*, in *Latin* stiled *Servitus*, is a Right, whereby one Thing is subject unto another Thing or Person, for Use and Convenience, contrary to *common Right*; and where one Person is subject unto another Person, as I have already related under the Title *touching the State and Condition of Persons*. So that *Services* may be divided into *real* and *personal*^g. *Real*, which are also called *Predial Services*, are such as one Estate owes unto another Estate: As because I am Owner of such a Ground, I have the Right of a Way through the Ground of another Person^h; or because I am possessed of this House, my Neighbour cannot beat out a Light or Window out of his own House towards mine, or build his House higher without my Leave. They are called *predial Services*, because they cannot be constituted *sine Prædiis*ⁱ, without Lands and Tenements: For no one can acquire either a *City* or *Rural Service*, unless it be he who has a *predial Estate*^k. Those *predial Services* are stiled *rural*, when a *predial Estate* owes Service to an Estate in the Country^l: And those *Predial Services*

Services are termed *City Services*, when a Predial Estate owes Service to a Predial Estate in the City ^m. For by *Prædia Rustica*, I here mean all such ^{m D.8.4.1.} Places as are free and exempt from Buildings, as an *Area* or Square in the City, and a Field in the Country ⁿ: And, on the other hand, by *Prædia* ^{n D.50.16.} *Urbana* I mean all Buildings, even built out of the City in a Ville, or in ^{211.} the Country ^o.

Rural Services are those, which the Lawyers call *Iter, Actus, Via, Aquæ-* ^{o D.50.16.} *ductus*, or the driving of Cattle to Water, the Right of Pascuage or Feeding of Cattle, the Right of digging Sand, burning Lime, &c^p. I say, among ^{p I.2.3.pr.} *Rural Services* we may reckon the *Iter, Actus*, and *Via*: For the *civil* ^{& 11.2.} Law distinguishes these from each other. The *Iter* is a Right, which a Man has to go on Foot or Horseback, or in a Sedan, &c. over another Man's Land to his own ^q: For an *Iter* is a Way either on Foot or Horse- ^{q D.8.3.7.} back ^r. The *Actus* is a Right of walking, riding, driving Cattle, or a Cart ^{r D.8.3.12.} over another Man's Land ^s. There may also be an *Actus* or Way without ^{t I.2.3.pr.} the Right of driving a Cart or Waggon; and this we vulgarly in *England* call a *Pack* and *Prime Way*. The *Via* or *Aditus* is a Right of walking, riding, driving Cattle or Carts, and also of drawing Stones, Timber ^s, and ^{u D.8.3.7.} even of leading an Army, provided it be done without Damage to the Corn or Grass. This last Way was to consist of eight Foot at least in Breadth straitways, and sixteen Foot upon turnings ^t, according to a Law ^{v D.8.3.8.} of the twelve Tables. This with us in *England* is either the King's *Highway*, or the *common Streets*. Therefore, from what has been said, he who has an *Iter* has not an *Actus*; but he who has an *Actus*, has also an *Iter*; and, by the tacit Will of him who has constituted the same, he may make use of it without driving Cattle: But if it be expressly covenanted and agreed to the contrary, it is otherwise ^u. Thus also there is a great ^{u D.8.5.4.1.} difference between what we call *Via* and *Actus*: For a *Via* includes an *Iter* ^{D.50.17.21.} and an *Actus* therein; but an *Actus* only contains an *Iter* by the tacit Will ^{Arg.} of the Person who grants it, as aforefaid. The *fourth* Kind of *Rural Services* is what we stile *Aquæ-ductus*, or a Right of bringing Water by a Pipe or Rivulet through another Man's Land to my own ^v, without prejudice to navigable Rivers, or any other Man's Estate ^w. And this may either ^{w D.43.12.2.} be from the Spring-Head, or from any other Place, not only of Water already discovered, but to be discovered hereafter. And this is true, if such a Service be established by Grant; for otherwise a Man cannot bring Water through another's Ground against the Will of the Proprietor ^x. Yea, the ^{x C.3.3.2. &} Proprietor may by his own Authority remove the Pipe, and intercept the ^{11.} coming of the Water ^y. A Person that has a Service granted him, may in ^{y D.9.2.29.1.} the beginning bring Water through any Part of the Estate that is subject to this Service; but after he has once begun to bring Water through one Part of such Estate, he cannot alter the Course, and bring it through another Part thereof ^z. The Person who has this Service granted him, ought at ^{z D.43.12.20.} his own Cost and Charge to repair the Pipe, and other Instruments through ^{Bart.1b.} which the Water passes: For regularly in all Services, except that of an *Onus ferendum*, Repairs belong to him, who avers such Service is due to him ^a. And the Reason is, because he who owes the Service, is not com- ^{a D.8.5.6.2.} pelled to do any Thing *actively*, but to be *passive* only ^b. Hence the ^{b D.8.1.15.} Person, to whom a Service is due or granted, may at his own Cost build and lay Pipes in the Estate that is subject to such, though the Person that owes the Service should oppose it, to the end that he may the better enjoy the Right of Service ^c. See *Capella* touching *City Services*. This Power of bringing Water may be granted to several Persons, if there be a sufficient ^{c D.8.1.10.} Stock of Water ^d; otherwise if it be granted to one, it cannot be after- ^{D.8.2.20.1.} wards granted unto another, according to *Paul. de Castro* ^e, in prejudice of ^{d D.8.3.2.1.} the first Person. For a Grant is always understood to be made without ^{e In l. 17.} ^{D.8.3.17.}

Damage

- ^f D. 43. 8. 2. Damage and Prejudice to a third Person ^f. Thus Privileges granted to one Person, ought not afterwards to be granted unto another, in prejudice of the first Grantee ^g. A *fifth* Kind of rural Services is a Right of drawing Water, and of watering Cattle, a Right of Common and of Pasturage, of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, making Lime, digging Gravel, Chalk, Stone, and Sand for the Use of my Farm or Estate ^h; but not for any other Uses, as to make earthen Vessels, and the like ⁱ: For the Service must be made use of only for the Use and Advantage of the *ruling* Estate. To render this a Service in the Realty, it is necessary, that he who has acquired such Service, should have an Estate in the Neighbourhood ^k: For though Water be then drawn for the Benefit of Persons who possess an Estate in the Neighbourhood; yet it is called a *real* Service, because it is due from a real Estate in Contemplation of a Man's Estate bordering thereon: And, therefore, it is said to be a real, and not a personal Right, which is not extinguished with the Persons themselves, but, according to the Gloss ^l, passes to the Successors of such neighbouring Estate. But if such Person as acquires this Service has not an Estate in the Neighbourhood, or the like, but the drawing of Water is only granted to him for the Use and Advantage of his Person, it is called a personal Right, which dies and is extinguished with the Person ^m. This Service is issuable out of a private Spring or Brook: For every one may draw Water out of a publick Stream or River ⁿ. If a Person has a Grant of drawing Water, he is understood to have a Way granted him unto such Water: And, on the other hand, he who has a Way unto a Spring or Brook, has by Interpretation of Law the Right of drawing Water there ^o. In relation to the feeding of Cattle in another Man's Ground, it is also necessary, that the Person to whom this Service is granted or due, should likewise have an Estate in the Neighbourhood, in order to render it a *real* Service ^p. And such Places are stiled *Pascua* or Pasture-Lands, *ubi pecora pascuntur* ^q, where Cattle are depastured and fed. Under the word *Pecus* we may reckon all *Quadrupeds* or four-footed Beasts which feed in Herds ^r. Regularly speaking, every Person is forbidden to feed his Cattle in another's Ground, unless he has such Service either by Grant or Prescription ^s, and then he ought to use such Service only as it is covenanted in the said Grant, or according to the manner of such Prescription ^t. Therefore, if the Covenant or Prescription be only for feeding of Sheep on another's Estate, a Man may not feed Oxen, Hogs, or Horses thereon; nor can he feed a greater number of Cattle than is limited by such Grant or Prescription. Hence it is, that if a Person has for a Term of Years by Prescription fed a thousand Sheep on another's Land, and no more, he cannot afterwards increase that Number, according to this Maxim in Law, *viz. quantum possessum tantum prescriptum* ^u. Thus if there be a Service granted for bringing Water unto certain Estates, such *Modus* of bringing Water which was limited in the beginning, cannot be increased, tho' other Estates should afterwards be added thereunto ^v. And *Baldus* says, that this Law has not only place in a Service founded on a Grant, but also in a Service established upon Prescription: Because Prescription can no more exceed its proper Terms and Limits, than Possession can ^w. For if a Service be granted for watering a certain number of Cattle, the Proprietor of the Estate, subject to such Service, may hinder the watering of a larger Number. But, on the other hand, if the Proprietor of the subject Estate does any thing contrary to the ancient Form of the Service, whereby he may hinder the Use of such Service due, he is liable to an Action ^x: For he cannot change and reduce such Pasture-Lands unto Tillage or arable Land against the Will of the Person that has the Service; nor can the Person that has the Service, do it against the Will of the Proprietor. This, I say, the Proprietor of the *ruling* Estate cannot do.

do, unless the other Person has only a Right of Pasturage for a certain time, *viz.* when the Land is not in Tillage: For every one may improve his own Estate, provided his Neighbour does not suffer thereby^x. ^x D. 8. 5. 6. fin. D. 39. 3. 14.

The *Civil* Law distinguishes Pasture-Land into *publick* and *private* Pasture^y, as our common Law does. The last is that which accrues unto a Person *Jure proprio*, as Meadows, and the like, belonging to his Estate, exclusive of any other's Right: And the other is that, which we stile a *Common of Pasture*, which belongs to a whole Town, Village, or City, and has a common Herdsman or Shepherd appertaining thereunto, hired for the keeping and looking after Cattle, who if he shall lose any, shall be liable, in case he be negligent in his Business^z. This *Common of Pasture* is not the Object of a *real* Service, because no such Grant can be made thereof subject unto another Estate: Yet in some particular Cases, a Person may let out his Right of *Common* unto another for a certain moderate time, provided he does not injure the other Commoners. I shall next proceed to speak of *City* Services: And, ^y C. 11. 69. ^z Dd. in l. 9. D. 19. 1.

Those are stiled *City* Services which belong and are due to Estates in the City; that is to say, to Houses and Buildings erected for the Habitation of Men, whether they be in the City or out of the City, in some Village or Country; for it is not the Place, but the Use they are apply'd to, which constitutes a City-Estate^a. These Houses or Buildings ought not to be erected for Corn or Cattle, unless they are Out-Houses to the principal Mansion: For Services have their Denomination from the *ruling* Estate. These Services of *City* Inheritances are either *affirmative* or *negative*; whereas *rural* Services are *affirmative* only. The *affirmative* are, *first*, that of the *Oneris ferendi*, *viz.* that the Wall of my Neighbour's House shall bear the Burthen of my Building^b; and which he shall be bound to repair^c, as already hinted. For though it be the Nature of other Services, that he on whom the Service is imposed, cannot be compelled to do any thing, but only to suffer: yet the particular Nature of this Service is such, that he who owes it is not only obliged to suffer^d, but is likewise bound to do something, as to repair his Wall, or to rebuild it if it be fallen down^e; unless it be otherwise expressly stipulated by Pacts and Agreements, or it has been otherwise practised for length of time. But whilst the Wall is rebuilding, the Support or Propping up of the House, unto which such Service is due, belongs unto the Owner of such House, to whom such Service is due^f. The *second* affirmative Service is, that my Neighbour shall suffer me to fix a Beam, or piece of Timber, or Stone in his Wall^g. For, regularly speaking, no one can fix a Beam into another's House without such a Service: And if this be done against our Neighbour's Will, he may by his own Authority remove or destroy it^h. And 'tis the same thing, if a Man builds a Wall, or erects a Coop upon my Estate, I may by my own Authority destroy it: Because that which is built upon my Land, goes along with the Soil, and becomes mine, and consequently I may destroy it. And, therefore, there is need of this Service to warrant it. This Service differs from the former in this respect, *viz.* because he who owes this Service, only suffers his Neighbour's Beam or Timber to rest on his Wall, and is not obliged to any Repairsⁱ. A *third* Kind of an affirmative Service is, that my Building may project, so as Carts and Carriages shall be forced on his Ground; or that I may make a Balcony over his Ground, or a Vault under it^k. A *fourth* Kind is, that the Eves of my House, (called *Suggrunda* or *Suggrundia*) may hang over his Ground, to protect my own Walls, and to keep them from the Injury of the Weather^l. A *fifth* Kind is a Right of turning the Droppings of the Eves of my House on my Neighbour's House or Ground, or that I may receive the Droppings of his Eves into my Cistern^m, which may be beneficial where there is want of Water. A *sixth* Kind is, ^a D. 50. 16. ^b I. 2. 3. 1. ^c D. 8. 2. 33. ^d D. 8. 1. 15. ^e D. 8. 5. 6. 2. ^f D. 8. 5. 8. pr. ^g D. 8. 2. 25. ^h D. 2. 29. ⁱ D. 8. 5. 8. 2. ^k D. 8. 2. 2. ^l D. 8. 2. 2. ^m D. 8. 2. 2.

- ^a D. 8. 1. 7. that my Sink or Gutter may run through my Neighbour's House or Backside ^a.
 A *seventh* Kind is, that I may beat out what Lights and Windows I please
^b D. 8. 2. 4. against him ^b, which otherwise I cannot do. An *eighth* Kind is, that I
 may have a clear and pleasant Prospect from my House over his Court or
^c D. 8. 2. 15. Yard ^c. And a *ninth* Kind is, that I may have a Way or Passage through
^d D. 8. 3. 7. my Neighbour's House or Backside ^d. Though these are both *Rural* and
^e I. 2. 3. 1. Country Services, yet when apply'd to City Inheritances, they are *City*
 Services: For as to the last Instance, it often happens, that one Neighbour
 may go up the Stairs of another to his own Chamber, &c. The *negative*
^f I. 2. 3. 1. Services are, *first*, that a Man shall not turn the Droppings of the Eves of
^g Ibid. his House on his Neighbour's House or Ground ^e. *Secondly*, that he shall
 not darken his Neighbour's Windows ^f. *Thirdly*, that he shall not hinder
^h D. 8. 2. 15. my Prospect by Building or Planting of Trees ^g. *Fourthly*, that he shall
 not make any Windows to overlook me, and by that means take away the
 Privacy which every Man desires in his Dwelling. If I have no Service
 upon him in this Instance, he may make as many Windows as he pleases,
 but then I may erect Sheds against them, and so make them useless, except
 the Windows have been time out of mind. And this, I think, is every
 where practised. And *lastly*, that he shall not build his House without
 my leave ^h; which otherwise of *common Right* he may build as high as he
ⁱ C. 3. 34. 8. pleases, tho' my Windows are darkened by it ^h. Yet he ought not, generally
^j D. 8. 2. 9. speaking, to build contrary to the Form of the antient Building ⁱ, (as I
^k C. 8. 10. 1. shall elsewhere observe) or exceed the usual Height; neither ought he by
 any new Erection to hinder the Wind from coming into my Barn, which
^l C. 3. 34. 14. is necessary for the Winnowing of my Corn ^j. But if it be a Controversy
^m I. to what Height the Building may be erected, it must be decided by the
 Laws of the Place; and if there are none, the whole Matter ought to be
ⁿ C. 3. 34. 1. left to the Discretion of the Judge ^k, who ought to enquire how the Build-
 ings have been formerly, and have an Eye upon the Form of the neigh-
^o C. 8. 20. 12. bouring Houses ^l. If any Thing be done contrary to it, he may reduce the
^p Building to its proper Form, and pull down that which was irregularly built
^q C. 3. 34. 5. at the Charges of the Person that erected it ^m.

It has been already observed, that a *real* or *predial* Service is such a
 Service as one Estate owes unto another Estate, or the Right of doing some-
 thing, or having a Privilege in another Man's Estate for the Advantage and
 Convenience of my own, which I cannot do or have of *common Right*;
^a D. 8. 4. 1. for it cannot subsist and be without another Estate ^a. The Estate, unto
^b D. 8. 1. S. & 15. which the Service is due, is in *Latin* stiled *Prædium Dominans*, or the *ruling*
 Estate: And the other Estate, which undergoes or suffers this Service, is
^c D. 8. 4. 1. fin. termed *Prædium Serviens*, or an Estate subject unto a Rule or Service ^b,
 which is either to *suffer* something from the other, or *not to do* a Thing
 without the leave of the Owner of the *ruling* Estate. But these Estates
 must be in distinct Proprietors; for a Man's Estate cannot owe Service
^d D. 7. 6. 5. unto itself ^c. A *real* Service cannot consist of that which is of no
^e D. S. 1. 15. Value, and which yields no Profit to the *ruling* Estate ^d. Hence it is, that
 such Estates ought to be in the Neighbourhood of each other, wherein the
^f D. S. 3. 7. Service consists; for otherwise the Service will be of no effect ^e. But though
^g D. S. 2. 38. 39. a Service brings no real Advantage, yet if the Persons who settled such Ser-
 vice, thought it to be useful and convenient, it shall be deemed a profit-
^h D. S. 1. 19. able Service ^f.

Services are settled and established by Pacts *inter vivos*, and also by
 Last Wills and Testaments, if the Persons have a Right and Power of
ⁱ D. S. 4. 16. establishing the same ^g: And, at this day, they are acquired after the Man-
^j D. S. 1. 19. ner and Example of immoveable Estates, *viz.* by a Prescription of length
^k C. 7. 33. 12. of Time ^h, though antiently they were not so acquired ⁱ. But then, if they
^l D. 4. 13. 10. 1. are acquired by length of Time, they ought, according to *Paulus de Castro* ^k,
^m In l. 2. C. 3. to be deemed a *profitable* Service ^j.

to be possessed *cum titulo*. When it is acquired by length of Time without a Title, then the Knowledge and Sufferance of the Owner of the *servant* Estate is necessary¹, which is in the Place of a Title, to compleat¹ C. 3. 34. 2. an *Usucapion* founded upon length of Time^m. But, to compleat a Pre-^m D. 8. 5. 10. scription founded upon thirty Years Possession, neither of these is required, according to *Castrensis*, as before-cited. Services, indeed, cannot in their own Nature be the Object of Possession; but yet in Law he is understood to have the Possession of them *figuratively*, who is in possession of the Estate or Manorⁿ. A *Mode* may be added unto Services: As what kind ofⁿ D. 8. 2. 32. Waggon or Carriage the Person shall make use of upon my Estate^o: And^{fin.} a *Modus* does not render it to be less a simple, continued, and perpetual^o D. 8. 1. 4. 1. Service, but only defines and circumscribes the Use of such Service, and cum l. 5. governs it by certain Laws: For a Service ought to be of a simple, continued, and perpetual Nature^p. Though it be not the Nature of Services,^p D. 8. 2. 28. that any one should *do any thing*, as already hinted, but that he should rather *suffer*, or *not do any thing*^q; yet it sometimes comes into conse-^q D. 8. 1. 15. quence, that a Man may be compelled to do something, as before related in the Business of Repairs, and which is for the advantage of the *ruling* Estate: either the Nature of the Service, or the Pact of the Persons contracting requiring the same^r. Services do not admit of a Division: And, therefore,^r D. 8. 5. 8. 2. a Way or Road through a Man's Estate cannot be bequeathed in Part, nor taken away in Part^s; for a Service is total *in toto fundo*, and total in every^s D. 8. 1. 12. Part thereof^s.
^s D. 8. 1. 6.

A Service or Custom is not induced by Acts of meer Will and Power, though they have been of long continuance^t; because those Things which^t Dd. in l. 2. are *mere facultatis*, or which are granted upon Curtesy, cannot be pre-^{C. 8. 53.} scribed, nor can a Right be said to be acquired from those Things, nor does an Action lie hereupon, according to the Gloss^u. Thus a Person,^u D. in l. 6. though he often goes to such a Mill to grind his Corn, yet cannot be com-^{D. 1. 16.} pelled for the time to come to grind at this Mill, since this is a Matter meerly in his power, which does not import a future Necessity. The Grant of a Service made unto the Men of any City or Town, for the cutting of Firewood in such a Coppice, and the like, is extended to all the Inhabitants that shall at length come thither to dwell^v; because Cities, and the^v D. 50. 15. like, do receive an Increase and Diminution of People as it happens: And hence, he who granted the Liberty of cutting Fewel in his Woods, may think, that such an Increase of Inhabitants will happen; and, therefore, he must blame himself. If it be granted to a Person to cut Fewel or Wood, for warming himself and his Family, in such a Wood; and he dies, leaving several Families from his Loins; each of these Families cannot cut as much Wood as will serve all their distinct and respective Families, but they ought all of them to cut at once only so much as the Father might cut, and no more.

It has been noted, that there is one kind of *real* Service, which is stiled an *affirmative*, and another which is called a *negative* Service. The first is, when any one asserts a Service to be due to him, and such Service is due^w.^w I. 2. 3. per tot. & dd. ib. But a *negative* Service is, when only one Person alone intends to prescribe unto the Use of a Thing, by forbidding all others the Use thereof; as of Fishing, Hunting, and such like Things as accrue unto all Men by the Law of Nations: because Possession alone is not sufficient, but it is necessary for him to prohibit others, and that they have submitted and acquiesced under such Prohibition. A Person that has an Aqueduct, whereby a Man brings Water to his Land or Mill, if he makes use of it for ten Years together, he acquires the Service of an Aqueduct, and an honest Title is presumed: because he who brings Water from another's Land to his own Ditches, Cisterns, &c. and pays a yearly Acknowledgment for it unto him,

him, from whose Estate he draws it, is said to acquire a Service *bonâ fide*: But such a Service may be lost by a ten Years discontinuance of the Use of it, if the Person be present; and twenty, if absent^{*}.

^{*} C. 3. 34 pen.

[†] D. 8. 6. 3.

But *predial* Services are not lost by Death, or by a *Capitis Diminutio*: But do remain safe and entire, *salvo prædio*, viz. if the Estate itself be not lost. The word *Caput* here is put for the State and Condition of Man, which consists in three Things, viz. in the Rights and Privileges of the City, in the Liberty of a Man's Person from Banishment, and in the Freedom of his Person in respect to another's Power over him. And thus there are three *Species* of *Capitis Diminutio*, viz. the *maxima*, *media*, and *minima*².

² I. 1. 16. pr.

³ I. 1. 16. 1.

The first is, when a Man loses his Liberty and the Rights of a Citizen, which happens unto those who are made Servants unto Punishment by the Severity of a Sentence³. The second is that, whereby a Man loses the Privileges of a Citizen, but retains his Liberty: which happens to those that are under an Interdiction of Fire and Water, or that suffer Deportation⁴.

⁴ I. 1. 16. 2.

⁵ I. 1. 16. 3.

And the third is that, when a Man retains his Liberty and the Rights of a Citizen, but changes his State in respect of being under the Power of another, who before was entirely independent⁵. But *predial* are extinguish'd, *first*, by *Confusion*, viz. when the same Person shall become Proprietor *in solidum* both of the *ruling* and *serving* Estate⁶, or if he shall

⁶ D. 8. 6. 1.

⁷ D. 8. 1. 8. 1.

be so *pro parte*, and retain the whole Service⁷. *Secondly*, a Service is destroyed and at an end by the Person's Permission of an Act, which is contrary unto such Service⁸. *Thirdly*, it is extinguished by the Loss or Perishing of the Thing itself⁹: But if a publick Way be lost by the Force

⁸ D. 8. 6. 8.

⁹ D. 8. 6. 14.

¹⁰ D. 8. 6. 14.

fin.

of a River, the next Neighbour is obliged to restore it¹⁰. And *fourthly*, a Service may be lost by Negligence and Non-uses thereof, as before hinted, for ten Years among Persons present, and twenty among Absents. But if a Person be hindred by any Necessity from using it, it is not extinguished¹¹.

¹¹ D. 8. 6. 14.

There are several Things common to Services, besides Neighbourhood and Convenience. As *first*, all Services ought to follow the Estate, and to pass by an Alienation of it¹². *Secondly*, every one may acquire them for the Use of his own Estate, and not on the account of others; and as he may thus acquire them, so he may thus impose them on his own Estate only. *Thirdly*, Services cannot be imposed on Things publick or exempt from human Right¹³. *Fourthly*, the Proprietor of two Estates may acquire or impose a Service on that Estate, which he delivers. *Fifthly*, if Services are merged by *Confusion* on a Man's accepting of the Heirship, they shall be restored, if the Inheritance be sold; because then the Inheritance passes into other Hands, and the Service remains¹⁴. *Sixthly*, several Services may be imposed on one Estate, if they hinder not each other¹⁵.

¹² D. 8. 4. 12.

¹³ D. 8. 4. 4.

& 12.

¹⁴ D. 8. 4. 9.

¹⁵ D. 8. 4. 15.

There are several Cases wherein a real Service does not accrue. As when a Person sells or exchanges an Estate, if he does not save unto himself the Right of Pasturage, or some other real Service, he cannot pretend to any Right in the Estate itself, because he is deemed to have granted it free from any Service, as having not expressed the contrary; and in a doubtful Case, a Service is not presumed to be established. A Service is not deemed to be established by leave given to make a Window in a Wall, because this is a personal Grant.

[The *Feudists*, as well as our common Lawyers here in *England*, give us another Division of *Services* besides what we have already related, and distinguish them into *military*, which are *noble* Services, and into *rustick* or ignoble Services. The first we call Knight-Service, and is that which has a respect unto War and military Affairs: And this is also two-fold. The first is that which is due to the King alone¹⁶; and the other is that which is due to any Lord of a Fee or Fief whatsoever, even though he himself be Feudatary unto another superior Lord. What is due to the King alone, is also two-fold, viz. Sergeanty and Castlegard: But of these I shall have occasion to treat in my Second Volume; and, therefore, I shall refer the Reader thereunto.]

¹⁶ Hist. lib. 2.

& S.



T I T. VI.

Of an Usufruct, what it is; and how constituted; what Duties are incumbent on the Usufructuary; and by what means an Usufruct is determin'd, and to whom it reverts, when extinguished, &c.

HAVING in the foregoing Title sufficiently explained the Business of *real Services*, I shall in this and the following Title, treat of *personal Services*, viz. of such as are due unto a Man's Person from another's Estate: For a *personal Service* is, when an Estate is subject or ministerial unto a Man's Person, as an *Usufruct*, *Use*, *Habitation*, and the *Service of Labour* are. Indeed, a *personal Service* may be inferr'd two several ways. As *first*, when one Man becomes a Slave or Servant unto another, which may in some Sense be called a *personal Service*: But this Kind of Service is only seen in Bondmen and Slaves, which is now abolished and out of doors; and, therefore, I shall not here discourse of it, having already spoken thereunto under a former Title. The other Kind of *personal Service* is that, which is founded upon Things in Imitation of Persons: For a Thing may yield immediate *personal Service*, and hence it is also called a *personal Service*, viz. from the Person to whom such Service is due, as an *Usufruct*, *Use*, or *Habitation* is. Yet *Bartolus* and *Accursius*^p deny this, which is due from a Thing to a Person to be merely a *personal Service*, but rather chuse to call it a *mixt Service*: saying, there are some Services which are *personal*, some which are *real*, and others which are *mixt*. But these Men ought to have considered, that in order to know and judge of the Quality and Circumstances of a Service, a regard ought to be had to that Thing unto which a Service is due, whether it be a Person or a Thing: For there is a wide difference between a Service which belongs to the State of a Person, and that which is usually referr'd to the State of Things: Because there is as great a difference between that Right, which belongs to Persons, and that Right which appertains to the Distribution of Things unto Men, as there is between a human Service and an inanimate Service of Things. But to return to my Purpose of treating of an *Usufruct* under this Title.

Now an *Usufruct* is a Right of taking, using, and enjoying all manner of Profits, which arise from a corporeal Thing belonging to another Person, without any Prejudice or Diminution had to the Substance or Property thereof^a: For it does not change, nor diminish the Substance of the Thing. By the word *Right* we exclude what the Law styles *Hiring*, an *Emphyteusis*, and a Thing granted on *precarious Terms* called a *Precarium*: For though in these Cases a Man receives the Fruits and Profits of another's Estate, without diminishing the Substance thereof; yet not by the same Right as a *Fructuary* does. The Words *belonging to another Person*

^a l. 2. 4. pr.
D. 7. 1. 1.

in this Definition, shew, That he who has the *Usufruct*, has not the Property of the Thing; because that which is a Man's own, owes no Service unto another Man, as our common Lawyers say of a Freehold absolute. For he who receives the Profits from an Estate, whereof he has the Property, cannot be said to receive them *Jure Servitutis*, but it must be *Jure Domini*, viz. by Right of Property. I also add the word *using* in this Definition to distinguish an *Usufruct* from a *Pawn*, which a Creditor cannot make use of without the Debtor's Consent, though he has it in his possession. And the word *enjoying* is inserted to separate and distinguish an *Usufruct* from a *Nude Use* and *Habitation*. For a *Nude Use* is only the Right of using and enjoying, as I shall remember in the next Title; and *Habitation* is a Right of inhabiting. Lastly, the Words, *without any Prejudice or Diminution had to the Substance*, are tacked not only to exclude an improper *Usufruct* of those Things which perish and are consumed by Use, as Wine, Oil, Corn, Wool, &c. but to constitute and restrain the Right of the *Usufructuary*, who can only use and enjoy the Thing, so far as he does not render the Substance of it the worse: For if the Property of the Thing be worsted thereby, the *Usufruct* or Thing does not revert to the Proprietor as the same Thing. And thus an *Usufruct* is a *personal* Service issuable out of an Estate or Thing real, and is several ways distinct and separate from the Property of the Thing itself, as I shall afterwards remark: I say *personal*, because it is due to a Man's Person, and ends with him.

Having thus considered what an *Usufruct* is, I shall shew that an *Usufruct* is two-fold, viz. *causal* and *formal*. A *causal* *Usufruct* is that which is joined *cum causâ rei*, that is to say, such as the Proprietor has by Right of Property: But I shall not in this Title treat of this Kind of *Usufruct*. A *formal* *Usufruct* is a Right of using and enjoying the Estate of another Person, as we have already defined it: And it is so called, because there is a certain Kind of Form annexed for the Use and Enjoyment thereof, separate from the Property of the Thing. Generally speaking, there is a two-fold Kind of Caution required from every *Usufructuary*. The first is to oblige him to use the *Usufruct*, as an honest Man shall judge fit and proper for him to do, according to his Discretion^f. And the second is to oblige him to restore the Thing upon the Determination of the *Usufruct*^g. And that Person is understood to use a Thing according to the Judgment and Discretion of an honest Man, who does not render the *Usufruct* in a worse Condition than it was delivered to him, or does the same Thing in respect to the *Usufruct*, as a wise and provident Man would do of his own Goods and Estate^h. But though an *Usufructuary*, regularly speaking, ought to give this Caution or Security; yet it is not of the Substance of the Definition, because an *Usufruct* may be granted even without such Caution given. If an *Usufructuary* does not use the *Usufruct* as he ought to do, he may be convened *ad Interesse*, viz. in an Action of Damage, according to the Stipulation; which the *Usufructuary* is compelled to make goodⁱ. He who has an *Usufruct*, has all the Fruits and Emoluments whatsoever, which are received from such Estate, or through the means thereof, not only the *natural*^v, but also the *civil* Profits of it; as Pensions, Rents, Interest-Money, and all other civil Obventions^w. For he who has the Fruit, has also every other advantage entirely, not only such as conduces to Necessity, but also to Gain and Pleasure. But he who has the Use of a Thing, has no more than is sufficient to supply his daily Wants and Occasions^x.

An *Usufruct* is constituted either by the Pact and Agreement of the Parties contracting^y, or by Prescription, or by Last Will and Testament, whereby an *Usufruct* is bequeathed. And it is constituted not only in Houses and Estates in Land, but also in Cattle, and Bondmen, and other Things,

Things, except it be such as are consumed by use^a. For these Things do not admit of an *Usufruct* either by the Law of Reason, or by the Civil Law: As Wine, Oil, Corn, Garments, and the like, unto which we add Money, which is near of kin unto these Things; for that, by continual exchange, seems in some measure to be consumed and vanish from us. As when the Use of so much Money for Life is given by way of Legacy, upon Security and Caution, that so much should be repaid to the Heir by the Legatary when he died; or so much Wine or Oil, upon Caution and Security, that at the Time of the Death of the Legatary, the Value of it should be repaid to the Heir in Money^a. But an *Usufruct* may be constituted by Law as well as Custom. By the first, an *Usufruct* is granted unto the Father in the *adventitious* Goods of his Son. And by the second, the Survivor in Wedlock has an *Usufruct* in the Goods and Estate of the Party deceased in Wedlock, or dying first in that State. An *Usufruct* is sometimes granted by the Judge, when in Suits touching the Division of Lands he has adjudged the *Fundus* to one, and the *Usufruct* of that *Fundus* to another. An *Usufruct* is also said to be granted by Law, according to some Men, when the Lord of the Fee, who has the Right and free Power of disposing of his Estate, does either by an Act *inter vivos*, or else by a Last Will and Testament, grant the same; so that if he shall bequeath the *Usufruct* to any one, the Heir has only the *nude* Property, and the Legatary has the *Usufruct* thereof: or *vice versâ*, if he shall bequeath the *Usufruct* to one, and the *Fundus* to another, deducting the *Usufruct*. But, I think, such an *Usufruct* is not properly constituted by Law^b.

An *Usufruct* is in many respects a *Species*, or part of that which the Lawyers call *Dominium*, and is compar'd thereunto: For as that which they term *Dominium* is a Kind of a *Totum* or *Genus* containing under it a *nude* Property and an *Usufruct*; so an *Usufruct* is a *Species* of Dominion or Property. And, according to this Sense of the Word, a *nude* Property is one Thing, and a *plenum Dominium* is another: For a *nude* Property is, when the Proprietor has the Property of a Thing, the *Usufruct* being vested in another. And thus an *Usufruct* is distinct and separate from the Property of a Thing: As when a Person has bequeath'd the *Usufruct* of a Thing unto another; for then the Heir has the *nude* Property, and the Legatary has the *Usufruct* thereof. And so, on the other hand, if a Person shall bequeath an Estate in Land, the *Usufruct* deducted: The Legatary shall have the *nude* Property, and the Heir the *Usufruct* thereof^c. If a Person shall bequeath a Legacy in this manner, *viz. I bequeath unto Caius the yearly Profits of my Cornelian Estate*, which is the same Thing as an Annuity; this way of expressing himself ought to be understood in the same manner as if he had bequeathed the *Usufruct* of such Estate. And thus the *Usufruct* of Lands may be bequeathed to one, and the Estate itself may be devised unto another without the *Usufruct*^d.

But lest that Properties should become entirely unprofitable, the *Usufruct* being always, or, for the most part, separated from the Property, certain ways have been found out to extinguish and put an end to an *Usufruct*, and that the entire Estate, with the Profits of it, may return to the Proprietor of it: And hence it is, that an *Usufruct* only lasts during the Life-time of the *Usufructuary*, and no longer^e. But then the Fruits of the last Year do not belong to the Heir of the *Usufructuary*, unless they are gather'd or sever'd from the Ground^f; as Corn and Hay from the Soil, Grapes from the Vine, Wool from the Sheep, Milk from the Cow, &c. For by the Death of the *Usufructuary* the Title vanishes, so that he cannot have a proportionable Rate according to the time that he was in possession^g. Neither does this seem unjust, that the Proprietor should take the Product

of the Pains and Labour of the *Usufructuary*: For, on the contrary, the *Usufructuary* receives all those Profits that are not separated from the Soil or Thing ^b (perhaps of the whole Year) though his Right commenced at the latter end of the Year. Yet the Heir shall claim the Charge and Expences which were laid out on the Tillage of the Land ⁱ; for Equity suggests, that the Proprietor shall not be enriched at the Loss of the *Usufructuary*. Further, if a Tenant has received the whole Profits of the Land for that Year, the Heir of the *Usufructuary* shall have the Rent ^k, though the *Usufructuary* died before the Day of Payment agreed on: For the *Usufructuary* has no more or less than if he had held it in his own Hands. A Testator bequeathed unto me the *Usufruct* of such an Estate, whereon Corn was sown on the Ground, and other ripe Fruits pendant on the Trees, as Apples, &c. And the Question being, to whom they belonged, if they were still on the Ground when the Heir took on himself the Heirship, it was resolved that they did belong to the *Usufructuary*, and not to the Heir ^l. An *Usufruct* is also lost by the Change or Perishing of the whole Thing, which owes the Service, but not by a Part of it ^m, (wherein the whole *Usufruct* is retained ⁿ;) but it is not lost by a Change or Loss of the Property ^o. It is also lost by a Consolidation, that is to say, when the *Usufructuary* acquires the Property of the Estate or Thing which owes the Service ^p; and likewise by assigning the *Usufruct* over unto the Proprietary ^q, but not to a Stranger. And lastly, an *Usufruct* is extinguished by a Condition existing and in force ^r, whereby it is provided, that the *Usufruct* shall not be made use of for ten Years among Persons present, and for twenty Years among Absents ^s: But it is not lost by the Abuse of it, by reason of the Caution that is given, which obliges the *Fructuary* to make good the Damage, as aforesaid, unless we make use of it in Winter, when the *Usufruct* is only granted to be used in Summer ^t. In Towns and Corporations, an *Usufruct* is determined, if the Town be razed and dismantled, or the Corporation be dissolved, as it were, by a kind of Death ^u. An *Use* is wont to end by the same means as an *Usufruct*. Thus far of an *Usufruct* properly so called.

I shall next speak of an *Usufruct*, improperly so termed, otherwise stiled an *improper Usufruct*: which was established by a Decree of the Senate, touching such Things as perish, or are consumed by use ^v, as Wine, Corn, Money, and the like; for Money is diminished by passing from one Hand to another. And here the *Usufructuary*, because he is Master of Things *Usufructuary* ^w, is obliged to give personal Caution or Security, that after his Death a Thing of the same Quality and Goodness shall be restored to the Proprietor of the *Usufruct* ^x. In this kind of Stipulation, touching the Returning of the *Usufruct*, (for the *Usufruct* reverts unto the Proprietor) there are only two Cases mentioned, whereby the *Usufruct* is determin'd, viz. Death and the *Capitis Diminutio* of the *Usufructuary*; because the Use of these Things cannot be lost any other ways ^y. For as they consist in Kind, they do not suffer a Change, nor do they perish so but that they may be restored; as Wheat for Wheat, Money for Money, &c. provided they be of the same Goodness and Quality ^z: Nor are they lost by a Non-User of them. Caution cannot be remitted by a Testament in this Kind of *Usufruct*, no more than it can in a *proper Usufruct* ^a; and it ought to be given by Sureties. An *improper Usufruct* differs from a *Mutuum*, because in a *Mutuum* or Loan, a Person may stipulate for Interest, but not in an *Usufruct*. A *Mutuum* may be recovered at any time; but an *improper Usufruct* is only ended by Death, and a *Capitis Minutio*. Here Caution is required, but not in a *Mutuum*.

If *Usufructuary* Houses or Buildings shall be consumed by Fire, or an Earthquake, or shall fall by their own Decay, the *Usufruct* is thereby extinguished, as already hinted; and the *Usufruct* is not so much as due to the

the *Area* on which they stood. Nor does the *Usufruct*, being extinguished, revive again, though the Edifice should be rebuilt, or restored to its former State, as it has been adjudged in *France*, according to *Ann. Rob.* in his *Treatise de Rebus Judicatis*. And this is good Law, if the House entirely perishes or falls down: But as long as any Part thereof remains standing, the *Usufructuary* retains the *Usufruct* of the whole Soil. The *Usufructuary* ought to stand to all small Repairs in preserving the Buildings, unless the Expence be so great that he had rather quit the *Usufruct*^a: But this is^a D. 7. 1. 65. not granted to him, if such Dilapidation happens through his Fault and Negligence^b. He ought likewise to bear and pay all the Taxes, and other^b D. 7. 1. 65. Duties laid upon the Estate^c, unless there is an Order by the Testator, or^c D. 7. 1. 7. some Agreement to the contrary. He ought not to cut down Timber-^d 27. 3. Trees, unless it be for Repairs, nor Trees bearing Fruit^d; for hereby the^d D. 7. 1. 10. Proprietor would be injured. If he builds upon the Estate, he cannot^e 11. 12. & 13. afterwards take it down^e. He must take care of the Cattle that are sick,^f D. 7. 1. 15. recruit their Numbers if any die, plant young Trees in the Place of those that are fallen^f, unless they fall by an inevitable Accident; and, in general,^g D. 7. 1. 68. 1. must act as a prudent Man would do on such an Estate^g.^h 1. 2. 1. 38. ⁱ D. 7. 1. 9. & 65.

The Law does not forbid a Proprietary to mortgage the Property of an Estate, though the *Usufruct* of it belongs to another Person; for this does not affect or hurt the *Usufructuary*: And as he may mortgage it, so he may wholly alienate the same. If an *Usufructuary* be willing to relinquish an *Usufruct*, he shall not be compelled to repair the House, or to undergo such other Incumbrances as he would be liable to, in case he retained the same, *ex. gr.* An *Usufruct* is left me in a House which is fallen to Decay, though not through my Fault: In this Case, I am discharged from the Repairs thereof, if I will relinquish the *Usufruct*. But if it comes to Decay by my Fault, I cannot relinquish the *Usufruct*, since I ought to repair the House first^h.ⁱ D. 7. 1. 64.

[As no one here in *England*, besides the King, had a full Property in real or immoveable Estates, it is not easy to discern who are *Usufructuaries*, and who are not, *viz.* whether all Persons are such, that hold Lands by any Title whatsoever, or only some that hold them by this or that Right. For those who have a Fee, have only the *Utile Dominium*, and may forfeit the same, according to the *Feudists*, if they violate the Oath which they have taken unto their Lord: But by our Law it is only, if they commit Felony. He who has Lands and Tenements for Life, is almost the same as an *Usufructuary* by the *Roman Law*; and it has been a Question among our Lawyers, whether such a one be the Owner of the Profits of Land not received and gathered? But herein they distinguish, whether those Fruits grow by the Help of Nature alone, or whether they are also raised by the Co-operation of human Industry? And they conclude, that such a Tenant for Life may dispose of such Fruits. See *Perkins's Tit. of Devises*. For they who only have the *Usufruct*, have also a Property in some respect. Besides, he who rents, or has the Demise of a Fee, which the *Roman Civil Law* styles the *Jus Emphyteuticum*, though he has a Perpetuity, yet he pays unto another a yearly Pension as an Acknowledgment of his Property. Lastly, he who has a Freehold, is subject unto an Action of Waste, and may forfeit the same by a Mal-User thereof; which could not be, if he was the absolute Proprietor of the Land, and had the free Disposal thereof. But *Bracton* plainly declares what Estates those are, which our Lawyers call *Usufructs*.]



T I T. VII.

Of a Nude Use and Habitation ; what Things are common in an Usufruct, and to an Use ; and what is the Difference between an Usufruct and an Use. Of the Use of Houses, Slaves, and Draught-Cattle, Cattle of the Plow and Cart ; and of the Use of Sheep, and such like Cattle.

HAVING already handled the first Part of a personal Service, viz. an *Usufruct* ; I pass on here to consider the second and third *Species* of these Services, an *Use* and *Habitation* : for I shall comprehend both these under one and the same Title, as *Justinian* has done in his Institutions. And first, of an *Use*, in *Latin* stiled *Usus* : which is a personal Right of using Things belonging to another, without diminishing the Substance of themⁱ. And herein an *Use* agrees with an *Usufruct*, it being constituted after the same manner almost as an *Usufruct* is, viz. by a Grant of *Movables* and *Immoveables* : saving that the *Usuary* has the Thing only for his necessary Use, without any Fruits or Profits from thence^k ; and hence it is called a *nude Use*, because the Person cannot make such Gain or Advantage to himself. And as it is constituted after the same way as an *Usufruct*, so it is determined and ended by the same means^l. As an *Usufructuary* ought to give Caution or Security ; so an *Usuary* ought to do the same thing touching the Use thereof, viz. that he will use the same according to the Judgment and Discretion of an honest Man, and restore so much as is wasted and consumed in the Use of the Thing, if it be so agreed between the Parties^m.

But herein an *Use* differs from an *Usufruct*. viz. because there is less Profit and Advantage in a *nude Use* than in an *Usufruct* : For an *Use* is constituted without any Emolument accruing to the Person, but merely for his necessary occasionsⁿ. Hence it is, that if the Use of such a Farm be bequeathed unto any one, he may have the naked and simple Use of it to maintain himself and his Family, but cannot lett or sell the Use of it separately, nor can he make a *gratuitous* Grant of it^o : But it is otherwise, when a Man has the *Usufruct* of an Estate. For he, to whom the *Use* of an Estate is bequeathed, has only the Power of living upon it, and of receiving the *natural* Profits of it ; as Corn, Hay, Apples, Flowers, &c. so far as they are necessary to his daily Sustenance^p, but cannot alienate or sell the Surplusage, or that which is over and above his own Sustenance ; for the whole Surplusage reverts to the Lord of the Soil or Property. So that if he takes more than is necessary for his Subsistence, he may be compelled by the Office of the Judge to make no other Use of it than he ought to do^q. But though an *Usuary* cannot grant the Use of it to another ; yet he may sell the Fruits, which he has received for his own necessary Use and Occasions, unto another, if he pleases^r.

A Person that has only the Use of a House for himself and his Wife, may also use the same for his Children and Servants, and sometimes he may even take an Inmate and lodge a Stranger therein, provided he lodges therein himself.

himself^c. And if an *Use* be only left to a Widow, she shall inhabit the same even after a second Marriage contracted with another Husband. Part of the *Use* of a Thing cannot be bequeathed: For though we should have the Fruits of a Thing in part, yet we cannot use a Thing in part^d. And the Reason is, because as Fruits themselves do admit of a Division, so an *Usufruct* may be effectually bequeathed, for that the *Fruentuary* has the Fruits: But an *Use*, as it relates to a Man's daily Subsistence of Life, cannot be divided; because a Man cannot live in part. By the word *Use* sometimes even the Fruits are contained, if this be necessarily inferr'd from the Words of a Testator, or from the Nature of the Thing, or the Condition of the Legatary^e.

The third Kind of *personal* Service is what the *Civilians* stile *Habitation*. And this is a Right and Power of living in another Man's House, without any Damage or Prejudice done to the House. According to *Mynsinger* on the Institutes, the Inhabitant or Person that dwells therein is obliged to give Caution or Security by Sureties, after the same manner as an *Usufructuary* is, viz. that he will make use of the House according to the Discretion and Approbation of an honest Man, that he will repair and look after the same; and restore it in as good a Condition as he found it. For *Habitation* is likened unto an *Use* and an *Usufruct*^f: And it differs from an *Use*, for that an *Use* consists in *Law*, but *Habitation* consists in *Fact*. And hence it is not lost by a *Capitis Diminutio*, nor by a Non-User, as an *Usufruct* and an *Use* is^g: But it ceases by Death, because it is a *personal* Service, and entirely requires the Act of him unto whom it accrues, viz. *Habitation*. And for this reason heretofore some of the ancient Lawyers thought, that it could not be let or assigned over unto another. But *Justinian*, for good Reasons, afterwards granted unto the Person to whom the Service was due, a Power of demising the same^h.

Paulus de Castro says, that the Convenience and Advantage of an House arises three several ways, viz. first, by bequeathing the *Usufruct* of the House, and then *Habitation* is restrained to the Nature of an *Usufruct*. Secondly, by bequeathing the *nude Use* of the House, and then it is restrained to the Nature of an *Use*: So that he to whom the *Use* of the *Habitation* is bequeathed, cannot lett the same unto another by way of Demise. And thirdly, by bequeathing the *Habitation* of the House, and then, though it participates of *Use* and *Usufruct*, yet it has a peculiar Right and a separate Natureⁱ. Wherefore, for the better Explanation of this Service, I shall further consider wherein these *personal* Services agree and differ from each other. And first, *Habitation* agrees with an *Use* and an *Usufruct* both together, in that it is constituted by the same Methods *inter vivos*, and by a Last Will and Testament. Secondly, *Habitation* does not descend to a Man's Heirs, as just now hinted, because it is *personal*; nor is an *Use* or *Usufruct* thus transmitted^j. But, thirdly, in respect of the Caution or Security given to make use of the Thing as it becomes a prudent and honest Man to do; *Habitation* differs from both the others together herein, viz. because *Habitation*, in relation to its Existence, has only to do with Houses; but an *Use* and *Usufruct* consists as well in *City-Estates*, that is to say, in Houses, as in *Rural Estates* or Lands, and in *Moveables* and *Immoveables*. See the Gloss^k. For as a *Fruentuary* may lease out the Commodity of the Profits to be received by him unto any other Person whatsoever^l; so in this particular Case now, an *Habitation* agrees with an *Usufruct*^m, but not with an *Use*, though anciently an *Habitation* could not be demised: For he that has the Service of *Habitation* may now lett it to another. Again, *Habitation* differs from an *Usufruct*, because an *Usufruct* is determined several ways, not only by *natural*, but by *civil* Death, as by a *maxima* and *media Capitis Diminutio*, and also by a Non-User of the *Usufruct*, as related under that Title: But *Habitation* is

is not lost or forfeited by such a *civil* Death, or by a Non-User thereof, but only by the *natural* Death of the *Habitator*, because we cannot live without Alimony and Habitation. But *Habitation* rather seems to agree with an *Use* than an *Usufruct*. And, therefore, the Text says, that a Legacy of the Use of a House, and a Legacy, are in effect, as it were, the same thing^c; because he that has an *Habitation* left him, may receive the same Persons as an *Usuary* may. Note, That the word *Habitation* here does not signify an House, but the Right of inhabiting.

If the Use of Sheep, or of Draught-Cattle, and the like, be granted or bequeathed unto any one, the *Usuary* shall not have the Lambs, Wool, Milk, &c. because these Things are reckoned among the Fruits of such Cattle; but shall only have their Dung and Labour to manure his Land; for the Use of them was granted only for this End and Purpose^d. And in the same manner a Person, unto whom the Use of a Bondman or Slave belongs, shall only have the Labour and Service of such Bondmen: But he shall not by any means have a Right of transferring him unto another^e. And the same Law is touching Draught-Cattle, &c. And thus I have gone through the Business of *real* and *personal* Services, and shewn how they are constituted and lost. I shall next speak of Usucapion and Prescription founded on possession, &c.



TIT. VIII.

Of Usucapion and Prescription founded upon Possession and Length of Time; what Things may be retained by Usucapion, and what not: How Usucapion is interrupted by Usurpation: of Things stolen and possessed by force; of Error falsæ causæ, or upon a false Title; and of purging and doing away of a Fault; and of the Accession of Possession.

I Have in a former Title of this Book considered, how Property may be acquired according to the Law of Nations, and promised to enquire how it may be gained according to the Methods of the *Civil* Law; and, therefore, I shall here, and in some of the following Titles shew, how it may be obtained and purchased according to the Rules of this Law. And *first*, it is to be observed, that Property is sometimes immediately acquired by Possession, if he be the Proprietor of a Thing, who has delivered it: And sometimes *Usucapion* or Non-Claim takes place, though a Thing be delivered by a Person, who is not the Proprietor thereof^f; and this is according to the Rules of the *Civil* Law.

Now *Usucapion* may be defined to be an Acquisition of Property, by a continued Possession of a Thing for such a Length of Time as is limited by Law^g: For here the Law gives the Property to the Possessor; because it is for the Interest of the Publick, that the Property of Things should not be cast under an Uncertainty^h, and by this means engender perpetual Law-Suits. For the Law presumes, that a Proprietor, who has been silent and negligent of his Affairs for so long a time, has consented to an Alienation.

Alienationⁱ. Yet this Possession, whereon *Usucapion* is founded, ought to be a continued Possession; for *Usucapion* is hindered and cut off by an interrupted Possession^k: which Interruption in our Books the *Civilians* stile *Usurpation*. *Usucapion*, in a large Sense, has a respect even unto a real Estate, or an immoveable Thing; but strictly taken it regards only a moveable Chattle, and *Prescription* respects an immoveable or real Estate^l: And both of these were principally introduced on the account of the publick Good^m, in order to prevent or put an end to Law-Suits.

As the Time defined and limited by Law for Possession in *Usucapion* and *Prescription*, is different; so, according to this Diversity, there are also divers *Species* of *Usucapions* and *Prescriptions*. For there is one kind, that is *Triennial*, as in Things moveableⁿ; another which is *Quadriennial*, or limited to four Years, *viz.* when Things are bought and purchased by the Exchequer^o; another which is *Decennial*, or circumscribed by a ten Years Possession, *viz.* in Things immoveable between Persons present; that is to say, within the Verge and Confines of *Italy*, or any other Country where they are situated; and *Vicennial*, or extended to twenty Years between absent Persons^p. But at this day, not only in *Italy*, but in all other Places of the World, that are subject to the *Roman* Laws or Empire, Things moveable become a Man's Property by three Years *Usucapion*, and Immoveables by ten Years *Usucapion* or *Prescription*, if the Persons are present, and by twenty Years among absent Persons^q. But there is another kind of *Prescription* which runs for thirty Years, *viz.* when any one has acquired an Estate by very long Possession, without a Title^r; another which is perfected by a forty Years Prescription, as in prescribing to Ecclesiastical Estates^s; and the last kind is limited to a hundred Years, or to such a time, the beginning of which exceeds the Memory of Man, as in City-Estates^t, and Estates belonging to the Prince^u.

By the ancient *Civil* Law it was ordained, that he who purchased a Thing *bonâ fide* of him, who was not the Proprietor thereof, when he thought himself to be such, or had acquired a Thing by *Donation*, or any other just Title, and had enjoyed the quiet Possession of that Thing for a whole Year, made the same his own by *Usucapion*, if it were a moveable Chattle; or else by a two Years Possession, if it were an immoveable Thing, as Land, and the like. But tho' the Ancients thought one or two Years enough for Proprietors to look after their Concerns; yet it was afterwards judged more equitable to enlarge this time, lest they should be defrauded by some evil Accident: And, therefore, it was provided^v, that *Moveables* should become yours, if you had had quiet Possession of them for three Years; and of *Immoveables*, for the Space of ten Years, if the Persons that owned were present, as aforesaid; but if absent, then twenty Years was required for *Usucapion*, under the Limitation remembred in the foregoing Paragraph. And those Persons are said to be present, that have their usual Residence and Abodes in the same Province. But it sometimes happens, that he who has been in possession of a Thing *bonâ fide*, that is to say, honestly and fairly, does not acquire that Right, how long soever he has been in possession of it: As when a Man possesses himself of a Freedman, of a Thing sacred or religious, or a fugitive Bondman^w, &c. nor can Things stolen or possessed by force become another Person's Property by *Usucapion*, (for the Lawyers often use the words *Prescription* and *Usucapion* promiscuously) though they have been possessed for a length of time: For the Law of the twelve Tables, and the *Atinian* Law, do each of them forbid *Usucapion* in respect of Things stolen; and the *Julian* and *Plautian* Law do forbid it in respect of Things possessed by force^x. This Prohibition of the Law relating to Things stolen, or taken away by violence, does not concern the Thief, or him who possesses a Thing by force

(for *Usucapion* does not by any means accrue to these Persons, as being Possessors *malâ fide* :) But it extends to all such Persons as have purchas'd a Thing *bonâ fide*, or acquired it by other means. Hence it does not easily obtain in Things moveable, that *Usucapion* should accrue to Possessors *bonæ fidei* : For he who shall knowingly sell that which belongs to another, commits Theft*. But this is not always observed: For if an Heir should sell or give by simple *Donation*, or by way of *Dower*, a Thing which is lent or deposited with the Deceased, through a Belief that it belongs to him as Heir, doubtless he who accepts of it *bonâ fide* may prescribe thereunto, or make it his own by *Usucapion*; because such a Matter cannot come within the Crime of Theft, since the Heir who *bonâ fide* alienated the same as his own, does not commit Theft[†].

* I. 2. 6. 3.

† I. 2. 6. 4.

It appears from the beginning of this Title in the *Institutes*, that *Prescription* and *Usucapion* are Creatures of the *Civil Law*, and introduced thereby: So that *Baldus* says, if there was no such Thing as the *Civil Law*, there would be no such Things as *Prescriptions* or *Usucapions*. But *Baldus* calls *Prescription* an unjust Protection of the Law, introduced in opposition to natural Equity; and that which is injurious, can never be deemed lawful, though it should be founded on a hundred Years Limitation. For no one ought to enrich himself by another's Loss: But *Prescription* enriches him who prescribes with the Loss of him, against whom such *Prescription* is urged; and, therefore, (says he) 'tis contrary to natural Equity, and consequently does not proceed, because the Law of Nature is immutable. To this I answer, that that cannot be injurious, when any one acquires it by legal Prescription; because he who suffers a Thing to be prescribed unto, seems to consent to an Alienation thereof, as already observed. Nor does he lose the Property of the Thing without a Cause, but through his own Fault and Negligence: and, therefore, he must impute it to himself. Wherefore, Prescription is not contrary to natural Right, but rather agrees with it, because it inflicts a Punishment on negligent Persons, and puts an end to Law-Suits, a Thing very agreeable to natural Reason. And thus the *Civil Law* in this case does not entirely recede from the Law of Nature, nor is wholly subservient thereunto, which is the Property of a positive or civil Law. And as this Rigour was introduced for the sake of publick Peace: it therefore follows, that though *Prescription* may be said to be founded upon Iniquity in respect of Mens private Advantage; yet in regard to the publick Utility, which ought to be preferred to Mens private Interest, it is grounded upon Equity. And thus an inferior Law, which commands us to give unto every one his own, must give place to a superior Law, *vis.* that the publick Peace and Tranquillity of human Society may be preserved.

As all Persons may retain by *Usucapion* and *Prescription*, who may be the Possessors of a Thing; because these cannot be had without Possession[‡]: So all Things which may be possessed (some few excepted) may be acquired by *Usucapion* and *Prescription*[§]. For those Things which cannot be possessed as private Property, cannot be thus rightly acquired, as Things Religious, Sacred, Divine[¶], Fiscal^{||}, Publick[¶], Things *meræ Facultatis*[¶], and such as are exempted from human Use and Commerce. But though Things Fiscal cannot be acquired by *Usucapion*: yet *Papinian* says, that the Buyer may by *Usucapion* acquire a Thing delivered *bonâ fide* to him, of such escheated Goods as have not been yet notify'd to the Exchequer. For as Fiscal Estates cannot be alienated, they cannot be acquired by *Usucapion*, by any length of Time[¶]. But though an incorporeal Thing, as a Service, Jurisdiction, and the like, cannot be the Object of natural Possession; yet it may be prescribed unto by length of Time after the manner of Immoveables[¶].

‡ D. 41. 3. 25.

§ I. 2. 6. 1.

¶ D. 41. 3. 9.

¶ D. 41. 3. 55.

¶ D. 41. 3. 45.

¶ D. 43. 11. 2.

¶ D. 50. 16. 25.

¶ D. S. 5. 10.

There are several Things necessary to effect and compleat *Prescription* and *Usucapion*. As *first*, there ought to be such a Thing as *bona fides*; that is to say, a good Conscience and honest Dealing, *viz.* the Person who enjoys a Thing by *Prescription* or *Usucapion*, ought to possess it with the Privity or Consent of the Proprietor, or the Possessor ought (at least) to believe the Person, from whom he has obtained it, was the Proprietor thereof, and had a Right of alienating the sameⁿ. Which fair Dealing is presumed, unless Fraud and Knavery be proved, either by notice given to the contrary, or by an Interdict of Law, which forbids a Thing of that kind, which is possessed, to be alienated. And thus a *bona fides* is a sincere and upright Conscience, which excuses the Possessor, for that he knew it not to be the Goods of another. For as Fraud or *mala fides* is said to be in a Possessor, when he knows the Thing possessed to be of another's Right: So a *bona fides* is said to be, when he does not know it to belong to another. Fraud and Knavery is presumed to have intervened, when a Man contracts and markets against a Prohibition of Law, and likewise when any necessary Solemnity has been omitted in the Conveyance of an Estate, or the transferring of Goods, and due Order has not been observed. But we ought to consider at what time this *bona fides* is required in *Prescription*, wherein the *Civilians* and *Canonists* differ. For by the *Civil Law* it is sufficient, if it intervenes or happens at the beginning of the *Prescription*, *viz.* at the Time of the Delivery, unless it be in Bargain and Sale. For in Bargain and Sale, it ought to be both at the Time of Contract, and at the Time of the Delivery; but in other Contracts the Time of the Delivery is sufficient.

The second thing principally required to *Usucapion* or *Prescription* is, that Possession be acquired by a just and legal Title; that is to say, a lawful Consideration, (which is necessary at this day in every *Prescription*, except an immemorial one¹) whether it be by a special Title, as Bargain and Sale, Descent, &c. which have a certain and particular Name, or by a general Title. For though a Title in our Law-Books is taken in several Senses, yet here the word Title is taken for a reasonable Consideration proper to transfer a Property; or (as *Baldus*) for a just Cause of Possession sufficient to acquire a Property: And this is the Root and Origin, from whence all Right and Property is derived. As for example, Donation, Purchase, and Succession are Titles, whereby the Property of a Thing given, purchased, or descending by Inheritance is acquired. In the like manner Election, Descent, and Conquest are Titles, whereby Kings and Princes acquire the Property of Jurisdiction in their respective Kingdoms: And Collation and Presentation are proper Titles for the obtaining of an Ecclesiastical Benefice. Thus in *Prescription*, a just Cause of possessing is a good Title to found *Prescription* on, in concurrence with the other Things requisite thereunto. But a Title is sometimes styled a *true*, and sometimes termed a *presumptive* Title. The first is, when it is the *Radix* and very Foundation of real Right and Property. And the second is, when a true Cause or Consideration is presumed, and yet it is not a true Cause thereof: As when any one *bonâ fide* buys a Thing, or receives it as a Gift from him, who has not the Property thereof, believing the Person from whom he has it to be the lawful Proprietor of it, or (at least) that he procured it from the lawful Owner. For such a Purchase or Gift, though it be not a true and sufficient means of transferring Property, yet it is presumed to be such, when honest Dealing is at hand and attends it; and this excuses the Possessor from Theft or Force. Hence he who is possessed of a Thing by this means, is said to possess it *bonâ fide*, not with a *true*, but with a *presumptive* Title: And by such a Title every Man may defend his Possession against the unjust Attempts and Impugnation of another Person, who invades

invades his Right, and despoil him of it. As for example, if any Man questions, whether I am justly possessed of such an Estate, I may propound to him the Consideration on which I am possessed thereof, *viz.* that I either purchased it; or else received it by way of Gift, Descent, and the like. And the Cause or Form hereof being proved according to Law, such Consideration is to me a good Title, and a valid Plea for my possessing of this Estate. These Titles of Bargain and Sale, Gift, Descent, &c. which shew the manner how I am possessed of this Estate, do partly proceed from the Law of Nature and Nations, and partly from the *Civil Law*. Those Titles which are derived from the Law of Nature and Nations, are many in number: Such as *Occupancy, Captivity, Finding, Procreation* of such Animals as are in our Power, *Alluvion, Specification, Accession, Confusion, Commixtion of Species*, if it happens by the Will and Consent of the Proprietors, *Building, Planting, Sowing, Writing, Painting, Receiving* the Fruits of another's Estate, *Delivery, Bargain and Sale, &c.* all which I have or shall treat of in their Places. A Title is given, according to the *Civil Law*, by *Prescription* and *Usucapion*, with which I have now to do. In Things of a spiritual Nature, a Man may acquire a Right to a Thing by a Title alone, without Delivery: For, by the Intervention of the Superior's Authority *alone*, he acquires a Right.

The third thing principally necessary to *Prescription* or *Usucapion*, is a Delivery of Possession, *viz.* that the Thing be delivered to the Person prescribing thereunto, and not occupy'd by force. For as a bare Title is not sufficient to transfer a Property, though procured from the true Proprietor, but a Delivery is necessary; so a *nude* Title procured by a Person that is not the true Proprietor, does not transfer a Condition of taking by *Usucapion*, unless a Delivery intervenes, which is made by a Person, tho' not the Proprietor, through the means of a Title; or unless something be done in the Place of a Delivery. But some Persons will have it, that a Delivery is not necessary to effect *Prescription*, though the Text seemingly requires it^k: And hence I shall here say no more of Delivery, but leave it doubtful as I find it among the Lawyers; though, I think, a Delivery is the safest way of gaining by *Prescription*, if a good Title, fair Dealing, and a Length of Time be added thereunto.

The last Requisite unto *Prescription*, is a Continuance of Possession for a limited Time at least; for such Possession ought not to be interrupted by any Acts of Discontinuance. But such Continuance in respect of Time is not required *à momento in momentum*, or computed from Hour to Hour; but so reckoned, that the whole last Day should be reckoned as one Moment^l. Nor is such a Continuance of Time so precisely necessary, that the Possession of the same Thing should always and continually remain in one and the same Person; but it is well enough, if the Possession be legally continued from one Person unto another^m. Thus the Time that the Testator possessed it, may be continued unto the Heir and the Inheritanceⁿ, and the Time of the Heir may be continued unto a Legatary, and of a Seller unto a Buyer, &c.^o

It has been said, that the Possession of the Thing ought to be a continued, and not an interrupted Possession^p: which Interruption the *Civil Law* stiles *Usurpation*; wherefore I shall next speak of *Usurpation*, which is a Discontinuance given to Prescription in point of Time and Possession^q. For, upon a Commencement of *Usurpation, Usucapion* or *Prescription* is entirely destroyed and annihilated, and must begin again. Now *Usurpation*, according to *Bartolus*^r, is either *natural* or *civil*. The first is that, whereby a Man's Possession is discontinued to him by some natural Act, as by the Force and Inundation of a River or the Sea, or by the natural Act of a Man himself, as when a moveable Chattle is taken away from him by

^k I. 2. 6. 3. & 7.

^m I. 2. 6. 7.

ⁿ D. 41. 3. 22. & 31. pen.

^o D. 41. 3. 14. 1.

^p I. 2. 6. 7.

^q C. 7. 32. 10.

^r Inl. 5. D. 41. 3. n. 5.

by Theft, or an immoveable Thing is invaded by another, or when a Thing is alienated by him who possesses in our Name and Stead ^c. A civil Interruption or Usurpation is that, which is made either by a *judicial* Citation, or an *extrajudicial* Denunciation or Claim of Right ^s, and especially by a Contestation of Suit ^t. And because Interruption is a Matter of Fact, it is not enough to alledge the same, but it ought to be proved ^u; and, according to the Doctors, this may be proved by single Witnesses ^v. To *usurp* is to seize that which is in another Person's Possession; and as he who thus seizes interrupts the Possession of that Person, so here *Usurpation* is nothing else but an Interruption of Possession. ^{D. 41. 3. 33. C. 7. 40. 2. C. 7. 32. 10. C. 4. 30. 10. Felin. inc. 8. x. 2. 26.}

An Error *falsæ causæ* does not produce *Usucapion*: As when a Person possesses a Thing through a Belief that he has purchased the same, when in truth he has not done it; or when a Man possesses a Thing by way of Gift, when the Thing is not given him ^w. This Error or Mistake in the Title must be an Error in point of Law, or an Error of his own Act and Deed, to hinder *Usucapion*; for an Error of another Man's Act does not impede the same. *Titius* purchased an Estate of a Pupil *ab initio* without the Authority of his Guardian, and the Pupil delivered the Estate unto him. This is an Error in Law in respect of the Title: and therefore he shall not take such Estate by *Usucapion*, tho' the Tutor's Authority afterwards accedes thereunto ^x. But an Error of a Man's own Act does not always obstruct *Usucapion*; for if a Man be induced hereinto through another's Advice and Persuasion, he may take by *Usucapion*. ^{I. 2. 6. 11. D. 41. 3. 31. pr.}

If long Possession has been of an Advantage to the Person deceased, it is also continued to his Heir, and to the Possessor of his Goods, though he himself knows the Estate to belong to another Person: But if the Person deceased had not a just Title in the beginning, such Possession shall be of no Advantage to the Heir, or the Possessor of the Goods, though he was ignorant of such vicious Title ^y. This is what we here call an *Accession* of Possession; for as the Heir represents the Person of the Deceased, the Time which the Deceased was possessed of a Thing shall accede and be continued unto the Heir, or a Possessor of Goods, in order to compleat the Time of *Usucapion* or Prescription. In *Usucapion*, the beginning of the Time is always to be considered; and, therefore, an Act *malæ fidei* supervening does not vitiate *Usucapion* commenced upon fair and honest Dealing. ^{I. 2. 6. 12.}

It has been before hinted, that a Thing stolen or possessed by expulsive force, is not the Object of *Usucapion* or *Prescription* ^z, though the Possessor has a just Title, and comes fairly by it; and this upon the account of the Theft or Violence inherent thereunto. For these are real Flaws or Faults, which always cohere to the Thing stolen, or forcibly possessed; nor do these Flaws ever leave the Things, to whomsoever they pass, but the true Proprietor may recover them. But yet these Flaws or Faults may be purged and cured by a Prescription of thirty or forty Years, if the Goods pass from the Thief through several Hands, and the Possessors do not know them to have been stolen Goods ^a. And the same may be said in respect of real Estates: For such a Limitation bars a Claim or Action. For though a Person, who forcibly enters into another's Estate, can never make such Estate his own by disseizing the lawful Owner; yet if such Estate passes to several Persons in course of Time, without their Knowledge of the Disseizing, and thirty or forty Years be elapsed since such forcible Entry, it cures the Viciousness of the Title, if the several Purchasers were ignorant of such Disseizing. A vicious Title may also be purged and cured, if the Thing stolen or possessed by force shall revert into the Hands and Power of the Proprietor. ^{I. 2. 6. 21. C. 7. 39. 3. & 4.}

Prescription is so called from the *Latin* Verb *Prescribo*, importing the same as to prefix, limit, and appoint: Because the Laws prefix, limit, and appoint a certain Time, within which the Owner or Proprietor of a Thing ought to recover, or (at least) to sue for the same under pain of losing the Property thereof. So that *Prescription* is a Right or Law, which makes that which is another Man's to be mine, if I have been in possession thereof *bonâ fide* by a just Title for a certain time appointed by Law. Though strictly and properly speaking, according to the modern Lawyers, *Prescription* has only a respect to incorporeal Rights and Things immoveable, and *Usucapion* only to Things moveable; yet *Justinian* does not distinguish *Usucapion* from *Prescription*, as may be seen both in the *Institutes* and *Digests*, where the word *Usucapion* is promiscuously made use of to denote even *Immoveables*; and so I have used them in this Title, by referring them as well to Things moveable as immoveable.

All Actions which are not taken away by a Limitation of thirty Years, or a lesser space of Time, are taken by a *Prescription* of forty Years: For such a *Prescription* is a bar to all Actions not taken away by a shorter Limitation, even though they concern the Right of the Publick, unless it be, I think, in the Case of demanding publick Taxes^b. An Estate sold for the Non-Payment of Taxes may be claimed at any Time within thirty Years, if the Solemnities required by Law be not therein duly observed^c. *Mævius* leased a Farm unto *Titius* for Husbandry: But the Mother of *Titius* purloin'd or stole away the Lease or Deed, whereby *Mævius* might prove the said Estate did belong to him, and she gave it to her Son *Titius*. *Titius* would have made himself a Proprietor of the Estate by a ten Years Prescription: But his Title was not allow'd^d. Length of Time, *viz.* a ten Years Prescription is not a bar to a *mixt* Action, as an Action of *Communi dividundo* or *Familiae erciscundæ* is^e. *Seius* had an Estate in common with *Sempronius*, and was sole Possessor thereof for ten Years. *Seius* would defend his Right by a Prescription of ten Years, whereby *Sempronius* should not sue for a Division of the Estate. But it was adjudged that such a Prescription did not lie.



T I T. IX.

Of Donations or Gifts, and the several Species thereof: as inter vivos, mortis causâ, and a Donation ante or propter nuptias. Of Gifts which are purely made, and such as are made under a Duty or Condition, and especially in Contemplation of Death, which are compared unto Legacies themselves; and what Terms Gifts require, and what not, &c.

ANOTHER way of acquiring the Property of Things, according to the *Civil* Law, is by *Gift* or *Donation*, which requires the true and express Consent of the Proprietor, and is not satisfy'd with the tacit Consent of the Owner that is willing to alienate the Thing, as *Prescription* or Limitation of Time is a tacit Consent. And though a *Donation* in

respect of its Original especially, which begins from Tradition or Delivery, be founded on the Law of Nations^f: yet as to the Form thereof, which^f I. 2. 1. 40. gives a Being to the Thing itself^g, it may be said to be grounded on the^g D. 10. 4. 9. Civil Law. For heretofore by the old Law, no Donation was made or contracted, unless it were by the means of a formal Stipulation, which was the Growth of the Civil Law, and entirely depended thereon: And the reason of this was, (because if it be a matter of Necessity) it is not a Gift or Donation^h. And after the same manner we may argue, if it be done^h D. 34. 1. 18. upon any valuable Consideration; for then it may rather be stiled a Remuneration than a Donationⁱ. But at this day even a Nude-Pact *de donando*ⁱ C. 8. 54. 35. produces an Action contrary to that ancient Rule^k in Law, viz. *ex nudo pacto non oritur actio*. And *Salycetus* on the Text assigns two Reasons for this: *First*, that Men might not rashly proceed to make Gifts of their Substance without due Advice and Consideration, knowing that there is nothing more suitable to good Faith and Honesty, than a strict Observance of our Promises and Agreements^l. And *secondly*, lest Men should under such^l C. 2. 4. 20. a Pretext defraud those with whom they have covenanted to make a Donation, who (perhaps) have in the mean time done many Services to the Donor on this very account^m: And in this Case it countenances a Nude-Pact, because it confirms and makes it to be validⁿ. Therefore, it is noⁿ C. 8. 54. 35. wonder, that an Action arises from such a Nude-Pact^o; and from hence^o D. 2. 14. 6. this Action is in our Books called a *Condictio ex lege*, or a personal Action founded on a particular Law.

A Donation is properly said to be an Act or Kind of meer Liberality, which proceeds without any Compulsion of Law, but flows from the free Bounty of the Donor alone^p. Hence it is, that that which is given or^p D. 39. 5. 1. granted upon any valuable Consideration whatever, is not properly called^q 29. a Donation, but a Remuneratory Gift, as aforesaid, unless it exceeds the just Value of a Remuneration^q. Wherefore, it is not necessary to register^r D. 39. 5. 19. or enroll such a Remuneratory Gift; nor can it be revoked on the score of^r 1. Ingratitude. It is called a Donation, *quasi doni datio*; and in general it comprehends every kind of Donation. Now there are two Species of a Donation, viz. a Donation *inter vivos*, and a Donation *mortis causâ*, viz. in Prospect of Death. Under the first we may reckon all the other Species of Donations, as a Donation *propter nuptias*, a Donation between a Husband and Wife (which is now become obsolete and out of use) and the like. Many Persons think, the word Donation to be a general Term: And, therefore, they will have even a Donation *mortis causâ*, and all other Donations to be couched under it. But when the word Donation is taken specially, it only properly includes such a Gift as is pure, and which immediately transfers the Property of a Thing without any hope of recovering the same again^s: And in this Sense the Word is always used^s D. 39. 5. 1. in a doubtful Case, whether such Gift be made by a Disposition of Man, or by an Act of Law. Wherefore, he who permits his Son to make a Gift (for by the Roman Law a Son could not do this without the Father's Consent) is not deemed to intend such a Gift as is made *mortis causâ*^t. But^t D. 39. 5. the Exposition of theirs, which cramps the Law here quoted in the Margin^u,^u D. 50. 16. 67. and leaves us in doubt when this Word is to be understood specially, and^v Donatio. when not, I entirely reject. Wherefore, I think, the word Donation includes every kind of Gift, save only after a different manner. For a conditional Gift, after the Event of such Condition exists, is properly enough deemed to be a Gift or Donation: But before the said Event happens, it is improperly so called by reason of the Uncertainty of it. A Donation also *propter Bene-merita*, or for good Offices done to a Man, shall so far in Propriety of Speech be deemed a Donation, as it exceeds the just Reward or Return of a Remuneration; which may be said even in every Remuneration,

⁹ D. 39. 5. 27. *Remuneration* ^t, which is made *modico pretio* : For that which remains above is a *Donation*.

A *Donation inter vivos* is that, which is truly and properly called a *Donation*; and is that which a Man makes *animo Liberali*, through meer Liberality, being induced hereunto by no Thoughts or Apprehension of Death ^u, but with a Design and Intent that the Property of the Thing itself should immediately pass to the Receiver, either in Event of some Condition, or else in Event of Time. Therefore, in this *Species* of Gift, which is called a *simple* Donation, there is no room for Repentance or Revoking the same, unless it be upon such a just Account as that of Ingratitude ^v, viz. when some atrocious Injury or great Damage is done to the Estate and Person of the *Donor*. But the Benefit of revoking a *Donation* is not a Matter, which descends and passes to the Heir or Heirs. But if a Person, that has no Children, shall have given away all his Estate, or any Part of his Substance, or any particular Thing to a certain Monastery, and afterwards shall beget and have Children, the Whole of that which was granted or given away shall *ipso Jure* revert to the *Donor*. And this is so true a Position in Law, that the Father cannot even by an Oath renounce and wave this Benefit: For a *Donation* made by him that has no Children is understood to have this Condition go along with it, viz. if the Donor shall not have Children, or that the *Donation* shall be revoked if the Donor shall afterwards have Children: And, therefore, if he shall have any Children, whilst the Condition exists, the *Donation* is revoked. And the Reason and Foundation, as it were, of this Constitution is placed in the Love and Affection of Parents towards their Children, which if they could foresee or think they should have hereafter, probably they would not have made a Gift or Grant of their Estates unto other Persons, lest they should seem to prefer Strangers unto their own Children and their Posterity: And, for this reason, they are deemed to have made such Gift or Grant upon this Condition, viz. That if they have Children afterwards, such Grant shall be irritated.

I have before hinted, that that is called a *Donation inter vivos*, or a *simple* Donation, when any Thing is given or promised through meer Liberality, to the end that the Thing should become the Property of him that accepts thereof, and that the same should not by any hap revert to the Owner again ^w. It is said *through meer Liberality*; because what is given upon a Consideration, as because you have redeemed a Person taken by the Enemy, and the like, may rather be called a *Remuneration* than a *Donation* ^x, as already remembred. And to our Definition we may add the Words, *by virtue of a Nude-Pact*, or a *naked and simple Promise*; because though heretofore either a Stipulation or a present Delivery of the Thing was necessary to perfect a *Donation*, yet now by a Law of the Code a Donation is not ineffectual, though a Stipulation does not intervene, or the Thing be not immediately delivered thereupon; but it is complicated by a Nude-Pact, and an Action arises thereupon ^y. And we may subjoin the Words *not by any hap*, &c. to distinguish it from a *Commodatum* and a *Precarium*, which revert to the Owner. For in a *Commodatum* and *Precarium*, we give Things upon this Condition, viz. That we may receive the same again in their proper Season. And by this difference even a *Donation mortis causâ*, or on the Prospect of Death, is excluded.

A *Donation* is perfected as soon as the *Donor* himself, and the *Donatary* or *Donee* have consented thereunto ^z: And he, to whom such a *simple* Donation is made, has then a *Condictio certi*, or a personal Action, by virtue of the Stipulation, if any Stipulation has interven'd ^a, or a personal Action grounded on the Law, as aforesaid. And in the mean while the *Donor*, who has made the *Donation*, is forbidden either to sell ^b or mortgage

it^c unto another, forasmuch as the *Donatary* does not lose the Property of^c D. 39. 5. 35. the Thing given, though no Delivery be yet made of it^d. At this day a^d D. 39. 5. 35. Donation *inter vivos* is valid even without registering such Gift, if it does^e not exceed the Sum of five hundred *Solids* or *Aurei*; but if it exceeds that Sum, it ought to be solemnly registred. Though the future Use or Interest of Money may be remitted by way of *Donation* without the same^e; yet^c D. 39. 5. 23. the Gloss on the Law here quoted^f seems to hold, that an Acquittance^f D. 50. 17. ought to be made *animo donandi*. But the Law here cited in the Margin^g,¹¹⁵ D. 39. 5. 23. as aforesaid, does not require such *Donation* to be registred, how great soever the Interest be: For Interest-Money may be given by Pact or Covenant.

Now the Registering of a *Donation* is causing the same to be reduced into Writing before a competent Judge^h: For a *Donation* made and re-^h C. 8. 54. 25. gistred before an incompetent Judge is ineffectual and avails nothing. But^{31. & 34.} in registering of a *Donation* it is not necessary, that the Judge should have Cognizance of the Cause or Matter. This Solemnity of registering Gifts is made use of upon two accounts. *First*, that Gifts should not be made in a rash and clandestine manner. And *secondly*, to prevent fraudulent Mortgages and Conveyances of Estates in order to cheat and deceive Creditors. The Registering of Deeds of Gift may be made before any Judge whatsoever of the Province, even before a Judge to whom the *Donor* is not subject, nor the Thing itself granted: Because this depends on the meer Will of the *Donor*ⁱ. It ought also to be registred, when the *Donor* de-ⁱ C. 8. 54. 27. nounces and intimates his *Donation* to the Ordinary, and prays his Consent and Authority thereunto, as is sometimes done; and if the Judge decrees such a *Donation* to be made, it ought to be reduced into publick Writing, and mentioned in the Acts of Court to prevent all subsequent Frauds: But it matters not, whether this be done before or after such *Donation* is made^k. And if such Registering shall be entirely omitted, the^k C. 8. 54. 37. *Donation* shall only be valid so far as the Sum of five hundred *Aurei* or *Solids* extends itself^l. But a *Donation* made to the Church or Poor, to the^l C. 8. 54. 35. Sum of five hundred *Aurei*, is valid tho' not registred; unless it be made to defraud another: For such a fraudulent *Donation* may be revoked, tho' it be registred^m. But yet there are some Cases, that are an Exception to^m Nov. 52. this Rule of registering Deeds of Gift, wherein it is not necessary to register^c 2. a *Donation*, but a *Donation* is valid without it. As *first*, in a *Donation* made for the Redemption of Captives, and such as are in Prison, tho' such Gift should be even *ultra 500 Solidos*ⁿ. *Secondly*, when theⁿ C. 8. 54. 38. *Magister Equitum*, or General of the Horse, has *Honoris ergo*, made a Gift unto any one of his Soldiers for his gallant Actions and Behaviour in the Wars, especially if such Gift consists in *moveable Goods*^o. *Thirdly*,^o C. 8. 54. 36. 1. when a Person makes a *Donation* on the account of a House burnt, or for the Repairs of a ruinous Building^p. *Fourthly*, the Roman Emperor might^p C. 8. 54. 36. 2. confer a Gift upon any Person, how great soever it was, without registering: And so, on the other hand, might any one confer a Gift on the Prince without registering^q. And *lastly*, a *Donation*, which is only a *Remuneration*^q C. 8. 54. 34. for a Benefit conferr'd, does not require registering: nor does a *Largitas Sponsalitia*, or a Gift made in Espousals, require it^r. A *Donation mortis*^r D. 39. 5. 27. *causa* does not stand in need of registering, whatever the Sum or Quantity be that is given^s, though heretofore it did^t. If a *Donation* be made upon^t C. 4. 57. 4. a lawful Consideration, it may be registred extra-judicially *ex post facto*,^s C. 4. 54. 25. viz. after such *Donation* is made and executed^t. Though the Registering^t C. 5. 3. 20. of a Gift may be made at any time within thirty Days, if there has been no Time prefixt by the Parties^u: yet if such *Donation* shall be impugned, for^u C. 6. 30. 8. that it is of no Validity, because the Time of Registering is elapsed, it can-^{C. 7. 39. 7.} not be afterwards registred in such a manner as to make it effectual. A

Donation *inter vivos* in those Cases, wherein Registering is not necessary, is contented with a Writing or Deed subscribed by the *Donor*, and does not require any Witnesses ^u. Nor are Witnesses necessary in a *Donation* that is made at the Acts of Court before the Judge: But in a *Donation*, which is made *extra acta*, or out of Court, the Subscription of the *Donor* is required, though it be written by a Notary Publick ^v.

^u C. 4. 54. 31. ^v C. 8. 54. 31. Nov. 52. c. 2. As a *Donation* is a voluntary Act, so it is a *nominate* Contract *stricti Juris*, and not *bonæ fidei*; and, therefore, Usury or Interest does not accrue thereupon, though the *Donor* should deny to pay the Money or any Thing which he has promised ^w. If I promise a hundred Pounds to some City by way of Gift or Donation, I am obliged to pay the Money, if I have made this Promise upon a just Consideration, as on the account of some Honour conferred on me by such a City ^x. And thus a *Donation* may be founded on a Consideration, and then it is not called a *simple* Donation, but a Donation *ob causam*, or for a Consideration. 'Tis said, that if you have covenanted to give ten Pounds, or the like, provided I will be your Advocate or Proctor, or will be your Surety, a *Donation* does not come under either of these Contracts; because that which is given upon a Consideration, is not strictly a *Donation* ^y, but rather an Act of hiring: For every *Donation*, properly speaking, is an Act of Liberality, as already related; and, therefore, a Stipulation *ob causam*, viz. for a Consideration, is not a *Donation* ^z. As a *Donation* cannot be made, if the *Donor* be ignorant of the Gift, or knows not what he gives; so neither can it be made against his Will, because it is an Act of Choice and Deliberation in the *Donor* ^a. *Donations* are suspended by a Condition or Time to come. We have the word *Liberality* in the *Digests* put to signify a *Donation*, the Cause being put for the Effect, as sometimes it is: For a Liberality is not a Gift, but a Virtue of the Mind.

If I deliver or give a Thing to you, to the end that you should give it unto *Titius* in my Name, and you give it in your own Name, I may have an Action of Theft against you, and in strictness of Law the Thing thus given shall not become the Property of *Titius*: But if I bring a real Action, called *rei Vindicatio*, against *Titius*, to claim the Thing, he may repel or set aside such Action by an Equity of Law, through the means of an Exception, filed an Exception of *Deceit* ^b. A *Donation* is also perfected, as it should have been before remembred, by a Retaining of the *Usufruct* for ever; and a Retention of the *Usufruct* is perfected by a Delivery of the Property. And thus far, for the present, of such *Donations* as take effect in a Man's Life-time. I shall next treat of a *Species* of Gift which takes place after his Death, called a Donation *mortis causâ*. And,

This is made, when a Man has any Apprehension or Suspicion of his own approaching Death. As when he gives a Thing upon Condition, that he who accepts of it shall have it in case that he dies. For the Person that makes such a Gift would rather retain it himself, if he survives his Sickness, than he should have it unto whom it is given; and that he unto whom he gives it in case of Death, should have it rather than his Heirs ^c. An example whereof we have in the seventeenth Book of *Homer's* *Odyssey*, where *Telemachus* is said to have made a Gift unto *Pireus*. This kind of Gift also owes its Rise unto the Law of Nations; and there are three *Species* of it. The *first* is, when a Person makes a Gift without being much terrify'd with any Apprehension of present Death or Danger, but only in Contemplation of Mortality. The *second* is, when a Person frighten'd with some present Danger makes a Gift, that it should immediately become the Property of him who receives it. And the *third* is, when the Person moved with Danger does not give it upon this Condition, viz. That it should immediately

immediately become the Property of him who receives it, but only when Death follows thereupon^d. Thus a *Donation mortis causâ* is a kind of^d *Liberality*, which is made through a Contemplation of instant or future Death, since the *Donor* had much rather have the Thing given himself than he should have it, to whom he gives it; and that he should have it, to whom he gives it, than his Heirs should have it^e, as just now delivered.^e For to the end that a *Donation* be made *mortis causâ*, it is principally required in such Deed of Gift, that express mention be made of the *Donor's* Death, else it shall be reckoned as a *Donation inter vivos*, or a *simple* *Donation*: So that though he should *in articulo mortis*, or at the Point of Death, make a Gift; yet if he does not say, that he gives it *mortis causâ*, viz. on a Prospect of Death, or does not mention his Death, it is in a doubtful Case presumed to be a *simple* *Donation*^f, unless it may be evidently inferr'd from other Conjectures that it was given in Prospect of Death^g. And the effect thereof is great: For if it be a *Donation inter vivos*, it cannot be revoked, unless for the Reasons mentioned in a foregoing Paragraph; and if it exceeds the legal Standard, it must be registred: But it is otherwise in a *Donation mortis causâ*^h.

But a *Donation mortis causâ* may be revoked in two Cases; and the Doctors add a third. The first Case is, when such a *Donation* is *simply* made by the Person in his Sickness (as lately hinted,) and such Person is restored to his Health againⁱ; for then his Recovery is a Revocation of the Gift^k; because when the Reason of such a *Donation* ceases, the Disposition itself is extinguished^l. For 'tis the Nature of this Contract, that he who makes such a *Donation* would rather first have it himself than the *Donatary* should have it, and that the *Donatary* should rather have it than his Heir^m. Yet some think, that such *Donation* is not revoked by the *Donor's* Recovery, if such *Donation* be made *mortis causâ*, and not on the account of his Infirmary: But this Opinion of *Decius*, and others, I do not approve of, as being contrary to Lawⁿ, I humbly conceive. The second Case is, when the *Donatary* dies before the *Donor*: For here in this Case, a *Donation mortis causâ* is apparently revoked and extinguished^o; and such a *Donation* cannot be demanded in the *Donor's* Life-time. A *Donation mortis causâ*, even whilst it has a Pendency touching the Validity thereof, may be revoked by the *Donor's* repenting thereof^p, as well as by the *Donataries* Death, before the Event of such Condition. A *Donation mortis causâ* is not valid, how regularly soever it be made, if it extends *ultra vires Hereditarias*^q, or (as we say) beyond Assets. This kind of *Donation* is an imperfect Gift so long as it depends on the Event of the *Donor's* Death, whereby it is perfected: And a Man may make it either in respect of his own or another's Death^r. Not only a Person under a bodily Infirmary may make this *Donation* through fear of Death, but even a Person in the Wars, or in any other Circumstances, who is afraid of being killed by the Enemy^s; and likewise he who is afraid of Death in his Travels through dangerous Places, may do it^t; and so may he who is so far advanced in Years, that he is in daily Expectation of Death^u: For all these Cases shew imminent danger of Death^v. A *Donation mortis causâ* ought to be perfected in the Presence of five Witnesses, as a Last Will or Codicil is, whether it be in Writing, or without the Support of Writing^w.

A *Donation* in Prospect of Death is likened unto a Legacy in many respects: wherefore, the Law which relates to Legacies ought to have place, generally speaking, in every *Donation mortis causâ*^x. But though such a *Donation*, generally speaking, be thus likened unto a Legacy; yet it is sometimes^y, as I shall here instance in a Son that is under the Power of a Father, who, though he may make a *Donation mortis causâ*, yet he cannot bequeath a Legacy even with his Father's Consent. These Donations

are sometimes delivered by the Person deceased in his Life-time, and sometimes by the Heir: But a Legacy is always delivered by the Heir^v, which is another Instance of their Diversity. Again, in this kind of Donation the *Donatary* is obliged to render an account of his Possession: But 'tis otherwise in a Legacy. He who may make a Testament, may also make a Donation *mortis causâ*^z. Thus as a *Filius-familias*, or a Son under the Power of a Father, being a Soldier, may make a Will, so he may also make a Donation *mortis causâ*; because such a Donation is reduced to the Similitude of a Legacy, as aforesaid. And thus these *Donations* are revoked after the same manner as a Legacy is^a. A Donation *mortis causâ* differs from a Capiion *mortis causâ*, as a *Species* differs from a *Genus*; because whatsoever is taken or received through the Occasion of another Person's Death, is stiled a Capiion *mortis causâ*, though it be not a Gift: As those Things which are taken *Jure Legati*, or for the fulfilling of a Condition, are^b.

^b D. 39. 6. 8.
11. & l. 18.
pr.

Among improper Gifts, as a Donation *mortis causâ* is, I shall here subjoin and reckon another *Species* of Donation *inter vivos*, viz. a Donation *propter nuptias*, or by reason of Marriage. This was formerly called a Donation *ante nuptias*^c, because it could only be made before Marriage. For *Justinian* takes notice of three several times, wherein Gifts on the score of Marriage were made. The Emperors *Severus*, *Antoninus*, *Alexander*, *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian*, introduced the first time for making these *Donations*; and this kind of Gift they called a Donation *ante nuptias*, because these Gifts or Presents were always made before any future Marriages. For the Suitor or Woer presented his Mistress upon this Condition, viz. that if she at length became his Spouse, the Donation should be valid; but if Marriage did not follow thereupon, the Present made, or Thing given (in *Latin* called *Largitas Sponsalitia*) was to be returned, if the *Sponsus* or Suitor was not in fault^d. And so *vice versâ* on the Part of the *Sponsa* or Woman, if she made any Present to her Suitor. If the Death of either ensued before Marriage, and the Woman was the Giver, then the whole was to be returned; but if he had kissed her, then half only^e: For a Kiss was then looked upon as a kind of Consummation, and the Women esteemed immodest that suffered it upon any other account. And this was called the first time, according to *Justinian*. Then *Justin*, the adoptive Father^f of *Justinian*, ordered, that this kind of *Donation* might be increased even after Marriage, like unto a Dower; which by the ancient Law might be enlarged at any time during the Continuance or Subsistence of Matrimony. This they called a Donation *post nuptias*^g; and was reckon the second time of making Marriage-Gifts. The Emperor *Justinian* perceiving two Things to be wanting to this Innovation of his Father's, enacted, *First*, that Donations of this Kind might not only be increased after a Contract of Matrimony, but may also receive this beginning, if nothing has been covenanted touching these Donations before Marriage. Then he changed the Name given to this *Donation*, and would have it no longer an *ante-nuptial* Donation, but a Donation *propter nuptias*^h. From this Constitution of *Justinian*, therefore, both *Dowries* and Donations *propter nuptias* seem to walk in all respects *passibus æquis*, and to be governed by the same Law.

^h I. 2. 7. 3.

ⁱ C. 5. 3. 8.
& 9.

^k C. 5. 3. 2.

These Gifts, by reason of Marriage, were formerly (before the Constitution of *Constantine*ⁱ) irrevocable, whether Marriage followed thereupon or not, as well as those which proceeded from meer Liberality, unless there was an express Condition to return them^k. For if the *Sponsus* gave a Thing purely and absolutely unto his *Sponsa* or Mistress, it was stiled a true and real Gift, and could not be revoked, though Matrimony did not ensue: But if he gave it with this Intent, that it should be revoked, if Matrimony did

did not follow thereon, then such Gift was revocable, if the Condition was not fulfilled. All Donations were then forbidden Persons in Wedlock after Marriages contracted; and, therefore, these were stiled Donations *ante nuptias*, because they could only be made before Marriage according to the antient Law. The Donation *propter nuptias* was by *Justinian* introduced¹, and is made and constituted by the Husband in the Name of his Spouse, as a Security for the Marriage-Portion, which she brings to him. Upon which account this Donation does not seem to be made contrary to the Decree of the Senate, which prohibits a Donation between a Husband and a Wife; because that Prohibition only relates to *simple* Donations, and such as proceed from meer Liberality. But this kind of *Donation* rather seems to be founded on a just Cause or Consideration, and by way of Remuneration for the Wife's Dowry or Marriage-Portion^m, and may be called^m the Wife's *Jointure* in our Stile.

In the *Digest*ⁿ, as well as the *Code*^o, we have a Title touching Donations between Husband and Wife: But as the Law does not encourage these Gifts, but rather forbids them, unless as hereafter limited^p, I shall say little of them; especially as they are now grown out of use, as I shall observe by and by. It has been already remembred, that a Donation is permitted to be made between a *Sponsus* and a *Sponsa* before Marriage contracted, even such a Gift as is simple and irrevocable: and, after a Marriage-Contract, a Donation *propter nuptias* is allowed of between the marry'd Couple, which is not a *pure* Gift, but a Donation *ob causam*; and when the Cause expires, the Gift is revoked. But every *simple Donation* between Husband and Wife is forbidden, lest that Concord which ought to be between Husband and Wife should seem to be purchased, and lest it should administer occasion for Divorces and Adulteries, if the Person that has Possessions does not bestow them on the other^q. This Prohibition also extends to *putative* Husbands and Wives; and has also place, though Matrimony does not subsist in Law, lest the Condition of those Persons who have offended should be better'd^r. Wherefore if a Person be mistaken in the Quality of a Husband or Wife, believing himself to make a Gift to a true Wife, when she is not such, he may have a personal Action to recover what he has given to his Wife^s, provided he be ignorant of the Impediment, because he was guilty of no Offence: But if the Person giving shall be conscious of an Impediment, it seems to be otherwise, unless the Person receiving be also conscious thereof; in which case the Exchequer may claim the Gift^t. Moreover, if both the Parties shall be ignorant of such Impediment to Marriage, the Goods which came to each, whilst such a *putative* Marriage subsists, shall upon a Dissolution of Wedlock be divided among them^u. But here there ought to be a *Constat* thereof, otherwise in a doubtful Case, what the Woman has acquired, she is presumed to have acquired out of her Husband's Effects: And the Reason of such a *Constat* is to avoid a Suspicion of dishonest Gain in the Woman^v. This Prohibition does not only respect the Persons contracting, and making Gifts, but also other Persons that are concerned for them, in regard to the Power they have over them^w. Hence the Father-in-Law cannot make a Gift unto his Daughter-in-Law, or to his Son-in-Law by Marriage.

But there are some Cases wherein these Donations do subsist, *viz.* when the *Donor* does not become the poorer, or the Receiver the richer thereby: As when a Husband gives a Bondman unto his Wife for the sake of Manumission^x, or suffers his Wife to receive the Fruits and Profits from her Jointure^y, and the Woman shall spend and consume them, or if the Husband shall pay unto his Wife a monthly or yearly Pension in the place of Alimony^z, or if the Wife shall give any Thing to her Husband to purchase him Honour or Dignity^a. And such a Donation or Gift is so far

binding, that if the Thing be delivered, it cannot be retrieved or recovered again, unless the Receiver becomes the richer thereby ^a. Such a Gift also is valid which is made at the Time of a Dissolution of Marriage, since it is the same thing to have a Thing at a lawful Time, and to have a respect to a lawful Time ^b. And hence a Donation *mortis causâ* is valid between Husband and Wife, because it has a respect to that Time when they cease to be Man and Wife, *viz.* after the Death of the *Donor* ^c, unless such Gift be made irrevocable, for then it comes within the said Prohibition of a Donation *inter vivos* ^d. But the Gift of a Legacy or an Inheritance does not come within the Verge of such Prohibition; because the Legacy or Heirship does not take Place till after the *Donor's* Demise ^e. A Donation made by the Prince unto his Wife or Consort, is likewise excepted out of this Prohibition; and so *vice versâ* a Gift of such Consort unto the Prince ^f; nor does such a Gift require registering, how large soever it be. A Donation made between a Man and his Wife is confirmed by the *Donor's* Death, though he dies without an Heir ^g, so that it excludes the Exchequer on the account of escheated Goods. *Caius*, during the Time of his Marriage-State, made a Deed of Gift unto his Wife, and died without an Heir. The Exchequer seized upon all the Estate as escheated Goods. And it was adjudged, that the Exchequer could not revoke such a Gift made by the Husband to his Wife, and then confirmed by his Death: For the Wife in point of Succession is prefer'd unto the Exchequer. But a Donation made between a Man and Wife is not confirm'd by the Person's Death, unless a Delivery of the Gift intervenes in the Person's Life-time ^h. But with us, and in *Holland*, as a Wife is not *sui juris*, but under the Care and Power of her Husband, a true Delivery cannot be made as long as Matrimony subsists; because, according to the Custom of *England* and *Holland*, the Goods of the Husband and Wife are in common during Matrimony; and, consequently, a Gift of this kind cannot be confirmed at this day by Death. And as this Community of Goods between Husband and Wife obtains in *France* ⁱ, *Flanders*, and *Saxony*, so such a Donation is not confirmed by either of the Party's Deaths: For such a Donation cannot be made in either of these Countries, whilst Marriage subsists. See *Reinhard* touching the Laws of *Saxony*, and *Nicol. Burgund.* on the Customs of *Flanders*. At this day in *Holland* no Gift between Husband and Wife affects Debts, because the Wife may be convenied for her Husband's Debts ^k. What has been said touching Donations between Husband and Wife, I think, is sufficient, since they are almost in all Places grown out of use at this day, as practis'd among the *Romans*, and the Title become obsolete, unless it be so far as a Communion of Goods is excluded by *ante-nuptial* Pacts and Covenants. And, therefore, having gone thorough the several *Species* of Gifts, I shall only make some general Remarks thereon, and shew how a Donation may be proved, and when, and when not presumed.

And *first*, it is to be observed, that all Persons who may contract, may also make Donations; nor does old Age, nor any Disease, obstruct the same ^l. But a Father cannot by the *Civil* Law make a Donation unto his Son that is under his Power ^m, unless it be *ob Bene-merita*, or for some other just Cause ⁿ; because by the *Roman* Law, such a Father and Son were deemed as one Person. Nor can a Husband make a Gift to his Wife, nor a Wife unto her Husband, unless as before limited and related ^o; yet she may alienate and give away her *Paraphernalia* ^p, though she cannot give her Dower. *Secondly*, it is to be noted, that all Things are subject to Donation, which do consist in Commerce ^q; unless they are otherwise restrained by some prior Obligation, as a Mortgage, and the like. Again, it is to be considered, that all Donations are either *simple*; or else *ob causam*, namely, upon some Consideration; or *thirdly, sub modo*; or *fourthly, conditional*. A

^a C. 5. 16. 8.
9. & 17.

^b C. 5. 16. 11. 2.

^c D. 24. 1. 9.
& 10.

^d D. 39. 6. 27.

^e D. 24. 1. 31. 7.

^f C. 5. 16. pen.

^g C. 5. 16. 32.

^h D. 24. 1.

ⁱ Mornac. in
1. 32. C. 5. 16.

^k Groenw. de
11. Abrog. in
1. 13. C. 5. 16.

^l C. S. 54. 16.

^m C. S. 54. 11.

ⁿ Jaf. in d. 1.

^o C. S. 16.

^p C. S. 56. 6.

^q D. 39. 5. 9.
& 35.

A *simple* Donation is that which is *pure* and *unconditional*, and not subject to any *Modus* or Consideration : And this is properly a *Donation*. A Donation *ob causam* and *sub modo* is, when any Thing is given, either that something should be done, or that it should not be done, and the like ^{r D. 39.5.1.13}. A *conditional* Gift is, when a Person gives a Thing in such a manner, that it should then become the Property of the Receiver, if such Event ensues thereupon : And such a Gift is a Donation *mortis causâ*, for if the Event does not follow, the Thing given either remains with, or reverts to the *Donor*. *Fourthly*, it is to be observed, that a Donation ought to be made by Words in the present Tense, or by Terms equivalent thereunto, otherwise it is not a Donation, but only a Pact of some future Donation intended ^{r Saly. in l. 2. C. 4. 6.}. And it may be made between absent Persons, *viz.* by a Proctor or an Epistle ^{r D. 39.5.4. & 10.}, and without the help of Witnesses ^{r C. 8.54.31.}, provided it may be proved by any other sufficient Means or Evidence ^{u C. 8.54.13. 20. & 29.}.

Regularly speaking, a Donation is not presumed ; and, therefore, it ought to be proved : For no one is presumed to waste and throw away his Estate, but rather to enrich himself by new Acquisitions. And hence *Ulpian* says, that to make Gifts is to dilapidate and throw away an Estate. Yea, the Law so little favours a Donation in point of Proof, that an Error is rather presumed than a Donation : For a Woman is not presumed to do or make it, because she is covetous ; and a Man is not presumed to make it, because he is presumed to aggrandize his own Family. For though, regularly speaking, an Error is not presumed in a Man's own Act and Deed ; yet it shall be presumed in a Donation, unless it be proved. And, therefore, he that asserts a Donation, ought to prove the same by clearer and stronger Evidence than is otherwise required ; for it ought to be manifestly proved. Now a Donation may be proved by Witnesses that were present at the time of such Donation made : Among which Witnesses *Paul. de Castro* thinks it convenient, that there should be a Notary Publick. A Donation may likewise be proved by a private Writing, as by a Letter or an Epistle, if such Letter be presented and recorded before the Death of the Donor. But it is not barely sufficient to prove a Donation made, but it is also necessary to prove, that the Donor had a Right of giving, when it is said in the Deed of Gift, that the Donor gives a Thing belonging to himself. All Donations are founded upon Merits and good Offices ; and therefore Merits and good Offices ought to be proved to be done unto the Donor, unless the Donor expressly acknowledges the same in the Deed of Gift. And such Merits and good Offices ought likewise to concur with the Value of a wise Gift made, to the end that such a Donation should be said to be made *ob Bene-merita* : But a Donation made by a Person, who can freely dispose of his Goods by way of Gift, is valid, though no Merit or good Offices are previous thereunto ; yea, though no such Merit or good Offices appear any otherwise than by the Assertion of the Donor himself.

If a Gift or Donation has been made unto any Person, and such Person be afterwards convicted of Ingratitude, the *Civil* Law has such a Detestation thereunto, as one of the greatest Vices Men can be guilty of, that it revokes and determines such Gift or Donation, though the same has been completely perfected ^{r C. 8.56.10.}. *St. Bernard*, in his Description of Ingratitude, calls it a scorching Wind, which dries up the Fountain of Pity and Compassion, as it also does the Dew of Piety and Charity, and the Fruits of Grace and Benevolence. And it proceeds for the most part from Pride, there being several Persons in the World who think that all Services are due to them. Ingratitude is so odious in the Eye of the *Civil* Law, that if a Slave, who has been manumised, shall behave himself undutifully towards his Master, or if a Son shall recompence the Benefit of his Emancipation with any ill Act or Office against his Father, they may both for their Ingratitude be brought

- ^w D. 37. 15. brought back again under their former Yoke ^w. And hence it is, that if I have, out of my free Bounty, bestowed any Gift on another, who shall attempt to betray my Life or Estate unto mischief, or pass any weighty Injury on me, I need not suffer my Bounty to remain with such an unworthy Person, but may recall it again from him ^x, since Bounty ought rather to invite Men to be obsequious, than to be proud and insolent ^y. Yet if I die, my Heir cannot after my Death sue to recover it: For since I, against whom the Ingratitude was committed, did not complain, let it be ^z C 8. 56. 10. bury'd in silence for ever ^z.



T I T. X.

Of Possession, what and how many Kinds thereof, civil and natural, and when it may be said to be lawful; whether it may be induced by a Statute or Custom, and may be acquired by an Infant and Pupil, and by whom it is acquired: whether it may be lost by the Mind alone, and how many ways it is lost: And lastly, how Possession may be proved, and of the Effects of an acquired Possession, &c.

FOR the better understanding of this Title of *Possession*, it is first to be observed, That Possession in respect of the Etymology of the Word, is so called from the two *Latin* words *Pedum Positio* ^a; that is to say, from a Person's setting his Foot on the Thing possessed, in other Terms stiled *rei Insistentia*: And from hence Dominion and Property heretofore had its Rise and Commencement; and at this day has its Beginning in such Things as are not in the Property of another Person. By *Pedum Positio* I here mean such corporal Act, which we may stile *natural* Possession: For wherever a Man sets his Foot, he does for a Time acquire the natural Possession of that Place. But some will have it, that from this Etymology moveable Things cannot properly be said to be possessed, because they are not trod upon by human Feet. But the Law is plainly against them: For we may have both a *civil* and a *natural* Possession in Things moveable, as appears by the Laws here cited ^b. Again, it appears by the *Justinian* Code, that Things of a moveable Nature may be the Subject of Possession properly enough, because they may be acquired by the means of *Usucapion* ^c; and *Usucapion* cannot be had, it is well known, without Possession ^d. Others say, that this Derivation à *Pedibus*, is a false Reading in the Text of the Law; because the word *Possidere*, as formed from *Sedeo* in the Etymology of it, has nothing common with Feet. But, leaving this Matter to learned Grammarians, I will give a Definition of it according to *Alciatus* ^e; viz.

That it is the Use of something which is separated from the Right or Property thereof: And he, therefore, says, that Possession is separated, viz. *first*, to shew that Possession differs from that *Use*, which is a *Species* of a Service: And *secondly*, to follow the Opinion of such, as deem Possession to be a Matter of *Fact*, and not of *Law*; which is very clearly attested

in

^a D. 41. 2. 1.

^b D. 41. 2. 15.

^c 47. D. 41.

^d 1. 14.

^e D. 41. 2. 3. 3.

^f 13.

^g C. 7. 31. 1.

^h D. 41. 3. 25.

ⁱ In l. 1.

^j D. 41. 2.

in several of our Law-Books (as a Truth) by many eminent Lawyers: And this Doctrine obtains, whether it be a Possession *acquired*, or a Possession *lost*. But, I think, the Definition of Possession, given by *Theophilus*, on the *Institutes*^f, is a much better Definition, *viz.* That it is a Right of occupying and detaining a corporeal Thing unto a Man's self: or, as *Azo* says, it is an Act or Right, whereby a Person retains a corporeal Thing unto himself either *really*, or by an *Interpretation* of Law, the Body and Mind of the Possessor concurring hereunto. For there must be an Intention of possessing, as well as a corporeal Act concerned therein. I call it a *Right*, because Possession is a Matter of Law, which results from *Apprehension* or *Seizing*, which is a Matter of Fact^g. So that Possession is a Right acquired by the Apprehension or Seizing of a Thing; the Aid of the Body and Mind concurring thereunto^h. Thus corporeal Possession cannot be without the Intervention of a corporeal Seizing and Apprehension of the Thing to be possessed. Some say, that this Seizing may be made by being seized of another Thing than the Thing itself: And thus a Man is said to be seized of Treasure, when he knows it to be in his Estate or Land, by the very Act that he possesses the Land, and has Knowledge of such Treasure. A Man may be said to have the Possession of any Thing by virtue of several Titles, but he can only have the Property of it by virtue of one Title alone.

Possession is two-fold, *viz. natural* and *civil*, as before hinted. *Civil* Possession is a Right of occupying a Thing, which is not forbidden by the Law to be in a Man's Possession, such Right having an Aptitude of producing civil Effectsⁱ: For it is so called, because it is a Right that is proper to produce civil Effects in respect of the true Property of the Thing possessed, as it produces *Usucapion*, and the like. And such a Possession is sufficient alone to acquire the Fruits of an Estate without the Imputation of Theft, and is also sufficient unto *Usucapion* aforesaid, and other Purposes in Law. *Natural* Possession is a Right of occupying a Thing not prohibited to be possessed, according to natural means, and not by any Act of Law, as civil Possession is: And thus he who is locally and bodily possessed of any Spot of Ground, is said to be *naturally* possessed of it; this Right being only proper to produce civil Effects in respect of some Right distinct from the Property of the Thing thus possessed. And thus if I am bodily possessed of any Place, no one can remove me from thence, unless he suffers thereby, because I have a natural Right to the Space of Ground I am thus possessed of.

Though two Persons, at the same time, cannot have the numerical Possession of the same Thing *in solidum*^k; yet several Persons may have Possession *in solidum*, if they are specifically and numerically different in the manner of possessing it: As *Titius* may have the *natural*, and *Caius* only the *civil* Possession^l. An absent Person, that has left no one in his House, retains the civil Possession thereof, though he loses the natural Possession of it, and he that privily enters the same has the natural Possession, and if he does not admit the Owner or Master of it on his Return, and the Person on his Return suspects that he shall be repulsed with force, he shall have the civil Possession of it remaining to him^m. But if the Owner will not return to his Estate, because he fears a greater force, he seems to have lost or quitted the civil Possession, not from his former Act, but from his own Willⁿ.

Only Things corporeal are the proper Object of Possession, or properly said to be possessed^o: And, therefore, there are two Things necessary to the acquiring of Possession, *viz.* the Body and Mind of the Person. But it is not necessary in an Estate of Land, and the like, that I should possess every particular Glebe with my Body (for that is impossible) but it is

enough, that I enter on part of the Estate, to the end that I may be said to possess the whole. But where there are several distinct Estates, an Entry made upon one does not give a Man the Possession of the rest. Incorporeal Things, as Rights and Services, are only acquired by a *Quasi*, or an improper Possession. He is said to have a just and lawful Possession of a Thing, who possesses by the Authority of the Judge interposed according to the Order of a judicial Process, though not rightly made in respect of the Right of the Litigant^o. The civil Possession of a Thing that is not vacant, is not acquired by an Entry thereinto: As when a Person is on one Part of his Estate, and another privily enters thereupon without the leave of the Possessor, the true Possessor does not hereby cease to be in Possession, even though he should give leave to such an Entry; for the true Possessor may expel him from the Borders of his Land, whenever he pleases^p.

^p D. 41.2.11.

^p D. 41.2.18.3.

In respect of what we are discoursing of, Possession may be sub-divided into *formal* and *causal* Possession. The first is that which is separated from the Property, but yet is made use of to acquire a Property; or else it is that Deed and Instrument whereby we are made Owners and Proprietors of a Thing. It is called *formal*, because it subsists and stands of itself, and that *formally* too: And we say the same thing of a *formal* Usufruct, which is separated from the Property. The second is termed *causal* Possession, and this every Proprietor has, that makes use of his own Estate. Thus I am a Proprietor of my Houses, and possess them not *formally*, but *causally*. This kind of Possession is the Cause of Property, and Property is the Cause of this Possession; *viz.* as I am Proprietor of my Houses, I am therefore in Possession, and because I am in Possession of them, I am therefore said to be the Owner of them. Lo! that is called *causal* Possession, which is always joined with Property; and without Property regularly it cannot be. Thus we have a *causal* Usufruct, which every Proprietor has, when he makes use of that which is his own: which Usufruct is not separated from the Property, but is one and the same thing with it: And the same thing we also say of *causal* Possession. I shall only in this Title speak of *formal* Possession, which tends to the Acquisition of Property, without further mention of *causal* Possession, because it is confounded with Property itself, unless (perchance) I speak of it by way of Incident.

We are said to possess an Heirship or Inheritance two several ways, or, which is the same thing, an hereditary Possession is two-fold. *First*, we are said to be in possession of an Inheritance in the Place and Stead of an Heir, *viz.* when we believe ourselves to be the Heirs, and possess it as Heirs: And then an Interdict of *Quorum Bonorum* is frequently made use of. *Secondly*, we are said to have an Inheritance as Possessors *mala fidei*, namely, when we invade and occupy an Inheritance, by way of Usurpation, in a perfidious and fraudulent manner, without any just Title thereunto, or being able to give any good reason why we possess it. For if such Person should be asked, why he possesses the Inheritance, he can give no good account thereof, but only say, *I possess it because I do possess it*: And hence these Persons are in our Books stiled *Prædones*^a, and Possessors *mala fidei*. For he is said to be a Possessor *mala fidei*, who in his own Conscience knows himself to be in possession of that which belongs unto another Man.

^a D. 5.3.25.3.

^p D. 41.2.29.

The acquiring of *natural* Possession is a Matter of Fact^r; and, therefore, a Person may acquire the same to himself by the means of any Person whatsoever, even by a Ward or Pupil that has Understanding: But it is otherwise in respect of such Wards, &c. as want Understanding, as Infants, Madmen, and the like do. A Person disseized, or thrown out of Possession by force, may be restored within a Year, by the help of an Interdict, stiled *unde vi*: But this Interdict does not lie against the Heirs of the

the Disseisor, unless it be so far as such Possession has come to their hands^c. ^c C. 8. 4. 3.
 An Interdict of *undè vi & armatâ manu* is that, which the *Prætor* or Judge granted for the sake of defending a Man's Estate against a forcible Entry, or violent Seizure thereof; it being given to him that has been by unlawful means ejected out of possession of an immoveable Estate, to the end that he might recover the Possession thereof again^s: But it did not extend to^s D. 43. 16. 1. the Ejectment of a Person cast out of the Possession of a moveable Estate pr. & 31. & or Goods, unless such Goods were upon the Estate, or in the House, from³² whence he was ejected^t. This Interdict accrues to every one that is thus^t D. 43. 16. 1. dispossessed by an *expulsive*, but not by a *compulsive* Force^u. I call that^{6. & 7.} an *expulsive* Force or Violence, which does not proceed from a Court of^{D. 43. 16. 3.} Law, and has not the Consent of the Party expelled: whereas a *compulsive*^{15.} Force, though it has not the Party's Consent, yet it proceeds from a law-^u D. 43. 16. 1. 9. & 23. ful Authority, as the Judge, Magistrate, &c. This Interdict lies not only against the Disseisor himself^v, but likewise against him who orders or^v D. 43. 16. 1. abets any such Force or Disseizing^w, and also against the Agent of such^{pr.} D. 43. 16. 1. Disseisor^x; and *fourthly*, against him who has again lost the Possession of^{2.} the Estate, from whence he has thus expelled the Possessor, though he has^x D. 43. 16. 1. lost it without any Fault or Collusion of his own^y: And *lastly*, it lies^{13.} D. 43. 16. 1. even against the Person disseized himself, if he shall (perchance) by Force^{34. 35. & 36.} of Arms, at some Length of Time, and not immediately after such disseizing, dispossess the Disseisor himself^z. He that has the Benefit of this^z D. 43. 16. 1. Interdict, shall be restored to the Possession of his Estate with all the Pro-^{30.} fits which the Person ousted or despoiled had therein, as if he had never been ejected^z. A violent Possession cannot be confirmed and made valid^a D. 43. 16. 1. even by the Sentence of the Judge. ^{31. & 32.}

In contra-distinction to a *violent* or *forcible* Possession, we meet with *clandestine* Possession, said to be that which a Person obtains by secret and dishonest means, without any just Title accruing to him: As when the true Owner does not know that such a Person has got the Possession of his Goods or Estate. But it is otherwise, if the Owner has Knowledge thereof, and suffers it, or if the Possessor has a good Title thereunto. Again, 'tis to be noted, that such Possession which was not clandestine in the beginning, may become so *ex post facto*. Now in order to render Possession *clandestine*, three things are required: *First*, that it be void or empty at the time when the Estate is occupy'd, whether this be only *natural* or *civil* Possession, or both: And this may happen three several ways, of which hereafter. For if there be no Voidance of Possession, the Person cannot acquire it by any Entry. *Secondly*, that such a Possession be made, there must be an actual Seizing or Apprehension of the Thing itself. And *thirdly*, it must be made against the Knowledge, or through the Ignorance of the Person that has an Interest in the Estate or Goods, or it may be even with his Knowledge if he dares not oppose the same. *Clandestinity*, regularly speaking, according to *Albericus de Rosate*^b, is a Fault or Vice^b In 1. 2. rather in the *Personality*, than in the *Realty*; because no Theft or Violence^{D. 41. 3.} is committed, but only dark Dealings are pretended, as when a Thing is done in hugger-mugger, as we say; and Things so done, come under the Notion of a personal Fault^c, if Theft or Violence be not committed. ^c I. 2. 4. 7. 7.

That is said to be *vacua Possessio*, or an empty and void Possession, when no other Person is in possession of the Thing, either *animo* or *corpore*: For as the Possession of incorporeal Things is not acquired, without an Intent of possessing, which is said to be when one does an Act in virtue of his own Right; so neither is the Possession of corporeal Things acquir'd without Seizing or Apprehension, as before observed. Possession is said to be *vacant* three several ways, *viz.* either if the former Possessor be absent; or *secondly*, if he neglects an Estate, or dies without a Successor; and *thirdly*,

thirdly, if another Person detains that vacant Estate in the Name of a Proprietor or Possessor, the Possession of which is vacant ; for such Possession shall be said to be vacant in Law. Hence it is, that if a *Colonus*, or Tenant for a Country Estate, detains an Estate, which has no Possessor, or which the Possessor has neglected, and the *Colonus* shall remain in the Estate, it shall be said to be a *vacant* Possession in Law. And the same may be said of an *Inquilinus*, or Person that rents an Estate in the City : For tho' he detains the same, yet it is a *vacant* Possession in Law.

A Person that is let into possession of another's Goods, by virtue of a second Decree, acquires a *legal* Possession, and ought to be defended in it by the Judge that admits him thereunto. But when I say, that a Judge is bound to defend him, whom he has admitted into Possession, by his first or second Decree, I only mean against him, against whom such Admission is decreed. For if such Person disturbs me in my Possession, I may apply to the Judge without any Libel, and upon Oath or other Proof made hereof, the Judge ought *ex officio* to interdict such Disturber from all manner of Violence, either under a Penalty, or else by an Interdict of *nè vis fiat* : But against a third Person, against whom no such Decree has been interposed, he is not obliged to defend him in this Method, but such Person ought to exhibit a Libel, and proceed in the ordinary way either upon an Interdict of *uti possidetis*, or *unde vi*^d. But in the Case of a private Man, though possession be acquired by Delivery, which is made by a private Hand, yet such private Person is not bound to defend the Possessor therein, unless the Person thus in possession has some trouble given him on the score of some Matter previous to the Delivery. For the Seller is bound to make good the Title of the Thing sold^e, and to deliver to the Buyer a clear and empty Possession, *viz.* such a Possession as no other Person lays claim to it.

Though, by a Man's taking on himself the Heirship, all the Rights which the Testator deceased had, and which were not extinguished by his Demise or Death, do *ipso jure* pass to the Heir, yet Possession does not : Because though this Possession be a Right, yet by the Death of the deceased this Possession ceased in him ; and, therefore, it is necessary that the Heir should make a new Seizure of Possession, and then it becomes a new Possession, and not the old one which was vested in the deceased. And the reason why the Possession of the deceased is extinguished by his Death, and not other Rights (as Property and Actions are not,) is, because Possession, though it be a Right, yet it has much of the Nature of a Fact in it, since it is not retained, unless it be by the Body and Mind, as already remembred. As he who loses the Possession of a Thing does not seem to have lost it, if he has an Action or Interdict to recover it^f. So he that has acquired Possession, does not seem to have acquired it, if he be obliged by some Action or Interdict to refund it. In all doubtful Cases, those Things ought to be preferr'd, which favour the Person in possession. Possession is not called a Proof, but only relieves the Possessor from all kind of Proof : Which leads me to consider how Possession may be proved.

A Witness proves Possession by deposing, that he saw *Titius* in possession of such a House or Estate : And if he deposes, that he saw him in possession, he ought to be understood to mean the corporal Possession thereof, and that he detains the same, because a Witness ought to answer and depose *per verba facti*, and not by Words or Terms of Law ; the word *Possession* being a Term of Law. Witnesses deposing that they saw *Titius*, to *hold and to have*, do sufficiently prove Possession ; for Possession is presumed to be from the detaining or holding of a Thing. Possession is also proved by a simple De-ambulation over a Field or an Estate, if a Man has been frequently wont to walk over the same without Interruption from

^d D. 42. 1. 15. 6.
D. 12. 2. 11.
pr. Bart. ib.

^e D. 19. 1. 2.

^f D. 41. 2. 17.

from another^s: But a Man's passing through another's Field or Estate, ^{D. 41.2.3.1.} believing a publick Way to lie there, does not thereby gain him the Possession thereof. Possession, in short, is thus proved, *viz. ex rei Insistentiâ*, or by an Entry made on the Estate, if the Thing be void and not in another's Possession, (for 'tis not necessary a Man should walk round the sameⁿ.) But Possession is not proved from hence, *viz.* because the Wife ^{D. ut sup.} or Son did some Acts of Possession on the Husband or Father's Estate: Because the Wife and Son, that make use of Things belonging to the Husband or Father, are presumed to use them in Right of their being of the Family; but after the Father or Husband's Death, the Wife and Son seem to be in possession thereof.

He that was in possession heretofore of a Thing, is presumed to be still the Possessor thereof: And this is true, if the Person in possession alledges the same. But this Presumption has not place, if such possession be not pleaded. Yet *Alexander* thinks it not necessary to plead such Possession, because Possession once acquired is not lost, unless the Person changes his Mind; and such a Change of Mind ought not to be presumed, though a Perseverance be not alledged. But this Reason does not seem to be conclusive; because it is a Rule in Law, that Presumptions descending from a Man's own proper Fact ought to be alledged, in order to give him aid. And though such an Allegation be not made in the Acts of Court, yet it ought to be made after it is concluded in the Cause, and at the time of Allegations or Informations in Law; and that is sufficient. A Person that possesses a Thing, is always in a doubtful Case rather presumed to possess it on his own account, than in the Name of another Man; and, therefore, the *onus probandi* is incumbent on him that asserts the contrary. Hence, no one is presumed to possess an Estate as a Vassal, an *Emphyteuta*, or an Usufructuary, who possess their Estates in the Name of other Persons, since every one is presumed to possess an Estate as his own Freehold, and as the Proprietor thereof.

Every Person that is found in possession of a Thing, is presumed to possess that Thing by virtue of some precedent Title. Thus if a Person buys a Thing, and be found in possession of it, he is presumed to possess it by virtue of such previous Title of Bargain and Sale. And this holds good, whether he purchased it of the true Proprietor, or not: For such a Person is presumed to have possessed it by such precedent Title, though the same be only an invalid and putative Title; yet the contrary may be proved. The Proof of Right in *civil* Possession is incumbent on him, who defends himself in such Possession, and alledged himself to have a Right thereunto. But Property cannot be proved, unless *civil* Possession be also proved; nor Property be acquired by an indirect Possession. *Civil* Possession can only be proved by Acts, whereby such Possession is had and acquired. And thus *civil* Possession passes to a Person by Delivery of the Keys: As when a Person has sold Goods repositied in a Warehouse, the Possession and Property of the Goods pass to the Buyer, as soon as the Seller has delivered him the Keys of the Warehouseⁱ. But,

Possession is proved several ways: As *first*, by receiving of the Fruits and Profits of an Estate^k: For if a Witness says, that he saw *Titius* receive the Fruits from such an Estate, it is a Proof that he was possessed of such an Estate for that Year. Nay, Possession is even proved by receiving of the Fruits of an Estate without any other Act^l. But receiving of the Fruits of an Estate does not prove the Possession of it, when the Fruits were received by a Person *Jure Familiaritatis*; that is to say, by a Person of the Family, as a Son, Servant, &c. for such Persons gain not possession by so receiving, nor does the receiving of the Fruits prove a possession, where there is a *Constat*, that another Person was really possessed

ⁱ D. 41. 1. 9.³ &c. 4.^k D. 4. 6. 3.^l C. 11. 47. 19.

of such Estate, or when the Fruits do not belong to the Person that received them, as being only an Agent or Proctor. In Estates and Things of a barren Nature, which yield no Fruits, Possession is proved by the Use of the Thing or Estate alone. By Fruits here I mean the civil as well as the natural Fruits thereof. For,

Possession may also be proved by the receiving of a Rent or Pension, which is a civil Profit against the Person paying such Rent or Pension, according to *Bartolus*, and the Gloss on the Law here cited^a: For if a Witness says, that *Mævius* received a Rent or Pension from *Seius*, in the Name of *Titius*, it is a Proof that *Titius* was possessed of such an Estate. And it is the same thing, if a Person confesses, that he has paid a Rent or Pension out of such an Estate unto such a Person as the Proprietor of the Estate: For it is sufficient Proof, that the Receiver had then the Possession of the Estate; because a Rent or Pension succeeds in the place of the *natural* Fruits and Profits of the Estate. And Possession is proved by the Payment of a Rent or Pension even in prejudice of a third Person. Thus the Payment of a Rent or Pension continued to be made by the Tenant unto the Heir, proves the Possession of the Heir himself even against a third Person, who shall enter on the Possession of such Estate descended to the Heir. Possession is likewise proved by the Delivery of the Keys of a House unto any one^b: For by the Keys, a Person enters into possession, and the Keys are said to be part of the Thing possessed; and he who has such possession, seems to have acquired the Possession of the whole Thing. But a Delivery of the Keys is no proof of Possession, if the Person who delivers them was not in the Possession of the Thing^c, unless such Delivery shall be made by way of Proxy: For no one delivers a Thing, of which he himself is not possessed. The receiving of the Keys of a House, &c. is a proof of the Possession of the Thing, unto which the said Keys delivered do belong^d: For by a Delivery of the Keys, the Possession of all those Things which are under those Keys, seems to be delivered, according to *Baldus*^e. Possession is not transferred by way of a *feigned* Delivery, unless the Person who gives such Delivery be in possession of the Thing. By a *feigned* Delivery, I mean certain artificial Acts introduced by a Disposition and Order of Law, as it happens in the Case of *Induction*, &c. And there are several Cases in Law, wherein Possession may be transferr'd and convey'd by the help of those Acts, even without any corporeal Seisin or Delivery of the Thing transferr'd, as in the Possession or Business of all incorporeal Rights.

These incorporeal Rights, as Services, Jurisdiction, &c. are only the Objects of a *quasi* or an *improper* Possession^f; that is to say, they may be improperly possessed after the Manner and Likeness of corporeal Things: For only corporeal Things are the proper Object of Possession, as already related. And hence an Advocate, who speaks of the Possession of incorporeal Rights, ought to take care, that he does not call this by the Name of *true* Possession, but always to stile it a *quasi* or an *improper* Possession. But an Advocate would not lose his Cause, though he should say, *incorporeal Rights are possessed*, because the Lawyer stiles them thus in the Law here quoted^g: And *possessory* Interdicts lie, if any one disturbs me in such an *improper* Possession, as that of Services, Jurisdiction, &c. But to return to the Proof of Possession.

Which may also be made by planting of Trees, or sowing of Corn upon Land, if the Person be suffer'd to do it without Molestation from another. See *Baldus* and the Doctors^h that wrote after the Gloss. Again, Possession may be proved by a Person's setting his Mark or Signature upon Goods as deliver'd to another's Useⁱ. And lastly, Possession may be proved by Investiture against the Person that gives such Investiture, but not against a third

^a D. 41. 2. 30. 5.

^b I. 2. 1. 44.

^c Ord. Conf. 209.

^d D. 18. 1. 74.

^e In L. 2. C. 6. 38.

^f D. 41. 2. 43. 1.

^g D. 8. 1. 15. fin.

^h In l. 3. C. 4. 39.

ⁱ D. 18. 6. 14.

third Person. Nor is Possession simply proved by Instruments or Deeds, tho' made on the delivery of a Thing^v, but a Notary and Witnesses are necessary thereunto: For by such Deeds and Instruments only, a Power of possessing is understood to be granted. Witnesses deposing that *Titius* has had an Estate for six Months last past, do prove him to have possessed it for the whole Year.

Possession may be lost various and several ways. As *first*, when the Possession of an immoveable or real Estate is taken away from a Person by a violent and forcible Entry^w, and the Possession of a moveable Thing by Theft and Fraud^x; or *secondly*, when a Thing is occupy'd by an Inundation^y, or becomes sacred and religious^z, or is changed into another *Species*; and lastly, if the Judge puts another Person thereinto by his first and second Decree^a, and the like. If a Possessor rents or hires a Thing of a Person that is not the Possessor, he transfers the Possession on the Person that has it^b. *Titius, bonâ fide*, purchased an Estate of one that was not the true Owner or Proprietor, and rented the said Estate of the true Owner: In this case he is said to cease to possess it. Possession is more easily lost than Dominion and Property: For *civil* Possession is lost through a course of ten Years time: but the Person that alledges the loss thereof, is obliged to prove the same. A Person loses the *civil* and *natural* Possession of a Thing, if he by whom he possesses it be disseised or put out of possession of it, equally as if he had deliver'd the Possession itself: But this does not extend to a Pupil or the Exchequer. The *civil* Possession of a moveable Thing is also lost, when a Man cannot acquire the *natural* Possession of it^c: As when Goods are thrown into the Sea, and cannot be recover'd; but if they may be recover'd, the *civil* Possession still remains with the Owner. In a doubtful case, no one is presum'd to have lost his *civil* Possession of a Thing; for such Possession is retain'd in the Mind of the Person possessing.

He that is out of Possession, if he brings his Action to recover, must be sure to make a good Title: For where one Man would recover any thing from another, it is not sufficient for him to destroy the Title of him in possession, since the Person claiming must recover by his own Strength, and not by the Weakness of the adverse Party. And thus the Person in possession may be in a better Condition than the Person claiming^d: And a prior Possession is a good Title, against him who has none at all. Another effect of Possession, is, that it is a sufficient Cause to maintain an Action against a Wrong-doer: And in a doubtful Case, a Person in Possession is always presumed to be in Possession rather in his own Right, than on the account of another; and he that avers the contrary, is bound to prove his Averment, as before remembred. And he is presumed to be in possession rather in virtue of his own Right and Title, than by the Right and Title of another, when a Cause appears whereby such a Person may probably be in Possession in his own Right, as that he has a precedent Title by Gift, Bargain, and Sale, &c. Immemorial Possession has the Force of a Title and a Privilege.

To *detain* a Thing is one thing, and to *possess* it is another: For it may happen that one Person may be the Tenant, and another may have the Possession. As when a Renter is the Tenant, and holds it in actual Tenancy, and the Proprietor has the Possession of it by his Tenant or *Colonus*^e: And this last we may stile *civil* Possession. In retaining Possession, the Mind of the Person alone is sufficient^f: But in acquiring Possession it is otherwise; for then there must be both an Intent of possessing^g, and a corporal Seisin^h, as aforesaid. But a Thing which is in my Possession by Contract, becomes mine by the Consent of the Owner, without any Delivery. A Person that is a Possessor *malæ fidei*, by Contestation of Suit, is not only bound to the Payment of such Fruits as he himself acknowledges to have received, but

even

even to pay those which he might have received : And his Heir on his Death is accountable for the same, if not paid ; for that the same Fate attends him
¹ C. 7. 51. 2. for his Testator's Fault¹.



TIT. XI.

Of Alienations, and who may alienate, and what may be alienated, and what is prohibited to be alienated.

² In L. 28. D. 50. 16. THE Word *Alienation* in Law is taken in a twofold Sense, *viz.* *first*, properly and strictly : And *secondly*, improperly, or in a large Sense thereof. In a strict Sense, according to *Alciatus*^k, it is only the loss or transferring of Property. But, in the improper Sense of the Word, it comprehends every Action, whereby we transfer the Right and Property of a Thing unto another : Which may be done several ways ; as by Usucapion, the granting of an Usufruct, by the remitting of a Service which is due, by the mortgaging of an Estate, and the like¹. And thus the Word *Alienation* is a Term of a large Signification : For it not only relates to the transferring of a *direct* and an *utile Dominium*, called an Usufruct, but even to Usucapion, and the plighting of Pawns and Mortgages^m, as aforesaid. And this, whether such Alienation be forbidden by a Law, or in some Contract, or in a Last Will and Testament. But then some Persons will have this to be only true, when the Word is taken in a large Sense : For, in a proper Sense of the Word, an Alienation only extends itself to the transferring of the *direct* Properties of Estates. Thus an Alienation, in the general Sense of the Word, is a transferring or parting with some Right, which was mine before such Alienation made unto another Person, who is by this means made the Proprietor thereof : So that the Right and Property of the Thing, departs and goes from me to him, as the now Lord and Owner of it.

¹ C. 4. 41. 7. X. 3. 33 5.

^m C. 4. 51. 7. C. ut sup.

There are some Persons, that are the Proprietors of a Thing, who cannot alienate the same, as being only Tenants for Life ; and others, who are not the Proprietors of a Thing, may alienate the same : And in both these Cases we recede from the common Rules of Law. Wherefore, I shall here under this Title *first* consider, when the Proprietor of a Thing cannot alienate that which is his own : For it sometimes happens, that he who has the Dominion and Property of a Thing, cannot transfer the Property of it to another. As the Husband has the Property of the Wife's Dower, as long as Marriage subsists, but yet he cannot transfer the Property of it to another : And in this sense he cannot alienate his own ; because he is only Tenant for Life, and the Thing is not capable of Alienation. And, *secondly*, it sometimes happens, that he who is not the Proprietor, may alienate the same on the account of the publick Advantage. And, *thirdly*, I shall consider, when an Alienation is prohibited, in respect of the Person alienating, or else in respect of the Person to whom such Alienation is made, as in the case of a Pupil.

'Tis

'Tis a known Rule in Law, that a Vassal or Feudatary is at this day forbidden to alienate a *feudal* Estate, without the Lord's Consent". So that he cannot sell or lease out the same for any length of Time, nor can he grant it by way of Dower, nor *in emphyteusim*, nor devise or impawn the same, nor even give it to the Church *pro salute anime*, nor to any Hospital or Place of Piety, according to the *Feudists*: Because in *feudal* Matters the Word *Alienation* is a Term of a very large extent, and includes all the Premises; denoting every Act whereby Property is transferr'd. Therefore since a *Fief* cannot be alienated without the Lord's Consent, it is not only forbidden to be sold, but also to be given by Grant or Legacy, and likewise to be exchanged, &c. For it properly passes by all these ways. For tho' the Property, in some of these cases, be not lost or gone to another; yet the Condition of the Estate may be rendred worse thereby°. If Children, pointed out by their Names, are forbidden to alienate an Estate, such Prohibition is not extended beyond such Children; and, consequently, it is not extended unto the Grand-children: But a Prohibition of an Alienation, made in order to establish the Perpetuity of an Estate in a Family, and that it should never go out of the Name of such Family, is understood to be made unto Grand-children, and unto the Heir of an Heir. But, according to *Bartolus*°, it is not extended beyond the fourth Generation: For the last of such Family surviving, may alienate such an Estate unto any Person, when it comes into his hands. ° F. 2. 52. 1.
F. 2. 55.
cap. un.

° C. 4. 51.
l. ult.

° In l. 114.
D. 30. 1. 14.

The Law forbids a Thing, which is *litigious*, to be alienated: And a Thing is said to be *litigious*, when there is any dispute about the Property thereof°, whether such Dispute be by convening the Party into a Court of Judicature, or by a Supplication made unto the Prince. But a bare Protestation, or Notice given unto a Buyer that he should not buy a Thing, because the Property is in dispute, does not hinder a Contract of Alienation, nor make a Thing to be *litigious*°. For if I go to buy an Estate of *Titius*, and you come and tell me, that I should not buy it, because you will sue for the Estate as yours; such Notice or Protestation avails nothing, in respect of interrupting the Contract, but I may securely buy it notwithstanding such Commination. Nay, if I shall purchase an Estate of you, touching which *Titius* and *Sempronius* are at Law, and I have notice given me of this Controversy of theirs; yet I may safely buy it, because no one is at Law with you about it. Hence, if I am cast out of Possession of the Thing purchased, and upon suing for the Possession have the *vitium litigiosi* objected to me, because these two Persons are at Law about the Estate purchased, I may be relieved against an Exception *rei litigiosæ*, that it shall not affect me, because such foreign Suit does not prejudice me. But tho' the Law forbids a *litigious* Thing to be alienated; yet a Division may be made of such *litigious* Thing, between the Heirs on the death of the Litigants. And such *litigious* Thing may be bequeath'd by the Testator, and the Legatary may carry on the Suit. But an Estate or Thing mortgaged by a Debtor, does not become *litigious* by a Suit commenced on the Thing mortgag'd; nor is the Alienation thereof prohibited: But yet, I think, the Creditor ought to be consulted herein. ° Nov. 112.
c. 1.

° D. 44. 5. 1.

A Prohibition of Alienation, without a reasonable Cause assigned, is not valid; because the Law abhors Perpetuities: But if a just Cause be added or understood, such Alienation is then valid. A Person prohibited to alienate a Thing, cannot consent to a Person alienating that Thing; for to alienate, and to consent to an Alienation, are Things equal, whenever there is the same Reason subsisting: But tho' to alienate, and to consent to an Alienation, are Things equal, as aforesaid; so that he may alienate, who may consent to an Alienation; and, on the other hand, he who is forbidden to alienate, is also forbidden to consent to an Alienation°. Yet where the Reason subsisting is different, to alienate is one Thing, and to consent to an Alienation is another°. ° D. 50. 17.
165.
° D. 50. 17.
As 160.

As for example, the Seller is liable to an Eviction, tho' no Agreement be made touching the same; yet if one Person sells, and an extraneous Person has consented to the Sale, he is not liable to the Eviction, unless he has received the Purchase-Money. If those Persons consent to an Alienation, whose Interest it is that the Thing should be alienated, such Alienation cannot afterwards be revoked for lack of Consent^c.

^c D. 30. 1.

120. 1.

D. 31. 1. 77.

27.

^d D. 37. 14. 16.

^e D. 50. 17. 54.

^w D. 19. 1. 10.
pr.

^x D. 50. 16. 67.

^y X. 3. 13. 6.

^z X. 3. 13. 8.

^a C. 4. 66. 3.

^b D. 38. 5. 1. 9.

^c C. 4. 42. 2.

^d C. 6. 49. 19.

^e D. 23. 1. 16.

^f C. 4. 3. 1. un.

^g Bart. Conf.
36. vol. 2.

An Alienation *in fraudem Legis* is invalid *ipso jure*, and needs no declaratory Sentence: But an Alienation *in fraudem Homini*s is valid, though it may be afterwards annulled or rescinded by a Sentence of Revocation^d. No one can transfer more Right unto another Person than he has in himself, and is known to him^e. As for instance, I sell you a Horse, and in virtue of such Sale I deliver the Horse to you: Now the same Right which I the Seller had in such Horse, passes unto you the Buyer. Wherefore, if I had the *direct* Property of that Horse, the *direct* Property passes unto you the Buyer: But if I had only the Usufruct thereof, then only the *utile Domini*um or Usufruct passes, or is transfer'd to you the Buyer^w. But this Rule is otherwise in a Tutor, Curator, and likewise in a Proctor, Judge, Executor, Creditor, and a Seller *mala fidei*. That Thing is not properly said to be alienated or transfer'd, which still remains in the Property of the Seller; but yet it may be rightly said to be sold^x. If a Person shall attempt to alienate any Right of the Church, and to bring Damage thereon by such Alienation, he is by the Canon Law deemed an impious Person, if he has not already confer'd an Estate on the Church: For by that Law the Alienation of Ecclesiastical Goods and Estates is not valid and binding, without such a Disposition: And such as receive the same, as well as those that make such Alienation, do incur the Censure of Excommunication^y. But even by that Law, Ecclesiastical Estates may be alienated by the Consent of the Chapter^z.

It has been already hinted, that there are several *Species* of Alienation, *viz.* By Grants; letting to hire or farm beyond the Term of three Years; by Hypothèques, vulgarly called Mortgages; by Infeudation; and by a Contract of *Emphyteusis*, unless it be in Cases allow'd of by Law: And this ought to be of such Estates, as have been anciently accusom'd to be granted by way of *Emphyteusis*, and ought to be for a Term of Years. For as the making and constituting a Mortgage, and the giving of a Pawn or Pledge are both comprised under the Word *Alienation*, since the Mortgagee has a Right in the Thing mortgag'd or the hypothecated Estate, and the giving of a Pawn transfers the Possession of such Pawn to the Creditor: So the making and constituting an *Emphyteusis*^a, or any *feudal* Tenure, is a *Species* of Alienation; since the Right of Possession, and the Usufruct of these Things, *viz.* of an *Emphyteusis* and a Fief, are convey'd to the Party accepting thereof. A Person prohibited to alienate a Thing, cannot make a *Transactio* thereon; because a *Transactio* comes under the Name of an Alienation^b: And this is true, according to *Bartolus*, if the Thing be deliver'd; but is otherwise, if the Thing be retain'd by the *Transactio*. A *Transactio* is an Agreement about an uncertain and doubtful Suit, both the Litigants yielding up part of their Pretences on each side. He that is prohibited to alienate a Thing, cannot promise that Thing to another^c: Because to pay and to promise *quoad hoc* are the same thing, these being equivalent Terms in Law^d. And by a Prohibition of Alienation every thing is prohibited, whereby we come at an Alienation^e: And, therefore, since by a Promise we come at an Alienation, a Promise of Alienation is adjudged to be prohibited; because Promises ought to be kept and observed^f. But at this day, a Promise does not include under an Alienation. And as a Mortgage is a *Species* of Alienation, a Person forbidden to alienate a thing cannot mortgage it, or engage it any other way either generally^g or specially. By the word *Alienation* we also understand a *Sale*, whether such

Alienation

Alienation has been forbidden to be made by the Testator or any other Person. If an Alienation be permitted, *Usucapion* is also permitted; and so *vice versâ*: And where an Alienation is prohibited, every *Species* of such Alienation is deemed to be prohibited. When an Alienation is prohibited either by Law, or by a Testator, *Usucapion* is also deemed to be prohibited.

He who alienates all his Goods and Estate, though he does not say, that he does it in fraud of Creditors, is yet by that very Act presumed to do it in fraud of Creditorsⁿ; and such Alienation may be revoked by the Office of the Judge, especially if it be made pending a Suit: But an Alienation made in fraud of future Creditors cannot be so revoked by such Creditors, according to *Bartolus*ⁱ. An Alienation prohibited for a time only, seems to be permitted after the Expiration of the said Term. *Seius* made his Son his Heir, and in the same Will wherein he made him his Heir, he forbade him to sell, give, or impawn his hereditary Estate at *Tusculum*, adding these Words, *viz. If my said Son shall act contrary to my Will, I would have my Estate go to the Exchequer, so that my said Estate shall never go out of the Name and Family*. After the Testator's Demise the said Heir retained the Estate to the Time of his Death, and at the Time of his Death he gave the said Estate, with other of his Goods, unto a certain extraneous Person. *Quare*, Whether the said extraneous Person may hold the Estate, or whether it ought to go to one of the Testator's Family, or to the Exchequer? And it seems, that such extraneous Person could not hold the said Estate; because *Seius* the Testator said, that he would never have the Estate go out of his Name or Family.

There are several Persons that are forbidden to transfer or alienate their own Estates, besides those already remembred; as a Prodigal, Ideot, Madman, Minor, a Person under the Power of his Father, a Person guilty of Treason, and a Person that opposes the Christian Faith, called an Heretick; nor can the Church alienate its Lands. For by a Novel Constitution^k the Church cannot alienate or mortgage a real Estate even unto another Church, if it received such Estate from the Grant of the Emperor: But if the Church received such real Estate from the Gift of a private Hand, it might alienate the same, if the Debts of the Church required such Alienation^l. Again, though a banish'd Person cannot alienate his Goods or Estate during the Time that such Banishment continues; yet he may personally oblige himself in such a manner, that after the Removal of such Bann, such Alienation shall be valid^m; and thus an Alienation prohibited for a time only, seems to be permitted after such Time is expired, as aforesaid. As a Religious Place cannot be alienated or mortgaged, which is a kind of Alienation; so this Law is also extended to every College or Society of Men that has been founded on the score of Piety; for such Society are hereby prohibited to alienate or mortgage their Estatesⁿ. If a Thing, sacred, or dedicated to Religious Uses, be alienated by Sale, Mortgage, &c. the same may be recovered from such Persons, as shall presume to receive the same, by all lawful ways and means; and the Bishop, as well as the Treasurer of the Church, may have a real Action for the same^o.

Though a Creditor be not the Proprietor of the Thing impawned or mortgaged to him; yet if he alienates such Pawn or Mortgage either by Pact or Law, (for he may do either) he transfers the Property to another; but then he ought to observe the Mode and Form prescribed by Law^p. For if there be a Pact made about selling it, then the Creditor ought to give the Debtor notice of his Intention, that he may redeem it, if he pleases; and after two Years expired, he may sell it. For in this case, he seems to do it by the Will and Consent of the Debtor, who covenanted that the Creditor might sell it, if the Money was not paid within the time

^a In l. 9.
D. 33. 10.

time appointed. He seems, according to *Bartolus*^a, to have alienated a Thing, who has pawned or mortgaged it for so much Money, that it is not likely that he will ever be able hereafter to redeem it. Though a Person be said to alienate a thing, who transfers any Right of Property therein: yet he who sells a thing, transfers no Right of Property, (for the Properties of Things sold are transferr'd by Delivery :) And, therefore, he is not rightly said to have alienated a thing, who can only be convened in a *personal* Action. An Alienation, made by an Heir touching a thing prohibited to be alienated, cannot be revoked during the Heir's Life-time, but after his Death it may. If an Alienation be forbidden, such Prohibition does not extend itself to a *necessary*, but only to a *voluntary* Alienation; for we have this distinction of Alienations.



T I T. XII.

Of Succession by Last Will and Testament, and the manner of ordering Wills; of the ancient Way of making Testaments, according to the Civil Law; and of the ancient Way of disposing, according to the Prætorian Law; and of the Solemnities added by Justinian: Who may be Witnesses to a Will, and who not; and of the manner of expounding Wills, &c.

PERSONS at the Time of their Death do usually dispose of their Estates in writing, by one of these two ways, *viz.* either by *Testament* or by *Codicils*: And between these two there is a wide difference, as I shall hereafter remark in the following Sheets. I shall here speak of Succession by Last Will and Testament: For there is a twofold kind of Succession unto Estates, stiled *Testate* and *Intestate*; the first is by Testaments and Codicils; and the latter, when a Person dies without a Testament, or (at least) such as is valid in Law. That kind of Succession, which flows from a Last Will and Testament, is what we term *Civil* and *Prætorian* Succession. The first of these is, when a Man does either by a Last Will or a Codicil become a Successor unto the whole Substance of a Person deceased, or unto any Part thereof. And this kind of Succession is properly stiled *Hæreditas* in our Books, or the Heirship unto an Estate. The *Honorary* or *Prætorian* Succession is that, which is in other Terms called the *Bonorum-Possessio*: Wherefore, those are named *Heirs*, who succeed by the *Civil* Law; and those are stiled *Bonorum-Possessores*, or Possessors of the Goods, who succeed by the *Prætorian* Law. Having premised thus much touching Succession in general, for the better Illustration of the present Title, I shall under this Title enquire, *First*, what a Testament is, and how it differs from a Last Will or Codicil. *Secondly*, I shall consider the ancient way of ordering and making Testaments among the *Romans*, according to the *Civil* Law, and the ancient way of disposing of Estates, according to the *Prætorian* Law, and discourse of the Solemnities added by *Justinian*. *Thirdly*, I shall examine what Persons may
make

make Wills and Testaments, and who may be Witnesses thereunto, and who not. *Fourthly*, I shall speak of solemn or perfect Wills, and likewise of less solemn or imperfect Wills. And lastly, I shall lay down the manner of expounding Wills or Testaments, with many other Particulars relating to this Title.

Now a Testament, as *Ulpian* defines it^r, is a Sentence or Declaration of^r D. 28. 1. 1. the Testator's Mind, touching what he would have to be done after his decease: And it is so called, because it is a *Testatio Mentis*^t, a testifying^t I. 2. 10. pr. of the Mind. Indeed, *Aul. Gellius*^s laughs at this Etymology as ridiculous; and so does *Laur. Valla*^t: But neither of them have given us a^t Lib. 6. c. 12. better. Both by the ancient and modern Law, Testaments, properly so called, are such Deeds as are made in writing during the Testator's Life-time; and, improperly speaking, a *nuncupative* Will may be stiled a Testament. But to the end that we may not be ignorant of the ancient Law touching this Business, it will be necessary to observe, that heretofore there were two sorts of Testaments in use, one of which the *Romans* made use of in time of Peace and Tranquillity, and this they called *Testamentum Calatis Comitibus*, because it was made in the Assemblies of the *Roman* People: And the other being made when they went to War, was stiled *Testamentum Procinctum*, or a Military Will. But in process of time, another sort of Will was introduced, which was termed a Testament *per Æs & Libram*, because it was made by Emancipation, *viz.* by a certain kind of imaginary Sale before five Witnesses, and in the presence of one Man who held a Balance in his Hand, and also in the presence of him who was the Purchaser of the Succession, in *Latin* called *Emptor Familiae*^u, (for the word *Familia*^u I. 2. 10. 1.] signifies an Inheritance, as well as a Family of Persons :) And all these Persons were to be *Roman* Citizens or Subjects of the Male-kind, and such as were arrived at the Age of Puberty. But the former kinds of Testaments were abolished and grew into disuse through Length of Time. And though the last, which was made *per Æs & Libram*, continued much longer in being than the other two; yet the last in Tract of Time also partly ceased to be in use. The second sort was called *Testamentum Procinctum*, or *in Procinctu*; because it could only be made by Soldiers when they were girt and ready to go out to War, *quasi accincti & parati ad pugnandum*, namely, when they were drawn out to fight, or marching in some military Expedition. In respect of the third sort of Testament, the Testator sold the Succession by an imaginary Sale unto him, whom he intended to make his Heir, in the presence of the aforesaid Number of Witnesses, and of him whom he designed for his Heir, and who purchased the same at a small Value, which being the Price of the Succession, the Testator received. These five Witnesses were to be present in the Behalf of the Heir, and he who held the Balance was to be present to see that the Price, which the Heir paid the Testator, was a just Price for the Succession which he sold him. These three *Species* we derive from the *Civil* Law: But afterwards the *Prætor* by his Edict introduced another Form of making Testaments.

For by the *Prætorian* Law, Testaments were made without any Emancipation: And, according to this Form, there ought to be seven Witnesses^v,^v I. 2. 10. 3. who ought to set their Seals thereunto, which the *Civil* Law did not require. But the *Civil* and *Prætorian* Law being soon after reduced to an Agreement herein, as well by Usage, as by the Imperial Constitutions, it was at length ordered, that the Will should be attested by the Number of seven Witnesses, without any other Solemnity in respect of the Form thereof, which the *Civil* Law in some measure required; and those Witnesses were to be present together at one and the same time on the Day of subscribing themselves, as appears from the Imperial Constitutions; and by

an Edict of the *Prætor*, they were to set their Seals thereunto. So that the Form and Validity of a Will was established upon a tripartite kind of Law. For as the Necessity of Witnesses, and their Presence at one and the same time, was founded on the *Civil* Law, and the Subscriptions of the Testator and the Witnesses on the Imperial Constitutions: So was the Sealing and the Number of Witnesses built on the Edict of the *Prætor*. But in order to verify the Will, and to prevent the Commission of any Fraud or Forgery; besides these Formalities above-mentioned, the Emperor *Justinian* by a Constitution of his added another Solemnity, enjoining, that the Name of the Heir appointed should be express'd either in the Hand-writing of the Testator himself, or of one of the Witnesses; and ordered, that all these Formalities should be observed according to the Disposition of this Constitution. But this Law was afterwards repealed and set aside by a Law in the *Novels* ^w. All the Witnesses may make use of one and the same Seal to strengthen the Will: And if all the Seals shall be engraved after the same manner, as it is possible, the Witnesses may in such a case use the Seal of another Person to seal the Will; and so they may if this does not happen. And thus though the making of a Last Will and Testament was invented by the Law of Nations, and not introduced by the *Civil* Law; yet the Solemnities thereof owe their Rise to the *Civil* Law.

^w Nov. 129.
c. 2.

^s C. 6. 23. 21.

^{1.}
^y C. 6. 23. 19.

² C. 6. 23. 29.

^a C. 6. 23. 21.

^b C. 6. 23. 31.

^c D. 28. 1. 22. 2.

^d C. 6. 23. 12.

^e C. 6. 23. 21.

^f X. 3. 26. 10.

^g C. 6. 23. 19.
& 21.

^h C. 1. 13. 1.

ⁱ D. 28. 1. 1.

^k D. 28. 1. 2.

^l D. 28. 1. 3.

By the Imperial Constitutions, there are only two kinds of Wills now in use: The one stiled *Testamentum Paganicum*, and the other a *military* Will. The *Paganicum* is either a *solemn* Will in writing, or else a *nuncupative* Will. To render a solemn Will in writing valid, several things are required according to the Imperial Constitutions. *First*, that it be written either by the Testator himself, or by some other Person, in Words at length ¹, in order to prevent any doubt about the same. *Secondly*, that there be an Heir expressly named or appointed therein by the Testator ². And *thirdly*, that it be subscribed and signed by the Testator, or by some other Person in his Name and Stead ³, but yet in the Testator's Presence, and before seven Witnesses, who were all to be Citizens of *Rome*, solemnly requested hereunto. The Witnesses were either to subscribe the same in their own Persons ^a; or, if so many Persons could not be found as could write, one Person might subscribe for another ^b: And if they had not Seals of their own, they might seal it with the Seals of other Men ^c. If another Person wrote the Will, then the Testator was to subscribe it himself ^d. But if the Testator could not write, then an eighth Witness was to subscribe the Will in his Name. But though, regularly speaking, seven Witnesses were required besides the Notary; yet in some Cases, a lesser number of Witnesses were sufficient, as in a Testament *inter Liberos* ^e, and in a Will made to *charitable Uses* ^f, and likewise in a Will made in the time of any Plague or War, and when it was registered at the Acts of Court, tho' this was done in a private manner ^g. For those things are said to be done *apud acta* (especially in things which are Matters of *voluntary* Jurisdiction, as the making of a Will is,) when they are sped before the Judge, though they be not sped in open Court ^h.

As a Testament is a just and solemn Declaration of a Man's Will touching what he would have to be done after his natural Death, with a direct Appointment of an Heir ⁱ; it is therefore necessary in him who makes a Testament, that he should be of sound Mind and Memory at the time of making the same; but Sanity of Body is not required ^k. The making of a Testament is not a matter of a private, but of a publick Right: And, therefore, the Form of it cannot be injured by the Acts of private Men ^l. Nor can the Testator in his Will command any thing in Derogation of the publick Law, or of any Statutes or Jurisdiction whatsoever. In a Question touching the Validity of a Will, we ought first to consider, whether he who makes a Will had the Power of doing it (for no one has this active Power

Power but whom the Law permits^m :) And then if he had this Power, we^m D. 50. 16. ought to enquire whether he made it according to the Rules of the Civil^{120.} Lawⁿ; though some of these Rules are since antiquated, as I shall note inⁿ D. 28. 1. 4. the Sequel of this Title.

Now all Males that are not prohibited by Law, may make their Wills at fourteen Years of Age, and Females at twelve: And in regard to this Age, a Day begun is reckoned as a Day complete°. As when a Person^o D. 28. 1. 5; is born on the Calends of *January*, he may on his Birth-day, being arrived at Puberty, make his Will; for he seems to have compleated the last Day of his fourteenth Year: And it is the same thing in respect of a Woman, that is come to Age the last Day of her twelfth Year. Nay, if the Person made it before the said Calends, after six a-clock in the Evening, the Will is valid^p. Persons that are deaf, dumb, and blind may make^p D. ut sup: their Testaments, but then it ought to be according to the Form delivered by *Justinian*^q. But though it be permitted unto several Persons to make^q C. 6. 23. 8. a Testament; yet all Men are not allowed this liberty: For Persons that^{& 10.} are subject to the Power of another, as Bondmen, Captives, and Children under the power of their Fathers, &c. Wherefore, since all Persons may make a Will that are not prohibited by Law so to do, it will be better known what Persons are capable of doing it, by knowing what Persons can by Law to do it. Now *Bartolus*^r reduces these Persons to five Classes.^r In l. 4: For sometimes a Person is prohibited to make a Will through a Defect of^{D. 29. 3.} Power in himself, as a Son under the power of a Father, an Hostage, Monk, Bondman, &c. sometimes a Defect of Mind and Understanding, as a Person under the Age of Puberty, an Idiot, Madman, Prodigal^s, &c.^r I. 2. 12. 2: sometimes through a Defect of bodily Sense, as a Person blind, deaf, dumb, &c. unless it be according to the Form prescribed by *Justinian*^s, as afore-^s I. 2. 12. 5: said. Sometimes on the score of Punishment, as a Person condemned to death: And sometimes in respect of some Doubt, as when there is a Doubt touching the State of the Testator.

First then, a *Filius-familias*, or Person under the power of the Father, is forbidden to make a Will, having a Father alive, in whose power he is: For though such a Person should be a hundred Years of Age, yet he can neither make a Will, nor a Codicil; nay, he cannot make a Will even by the Permission of his Father or Grandfather^t. And^t D. 28. 1. 6; this is, according to *Paulus de Castro*, because a Last Will ought to proceed from the free Will of the Testator, and not depend on the Will of another Person. And *secondly*, because the making of a Will is a matter of publick Right. And thus he who has not a Power *à jure publico*, cannot obtain that Power from a Thing inferior to it. But though a *Filius-familias* can neither make a Will of a *profectitious* or *adventitious* Estate; yet he may make a Will touching those Goods which he has gained in the Wars, or of his *Peculium quasi Castrense*, because in respect of such Goods he is in the Place of a *Pater-familias*. For if he be in an Expedition, he may then make a Will according to the Privilege of a Soldier; and if he be at home getting Money by his Learning or Industry, he may then make a Will of his *Peculium quasi Castrense*, according to the Disposition of the common Law. But a Son in the power of the Father may make a Donation *mortis causâ* by the Permission of his Father, provided this be done by express Premission^u. For, besides Testaments, properly so^u D. 39. 6. 25. called, there are other Last Wills, among which we may reckon a Dona-^{1.} tion *mortis causâ*, or in Contemplation of Death; as it plainly appears from the *Code*^v, *Digests*^w, and *Institutes*^x.

Secondly, A Person under the Age of Puberty is forbidden to make a Will, though he has no Father living, in whose power he is, whether such Person be Male or Female^y: And this through want of Judgment and^y I. 2. 12. 1. Discretion,

Discretion, which is not presumed to be in a Person before the Age of Puberty. And this Rule in Law is extended even to a Soldier, that is under the Age of Puberty. Nay, a Person under the Age of Puberty cannot make a Will, though he should have the Consent and Authority of his Tutor to this End and Purpose, because the Last Will of a Person ought not to depend on the Will of another, as aforesaid; and also, for that a Tutor is assigned to take care of his Pupil in his Life-time, and not at the Time of his Death.

Thirdly, A Person taken Prisoner by the Enemy, could not make a Testament, because he became a Vassal or Bondman unto the Enemy: And it is manifest, that a Bondman by the *Civil* Law could not make, nor could a Will of this kind made by a Person in the Hands of the Enemy be confirmed by the Right of *Postliminy*, since it had no sound beginning at first. But a Testament made before such Captivity, was always valid, whether the Person thus taken return'd home or not. For if he return'd, it was supported by the Right of *Postliminy*, which feigns him always to have been in the State or City: And this was founded upon Equity. For in strictness of Law, a Testament was defeated by Captivity, as a Captive is a Bondman unto the Enemy. But if he died in the Enemies Hands, it was valid by the *Cornelian* Law, which feigns him never to have been in the power of the Enemy, but to have died the Hour immediately before he was taken Prisoner^a. Heretofore Eunuchs could not make a Will, till they were eighteen Years of Age: But now it is enacted, that they may make a Will at this day after the example of other Persons. If a Person becomes delirious, or loses his Understanding by the means of bodily Sickness, he cannot make a Will during that Time. Nor can a Madman or Lunatick make a Will: But if his Madness intermits, he may make a Will during the Time of his lucid Intervals. And so may a Prodigal, if he returns *ad bonos mores*, and to a Soundness of Mind, though he be otherwise forbidden.

A Person that is blind in both Eyes, either by Nature, or thro' some Accident, may make his Will by *Nuncupation*, (as we call it) wherein he ought to observe the following Solemnities, according to the *Civil* Law^a, viz. *First*, he ought to call unto himself seven Witnesses and a Notary, and in their Presence to declare that he has a mind to make a *nuncupative* Will, and then he ought to name some certain Person to be his Heir, and likewise mention how many Parts he would have him be his Heir to, (for the Inheritance by the *Roman* Law was divided into twelve Parts,) and what he would have each Legatary to receive from him: Which Things being reduced into Writing by the Notary, and signed and subscribed by the Witnesses, such Writing shall have the Strength of a Will. But tho' he has only a mind to make Codicils, and to appoint no Heir, but only to leave some Legacies; yet all the aforesaid Solemnities shall be observed, except the number of Witnesses: In which case eight Witnesses are required, if a Notary cannot be found. After the Will is reduced into Writing, it must be read over to the Testator and Witnesses; and then the Witnesses, in the presence of each other, must set their Seals thereunto, having subscribed the same^b.

A Testament may be divided in a twofold manner, viz. into what we call a *perfect* Testament; and that we term a Codicil, or an *imperfect* Testament: Which Division may be admitted without any Absurdity, especially on account of informing the Mind; and *Albericus Gentilis* thinks, that such a Division of Testaments is not disagreeable to Law. I call it a *perfect* Testament of the Will, which has the Appointment of an Heir contained; it being necessary that an Heir should be appointed in express Terms^c. For as a Testament was null and void without the Institution of an Heir; so from such an Institution, Testaments receive Strength and Vigour: And hence

hence the Institution of an Heir may be said to be the chief Foundation of the whole Testament^c. And this becomes a *perfect* Testament, either so-^c I. 2. 20. 34. lemnly, or not solemnly; and both of these either by *Writing* or *Nuncupation*. A *written* Testament, is, when the Testator reduces his Last Will into Writing, by observing some due Solemnities of Law, and then offers the same to be corroborated by Witnesses; which makes it a *solemn* Testament: But a *nuncupative* Will, is, when the Testator does, in the presence of seven Witnesses, name and declare his Will without Writing, whether such Will be afterwards reduced into Writing or not, as I shall hereafter observe. And in this last kind of Testament, the Testator reveals his Will unto Witnesses, as he conceals it from them in a written Testament. In a *written* Testament, great Caution ought to be taken, that the Will be made not only by the Testator himself, in his own proper Hand-writing, but that it be also made in secret, upon two accounts. *First*, lest such Persons as have any expectation of getting something by such Will should be provoked by Hatred to the Testator, on finding themselves to have nothing left them in the Will. And, *secondly*, lest those that are appointed Heirs, or to whom any Thing is bequeathed, should attempt or procure the Testator's Death, in order to hinder him from changing his Mind, or making another Will. But after a Will is made, (be it *written* or *nuncupative*) the Custom of the Country ought to be regarded about keeping thereof, *viz.* whether it ought to be committed to the Custody of Friends, or lodged in some publick Place of Record, or the like. Rusticks and Countrymen, in Places where Learning is rare, may make their Wills according to their own way and the Custom of such Places; provided they have a competent Number of Witnesses^d.

^d C. 6. 23. 31.

I shall next speak of the Witnesses to a Will, and of the solemn Number thereof; and who may be Witnesses thereunto, and who not. It has been already observed, that a Testament ought to be made and executed in the presence of seven Witnesses, according to the *Civil* Law; who, together with the Testator, ought to sign and subscribe the same; and that if the Testator cannot write, or be so unacquainted with Letters, that he cannot subscribe it, an *eighth* Witness is made use of as a Subscriber in his room^e. ^e C. 6. 23. 25. To render a Testament valid, all these Witnesses ought to be proper and idoneous Persons, otherwise the whole Will is rendered null from the disability of one of the Witnesses^f; unless a codicillary Clause be added, *viz.* ^f C. 6. 23. 12. that if it be not valid as a Will, it shall be valid as a Codicil. The Wit-^{D. 22. 5. 14. & 15.} nesses made use of to support a Will, ought to be idoneous Persons at the Time of the Will made^g; and it is enough, if they were deemed such in the common Estimation and Opinion of Mankind^h: For every one is pre-^h C. 6. 23. 1. sumed to be an idoneous Witness, unless the contrary hereunto appearsⁱ. ⁱ D. 22. 5. 2. Persons prohibited to be Witnesses to a Will, according to the *Civil* Law, are a Woman^k, a Person under the Age of Puberty, as not knowing what he does^l; a Bondman, who is a dependent Person^m; a Madman, Prodigal,^{6.} and the like; a Person deaf and dumbⁿ; a Person that is in the power of^m D. 28. 1. 20. the Testator; the Testator's Domesticks^o; and lastly, all infamous and in-^{7.} testable Persons^p; that is to say, such Persons as cannot make a Will: But^h I. 2. 10. 6. a Legatary and an Executor may, according to *Angelus*, be a proper Witness^o I. 2. 10. 9. to a Will, tho' the Heir cannot. If a Person propounds a simple Exception^p D. 28. 1. 26. against Witnesses, *viz.* that they were not idoneous at the Time of the Will made, such Exception (*Bartolus* says) shall not be admitted, unless it be with this Addition, *viz.* that they were commonly deemed not to be proper Witnesses. No Person ought to be set aside from being a Witness to a Will, whom the Law has not expressly prohibited; unless it be under some Quality; as a Legatary, who is to gain by supporting a Will, &c.

Witnesses do belong to the intrinsic Solemnity of a Will ; and, therefore, a certain Number of Witnesses is requir'd, as being a Solemnity : For in those Things, which ought necessarily to be done by Witnesses, a solemn and certain Number is required. But this solemn Number of Witnesses, is only the accidental, and not the solemn Part of a Will, since this last Part cannot be changed by any Law or Custom^a, as the accidental Form may. For the Number of Witnesses may be increased by a Law or Statute^b. The Solemnity of Witnesses was introduced in order to prevent Forgery in Wills. And hence the Doctors infer, that a Will without such Solemnity is an unjust Will, as liable to admit of Forgery ; and, therefore, ought not to be observed even so much as *in foro Conscientiæ*. At this day, Last Wills and Testaments are made in the presence of a Notary and two Witnesses, according to the Law of Nations, unless a Person by Will disinherits his Children : For then, by an Edict of *Charles* the Vth, Emperor of *Germany*, the Scabins are required to be Witnesses thereunto. In *Holland* Wills thus made are firm and valid, though neither the Testator nor the Witnesses subscribe themselves thereunto^c. Nor is it necessary at this day, that the Name of the Heir should be expressed either by the hands of the Testator or Witnesses ; but it is enough, if the Testator exhibits his Will in writing before a Notary and two Witnesses, and the same be marked with the Cypher of the Notary. In *England*, a Will attested by two Witnesses, where only a personal Estate is given, is valid without the Aid of a Notary ; but if a real Estate be devised, then the Attestation of three Witnesses is required^d.

^a Groenv. de
ll. abr.

^b 29 Car. 2.
c. 10.

By the *Civil* Law, Women might be made use of as Witnesses unto Codicils, though not to Testaments ; and therefore the same obtains at this day, the difference between Codicils and Testaments being now grown in a manner out of use : Wherefore, I think, that Women may be Witnesses at this day even unto Testaments, though it is otherwise in *Holland*, unless (perhaps) it be a Testament *inter Liberos*. By the *Civil* Law also Legataries and Feoffees, called *Fidei-Commissarii*, might be used as Witnesses to Wills, because they are Successors of Right unto the Inheritance : But this Reason displeases many of the Doctors. For though Legataries are not Successors *universi Juris*, as Heirs are : For as Legacies are not the constituent Part or Form of a Will, and though the Business of the Will does not belong to Legataries ; yet it must be confessed, that Legataries have in some measure (at least) to do with a Will, as it respects a Legacy bequeathed ; and therefore are called particular Successors. In *England* Legatees cannot be produced as Witnesses to support a Will, unless they have actually received their Legacy from the Executor, or do renounce their Legacy, because they swear *in commodum suum*.

^c I. 2. 10. 6.

^d I. 2. 10. 6.

A Father, and he that is in the power of a Father, as two Brothers that are under the power of one and the same Father, may be Witnesses unto the same Will ; because there is nothing in Law that hinders a Person from making use of several Witnesses of the same House or Family, provided it be in Affairs that relate not to that House or Family : But he that is in the power of the Testator, cannot be a Witness to the Testator's Will, as already related. And 'tis the same thing, if a Son under the power of a Father, makes a Will, and thereby disposes of his military *Peculium*, or Estate got by private Industry, after he has obtained his discharge ; for he cannot make his Father a Witness thereunto ; nor him that is in the power of the same Father, because domestick Testimony is never admitted in Affairs of this Nature^e. And from the Premises we may conclude, by a contrary Argument, that a Son, who is not in the Father's power, might be a Witness unto his Father's Will ; and, on the other hand, such a Father might be a Witness unto his Son's Will, there being no reason for any

Obstruction

Obstruction hereunto. But if in the foregoing case a *Filius-familias* makes a military Testament, he may assume his Father as a Witness, and the Act shall be valid^v; because a military Testament has no regard to Formalities^w. ^v D. 28.1.20. If any one of the Witnesses, that has passed for a Freeman at the time of² making the Will, be afterwards found to be a Bondman, the Will ought^w in such a case to have favour shewn unto it, not only according to the Answer of *Adrian* the Emperor, given unto *Cato*, but even by the imperial Rescripts of *Severus* and *Antoninus*, which were afterwards delivered: And such a Will shall be valid, as if it had been made according to the proper Solemnities required thereunto; since at the time of making thereof, this Witness passed for a Freeman, according to the concurrent Belief of the Persons present, there being no one then that doubted his State or Condition. ^w D. 29.1.1. & 40.

If a written Will has been once published or proved before an ordinary Judge, who has the Probat thereof, it gives credit to the registred Copy, though the original Will in writing be lost^a. *Titius* made his Will in^a writing, and then died. His Heir dreading the Death of some, or all of the Witnesses, or because the Matter on which it was written was damaged, or likely to perish in a little time, and fearing the Consequences thereof, caused the same to be published and registred before a competent Judge, and also caused the Witnesses to swear, that all Things therein contained were true, and a publick Writing or Probat thereof was made. And the Question was, whether such a Probat or Publication should give Credit or Evidence unto such registred Will? And it was hereupon resolved that it should. The Publication or Probat of a Will ought to be made before a competent Judge, as just now hinted; and in *Rome*, such Judge was the *Magister Censûs*, if he were present; and nothing was to be paid to him for proving and registering a Will, if the Inheritance did not exceed the Sum of a hundred *Aurei* or Nobles^v. If the Will was proved before any other than a competent Judge, such Probat was not valid as being made before an incompetent Judge²: But though a Will be proved before an incompetent Judge, yet it does not prejudice the Will itself, but that it may be proved *de novo* before a competent Judge^a. With us in *England*, the Bishop of the Diocess, or any other proper Ordinary, is a competent Judge for Chattels, unless the Deceased had *Bona Notabilia*, viz. above the Value of a hundred Shillings in several Diocesses. ^v C. 6.23.23. ² C. 6.23.18. ^a C. 6.23.23.

The ancient Lawyers held, that a Testament ought to be made *uno contextu*, without any foreign Act intervening: But *Justinian* has limited this Conclusion, saying, that if the Testator (perchance) after he has begun his Will, should be obliged to retire for some small time, either on the account of taking Physick, or going to Stool, &c. he may afterwards return and perfect the Remainder of his Will^b. And Witnesses may do the same, provided they are not long absent: But if a Witness be long absent, or cannot return, and the Testator be in danger, then another Witness ought to be substituted. But all the Witnesses, however the Will be begun, yet ought to sign it at the same Time, and in the same Place, and in the sight of each other; and thus a Will ought to be finished at one Act, or (as said) *uno contextu*^c. A Testator is always presumed to bequeath that which is his own; and he may dispose of his own as he pleases. If a Testator, who could formerly speak articulately, should now thro' some Infirmary be disabled to express himself in that manner; yet he may (notwithstanding) devise and bequeath Legacies by giving a Nod, and other Signs^d. Old Age or Infirmary of Body is no Impediment to the making^a of a Will, as before hinted, in a Person that is of sound Mind and Memory. ^b C. 6.23.27. ^c C. 6.23.28. ^d C. 6.22.10.

It

It has been a frequent Doubt, by what Conjectures and Presumptions it may be inferred, that a Man has been willing to make a Last Will and Testament, and not a Codicil. Now the first Conjecture, whereby the Will of a dying Person may be inferred, is, when he has appointed Heirs, or has therein disinherited his Children or Grand-children : For then it is a high Presumption, that he designed to make a Testament, and not a Codicil ; and, according to *Alexander*, this is a stronger Presumption in respect of its Operation, than all other Presumptions about the same. *First*, this Conjecture is extended and said to have place, even when a Testator by calling the Witnesses together, and appointing Legacies, says unto the Witnesses : *Be ye Witnesses unto these Codicils, and my Intention is, that my Will shall be valid by the Right of Codicils* : For he is still presumed to have an Intent of making this his Last Will and Testament ; because he has named an Heir therein. For an Act is not judged from the nude and simple Denomination of the Person, but from its Effect. And hereunto may be referred the Opinion of *Baldus* and *Salycetus*, viz. that if a Testator should say before seven Witnesses, *Be ye Witnesses to my Contract* ; yet he is presumed (notwithstanding) to have designed the making of a Will thereby. And 'tis the same thing, when a Testator appoints Heirs, and the Notary says, viz. *such a Man being willing to make Codicils* : for he is hereby presumed to intend the making of his Testament.

If a Testator, that has made a just Will, shall afterwards in process of Time simply say, *That he would not have such Will to be valid*, the Will seemed to be rendred infirm or defeated, after the manner of Legacies, which are revoked even *nudâ voluntate* by express Adoption. But here *Justinian* decides on the contrary, viz. that a Will that is just and has been rightly made, shall not be subverted by the nude and simple Words of the Testator. And *Theophilus* subjoins the Reason hereof, viz. because those things which are done according to Law, ought also to be destroy'd by Law. I here speak of defeating the Institution of the whole Will, which cannot be done by naked Words. For Wills ought not to be rescinded with Temerity ; because if they were, Persons succeeding *ab intestato* might easily suborn some Persons to assert, that the Testator had revoked his Will. Moreover, it is a received Maxim in Law, that no Credit shall be given to the Averment even of seven Witnesses against a Will, unless it be after a Lapse of ten Years from the time of the Will made, or unless it appears the Testator had added, that he would therefore change his former Will, whereby he might die intestate ; for then by the Addition of such like Words, a Change of the former Will is confirmed. But this Doctrine, though frequently received, yet is in some Places disputed. But if it appears by any Acts pointing out a Change of the Testator's former Purpose, that he would impugn his former Will, as because he blots, cuts, or cancels the same, or tears off the Seals, so that the Will is hereby rendred ineffectual ; such Acts have, without doubt, a greater force than Words have.

There are three Things or Faults, which entirely defeat a Will, or render it infirm, viz. when a Will is *unjust*, *rupted*, or *irritated*. For tho' we say, that a Will is *rupted* which is *irritated* or made void ; and that a Will, which is *unjust*, is *rupted* and *irritated* ; these Words being often used promiscuously without any difference : yet it seems more commodious to distinguish the particular Causes, whereby Wills are rendred invalid ; wherefore, I shall in this Paragraph consider these Distinctions. Now a Will is said to be *unjust*, when the necessary Solemnities are wanting thereunto, or when it is not made according to Law^e : And, on the contrary, a Will is said to be *just*, when it is made according to Law, with the Solemnities which the Law requires. A Will is properly said to be *rupted*, which

^e D. 28. 3. 1.
Pr.

which was valid from the beginning, but *ex post facto* is rendered infirm or defeated, the Testator remaining in the same State: whereas an *unjust* or *null* Will is properly termed that which was not valid from the beginning; because not made according to Law. A Will is properly said to be *irritated*, which is also valid from the beginning, but has lost its Force and Power on the account of the Testator's changing his State; and thus is reduced to nought by a Contingency in the Person of the Testator: As when the Testator, after making a lawful Will, suffers a Diminution of his Liberty, or the Rights of the City, by way of Punishment, or is condemned to a natural Death^f. But the Will of a Person condemned is not made void, if it be^f D. 28. 1. 8. 1. appealed from the Sentence of Condemnation, whether such Appeal be received or not, unless Execution be not deferred by such Appeal: nor is it made void, if his Condemnation be suspended by the Rescript of the Prince, though the Person dies, unless being conscious of his Crime, he lays violent Hands on himself^g. Though the Will of a Person be made void, who has^g D. 28. 3. 6. lost his Life, Liberty, or the Rights of the City by a Sentence, as afore- 4. & 5. said: yet this is otherwise in a Soldier, if the Judge has in his Sentence reserved unto him the Rights and Privileges of making a Will^h. But some^h D. 28. 3. 6. 3. Persons reckon up five ways of voiding a Will, which may be well enough admitted. *First*, when a Will is not made according to Law, as above remembred, *viz.* when the proper Solemnities of Law have not been apply'd thereuntoⁱ; as when there are no Witnesses, Seals, or the like, made useⁱ D. 28. 3. 1. of. *Secondly*, it is said to be null and of no moment, when a Son in the power of a Father is passed by^k; but it is otherwise, if he has been eman-^k D. 28. 2. 30. cipated. *Thirdly*, it is said to be made void by another Will^l, wherein^l D. 28. 3. 1. there is an Heir appointed, who may have the Existence of an Heir. *Fourthly*, it is rendered void by the Agnation of an Heir: As when a Person has by Arrogation adopted a Son^m, or has a posthumous Son born^m I. 2. 17. pr. after making of his Will. And *lastly*, a Will is said to be irritated by the Heir's refusing or not taking on himself the Heirshipⁿ. But a Soldier mayⁿ I. 3. 1. pr. die with two Wills made; and, therefore, his Will is not rupted or defeated by another Will^o. But a former Will is only rupted, when a latter^o D. 29. 1. 20. or second Will is perfected as it ought to be, by having an Heir appointed therein, unless (perhaps) the latter Will be made *jure Militari*, or an Heir be written therein who may be an Heir *ab intestato*, with us called an Administrator; for then the former Will is rupted, though the latter be not perfected^p. A Will cancelled by a Person that is not *compos mentis*, is^p D. 28. 3. 2. not rupted^q.^q D. 28. 3. 3.

A Man may rescind his Will as to one Part thereof, and the other Part shall remain valid: or in other Words, a Person may *ex post facto* disrestate as to one Part, and intestate to another Part of it^r. If a Person^r D. 5. 2. 15. 3. impeaches a Will of Forgery, he seems thereby to renounce the Business and Intention of becoming Heir or Executor in virtue of such a Will which he alledges to be forged: But yet he may be an Administrator or Heir intestate of the Goods of the Deceased, according to *Bartolus*^r. A Rasure,^r In l. 30. Interlineation, or a Cancellation of a Part of a Will, is not said to be a^r D. 49. 14. Defect of a Solemnity, though such Rasure or Interlineation may render the Will suspected. But if it becomes a Question, whether it makes that Part of the Will defective, which is found cancelled, we must distinguish herein, *viz.* whether it was cancelled by the Testator on purpose, and then it renders it defective: But it is otherwise, if it was cancelled through Inadvertency, or by a Stranger^s. A Will that is found cancelled in the hands^s C. 6. 23. 12. of the Testator, is, according to *Jason* and others^t, presumed to be can-^t In l. 12. celled by the Testator himself, or (at least) through his Consent and Order: C. 6. 23. And a Will is said to be cancelled, when the Seal affixed thereunto is torn off, or else the Testator's Name subscribed thereunto, and by several other

ways, as by drawing a cross with the Pen on the same; by drawing the Pen over the Letters lengthwise, called *Induction*; and by drawing the Pen round the Letters, stiled *Circumduction*. But all these Words denote the same thing.

Since the Will of the Testator is best infer'd and made known from the Words of the Testament itself, I shall next consider after what manner the Words of Testaments are to be understood: Wherefore, in the first place, I shall lay it down for a Truth, that the Words of the Testament ought to be inspected and well consider'd. For Masters and Scholars are often deceived, and especially when they do not weigh and ponder the Words of a Will as they ought to do, which have great Weight and Force in them, a great Efficacy consisting even in the minutest Expression. For the Words of a Testament are properly the intrinsical and essential Form of the Disposition: wherefore, when the Matter in Controversy is touching the Interpretation of the Testator's Will, we ought to have recourse to the Tenor of the Will itself, and if the Words of it are so far obscure, as that they do not, or cannot admit of any Meaning, they ought to be deemed and taken *pro non scriptis*. But, in the Construction of Last Wills and Testaments, the Law will have the Mind and Meaning of the Testator, if known, to be pursued, whatever the proper Signification of Words be. For says the Law, in Questions about Wills, we must not fly to what the Words will bear in Extremity, since most Men speak improperly, and they are
 * D. 32.1.69.
 1. but few that can deliver themselves in apt and proper Expressions*. And therefore *Mantica* remarks, we must take heed that we do not so precisely observe the Words, as to disappoint the true Intentions of him that utter'd them by too great a Subtlety. From whence it clearly seems, that no Words, Forms, Niceties, or Proprieties of Language are of any regard in the *Civil* Law, in comparison of Truth, Faithfulness, and Integrity. For Words were made as Instruments to serve and express the Mind, and not to command or controul it.

There is no Maxim more commonly received in Law than this, *viz.* That the Wills of all Testators ought to be interpreted according to a Disposition of the Laws; and, according to *Bartolus*, that every one is presumed to have willed that which the Law itself ordains. Hence a Testator, even in a doubtful Case, seems to have made a Disposition of his Estate according to Law, and not contrary thereunto. And that Interpretation, whereby the common Law is best preserved, ought to be favour'd and embraced: and every Disposition, which is simply expressed, is clothed with the Sense of the Common Law, and ought to be restrain'd and extended accordingly. And hence it is clear, that doubtful Words ought to be referred to the Understanding of the Common Law; for that is said to be most probable and likely, which best agrees with the Common Law. Nor is it likely, that a Testator, especially one skilled in the Law, would make a Disposition contrary to the Rules of Law. An Ambiguity or Transposition, or inverting the Order of Writing, by mentioning Legacies before the Appointment of an Heir, does not vitiate a Testament, if any of these Things happens thro' the Fault or Unskilfulness of the Notary, or him that writes the Will¹; for Wills ought to be interpreted in the most favourable manner. When two Wills are found to be made by one and the same Person, and it is not known which was made first, and which was the latter Will, then neither of them (according to *Bartolus**) is valid. It is a general Rule in Law, in favour of Testaments, that they ought to be supported by all possible ways and means. So that in a doubtful Case, a Sentence ought to be pronounced in favour of a Will²: For since a Last Will ought to be preserved by all possible Ways and Means, in a doubtful Case, an Interpretation ought to be made in favour of a Will³, lest it should drop. And *Justinian* has enacted several

* In l. 6.
D. 27. 1.

* D. 5. 2. 10.
Pr.

* D. 28. 4. 2.

several Laws, in order to aid and support Last Wills of Testators, that they may not be defeated, and made void by too great a Subtilty of Law. Thus in a doubtful Case, a Presumption always lies in favour of a Will, unless the contrary be proved: For he who impugns it, ought to shew cause why it is not valid^b. The Testator's Mind is not only consider'd from the Words^b C. 4. 19. 11. of the Will, but likewise from such Words as he has utter'd at sundry Times out of the Will, and especially in the Time of his last Sickness.

The Execution of Last Wills and Testaments not only belongs to the Bishop, but also to him who has Episcopal Jurisdiction, exclusive of the Bishop, tho' he be not a Bishop: For it often happens, that Abbots and Archdeacons have Episcopal Jurisdiction, either by Privilege or Prescription^c. For^c X. 2. 26. 15. these Persons, according to a noted Gloss on the *Clementines*, have this Right^d. X. 5. 31. 12. For tho' we have another Gloss on another Part of the *Clementines*, saying, ^d In c. un. Clem. 2. 2. That only a Bishop is included under the Name of a *Diocesan*, and no other inferior Person; yet this has only a respect to such Matters as rather require the Office of a Bishop, than his Jurisdiction. For, in such Matters as rather require Jurisdiction, an Inferior having Episcopal Jurisdiction may be stiled a *Diocesan*. ^{v. Diocesanis.}

[Though the Common Law of *England* has, for the most part, left Testamentary Causes to the Ecclesiastical Court, to be adjudged according to the Rules of the *Civil* and *Canon* Law: Yet it has ordained certain Peculiarities touching Lands and Chattels real, which it will have to be decided (as it were) at his own Tribunal. And according to the *English* Laws, no one can rightly devise Lands or Tenements, who is not in possession of them at the time of the Will made^e: Which is true, if another Person does^e 32 & 34. not possess them in his Right and Name; for if there does, a Man may well enough be- H. 8. queath the Reversion of them. By the ancient Law of *England*, no one could bequeath Legacies of feudal Estates, but the same did of necessity descend unto the next Heirs, unless the particular Custom of some City or Town did permit this, contrary to the Common Law; see *Glanvil*^f and *Bracton*^g; or the Heir (at least) consented to such a Legacy: But^f Lib. 7. c. 1. this Law is alter'd, and Persons may freely dispose of their Fee-simple Estates by Will, ^g Lib. 2. c. 26. by proper Devises. Thus though a Husband cannot in his Life-time make a Grant of Lands unto his Wife, because during Matrimony they are adjudged to be but one Person; yet he may by his Will devise Lands to her, because Legacies before the Testator's Death, which dissolves the Conjunction of Marriage, have not any effect.]



T I T. XIII.

Of a Nuncupative Will, and what Solemnities are necessary thereunto: What is to be thought of those things which are found to be blotted out, or interlined in a written Will.

A *Nuncupative* Will is that which is made without the Solemnity of writing, in opposition to a written Will, *viz.* when the Testator in the presence of seven Witnesses, according to the *Civil* Law, names his Heir, and declares his Last Will^h: yet this kind of Will may be re-^h C. 6. 23. 24. duced into writing; and by a Statute of the Realm here in *England*, it is necessary so to do, to prevent Frauds and Perjuries, as I shall note by and by. It is called a *Nuncupative* Will, because there is no occasion of any writing therein, but all Things may be ordered by the Nuncupation and living

ⁱ C. 6. 23. 21. living Voice of the Testatorⁱ. For the word *Nuncupare* denotes the same as to declare a Man's Will, and expressly to name his Heir before Witnesses: nor is it sufficient for the Heir to be named before Witnesses by another Person, and then to be simply approved of by the Testator himself, as *Baldus* observes^k, since the Form hereof ought to be observed (as we say) to a Cow's Thumb, or very exactly^l. *Alciatus*, in his *Parergon Juris*^m, thinks, that a *nuncupative* Will is so called, because the word *Nuncupare* is the same as *nomina capere*; that is to say, because in such a Will there is no need of any other Solemnity than taking the proper Names of the Witnesses.

A *nuncupative* Will chiefly differs from a written Will in this, *viz.* because in a written Will the Testator may conceal his Purpose and Intention, but in the other he is obliged to reveal the same, as already related in the foregoing Title. Heretofore in a *nuncupative* Will it was customary to make use of seven Witnesses especially requested hereunto, and then upon the Testator's Death these Witnesses were by the Heir presented unto the Judge, unto whom they declared and gave an account of the Last Will of the Person deceasedⁿ: But at this day, a *nuncupative* Will is almost ever reduced into writing by Notaries after the Testator's Death; and this being done, the Will remains valid, though the Witnesses should afterwards die, or be rendered incapable of giving their Evidence in other respects. Nor is it now necessary that the Witnesses should declare the Testator's Will unto the Judge, but (according to *Bartolus* and the Doctors^o) the same may be proved by a publick notarial Instrument. Nor does a Will, therefore, cease to be a *nuncupative* Will, because it is drawn into writing; since this Writing does not relate to the Substance thereof, but is only made to perpetuate the Memory of it^p. All Persons of the Age of Puberty, and being Freemen, may be Witnesses unto such Will: unto which great Favour and Indulgence is given by the Laws, for that Men are sometimes seized with a sudden Apprehension and Fear of Death.

By the *Lex Regia* in *Spain*, a *nuncupative* Will ought to be made before a Notary and three Witnesses, if a Notary may be had; otherwise before five Witnesses: But if so many Witnesses cannot easily be procured, then three Witnesses are sufficient^q. And the same Number ought to be observed in Codicils, and in a Will *inter Liberos*. By a Statute of the Realm of *England*^r, no *nuncupative* Will shall be good, where the Estate bequeathed exceeds the Value of thirty Pounds, that is not proved by the Oaths of three Witnesses, that were present at the making thereof; nor unless the Testator bid them, or some of them to bear witness, that such is his Will: nor unless it were made in the last Sickness of the Deceased, and in the House of his Dwelling, or where he had been resident for ten Days or more; except where he was surprized from his own home, and died before his return. After six Months passed, after speaking the pretended testamentary Words, no Testimony shall be received of such *nuncupative* Will, unless the said Testimony were committed to writing within six Days after making the said Will. No Letters testamentary, or Probate of any *nuncupative* Will, shall pass the Seal of any Court till fourteen Days after the Testator's Decease: nor shall any *nuncupative* Will be proved, unless Process have issued out to call in the Widow, or next of Kindred to the Deceased, to contest it, if they please. By this Statute, no Will in writing of any personal Estate shall be repealed by Words only, except the same be in the Testator's Life-time committed to writing, and read to him, and allowed by him, and that proved by three Witnesses. Soldiers in actual military Service, and Mariners at Sea, may dispose of their personal Estates as before the making of this Act.

TIT.



T I T. XIV.

Of military Testaments, in opposition to a solemn Will: and what Privileges Soldiers have in making their Wills.

I Have in the two foregoing Titles treated of a solemn Will, in *Latin* called *Testamentum Paganicum*, whether it be in writing or a nuncupative Will: wherefore, I shall here speak of a military Will, *viz.* that which a Soldier makes, reckoned among privileged Wills: For no Persons had more or greater Privileges granted them in the making Wills, than Soldiers: since a Soldier, being in actual Service, might make his Will without any Solemnity at all^c; yea, and without the Application of Witnesses, if he made his Will in writing^d. But if he made it by Nuncupation or *vivâ voce*, then two Witnesses (at least) were sufficient to prove, whether he made a Testament or not^e: For it sufficiently appears from the Letters of the Will, and his own Hand-writing, whether it was written or not^u; and if his Hand-writing be denied, then it may be proved by a comparison of Hand-writing^v. Thus a Soldier in the Camp, or in a military Expedition, might make a Will as he pleased, tho' he was deaf and dumb, or emancipated, and the like^w: But if he made his Will out of the Camp at his own House, or in other Places, then he shall not enjoy the Privilege of a Soldier in respect of making a Will, at the time when he was not on Duty, but ought to make it, according to the Disposition of the common Law, by an Application of all Solemnities required in a solemn Will. For a Privilege granted unto Soldiers only lasts or holds good during the time that they are in Service; as a Privilege granted unto Scholars is understood to continue whilst they are Students in the University, otherwise it is not^x: And, therefore, when a Soldier ceases to be in the Wars, his Privilege is at an end. But a Will, made by a Soldier in an Expedition *Jure Militari*, is valid at any time within a Year after such Expedition ended, if the Testator has received an honourable Discharge from the Service^y: But if he has been discharged upon any ignominious Account, his military Will immediately falls to the ground^z.

A Soldier may die partly testate, and partly intestate^a: And though he should be condemned to undergo some capital Punishment, yet he may make a Will, and it shall be good in Law^b. He may also appoint a Person who suffers Deportation or perpetual Banishment, to be his Heir^c; and may likewise appoint an Heir *ex die*, or *ad diem*^d. He may, moreover, die with the Privilege of several Wills, and his former does not rupt or invalidate his latter Will, or his latter his former Will, contrary to the Course of the common Law^e; and he may likewise appoint an Heir in his Codicils, which no other Person may do^f. He may write his Will in Characters or Cyphers, and likewise in literal Abbreviations^g, which otherwise ought not to be done, but ought to be written *per extensum*, or in Words at length. If the Heir declines or refuses the Heirship, or if he accepts of the Heirship, and shall afterwards die before he has executed the Will, a Soldier may in such a case substitute a Stranger, or an extraneous Person^h:

And a Soldier's Will is valid, wherein he passes by his Son, and cannot be rescinded by a *Querela inofficiosi Testamenti*ⁱ, viz. if he willingly passes him by; for if he has done ignorantly, the Will is not rescinded, but is null and void *ab initio*^k.

But though the Solemnities of the *Civil* Law are remitted unto Soldiers being in the Service of the Wars; yet the Solemnities required by the Law of Nations are not remitted to them: And, therefore, according to the Law of Nations, two Witnesses are necessary unto such a Will; but yet it is not required that these Witnesses should subscribe themselves, or set their Seals thereunto, as the Doctors note on the Law here quoted in the Margin^l. A Soldier cannot bequeath any Thing to his Strumpet or Trull^m, because this is contrary to good Manners and Chastity; as a Clergyman or Scholar cannot do. The Law of *England* has given no Privilege almost unto military Testaments, which it has not given unto solemn Wills and Testaments; but has thrown all the Subtleties of the *Roman* Law about the same, into the ancient Observation of the Law of Nations.

The Reason why a Soldier had so many Privileges granted him by the *Roman* Law in respect of making his Will, &c. proceeded not only from his Unskillfulness in the Laws themselves, as this seems to be the only Reason assigned by the *Institutes*ⁿ; but the *Romans* showed greater Favour and Indulgence unto their Soldiers, than any other Nation, in this, as well as in other respects. For a Soldier could not be arrested for Debt; nor was he liable beyond his Substance or Abilities, in case he was condemned for Debt^o; nor could he be put to the Rack or Question^p. But what procured their Soldiers this Privilege in Regards, was chiefly, because they exposed themselves in Battle^q. But these Privileges in some respects accrue unto Women, who are deemed to be less ignorant than Soldiers in the Law, and very often labour against their own Advantages^r. I said in *Battle*, because it is only there that Soldiers have the Use of this Privilege, or (at least) in Camps which are exposed to the daily Incursions of Enemies^s; and thus it has been adjudged by the Senate of *Utrecht*, December 20, A. D. 1590. This Privilege was first granted unto Soldiers by *Julius Caesar*, and then continued to them by several succeeding Emperors.



T I T. XV.

Of Heirs or Executors; how they are to be instituted or substituted in Wills, and under what Conditions they may be instituted or substituted in the same; and lastly, what time an Heir has to deliberate after the Testator's Death, before he proves the Will.

HEIRSHIP, in *Latin* styled *Hæreditas*, is a Succession to that universal Right which the Person deceased had at the time of his Death^s; that is to say in other Words, Heirs succeed to all that Right which represents the Person of the deceased^t: This Right retaining the Name of *Hæreditas jacens*, till such time as the Heir takes the Heirship on

on himself. But after he has accepted of the Heirship, it loses the Name of *Hæreditas*, the Testator's Goods being blended with the Goods of the Heir. Wherefore, it is now no longer a *naked* Right, but the Person's Heir begins to tread in the Place of the Deceased. But an Heir by the common Law of *England* differs from an Heir in the Sense of the *Civil* Law; for that he only succeeds to Freehold and Real Estates^u, and not^u Glanv. lib. 2. c. 1. unto Chattles, being the next of kin to the Person deceased. There are also some other Persons that are reckoned in the Place of Heirs by the *Civil* Law, who, being excluded by the *Civil* Law from the *proper* Heirship, are by the *Prætorian* Law admitted to the *Bonorum-Possessio*. For though the *Prætor* cannot directly make an Heir (Heirs being only so by the Laws, the Decrees of the Senate, and the Imperial Constitutions^v;) ^v I. 3. 10. 4. yet when he grants the *Bonorum-Possessio* to any one, such Person is reckon'd in the Place of an Heir, and effectually obtains the same Right as the Heir has. What I say of Heirs is not only meant of Successors *primi gradus*, but even of Successors in a remoter degree: For a Legacy or annual Trust left to an Heir, is supposed to be left to his Heir *in infinitum*. And as the Heir has the same Right and Power as the Person deceased had in his Goods and Estate: so the effect of this Rule is, that all Advantages and Disadvantages, Profits and Disprofits, which were in the Deceased, do pass to his Successor *in infinitum*.

But before I proceed to speak any further of Heirs, I will premise something touching the Etymology of the word *Heir*, in *Latin* called *Hæres*, and then treat of the Quality and Difference of Heirs. Now some derive the word *Hæres* from the *Latin* word *Herus*; and hence they would have it to be written with a single (*e*): For the Ancients (say they) according to *Festus*, call an Heir by the Name of *Dominus* or Master; and, according to the old Lawyers, to act as an Heir, is to act as a Master^w. Others fetch^w D. 49. 17. 19. 3. the word *Heir* from the Verb *Hæreo*, to adhere or cleave to; because the next Adherent to the Person deceased has a Property in all his Goods. *Thirdly*, some derive it from the word *Æs*^x, which signifies Money; ^x Ibid. Etym. lib. 9. c. 5. because, according to a Law of the twelve Tables, a Man's whole Substance sometimes is denoted by the word *Pecunia* or Money. But *Hotoman* thinks him to be so called from the word *Era*, which signifies Land: And hence we meet with the word *Hereditum* in *Varro*^y, to denote the same ^y De Re Rust. thing. But these are only the Conjectures of Etymologists; and it matters not much from whence the Word is borrowed, since we know the Meaning of it.

According to *Cujacius* and the Text^z, there are several kinds of Heirs. ^z I. 2. 19. pr. The first are said to be *necessary only*; the second are said to be *sui & necessarii*, (for those that are *sui Hæredes* are also necessary;) and the third sort are termed *extraneous* or *voluntary* Heirs^a. An Heir *necessary only* ^a I. ut sup. is, when the Testator appoints his Bondman to be his Heir: And he is so called, because he does immediately after the Testator's Death become a Freeman, and a necessary Heir, whether he will or not. Hence it came to pass, that such Persons as suspected the Ability of their Substance, usually appointed their Bondmen to be their Heirs in the first or second degree, or even in a further degree, to the end that if they did not leave Assets to satisfy their Creditors, the Creditors might rather possess themselves of the Goods of the Heir than of the Testator himself, and sell and divide the same among themselves^b. And as an Amends for this Disadvantage, the ^b I. 2. 19. 1. Bondman had this Advantage given him, *viz.* that such Acquisitions as he had made to himself, after his Patron's Death, should be reserved to himself. And though the Goods of the Deceased were not sufficient for the Payment of Creditors; yet the Estate, which he afterwards purchased to himself by this means, should not be sold^c. Children, that are in the nearest degree ^c I. ut sup. to the Father of the Family, were stiled *Hæredes sui & necessarii*, because they

they obtain the Heirships of their Father's Substance as their own Right. They are stiled *Necessarii*; because by the ancient Law they were obliged to retain the Heirship^d. These second kind of Heirs termed *sui & neccessarii*, ought to have these two Requisites, *viz.* They ought *first* to be in the Power of the Father: And *secondly*, they ought to be in the next degree of Kindred to the Testator. Again, they are called *sui*; because they are in the Testator's Life-Time, in some measure, Masters of his Substance, and, as it were, domestick Heirs. And they are also termed *neccessary* Heirs; because by a Law of the Twelve Tables, they became Heirs to the Intestate, as well as to the Testator, whether they would or not. But after the *Praetor* had granted them a Power of declining the Heirship, they ceased to be *neccessary*, and only remained *sui Haeredes*^e. Wherefore, such as are *sui Haeredes*, are not said in our Books *adire Haereditatem*, but *se immiscere*^f, since they become Heirs *ipso Jure* without any Act of Man, even tho' they are ignorant of it^g. *Extraneous* Heirs, are all such Persons as are not *sui* or *neccessary* Heirs, but become so by their own choice^h. These do not acquire the Heirship *ipso Jure*, and without their Knowledge, but ought to declare their Will either by Words, which are called *Aditio Haereditatis*; or else they ought to express their Intention by some Act or Thing done, which is called *Acting as an Heir*ⁱ. And again, Strangers or extraneous Persons do not acquire the Heirship, unless they are qualify'd Persons, both at the Time of the Will made, at the Time of the Testator's Death, and at the Time of taking the Heirship on themselves^k. But since Bondage and the Power of the Father, as exercised among the *Romans*, has ceased, this Distinction of Heirs has grown into disuse, and is out of doors; and it is in the Election of every Person to be an Heir, whom the Testator pleases to appoint. Heirs, in the Sense of the Law of *England*, were heretofore necessary, in respect of the Inheritance derived unto them from their Ancestors, by being nearest of Kin unto them^l: (As they are even at this day, in respect of Part of the Inheritance, by the 32 *H. 8. cap. 1.*) And as they succeed to the Fee or Inheritance, they shall be obliged to pay the Debts of the Deceased, if bound thereunto by a Contract in Writing: But anciently they were bound hereunto, without any such Obligation in Writing, as *Braetton* observes^m.

I shall next discourse of the Institution or Appointment of an Heir, which is the *Basis* and Foundation of the whole Willⁿ; because the Will or Testament receives its Force and Validity from hence. Now the Institution of an Heir, is nothing else but the Designation of a fit and proper Person to the whole Right of the Estate, which the Deceased had at the Time of his Death^o: And that Person is said to be Heir by Designation and Appointment, who is in a written Will named to be the Heir, or who is named Heir in a Will made without Writing. I say, *in a Will*; because an Heir cannot be appointed by Codicils, or otherwise than by a Will. And this Institution the *Civilians* divide into a *voluntary* and *neccessary* Institution. The first is an Appointment of those Persons, which the Testator may institute, or pass by as he pleases: And the second is an Appointment of those Persons, who ought either to be instituted or disinherited; as Children, Parents, and in some Cases Brothers and Sisters. Testators may appoint not only Freemen, but even Bondmen to be their Heirs, as already hinted: And this they may do not only in respect of their own Bondmen, but also in regard to the Bondmen of other Persons^p. But, by the ancient Law, they could not institute their own Bondmen, according to the most received Opinion of the Doctors, without giving them their Freedom and Liberty at the same time. But, by an Ordinance or Constitution of *Justinian*^q, they are permitted to institute them, even without giving them their Liberty^r. He, that had a Son in his power, ought either to make him his Heir, or else by Name

to disinherit him : For if he passed him by in silence, his Will was deemed ineffectual. So that if the Son died during the Father's Life, the Father by such a Will had left no Heir existing; because the Will had not a Sub-
 sistence *ab initio*^f. But afterwards, by the *Civil Law*, this did not obtain^{1. 2. 13. pr.} in emancipated Children; because they were not *sui Hæredes*^{1. 2. 13. 3.}. If there were no Persons extant, whom the Law would have to be appointed Heirs, or rightly to be disinherited, the Testator might appoint any extraneous Persons whatsoever to be his Heirs, according to his own Will and Pleasure, unless they were *simply*, or for some other Reason, or *ad certum modum* forbidden to be appointed. The Children of Apostates¹, Hereticks²; For-
 eigners³, and Traitors to their Country⁴, are *simply* prohibited to be ap-
 pointed Heirs. Among such as are prohibited *ad certum modum*, we may reckon the Prince, on the account of a Law-Suit with the Testator⁵; and not only Adulterers and Incestuous Persons⁶, but also natural Children⁷ and Wives⁸. Besides these Persons that are thus excepted, the Testator may appoint whom he pleases to be his Heirs. And it matters not, whether the Testator was acquainted with the Person whom he has made his Heir or not: For the Testator's Ignorance of this kind does not render his Institution ineffectual⁹. Yea, even uncertain Persons may be appointed Heirs; provided such Persons may be ascertain'd at present, or by some future Event^c, tho' by the ancient Law it was otherwise^d.

But the uncertain Institution or Appointment of an Heir avails so little, that it is the same thing to him as if he was not appointed at all, unless such Institution may be rendred certain some way or other: Wherefore, I shall consider, when and by what Conjectures such an Institution may be so ascertain'd, that it may be valid; wherein I shall, with *Bartolus*, distinguish and lay down several Cases. And the first is, when a Person has been instituted, who is altogether uncertain, and cannot be pointed out by any means whatsoever: In which case such Institution does not subsist. And this is extended not only to have place in an Institution; but also in a *Fidei-commissary* Substitution, or a Substitution founded upon a Trust. But, in favour of a Will made to charitable Uses, this does not obtain: For tho' the Appointment of an Heir be uncertain therein; yet the Institution is valid; and, according to *Tiraquel*, the same may be said touching an uncertain Legacy, which is valid in favour of pious Uses. The second Case is, when some certain Person is or has been appointed Heir, but it becomes a doubt who this Person is: And even in this case such an Institution is not valid, unless it certainly appears, whom the Testator meant and thought of. For it may happen, that the Testator had several Friends of the same Name: And, therefore, for the Manifestation of the Person from the Name, he ought to have used some particular Designation or other, as *Titius* of such a Place; unless it shall be discover'd by other plain and open Proofs, whom the Testator meant. The same we say of Tutelage, which is vitiated, if two Persons of the same Name are declared, and it appears not who is the Tutor or Guardian assign'd^e. And so 'tis said in a Legacy, which is not due, if it does not appear, to which of these two Persons the Legacy is bequeathed^f. But when one of the two Persons of the same Name is ally'd in Blood unto the Testator, and the other is not, it is presumed that the Testator meant to appoint him, who was thus related to him^g: But if there be two Persons of the same Name, and both of them related to him, then he is presumed to have designed him for his Heir by such an Appointment, as is most nearly related to him^h.

The Institution or Appointment of an Heir, may be made by any Words whatsoever, either *directly* or *obliquely* utter'd, and such an Institution is valid, if the Intention of the Will appears by those Wordsⁱ; because the

Law does not allow of a scrupulous Nicety and Observation of Words, provided there be a *Constat* of the Testator's Meaning: And, therefore, in favour of Institution, we may recede from the proper Signification, according to *Jafon*^k; for it is the Concern of the Publick, that a Will should be valid that depends on the Appointment of an Heir. But yet such Institution ought to be declared by such fit and proper Words, as it may be easily understood, who the Heir appointed is. For a *tacit* Institution of an Heir, is entirely disallow'd of by Law; and so likewise is an Institution made by the nodding of the Head: For the Emperor will have the Name of the Heir to be expressed, that the Appointment may be certain; which would not be so, if it were made by Nods or Signs. But if there be a *Constat* from any foregoing Part of the Testator's Will, who before was interrogated by the Notary, or has for some little Time before declared his Will to the Notary, or to the Witnesses, and then being of sound Mind and Memory, and willing to make his Will, but his Speech is so obstructed by some sudden Hap, that he cannot express himself in Words; an Institution of an Heir is then in such a case valid, if he points out and demonstrates his Heir by Signs: Because, in favour of Last Wills, an Interpretation ought to be made in a favourable manner, lest many Persons should die intestate. And thus the Appointment of an Heir, generally speaking, ought to be assisted with a benign Interpretation, as it is much favour'd in Law^l. And hence it is also extended to the like Cases, wherein the Mind and Intention of the Testator is the same. It matters not, whether the Testator shall express himself *thus*, viz. *Let Titius be my Heir*; or shall say *thus*, viz. *Let him be my Heir, whom I point out by my Finger*, or by any other Sign. But touching the *oblique* Designation of an Heir, I shall speak in the next following Paragraph.

First, by a benign Interpretation, the Appointment of an Heir is presumed to be made, if the Testator, without any express Appointment of him, bequeaths all his Estate to some College, and the like: For he seems hereby to have appointed such College, and the like, to be his Heir, according to *Baldus*^m. *Secondly*, An Appointment of an Heir is deemed to be made, if in a Will, after Legacies given, it is thus written; viz. *As to all other Goods, moveable and immoveable, let Titius take them*: Here *Titius* is made Heir, as *Paul de Castro*ⁿ notes: For in the Appointment of an Heir, the Construction is more full and favourable, than of a Legacy. And, generally speaking, the Appointment of an Heir ought to be understood in so favourable a manner, that the same may be valid; unless the Error be such as shews the Folly of the Testator^o. *Thirdly*, If a Testator shall say, *I appoint Titius to be Legatary to all my Goods*; he is hereby, as *Baldus*^p and *Jafon*^q relate, understood to be made universal Heir; for there are universal and particular Heirs. *Fourthly*, It is to be observed, That tho' no one can be appointed, unless he be shewn and pointed out in certain^r; yet it is not necessary, that an Heir should be called by his proper Name; but it is sufficient if he be pointed out by some certain Sign or Token, as aforesaid^s. And in the like manner it is not to be doubted, but that Brothers may be appointed Heirs by their appellative Name, tho' their proper Name be not expressed^t. At this day a solemn Form of Words is not required in the Appointment of an Heir or Executor, but all Words that express the Testator's Will, whether they be *direct* or *oblique*, or of the Indicative or Imperative, are sufficient to this end and purpose^u. The ancient Lawyers thought, that, if *Titius* the Testator should say, viz. *Let Sempronius be the Heir of Photius*; such Institution was valid, since the Testator only erred in his own proper Name, and had named *Sempronius* to be his Heir. But this Opinion does not please *Justinian*, because no one is so supine and negligent as not to know his own proper Name, as to say

Photius for *Titius*, when he speaks of himself. Wherefore he declares, that such an Institution as this ought not to be admitted, unless it be in two Cases^u. The first, is, when the Testator shall be an Heir unto any one by Name, or is named *Photius*: For then the Institution is understood in this sense, *viz.* As if the Testator order'd *Sempronius* to be his Heir, as he was the Heir to *Photius*. Which Interpretation is well defended by this Rule in Law, *viz.* That which dictates the Heir of an Heir, dictates him also to be Heir of the Testator^v. The other Case is, if the Testator appoints *Photius* to be his Heir, and afterwards writes thus, *viz. Let Sempronius be the Heir of Photius*; the Testator seems to have substituted *Sempronius* after the vulgar manner, if *Photius* will not be his Heir. And thus *Sempronius* seems to be called, by the Right of Substitution, into the Place and Part of *Photius*, who is appointed in the first Degree and Place. And such Substitution is supported with such a benign Interpretation, that *Sempronius* may be said to be Heir unto *Photius*, or rather called into the Place of *Photius* not accepting of the Heirship; because he is not only Heir unto the Deceased, but also Heir to him, who is first called unto the Heirship, by way of Substitution. Unless it be in these two Cases, the Appointment of *Sempronius* is of no moment, nor can it be supported by any Interpretation of Law; because the Testator was mistaken in his own Name^w.

Hence it is plain, that, in order to support the Institution of an Heir, it is not only necessary that some one should be appointed, but it is moreover required, that the Testator himself should appoint him, whom he designs to make his Heir. And this is so far true, that the Institution ought not to be confer'd on the Nomination and Discretion of another Person^x: For *Canus* says, That this is a vicious Institution if the Testator refers the choice of an Heir unto the Will of *Titius*; because this is not a just Declaration touching that, which the Testator would have to be done after his death, but only a Declaration of what *Titius* would have. But it is otherwise, if such an Institution be *tacitly* confer'd: As when it is said, *Let Mævius be my Heir, if Titius shall ascend the Capitol*^y. For here the Purpose of the Testator is certain and firm, since he would have *Mævius* to be his Heir, and *Titius* ascends the Capitol: And tho' *Titius* refuses, yet *Mævius* shall be Heir, provided he ascends the Capitol. Therefore, such Institution is not committed to the Will of a third Person; though it has not its entire Effect, unless the Condition be fulfilled. Yet some think, that by the Canon Law^z, such Institution may be left to the Disposition of a third Person; saying, That a Person dies testate, as to *charitable Uses*, who thus makes his Will, and the Testator's Goods shall be laid out on *pious Uses*. But this Opinion of *Covarruvias* and others^a, I conceive, merely depends on Conjecture; and therefore it is better to say, that, since that Text does not mention a *pious* Cause, the Deceased does not die testate, but only has a Person (in exclusion of the Bishop) to execute the Will as to *pious* Causes^b.

It has been noted, that the Appointment of an Heir is the making of a Person, in some measure, Master of all the Testator's Estate and Substance: For after the Heir has accepted of the Heirship, he immediately acquires the Property of all the Goods of the Person deceased. And hence some will have it, that such Heir acquires to himself the same Dominion and Property therein as the Deceased himself had. But, by their leave, this is a false Doctrine in Law; because, according to the truth of the matter, all the Rights which accrued to the Testator deceased, do surely die and come to an end with him; for *mors omnia solvit*. But, by a Fiction of Law, those and the same Rights which accrued to the Deceased, do, in virtue of the Will, accrue even to the Heir after the Testator's Death; because by such a Fiction, the Heir is the same Person as the Testator deceased: And therefore, the same numerical Rights which accrued to him, do now by such Fiction

Fiction accrue to the Heir. Thus the same Right of Exception accrues to the Heir, which did belong to the Person deceased. And as the Heir represents the Person of the deceased, so that is not lawful for the Heir to do, which was not lawful for the Person deceased to do. But tho' an Heir is by a Fiction of Law supposed to be the same Person with the deceased; yet he is presumed to be unacquainted with the Fact of the Deceased: And, therefore, he does not succeed the Person deceased in penal Cases^c. The Heir, in all Matters relating to Heirship, follows the Court and Jurisdiction of the Person^d; and makes use of the same Right in bringing of Actions, which the Deceased had at the Time of his Death^e.

^c D. 39. 1.
^d D. 5. 1. 19.
^e D. 5. 1. 19.

Hereditary Actions, or Actions against Heirs, are divided among the Heirs according to the several Portions of the Inheritance, in such a manner that each of the Heirs may be convened *separately*, according to his *Quota* of the Heirship, which was divided into twelve Parts, or *Ounces*, as it was called^f: And this is true, if the Obligation be *dividual*; as when Money or any certain *Species* is promised. But when the Obligation is *individual*, or consists in those Things, which are in their own nature indivisible, as a Road or Way, Services, and the like, the Obligation in this case is not divided among the Heirs, but every one of the Heirs of the Person who made the Promise, are severally bound *in solidum* for the Performance of the Service^g, &c. For those things which cannot be divided into Parts, are due from each of the Heirs *in solidum*; and each may be sued in the whole. If the Testator shall order his Heirs or Executors to build a Chapel, or the like, one of them may be compelled *in solidum*: But yet, according to *Paul de Castro*^h, such Heir or Executor may recover Part of his Expences from the other Heirs or Executors. Heretofore, when any personal Action was brought against a Man as being Heir, Interrogatories were held necessary, lest the Plaintiff should not know in what Portion of the Inheritance the adverse Party was Heir unto the deceased, and by that means should suffer Damage in demanding more than the Person was Heir toⁱ. And in this sense an Interrogatory Action was propounded to him: But at this day we do not make use of these Actions to pump the Truth of the adverse Party, because no one is compelled, before a judicial Process is begun, to give an Answer touching his own Right: And, therefore, these Actions are less common, and grown into disuse^k. A Creditor has not a personal Action against Legatees, but only the Heir of the Person deceased^l; because by a Law of the Twelve Tables, only Heirs are liable to a personal Action; and it does not lie against a particular Successor, as a Legatee is. A Creditor succeeding his Debtor, as to one Part of his Estate, may have his Action against the Heirs, in respect of the other Parts thereof. For Illustration-sake take the Case; *Titia*, the Mother, owing her Son *Sempronius* thirty Pounds, made *Sempronius* and two other Persons her Heirs, and then died. *Sempronius* in this case may have his Action for two Parts against the other two Persons as Heirs bound to him: But as to the third Part, it is extinguish'd by *confusion* of Substance^m, as we call it. But if the Mother had impawned Goods or an Estate unto her Son, and it be found in the Possession of one of the Co-Heirs, *Sempronius* may have an *Hypothecarious* Action against him *in solidum*ⁿ. *Hereditary* Incumbrances ought to be divided among the Heirs, according to the Portion of their Inheritance, tho' there be an Inequality in the Legacies that are left them^o.

^f L. 2. 14. 5.
^g D. 50. 17.
^h Inl. 5. D. 45.
ⁱ D. 11. 1. 1. 1.
^k D. ut supr.
^l C. 4. 16. 7.
^m C. 4. 16. 1.
ⁿ C. 4. 16. 1.
^o C. 4. 2. 1.

Creditors may convene him, unto whom the Heirship is given, to declare, whether he will prove the Will, and take the Heirship on himself, or not^p: And this is daily Practice. The Heir by accepting of the Heirship, which we in *England* call proving the Will, or taking out Letters of Administration, transfers all Actions both *active* and *passive*, on himself: For before he has taken the Heirship on himself, he can neither bring an Action,

^p C. 6. 30. 9.

Action, nor sue for the hereditary Goods ; and by taking the Heirship on himself, he becomes liable to the Creditors of the Deceased, and to Legatees. 'Tis necessary, according to *Bartolus*^a, that the Heir *ab intestato* shou'd^{a In l. 27. D. 40. 5.} take the Heirship on himself, by proving the Will if there be any Will made, for the confirming of such Matters as are bequeathed in the Will ; and such Heir the *English* Lawyers call an Administrator *cum testamento annexo*. Heretofore the Heir of a Person deceased could not be molested for the Debts of the Deceased, till nine days after the Debtor's Death^{r Nov. 115.} But now it is during the Time allowed him for making an Inventory, that he^{c. 5.} cannot be called into Judgment, nor molested by Creditors or Legatees in any respect^r. So that the Exception of an Inventory hinders Contestation^{r C. 6. 30. 22.} of Suit, in such a manner that the Heir is not obliged to answer to the Plaintiff's Libel, if by his Exception he alledges, that it is within the time of making an Inventory. But this admits of a Limitation: *First*, when the Heir is convened, as any other Possessor of a Thing, claimed by a real Action on the account of something found among the Goods of the Person deceased, provided the Suit be not touching Legacies ; because in respect of them the Law imposes silence in the *Interim*, by whatever Action they be sued for. *Secondly*, in respect of Legacies left *pro Anima* ; because they do not admit of any Delay of Payment. By a Constitution of *Lewis* the XIVth^a King of *France*, the Heir has forty Days allowed him to de-^{a A. D. 1667.} liberate whether he will accept of the Heirship, and three Months afterwards to make an Inventory. But an Heir, during the time of making an Inventory, may convene other Persons. An Heir commanded by the Testator to take an Oath, that he will pay all Legacies given by a Will that is less solemn, is obliged to take such an Oath : For it is a frequent thing for a Testator to operate his Heirs with the Religion of an Oath for the Payment of Legacies^r. In *England*, there is no occasion for it, because^{r D. 31. 1. 77.} the Law imposes an Oath for this End and Purpose, and likewise a Bond^{23.} on Administrators^u.

As an Heir is presumed to be the same Person with the Deceased. it is from hence concluded, that the Heir cannot rescind the Act or Contract of the Deceased, though the Rule is otherwise in penal Actions ; these Actions being not in force against Heirs. But by the *Civil* Law, the Heirs of a Person accused of a Crime are condemned *in solidum* on the score of a Fine, if Suit was contested in the Life-time of the Deceased : But 'tis otherwise, if any thing of advantage comes to the hands of such Heirs by the Crime of the Deceased : For then such Heirs may be convened in their own Person, though Suit was not contested in the Life-time of the Deceased, lest one Person should be enriched by the Iniquity of another^v. But by the *Canon* Law, the Heir is bound to repair the Damage^{v C. 4. 17. l. un. 1.} done by the Person deceas'd, even though nothing should come to his hands by the Fraud and Knavery of the Deceased : And this they say, obtains in civil Courts among the *French*, through the Equity thereof. See *Paponius* of Arrets^u. And tho' the Parliament of *Paris* indistinctly con-^{u 4. Tit. 12. Arr. 3.} demned an Heir only in that which came to his hands, without considering whether Suit was contested or not^x : yet it is to be noted, that this only^{x Morn. in l. un. C. 4. 17.} proceeds, when Suit is criminally commenced by a Fiscal Proctor, and in a Penal Action^y.

It has been already related, that the Appointment of an Heir is the making of a Person to be the Proprietor of another Man's Goods and Substance, which is done by a Last Will and Testament ; for a Testament is not valid without such an Appointment^z. And thus all Rights and Ac-^{z I. 2. 20. 34.} tions, together with the Goods which the Testator had at the time of his Death, do both *actively* and *passively* pass to the Heir. But an Heir cannot be said to have the Possession of the Testator's Substance, unless he be

^c D. 41. 2. 23. naturally seized thereof^c; because Possession is a Matter of Fact, and the same is acquired not only by the Mind, but an Act of the Body is also required hereunto^d. But as soon as the Heir has possessed himself thereof by such a corporeal Seizing, the Testator's whole Estate is immediately said to descend from the Person deceased, to his Heir. A Man averring himself to be the Heir of any one, is in a doubtful Case understood to be Heir *in solidum*, unless it be limited by a precedent Obligation^e. If a Person shall compel another to make his Will, and to appoint him his Heir, such Will is not valid; and the Person thus compelling him shall be punish'd in a criminal manner, and set aside as Heir: But the Appointment of an Heir made by a Testator, who has been wheedled hereunto, is not deemed vicious. In the like manner shall an intestate Heirship be taken from him, who has forbid or hindred the Person deceased from making his Will, as being an unworthy or an unfit Person to be his Heir^f. A Person who appoints an Heir, seems to shew an Intention or Inclination of making a Will^g: or, as *Baldus* phrases it, he who appointed an Heir, or disinherited a Son, is presumed to have shown a Disposition of making a Testament, and not a Codicil: And thus the Quality of the Thing demonstrates the Intention of the Agent, or of him who does it.

If an Heir shall be proved to have transmitted the Heirship or Inheritance unto a Substitute, in order to defraud Persons of their Legacies, an Action in Equity will lie against him, who is guilty of such foul Practices, or who has conspired with the Substitute hereupon: And this is more especially true, if he has omitted to take the Heirship on himself, by receiving a Consideration in Money; for in this case he shall be compelled to pay all simple Legacies, and Legacies in Trust^h. An Heir is obliged to pay all Legacies, though there be a Dispute in Law touching the Heirship: But then the Legataries ought to give Caution or Security to him to refund, in case he be pronounced not to be the lawful Heirⁱ. If an Heir removes or conceals any part of the Inheritance, &c. he shall be punished in two-fold^k. An Heirship cannot be transmitted to Heirs or Descendants, unless the Heir appointed, or the first Heir accepts of the Heirship, and proves the Will^l: And a Person that is above seven Years old, may by the Decree of the Judge take the Heirship on himself^m. As a Donation or Gift is not made unto a Person against his Will; so no one can be compelled to be an Heir unto anotherⁿ: But this Law in the *Code* has a View to extraneous, and not to necessary Heirs, according to the *Roman Law*.

An Heir, whether it be by Testament, or *ab intestato*, or in the Whole or in Part, may without an Inventory take the Heirship on himself; and the Effect hereof is such, *viz.* that he who thus takes the Heirship on himself, becomes liable to the Creditors of the Deceased, since he acts thus of his own accord^o. But if an Heir appointed does not thus hastily accept of the Heirship, he cannot be convened by Creditors and Legatees (as aforesaid) within the Time allowed for making an Inventory^p: And the Time allowed for making an Inventory, if the Effects are at hand, and in the City, is the Term of three Months; but if they are absent, as in the Provinces, then the space of a Year was allowed by the *Roman Law*. But if the Heir be suspected of running away, or of wasting the Estate of the Deceased, then he might be convened within that Time. And so likewise he may for Alimony bequeathed to *pious Uses*, and for funeral Expences. The Punishment of an Heir not making an Inventory within the Time, is, that he is liable *in solidum*. After an Heir has made an Inventory, he may deduct the *Falcidian* Portion; and this Portion he may plead against Legataries, but not against Creditors^q. A Soldier becoming an Heir is only convened for those Things which are in the Inheritance, and which he does as Heir^r.

There is one kind of Heirship which is stiled a *direct* Heirship; and another which is only in Trust, called *Hæreditas Fidei-Commissaria*, but this is improperly such^f. Again, there is one kind of Heirship which is *universal*, viz. when the Person is Heir to the whole Inheritance; and another, which is termed *particular*, viz. when a Person is only Heir to some Part thereof. *Thirdly*, there is one kind which is stiled *Testamentary*, of which I have been here principally speaking; and another, which is termed *legal* or *intestate* Heirship; of which hereafter under a particular Title. *Testamentary* Heirship may be either *pure* or *conditional*: For an Heir may be appointed either *simply*, or under a Condition, or else *in diem incertum*^g, but not from a certain Time, or to a certain Time^h. And a Testator may either appoint one, or as many Persons as he pleasesⁱ: But if he appoints several, he is understood to have appointed them unto equal Parts, unless he has expres'd himself as to unequal Parts^j. A *particular* Heir does not represent the Person of the Deceased in any further Sum or Act than he is Heir to: So that an Action cannot be brought against him for any Sum or Act further than he is Heir^k.

All Persons may be appointed Heirs, who have the Power of making a Will, or who may take from a Will, unless they are expressly prohibited by Law^l. And it matter'd not, whether they were Bondmen or Freemen; under which Distinction all Men are comprehended^m. Nay, even those whom we stile *proper* Bondmen might be made Heirs, though their Freedom was not expressly left them: For by the very Act of making them Heirs, they became Freemen after their Master's Deceaseⁿ, as already remembered. And he was said to be a *proper* Bondman, in whom the Testator had a *nude* Property, and another Person had the Usufruct^o. But a *proper* Bondman, that committed Adultery with his Mistress, could not be manumised by her in her Last Will after an Accusation commenced; and, consequently, could not be made her Heir^p. But a Bondman, in whom a Man had an Usufruct, was not called a *proper* Bondman, but another's Bondman; and, therefore, he could not be so appointed by the Usufructuary as to have his Freedom^q. When a *proper* Bondman was appointed Heir, he received his Freedom from himself, and became a *necessary* Heir; because he might be compelled to be an Heir^r. But if a Bondman was made an Heir, and manumised by his Master in his Life-time, he became not a *necessary* Heir, but might take the Heirship on himself, if he thought fit. If a Bondman was made Heir by his Master, and was afterwards alienated, he could neither obtain his Freedom, nor the Heirship, but by the Order of his new Master he ought to take the Heirship on himself, which his new Master had purchased by such a Bondman^s. Lastly, 'tis to be noted, that even another's Bondman might be made an Heir, who acquired the Heirship for his Master's Benefit: which held true, when such Master was capable of being made an Heir.

Though, regularly speaking, an Action which does not accrue to the Deceased, does not lie for his Heir, the Condition of the Heir and the Testator being the same; yet a Case may be found wherein the Heir may have an Action, though the Testator could not, as may appear from the Law here quoted^t. Again, though an Heir may in some Cases do that which the Person deceased could not do; yet there are some Things which the Person deceased might do, and which the Heir cannot do. He who takes the Heirship of a Debtor on himself, does hereby contract with the Creditors of the Person deceased^u. It has been said, that if a Person has not accepted or taken the Heirship on himself, he cannot transmit the same to his Heir: But the Right of Substitution, or of a *Fidei-Commissum*, may well enough be transmitted, according to *Baldus*^v. But an Infant may transmit

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transmit the Heirship without any such Acceptance, because he cannot accept thereof, as being under seven Years of Age.

The Law has not appointed any certain or definite Time, within which the Heir ought to take the Heirship on himself, but has left this Matter to the meer Will and Discretion of the Heir himself, unless the Testator ^{i D. 29. 2. 72.} has in his Will expressed a Day certain for this End and Purposeⁱ; or unless some other Person has already possessed himself of the Testator's Goods, and has acted for some time as Heir, and then the Law appoints the space of three Years; or unless the hereditary Creditors do urge and press the Heir thereunto: In which Case it is necessary, that the Heir should deliberate with himself, whether it be expedient for him or not to take the Heirship on himself, or to renounce the same^k. And if he shall think fit to accept of the Heirship, he ought to make an Inventory to secure himself thereby, that he does not become liable, beyond what the Inheritance admits of^l, which we call *Assets*. Heretofore no one could take the Heirship on himself, till such time as the Will was opened in the Presence of the Judge^m; and from hence such an Aperture or Recital was necessary: But yet Persons were said to be Heirs in Law, before the Tables of the Will were opened in the Judge's Presence.

^k I. 2. 19. 5.
^l C. 6. 30. 22.
^m C. 6. 51. 1.
1. & 2.

If a Testator shall appoint the *Venter* of his Wife to be his Heir, and after such Will made, shall have several Children by the same Wife at one Birth, or otherwise, or by another Wife, and thus shall have at different times several Children: In this Case, if he dies with such Will, all the Children thus born shall be said to be appointed. For the Testator seems to have appointed not only him, who was born in the Womb, but even all others that shall be descended from the same Wife, and also from another: So that neither of them shall say, that he is passed by in order to rupt the Will. Now to appoint a *Venter* to be Heir, is nothing else but to appoint a posthumous Child: And he who appoints a posthumous Child, seems to appoint every posthumous Child whensoever he shall be born.

I shall next consider *Executors* as assigned in Last Wills and Testaments, and how they came to be so. These Persons were appointed in case the Heirs were negligent in the execution of Wills: But to the end that such Persons should be constituted on the Negligence of Heirs, it was necessary that the Heirs should be first admonished to execute the Will of the Deceased within a certain time. This Admonition was administered by the Judge of the Place, where the Testator died, and who had the Super-intendence of the Will of the Deceased. If the Executors named by such Judge, or even by the Testator himself, were negligent in their Office, the Bishop was permitted to execute what the Testator himself had ordered in his Will: And this is agreeable both to the *Civil*ⁿ and *Canon* Law^o. If the Executors died in the *Interim*, the Execution in respect of its Cause did devolve to the Bishop himself^p. And thus a Devolution was to the Bishop either by Death or Negligence. So that this sacred Care of seeing Last Wills and Testaments duly executed, was for a time in the hands of the Bishop, according to the *Civil* Law, even though the Testator had not fully and clearly expressed the same: And thus it came into use here in *England* at first from the *Civil*, and so then from the *Canon* Law, as some have imagin'd. But at this day through all the Cities and Provinces in *France*, the King's Proctors or Attorneys have this care committed to them, and Wills are proved before them, and the King's Judges have this Cognizance of Disputes arising hereupon.

ⁿ C. 1. 3. 28.
^o X. 3. 26. 3.
§ 6.
^p C. 1. 3. 28

By the *Civil* Law, a Bishop is an Executor of a Last Will and Testament made to *charitable Uses*^q; because in the primitive Church the chief care of Captives and Paupers was lodged with him, as we may read in the

^q C. 1. 3. 28.

the *Canon Law*: But he did not administer this Charge or Office in his own Name, but by the means of his Deacons^c. But in *Holland*, the Care of Paupers chiefly belongs to the Deacons: And, therefore, a Legacy left to Captives and Paupers, by the Usage and Custom of that Country, is to be sued for from the Deacons; and ought to be fulfilled according to the Testator's Will. See *Groenvegen de ll. Abrogatis*. Executors assigned in a Last Will, are in the Place of *universal* Heirs, when the Testator, without appointing any Heir, orders his Goods to be sold and distributed *inter Pauperes*^s. And an Executor, who has accepted of a Legacy left him, cannot afterwards renounce the Office of an Executor; for if he should wave such Office, he shall (according to *Bartolus*^v) be set aside from having such Legacy paid him.

The Law takes notice of three kinds of Executors. For *first*, some are stiled *testamentary* Executors, or Executors of Last Wills and Testaments^u: And here the Law observes, that Bishops are the Executors of Testaments made to *pious Uses*^v, who are stiled *lawful* or *ordinary* Executors from their Care of Captives and Paupers, as mentioned in the foregoing Paragraph. But a *testamentary* Executor, properly speaking, is he who is deputed by the Testator himself to bring the Will of the Deceased to its due Effect, or to see it done; and hence arose Executors in Trust: And such Executor by the *Civil Law* has only *nudum ministerium facti*; for by this Law the Right of the Inheritance is vested in the Heir, as *Bartolus*^w remarks. A second sort of Executors are those that execute the Sentences of Judges, after they have passed *in rem judicatam*^x; that is to say, after the time of appealing is lapsed: And of these we meet with several *Species* in our Books, too many to be here enumerated. And the third are those that execute Citations, who are sometimes stiled *Viatores*, sometimes *Beadles*, and sometimes *Apparitors*: Of the two last I meddle not with them here, having treated of them under their proper Titles.

Executors of a Will made *ad pias causas*, ought to execute the same according to the Purport thereof, and to distribute the Goods and Chattles in the presence of the Heirs, or (at least) they ought to be asked to be present, that they may see what Things are sold and distributed^y. These Executors assigned in a Will for the Distribution of an Estate *inter Pauperes*, are in Law stiled *Fidei-Commissarii universales*, or universal Feoffees: And such an Executor, named in a Will for a Distribution among *Paupers*, may either distribute the particular Things themselves, or else by selling them distribute the Price and Value thereof^z. By the *Civil Law*, it does not seem necessary to grant Administration to an Executor, when he is deputed such by the Will of the Testator, in order to fulfil and execute the same; for he may fulfil it by an Inducement of his own Conscience: And, as to the Oath touching rendring a faithful Account of his Office, it seems sufficient if he takes the same at the end of his Office; but it is otherwise by the Laws of *England*. Whenever there are several Executors assigned in a Will, one Person cannot act without another, unless it be in three Cases, *viz.* *First*, if one or more of them are dead, and only one survives, who then may execute the Will of the Deceased alone. *Secondly*, if the rest renounce or refuse the Executorship. And *thirdly*, if the rest are absent or hindered by any long Impediment. And thus I have done with Heirs and Executors, according to the Sense of the *Civil Law*. I shall next consider, what the common Law of *England* says touching these Persons: For the word *Heir* is taken in a different manner by the *Civilians*, and our common Lawyers here in *England*, as already noted.

For our common Lawyers do not stile him by the Name of an *Heir*, whom the Testator has named in his Will, as the *Civilians* do, but him who is next of kin in Blood unto the Person deceased, unto which Heir the

^a Glanv. lib. 7. c. 1. Fee or Inheritance belongs after the Death of his Ancestor by way of Right ^a : So that they assert an Heir not to be made by the Act of Man, but by God himself; and he is called an Heir from the Inheritance unto which he succeeds by Right of Blood ^b. By the word *Inheritance* our Lawyers do not mean an universal Right unto the Testator's Substance, but have only a View to his Lands and Tenements, and other corporeal and incorporeal Rights, which the Testator held in Fee, or by a perpetual Right. For the Disposition of their Chattles, Testators name Executors, who are in the Place of an Heir in respect to the personal Estate of the Deceased, and do represent the Person of the Deceased, after they have taken the Executorship on themselves. See *Brooks* his Title of *Executors*. So that they acquire all the Testator's Goods, not otherwise bequeathed, and may take unto themselves the Apparel of the Testator's Widow, if they are more delicate and costly, than her Husband's Condition did admit of. *Brooks* as before cited. For the Disposition of Chattles, Men with us may name what Persons soever they please ^c, provided they be not expressly forbidden to be such by Law ^d.

An Executor may be constituted either *simply* or *conditionally*, and either from a certain Time, or after a certain Time, and either *universally* or *particularly* ^e, and in the first and second degree by way of Substitution; and there may be either one or more Executors ^f. I say, that a Testator may make whom he pleases, provided they be not forbidden by Law to be Executors, whether they be Parents or extraneous Persons, the next of kin, or more remote ^g; yea, not only Freemen, but also Bondmen, whether they are in our Property, or in the Property of another ^h: And likewise Women and Infants, according to *Brooks*, Tit. of *Executors*. But no one can be compelled to undertake this Office, but that he may refuse it, if he pleases: yet he who has refused it, may (notwithstanding) repent, and accept of the same, according to the Doctrine of some Persons ⁱ, provided he does it in the Life of his Co-Executor, but not afterwards ^k. If he has once accepted of this Office, he is always bound to retain it, and cannot then renounce the same: And he seems to have accepted of it as soon as he has possessed himself of the Goods of the Testator on this account ^l: If a Person shall appoint one to be his Executor, who dies before he has proved the Will, the Administration of Goods shall be committed by the Ordinary to the Testator's Widow, or nearest of kin in Blood, as in the Case of an Intestate, which Administrator ought to dispose of the Goods of the Deceased according to the Tables of the Will, unless he shall be a residuary Legatee: In which case his Executors may rightly claim the Administration *cum Testamento annexo* ^m. Thus the Person, whom our *English* Lawyers call an *Executor*, is he whom the Testator appoints by his Last Will and Testament to administer his Goods and Chattles for him after his Decease: For without naming of Executors, or if they all refuse the Executorship, it is no Will at all ⁿ; yet the Legacies shall be paid in both Cases, and the Testament shall be annexed to Letters of Administration.

But in respect of Land, the Will is good with us by the common Law, though no Executor be named; because Land in *England* by the common Law is not Testamentary, according to *Finch's* Treatise of the Law ^o. It is Administration as well as Appointment that makes an Executorship: For if a Man makes three Executors, and wills that none shall administer but one, this one is sole Executor ^p. Again, it is to be observed, that this Administration is for the Testator and his Use: So that the Executors themselves cannot at their will make a Disposal of these Goods ^q; nor divide them among themselves to their own Behoof and Advantage ^r; nor shall the Husband who marries a Wife that is an Executrix, have these Goods by Intermarriage with her; nor shall the Executors forfeit them by an Outlawry,

^c Glanv. lib. 7. c. 6.
^d Ut supr.

^e Dyer. Rep. fol. 3. & 4.
^f Brook's Tit. Exec. 155.

^g Bract. lib. c. 26. n. 2.
^h Littl. lib. 2. c. 1.

ⁱ Perk. Tit. Devif. 485.
^k Dyer. Rep. fol. 160. n. 42.

^l Dyer. Rep. fol. 166. n. 10. 11.

^m Dyer. Rep. fol. 372. n. 8.

ⁿ 37 H. 8. B. Test. 20.

^o Lib. 2. c. 15.

^p 3 H. 6. 7.

^q 19 Eliz. Pl. 325.

^r 1 H. 8. 22.

Outlawry ^r. And Outlawry, Excommunication, &c. is no Disability in an Executor to bring an Action as an Executor (though such Person outlaw'd, &c. cannot be rightly appointed,) because Executors represent the Testator's Person. If there are never so many Executors named in a Will, they are all but one Person in Law: Hence it is, that a Release of one binds both or all of them. And in an Action brought against them for the Testator's Debt, or upon a Covenant, and the like, one cannot answer without the other by the course of the common Law; though 'tis now otherwise by the Statute-Law ^r. They cannot have every one of them by himself ^r 9 Edw. 3. a several Plea in Abatement of a Writ ^r, &c: Yet their Power both for ^c 3. the Time when, and the Thing which they shall administer, may well ^r 36 H. 6. 17. enough be divided ^r. As a Man may appoint *A.* and *B.* his Executors, or make ^r 32 H. 8. one his Executor touching his Goods in *D.*, and the other his Executor ^{B. Ex. 155.} touching his Goods in *S.* By the Statute of *Westm.* ^u Executors shall have ^u Westm. 2. a Writ of Account, and a like Action and Process in the same Writ, as ^c 23. their Testator should have, if he had lived. And by the fourth of *Edw.* III ^v, Executors shall have an Action for a Trepas done to their Testator, ^v Cap. 7. as of his Goods and Chattles carry'd away in his Life-time, and recover Damages in like manner, as the Testator should have done, if he had lived. Executors must prove the Will (to be a true one) in the spiritual Court ^w, and be sworn to see it performed. If many Executors be made, ^w 21 E. 4. 24. and one refuses ^x, yet he may afterwards administer at his pleasure ^y, and the ^x 21 E. 4. Pl. others must name him in every Action for any Duty due to the Testator; ^y 21 E. 4. 23. and his Release shall be a bar to the whole Duty. And if he survives the other Executor or Executors, he shall have the Action, and not the Executor of him that died: But 'tis otherwise if they all refuse, for then the Testator dies intestate ^z. ^z 36 H. 6. 5.



T I T. XVI.

Of Vulgar and Pupillary Substitution; of the Number of Degrees, and Number of Heirs in the particular Degrees, &c.

HAVING in the foregoing Title treated of an Heir, and the Institution of an Heir in the first degree; I shall in the ensuing Title discourse of Substitutions, which are made in a second or a more remote degree: For a Testator may in his Last Will and Testament make as many degrees of Heirs, as he shall think fit ^a; and this is done by *vulgar* and *pupillary* ^a 1. 2. 15. pr. Substitution. Now *Substitution* is nothing else but the Institution or Appointment of an Heir in the second degree ^b, which is made after the first, ^b D. 28. 6. 43. in case the first Heir dies, or refuses to take the Heirship on himself, and the like: As when a Testator says in his Will, *I appoint Titius to be my Heir; and if he will not be my Heir, then I substitute Caius in his Room and Stead.* Here *Titius* is said to be the Heir *appointed* or *instituted*, and *Caius* the Heir *substituted*. And in this sense Substitution is a secondary and conditional Institution. For the Person substituted shall only then be Heir, when the Person instituted in the first place does not take the Heirship on himself, either because he refuses so to do, or else because he

he cannot do it. Hence Substitution cannot be without Institution, for that a Substitute is said to be the second Heir appointed, as he comes in the Place of the first Heir, that either dies or refuses to act as such, and the like, as aforesaid. 'Tis to be observed, that every Institution after the first, is said to be in the second degree, in the same manner as all Marriages are termed second Marriages, which follow the first. *Substitution* is so called from the word *Subtus*, because an Heir substituted is described and deemed to be under the first Heir. For the Ancients were wont to begin their Testaments with the Institution or Appointment of an Heir: And, therefore, formerly Legacies and Freedoms were not usually mentioned in a Will before the Appointment of an Heir. For, as *Justinian* observes, the Institution itself was the Head and Foundation of the Will^b. And hence that Part of the Will is by *Horace*, in the second Book of his Satires, called *prima cera*. Then the Testator named an Heir by way of Substitution, or substituted a second Heir, in case the first Heir refused, &c.

^b I. 2. 20. 34.

The chief Division of Substitution is, that it is either *direct* or *precarious*. The first is that which is made by direct Words: As if *Titius will not be my Heir, let Seius be Heir*: And of this I shall here chiefly speak. *Preca-rious* Substitution, otherwise called *Substitutio Fidei-Commissaria*, is that which is made in *oblique* and *precarious* Terms; that is to say, by Terms of Intreaty, &c. As, *I pray you, Titius, that when you die, you will restore my Inheritance unto Seius*^c. This *oblique* Substitution wants the Aid and Assistance of another hand, because the Person substituted thereby takes the Heirship from the hand of another Person: And thus the Inheritance of the Deceased devolves to him *viâ obliquâ*, by the Interposition of another Person: The Testator, for example, saying thus, *viz. Let Titius be my Heir, and I pray him, and commit it to him in Trust, that when he dies, he would restore the Heirship or Inheritance unto Caius*. Here tho' *Caius* by a *Fidei-Commissum* be substituted unto *Titius*; yet *Titius* ought in the first place to take the Heirship on himself, and then restore it after he has accepted thereof unto *Caius*, with a Defalcation of the fourth Part of the Inheritance, in *Latin* called the *Portio Trebellianica*: And thus retaining three Parts in twelve, he ought to restore the nine Parts unto *Caius*. By a *direct* Substitution, the Person substituted does immediately, and without the Ministry of another Person, take the Testator's Heirship on himself, not by any oblique Ways and Means, but directly, as in the Example already described. Now a *direct* Substitution contains five *Species* under it. For there is one kind of Substitution termed *vulgar*; another stiled *pupillary*; a third called *exemplary*; a fourth said to be *breviloquous*; and a fifth named a *compendious* Substitution. In speaking of *vulgar* Substitution, I shall *first* consider what it is. *Secondly*, how it is divided. *Thirdly*, by what Words it may be made. *Fourthly*, what is the Effect thereof. And *fifthly*, how it is extinguished.

^c C. 6. 42. 14.

And *first*, a *vulgar* Substitution is defined to be the Institution or Appointment of a second Heir, in the Place or Degree of the first, who does not, or will not take the Heirship on himself: which may be made by any one to a Person proper and capable thereof, provided it be done in plain, vulgar, and common Terms^d. And hence it is called *vulgar* Substitution. As when a Man says, *Let Titius be my Heir, and if he will not, then let Caius be my Heir*. This kind of Substitution is twofold, *viz. express* and *tacit*. The first is made by negative Words, the Heir declaring himself by express Words of Negation: As when I make an Institution first thus, *viz. Let Titius be my Heir*; and then I make a Substitution after this manner by negative Words, *scil. If Titius will not be my Heir, then let Caius*. A *tacit* vulgar Substitution is said to be, wherein a Negation does not expressly result, but is *inclusively* and *tacitly* understood, and

^d D. 28. 6. 8. pr.

is

is made by affirmative Words: As when I appoint two Heirs, namely, *Titius* and *Caius*; and then make a Substitution after this manner, *viz.* *And I substitute them mutually*; or thus, *Let the longer Liver, either of them* (meaning *Titius* and *Caius*) *be my Heir*. In this case, if they shall both of them live, they are both my Heirs: But if one of them will not be my Heir, or cannot, the other Person shall then be my Heir alone. Yet these Words, *I substitute them mutually*, have not this meaning, *viz.* That if one of my Coheirs shall die without Children, after he has accepted of the Heirship, the other Coheir should succeed him; because if *Titius* has taken the Heirship on himself, he is Heir.

The second *Species* of Substitution is that, which is stiled *pupillary* Substitution, from the *Latin* word *Pupillus*, as *vulgar* Substitution is so called from the word *Vulgus*. This second *Species* of Substitution is, when a Father has Children under the Age of Puberty, and substitutes an Heir, after he has already appointed Heirs by Institution; and restrains this Substitution within the time of Puberty, or within a shorter time. As when he says, *Let my Son Titius, who is under the Age of Puberty, be my Heir; and if he will not, or will be my Heir, and shall die within the Age of a Pupil, then let Caius be my Heir*^e. Or, *if my Son shall die under ten Years of Age, let Caius be my Heir*^f. And thus it differs from *vulgar* Substitution,^g because *vulgar* Substitution is extinguished after the Heir has accepted of the Heirship: But *pupillary* Substitution is not determined, though the Son who is under the Age of Puberty accepts of the Heirship; provided he dies afterwards before he arrives at Puberty. For these two Cases, *viz.* if the Son, as being under the Age of Puberty, shall not be the Heir; that is to say, shall not take the Heirship on himself, but dies before he arrives at Puberty, are always understood to be comprehended in this Substitution. Wherefore, in both cases a Substitute succeeds, but by a different way and manner. For in the former cases, when the Son becomes not Heir to the Father, the Substitute himself becomes Heir to the Father. But if the Son be Heir, and dies before Puberty, the Substitute becomes Heir to the Son himself. And the Father may restrain this Substitution to a narrower Compass of Time: As *if my Son shall die within ten Years of Age, then let Caius be my Heir*, as aforesaid^e. In this case, if the Son^h dies after the tenth Year, even before he arrives at the Age of Puberty, *Caius* does not seem to be a Substitute to him.

The second principal Question is, from whence this kind of Substitution had its beginning? And here the Emperor says, that it was first introduced by the Manners and Customs of the *Roman* People, *viz.* That whereas a Pupil could not make a Last Will and Testament for himself through Defect of Age, the Father might make a Will for him the Son^h. But at this day, because this Custom is reformed and reduced into writing, it is deemed to be a Matter of written Law. The Lawyers make *pupillary* Substitution to be two-fold; and distinguish it into that which is stiled an *express*, and that which is called a *tacit* *pupillary* Substitution. The first is that, which is made *generally* and *pecially* in express Terms: As *if my Son will not be Heir to me, or will, and dies before his pupillary Age, then let Titius be my Heir*. But *tacit* *pupillary* Substitution is said to be that, which is contained in a vulgar Interpretation of Law, from the presumptive Mind of the Testator: As when a Father appoints his Pupil-Son to be his Heir, and if he will not be his Heir, then he substitutes *Caius*. This is an *express* vulgar Substitution; for every one may thus substitute an Heir. But if the Son shall take the Heirship on himself, and die within his pupillary Age, a Substitute ought in this case to be admitted by a *tacit* *pupillary* Substitution, and not by a vulgar Substitution, which is extinct by his taking the Heirship on himself: Because a Testator is even in this

case presumed to provide and take care of an Heir for his Son. The Gloss reckons up five things necessary to a pupillary Substitution; to which *Bartolus* adds three others. For *first*, it is necessary, that he for whose sake a Substitution is thus made, should be of the Number of the Father's Children¹: And this is not only understood of *natural* and *lawful* Children (as we say) *together*, but even of such as are *lawful only*, who pass into the power of the Father that adopts them, as those do that are adopted by an Ascendant. And, moreover, this ought to be understood not only of Children of the first degree, but even of Grand-children, and other Descendants: so that even posthumous Children are included, since he that is in the Womb is deemed as a Person born. *Secondly*, 'tis necessary that the Son, who has a pupillary Substitution granted him, should be under the Age of Puberty; for after Puberty, he may make a Will. In a Male, a Person is under Puberty till fourteen Years of Age, and in a Female till twelve: And it is not enough, that the fourteenth Year should be commenced, but it ought to be compleatly ended². *Thirdly*, 'tis necessary that the Son should be in the power of him that makes this Substitution³: For a Mother cannot make a pupillary Substitution for her Children under the Age of Puberty, according to a common Conclusion of the Doctors coming after *Bartolus*. *Fourthly*, 'tis necessary that the Son or Person, for whom this Substitution is designed, should be *sui Juris* at the time of the Person's Death, who makes this Substitution. And *fifthly*, this Substitution ought to be made by Last Will and Testament, because the Person substituted is in the Place of an Heir.

The third *Species* of Substitution is that which we stile *exemplary* or *quasi pupillary* Substitution, so called because it is made *quasi Pupillo*; that is to say, in the behalf and for a Madman, Ideot, Lunatick, &c. and it was introduced by *Justinian*^m, after the Example and Model of pupillary Substitution. In this case, the Parents ought first to appoint the Children of the Madman, Lunatick, Ideot, &c. to be his Heirs, if he has any Children; and if not, then his Brothers and Sisters, and if in Defect of these he institutes for them any other Personⁿ. This is not allowed by reason of any paternal Power they are invested with, but meerly out of Pity and Compassion, and as it is an Act of common Humanity: For they may appoint a Substitute, whether their Children are in their power or not, provided their Children are such Persons as are here described, *viz.* Madmen, Lunaticks, Ideots, interdicted *Prodigals*, and deaf and dumb Persons. In other Substitutions, any Persons whatsoever may be substituted^o; but here it is restrained to Brothers and Sisters, as aforesaid, unless it be in failure of them.

Pupillary and *Quasi Pupillary* was peculiar to the *Romans*, unknown in *England*, and other Nations, according to *Groenvægen de Il. Abrog.*^p For by the *Roman* Law, every one might at the time of his Death dispose of his own Estate, and the Estate of his Children being then in his power, if the Children refused to accept of the Inheritance, or if they died before the Age of Puberty; for then they could not make a Will for themselves. Before that time, the Father and Children were esteemed but one Person; and therefore in regard to their paternal Authority, *one* Will or Testament served for all of them. As to *vulgar* Substitution, we have something of it here in *England*, wherein we always follow the Dictates of the *Civil* Law: only we could not so freely dispose of such military Fees, as we were in possession of, by our Last Wills, but were obliged to leave such a Portion of the Fee or Inheritance to our Heir^q. But those Estates which we hold by Socage, if they are not Estates in Tail^r, or bound by some particular Custom^s, we may bequeath to any Person whatsoever, whether he be the next of Kin or a Stranger, 32 *H. VIII. c. 1.* provided we hold

¹ I. 2. 16. pr.

² D. 28. 1. 5.

³ I. 2. 16. pr.

^m C. 6. 26. 9.

ⁿ C. 6. 26. 9.

^o D. 28. 6. 1. 2.

^p I. 2. 16.

^q 32 H. 8. c. 1.

^r Doct. lib. 2.

^s 30.

^t Glanv. lib. 7.

^u 3.

no other Lands *in capite* by Knight-Service; and in each case we might make an Heir by vulgar Substitution. By Substitution, in the Sense of the common Law of *England*, we mean nothing else but the adding of that Condition, which our Lawyers call a *Tail*, *viz.* a Limitation of Heirs, unto whom we would have Lands devised, &c. to descend, or remain, or (at least) to revert to us and our Heirs. But this Substitution is not the same with that of the *Romans*, because that has this Condition annexed, *viz.* *I appoint Titius to be my Heir, and if he will not, then let Sempronius be Heir*. But this of ours *non astringitur*, but the contrary is rather tacitly imposed on a Legatary: As *I bequeath such a Fee unto Titius*, and if he will not accept of it, then I will that such or such a Person should be his Heir, and succeed him, which makes it a Fee-Tail. *Doctor and Student*, lib. 1. c. 24. Observe, that the *Civil Law* calls him *Heir*, who succeeds to the whole Estate *real* and *personal*, without any distinction. But by the Law of *England* and *Scotland*, he only is Heir who succeeds to the real Estate by Right of Blood. See *Coke's first Institute* 237. b. and *Mackenzey's Inst. of Scotland*.^s I. 2. 15. pr. ^t Westm. 2. c. 1. 13. Ed. 1. ^u Lib. 2. Tit. 2.



T I T. XVII.

*How the Heirship or Inheritance may be either got or lost :
And how Testaments are to be open'd, published, writ out
or engrossed ; and what Men's Testaments are to be open'd
and published.*

I Shall here join two Titles ^v of the Law together, and first consider how ^v Tit. 2. & 3. the Heirship or Inheritance may be either acquir'd or lost, because I ^{D. 29.} have omitted it under a foregoing Title touching Heirs: And, *secondly*, I shall enquire how Testaments are to be opened, published, writ out, or engrossed; and what Mens Wills are to be opened and published, and within what time. In respect of the first thing here to be considered, it is to be observed, that it is not enough for a Person to be appointed Heir, but he ought also to have an actual Acquisition of the Heirship: which Acquisition, when it is had by a Person who is Heir *ipso jure*, and not a Possessor ^w, ^w I. 3. 1. 3. is in our Law-Books stiled *Immixtio*; and when it is obtained by an extraneous Person or Stranger, it is called *Aditio Hereditatis*, as already related under a foregoing Title. We have no proper Word in the *English Tongue* to express these two Acts by. The Heirship is acquired and lost by the Mind of the Person alone ^x, whether the Mind be expressed and declared ^x I. 2. 19. 7. in Terms, or by some Act and Deed, which is sped by a Person as being Heir ^y. This ought to be done freely, and without imposing any force on ^y D. 29. 2. 20. the Will of the Agent ^z; unless it be in respect of a Bondman appointed ^z C. 6. 30. 16. Heir by his Master, who is then a necessary Heir ^a, as before remembered. ^a D. 29. 2. 66. But Persons that are under any doubt about the Heirship, or that do not [&] 67. know themselves to be Heirs, do not acquire the same, unless it be for their Heirs ^b. Nor can a Person rightly take the Heirship on himself, or re- ^b D. 29. 2. 63. nounce the same, unless there be a certain *Constat*, whether the Heirship be

be given him by Will, or by a Person's dying intestate ; and it must likewise appear too, how much of the Estate he is Heir of^c. Whoever takes the Heirship on himself, or renounces the same, ought to do it *absolutely*, without any Condition or Day annexed thereunto^d; and such Acceptance or Renunciation ought likewise to be made *in solidum*^e. The Heirship may be accepted and sued for at any time within thirty Years^f, though Creditors and Legataries may pray to have the Heirship accepted of immediately after the Testator's Decease, or (at least) within a Year^g. When an Heir has accepted of the Heirship, it extends its Effects not only to the Time to come, but it has also a Retrospect to the Time of the Death of the Deceased^h. After a Person has once accepted of the Heirship, he cannot afterwards repudiate or renounce the sameⁱ, but must stand to all Hazards and Chances: And if a Person has once renounced or waved the Heirship, he cannot afterwards be admitted thereunto, if he would^k. But that Person does not seem to refuse accepting of the Heirship, who cannot take the Heirship on himself^l: For *ubi non assistit juris potentia, voluntas est inanis & vacua*, says *Baldus*. By losing the Heirship or Inheritance in this Title, I mean the Refusal or Renouncing of it; and that Person may renounce or wave it, who may acquire it^m.

By the *Roman* Law, a Pupil of neither Sex can be obliged without the Authority of his Guardianⁿ: And hence it is, that the Guardian's Authority is necessary, before a Pupil can accept of an Heirship, because the Heirship obliges a Person to the Payment of another's Debts, though there be not Affets, if the Law be not punctually observed in making an Inventory. But if the Heirship be given unto a Pupil either by Will or Law, and the Guardian will not consent for his Pupil's Benefit, through a groundless and pretended fear of some Disadvantage to his Pupil, the Pupil may have recourse to the Judge, who, upon Cognizance of the Matter, may decree the same^o. But I hasten to speak of my second Consideration, *namely*, how Testaments are to be opened, published, engrossed, &c.

Heretofore by the *Lex Papia*, an Heir to the whole Substance of the Deceased, might take the Heirship on himself, before the Tables of the Will were opened, but not a Person that was only Heir in part of it^p. But the Emperor *Justinian* took away this difference: So that both an Heir to part, as well as to the whole Estate, may now take the Heirship on himself, even before the Will is opened^q. At this day, a Will may be opened and published within three or five Days from the Death of the Testator^r; for it cannot be opened in the Testator's Life-time^s. After a Will is opened, that it may be read, every Person may have the Sight and Inspection thereof, as soon as it is engrossed and writ out in some publick Office, and a Copy thereof shall be granted to any Person that demands the same, tho' it be in another's Name; but then he ought to take an Oath, that he does not request it with any dishonest or foul Intent, but for his necessary Interest and Satisfaction^t. And it is the Duty of the Judge, or some Magistrate, to convene the Persons who signed the Will, in order to acknowledge their Marks or Seals, or else to deny that they signed the same^u. And this was the Method of proving Wills among the *Romans*, which is still continued to this day in Places where the Witnesses set their Seals on the Label of the Will, as the *Romans* were wont to do. Tho' a Witness should refuse to acknowledge, yet this does not hinder but that the Will may be opened and published: But a Will becomes suspected of Forgery, if one or more of the Witnesses shall deny their Seals^v. A Will once thus proved and published, remains firm and valid in respect of it, though the original Will shall be lost by some Accident or other^w. The Person who refuses to exhibit the Tables of the Will, which he acknowledges to be in his Custody, and lodged with him, may be precisely compelled hereunto

hereunto by the Office of the Judge. If he denies that he has the keeping thereof, he may be convened by an Action or Interdict *de Tabulis exhibendis* ^w. If some of the Witnesses die, before the Will comes to be open'd, ^w D. 29. 3. 2. 8. so that they cannot recognize their Seals at the opening of it; and by this means their Seals cannot be known: Yet this does not destroy the Will, provided it appears that such Will was subscribed and under-signed by the Witness deceased. For it would be highly unjust, that a Man's Will should sink by the Act or Death of a Witness, when we may be certain of the Truth of it by other means ^x. For even in a nuncupative or an unwritten ^x Arg. C. 6. Will, the same does not perish, though one of the number of Witnesses ^{33. 3.} should die; and the Will does not thereby fall to the ground, but the same may be proved by the others; and, consequently, *a fortiori*, this holds true in a written Will.

If a Will be written in two Exemplars, that is to say, if there are Duplicates of the same original Will, and one of these Duplicates is published, the Tables of the Will are said to be opened: For the Question is not by whom they were opened, but touching the Nature of the Will itself ^y. If ^y D. 29. 3. 10. the Tables of the Will do not appear, but are burnt by Accident, or suppressed by Villany, the Legataries may be relieved against such a Calamity, by proper Evidence of the Fact, and of their Legacies ^z. The Instrument ^z D. 29. 3. 10. or Tables of the Will are not the Property of one Man alone, *viz.* the ^{2.} Heir, but of all Men who have any concern therein; and hence the Tables are called a publick Instrument ^a. Though a Testament is properly said ^a D. 29. 3. 2. pr. to be that which is perfected according to Law; yet, in an improper Sense, even those are stiled Testaments, which are forged, rupted, unjust, &c. And we are also wont to call imperfect Wills by the Names of *Testaments* ^b. If a Man makes several Wills, and a Person desires to have Copies ^b D. 29. 3. 2. 1. or Probats of all of them, it shall be granted to him ^c. ^c §. 3. ult.



T I T. XVIII.

Of the Punishment of such, who, a Will being extant, seek by Letters of Administration, or some other means, to possess themselves of the Goods of the Deceased; and of such as render themselves unworthy of Legacies, by opening of Wills before an Enquiry has been made touching the violent Death of the Testator; and lastly, of those who compel or forbid any one to make a Will.

IT is the Province of an upright Judge to protect and defend the Wills of Persons deceased, and to obviate the Knavery of such Men, who, dropping the Design and Business of an extant Testament, endeavour to possess themselves of the Goods of the deceased, by an intestate Heirship (with us called Letters of Administration) in order to circumvent and defraud Legatees of that which is due to them by virtue of a Will. And hence it is, that the *Prætor* has given an Action in Equity unto Legatees, &c. against these Cheats and Deceivers of other Men; and they may be

convened hereby in the same manner as if they had accepted of the Succession by virtue of a Will^c. It matters not, whether the Heir might acquire the Heirship in his own Person, or by another: For in what manner soever he might have acquired the Heirship, if he has not obtained it, he incurs the Edict of the *Prætor*. Though a Person does not seem to act as Heir, who has received a Sum of Money, or any other Reward, to pass by an Heirship; yet an Action lies against him, in the same manner as it lies against him, who, dropping the extant Will, has possessed himself of the Inheritance by an intestate Heirship, and he shall be liable to simple Legatees, and Legatees in Trust^d. But in this case, the Possessor of the Inheritance ought to be first sued and excused by the Legatees, especially if he has made any Gain to himself by such unlawful Possession^e. But if a Person has passed by the testamentary Heirship without receiving any Money or other Gratuity, he is exempted from this Action; because no one can be compelled to be an Heir against his Will, unless he be a Bondman, as aforesaid. It is the Fraud and Collusion which makes the Heir subject to an Action, and not the Person's passing by the Heirship: And this Fraud may be proved by violent Suspicion, and by proper Conjectures; as when a Person receives Money, and the like, to omit the Heirship. These foul Practices were very frequent among the *Romans*, till this wholesome Edict was made to punish it. If the Heir appointed or substituted dropt the Will without sufficient Cause, or fraudulently transmitted it to another, he was not only liable to this Action, but he likewise lost all Legacies bequeathed him in the Will^f.

There are also some other Persons that render themselves unworthy of Legacies by a knavish Officiousness to have the Will of a Testator, that has been murdered by violent means, opened and read, before any Enquiry has been made touching his Death, supposed to be occasioned by some of his own Family or Servants. And against these Persons we have a Provision made by the *Senatus-consultum Silanianum* and *Claudianum*^g. Whereby it is enacted, That if any Heir or Legatary shall willingly open the Will of such a Person slain, before Enquiry made touching his Death, they should lose their Legacies, and the same should go to the Exchequer^h. But if this was done by another Person, who had no Legacy left him, he was then condemned in a hundred Crowns or *Aurei*ⁱ. So careful were the *Romans* to enquire into the violent Deaths of Persons supposed to be murder'd by their Domesticks in an outrageous manner. But if the Person's Death happened by private means, as by Poison, &c. the Tables of the Will might be opened, and the Heir might load himself with the Inheritance before such Enquiry made; but it was incumbent on him to enquire into the occasion of the Testator's Death, and to prosecute the Murder^k: which if he neglected to do, he lost both the Heirship and his Legacies, and the same devolved unto the Exchequer^l. *Note*, It was a great Crime in Servants and Domesticks, who could have yielded help unto the Person murder'd, and did not do it; for they were in some measure reckoned guilty of his Death^m. Thus this Decree of the Senate made a Discrimination of Legacies, as I shall again observe under the Title of *Legacies*.

By a Constitution of the Emperor *Adrian*, Actions are deny'd to that Heir who has compelled or prohibited another to make his Will, in prospect of having or gaining the Succession either by a testamentary or an intestate Heirship: And hence by the Denial of Actions unto such Heirs, the Inheritance devolves unto the Exchequer, or (at least) such a Part of it as should otherwise go unto the Delinquentⁿ; for the Act of such a guilty Person ought not to prejudice the Innocent^o. But a Husband, who has rendered himself so benevolent to his Wife by a marital Affection, may be appointed Heir by her on persuading of her to make her Will: But it is otherwise,

otherwise, if he uses force or fear. And if she makes him her Heir through a conjugal Tenderneſs, he is exempted from the Punishment of this Imperial Constitution, and may bring his Actions as an Heir^p. A Person^p D. 29.6.4. may prohibit another to make his Will ſeveral ways; as when he hinders the Witneſſes deſigned for the Will, from coming to the Perſon who ſent for them, &c. And thus I have gone through the whole Buſineſs of ſolemn Wills and Teſtaments; and ſhall next proceed to ſpeak of Codicils.



T I T. XIX.

Of the Right and Power of Codicils; and of the Number and Solemnity of them; and of the Matter contained in them.

THE Subject of the following Treatiſe under this Title relates to *Codicils*, which are a kind of an additional Part made unto Teſtaments³, as being often joined thereunto. As when a Perſon has through Forgetfulneſs or ſome Inadvertence omitted to write ſomething in his Will, which otherwiſe he would have done, and is unwilling to open the ſame again, as being (perhaps) ſealed and cloſed up in a ſolemn manner: For then he may in this caſe declare the remaining part of his Will in Codicils. And therefore a *Codicil*, according to *Cujacius*, is defined to be the Will of a Perſon dying either teſtate or inteſtate, and which is leſs ſolemn than a Teſtament, or wants ſome Solemnity.

This kind of Will, according to *juſtinian*¹, had its riſe from *Lucius Lentulus*. For it appears, that the making of Codicils was not in uſe before the time of *Augustus*: when, we are told, that the ſaid *Lentulus* was the firſt Perſon that introduced them; who alſo introduced the Buſineſs of Gifts or Legacies in Truſt, by our Books in *Latin* ſtiled *Fidei-Commiſſa*. For he dying in *Africa* made *Augustus* his Heir, and his Daughter his *fiduciary* Heir, or Heir in Truſt, whom by Codicils confirmed by his Will, he intreated to do ſomething for him after his Death, *viz.* that they would be careful to ſee that ſome Houſes were built for ſome of *Lentulus*'s Friends. And this gave the firſt riſe to Codicils and *fiduciary* Heirſhips or Bequeſts: which afterwards being approved of on the account of the Neceſſity thereof in ſome Caſes, and the advantage Codicils offered as well to Travellers, who among Strangers and Perſons unknown to them, cannot eaſily obſerve the Solemnities of a Teſtament, as to others who are *de facto* hindred from making their Teſtaments through ſeveral Haps and Miſfortunes of Life¹: I ſay, *de facto*, becauſe Perſons that are hindred *de jure* from making their Wills, cannot make Codicils. As appears in the Example of a Madman, who, as he cannot make a Teſtament, ſo neither can he rightly make a Codicil or Codicils², unleſs he made ſuch Codicil or Codicils before his Madneſs commenced, or diſpoſed of his Eſtate during the Time of his lucid Intervals. But he who avers Madneſs to be in the Perſon diſpoſing of an Eſtate, ought to prove him to be a Madman, becauſe a Preſumption of Law lies againſt ſuch an Averment: According to which Preſumption, the ſame Quality which is naturally inherent in Man, is always preſumed

* X.4.1.30. to remain with him ^a. But he that is *de facto* hindred from making his Will, *viz.* because he has not the Presence of seven Witnesses, may (notwithstanding) make a Codicil or Codicils either in Writing, or by Word of Mouth; (for Codicils may be made even without writing ^b) in the presence of five Witnesses, though they be not asked or requested to bear Testimony thereunto. And as the Subscription of these Witnesses is necessary, when a Codicil is made in writing: So they ought all to be present together at one and the same time, as in the Business of Testaments, and not at different Seasons. And they ought likewise, according to the *Civil Law*, to be Persons of the Male-Sex: For as Women are not qualified to be Witnesses unto Last Wills and Testaments, so neither are they qualified to be Witnesses unto Codicils, which approach unto and are as Accessaries unto Testaments. For we ought not easily in these kinds of Dispositions to recede from the Rules of Testaments: whereunto appertains that Law, whereby the same Form and Tenor is required to be observed in Codicils

^c C.6.22.8.v. as in Testaments, in respect of a Notary and Witnesses ^v.

at cum humana.

If it be a Question, whether the Testator intended a Last Will and Testament, or only a Codicil, we must have recourse to the Writing itself:

^w D.29.7.13. such a Doubt being often declared and solved from thence ^w. As when a

^{1.} Testator shall appoint a Substitute, which may be done in a Testament, though not in a Codicil. But if a Testator has made a Codicil, who might (if he had pleased) have made a Testament, such a Codicil is valid, tho' no Testament be made: For Codicils even made by Persons intestate are valid,

^x D.29.7.8.2. even though there be no Heir appointed ^x. It matters not with whom the Testator discourses, or to whom he directs himself, when he makes his Will; provided it appears, that the Design of his Will was directed to some certain Person, or that he intended to make somebody his Heir. But when a Testament is made, and Codicils are established thereupon, such Codicils are valid *optimo jure*, whether they are made before or after the making

^y D.29.7.6. of a Testament, if they be expressly confirmed by the Testament ^y: But if they be not found to be thus confirmed by the Testament, the old Lawyers doubted what ought to be decreed touching them. And herein it is agreed, that such Codicils as are made after the Will, shall receive force from the Testament, though they be not therein specially and expressly confirmed. But touching such Codicils as are made before the Testament, the Doctors disagree ^z. *Papinian* would have them to be only

^z D.29.7.3.2. valid, when they are specially confirmed by the Testament, or by some other subsequent Will after the making of the solemn Testament ^z.

¹ D.29.7.5. At this day, by a Rescript of the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, approved of by *Justinian*, it is certainly true, that whenever a Testament is made, Codicils have their force from thence, though they are not confirmed by any express Words therein. Therefore, since Codicils established upon a Will do receive their force from thence, they ought to follow the Law relating to the same Testament, and stand and fall with that Testament, as

^b D.29.3.11. being an Appendix or Accessory thereunto ^b. Wherefore, if a Man has not entred on the Heirship in virtue of such a Will, a Legacy in Trust even from such Codicils will be of no Weight and Moment. And 'tis the same thing, if a Testament be irritated, rupted, or rescinded on any other account. As when a posthumous Child or Heir is born to the Testator after making of his Will, and the Testament is rupted by his Nativity on the score of his being passed by: For by this Descazance of the Testament all the

^c C.6.36.1. Codicils fall to the ground ^c.

A Codicil is revoked by the Will of the Person that makes the same: For this is common unto every Last Will and Testament, that it should be revocable by the contrary Will of the Person that makes the same. Nor is it necessary, that a Codicil should be revoked in express Terms by any other

other Codicil or Testament, wherein mention is made of such Revocation: But it is sufficient, if it be done tacitly by making a Disposition contrary to the former Codicil; provided the latter Codicil or Testament contains something which is contrary to the former, for then this latter Codicil contrary to the former destroys the same. By a latter Will or Testament made, Codicils are revoked even from that Clause therein, which cassates all other Wills and Testaments: For such a Clause must necessarily include a Codicil, because this Expression in the plural Number cannot otherwise be maintained and verify'd, since only one Will can properly precede the same. A Person forbidden by Law to make a Testament, is also prohibited to make a Codicil^d. Codicils are said to belong to a Testament, whether they^d D. 29.7.8.2. are made before or after the Will, and whether they be expressly confirmed or not: For their Right and Power always depends on the Will. Heretofore Codicils made before or after a Testament were not valid, unless they were confirmed by the Testament itself: But at this day, they are understood to be confirmed *ipso jure*, unless they are expressly revoked by the Will. A Testament cannot be confirmed by Codicils, because that which confirms a Thing is greater than the Thing confirmed: But a Codicil is inferior to a Testament, and therefore it cannot confirm the same. Besides, a Codicil is only an Accession unto a Testament, as aforesaid; and an Accessory does not confirm its Principal, according to this Maxim, *viz. nihil est causa suæ causæ*.

Codicils have not entirely the same Effect as Wills or Testaments have: For those Things, which have different Names, have also different Effects. Thus we do not institute or substitute an Heir by Codicils, tho' we may do it by a Testament: For the Institution or Substitution of an Heir is only made in Testaments^e. A Codicil is not valid or supported, unless the^e C. 6. 36. 2. Testator shall order it to be valid, as a Codicil. For it is to be observed, that a Testator who has determined to make a Testament, if he cannot compleat the same, seems to die intestate. As a Codicil may be repealed and taken away by a contrary Codicil, and the latter Codicil shall be preferred unto the former^f; so a Codicil may be supply'd and corrected by^f C. 6. 42. 19. a Codicil, and even changed by a Codicil^g. A Person may have several^g C. 6. 36. 3. Codicils by him at one and the same time^h, though he cannot thus have^h I. 2. 25. 3. several Wills; and these Codicils require no Solemnity of Ordination. But what if there are several Codicils found to have been made on one and the same day, and in one of them a Devise is made of an Estate at *Tusculum* unto *Titius*; and in the other no such Devise is made unto the said *Titius*? In this case, the Codicil, unto which the Legacy is ascribed, shall be deemed to be the first Codicil. For we always presume that to be first, which ought to be first *de jure*.

It has been said, that Codicils do regularly receive their Strength and Validity from a Testament: And that which is written in Codicils, after a Testament is made and executed, is said to be written in the Testament itself; and Legacies bequeathed by way of Codicil are sued for by a *testamentary* Action, according to *Panormitan*ⁱ. But Codicils made by a Per-ⁱ Conf 4. n. son intestate, are not properly a Testament; nor does a *direct* Action *ex*^{2. & 3.} *Testamento* arise from such Codicils, but only an Action founded upon Equity, by the *Civilians* called *utilis actio*. And Codicils are said to be made by an Intestate, when no Testament is extant or in being; because those Persons succeed, who come to the Heirship or the Inheritance by virtue of the Persons dying intestate. A Person that appoints an Heir, seems to intend a Testament, and not a Codicil. By the ancient Law^k, Legacies^k D. 5. 6. could not be left to any one's advantage, unless it were in a solemn Will, and not by Codicils: But it is otherwise at this day, according to the *Justinian* Law^l, which has rendred simple Legacies in all respects equal^l C. 6. 43. 2. unto

unto *fiduciary* Bequests. Though a Codicil, properly speaking, be not a Testament, as wanting an Heir: yet it may be so called in a large Sense of the Word, because it is a *Testatio mentis*, a Declaration of the Person's Mind, attested by Witnesses. A Codicil is the Sequel and Consequence of a Testament, which is less solemn than a Testament in point of Form: For there is no Form observed in a Codicil, no certain Words regarded, nor any Order minded: nor is it necessary that it should be written or signed by the Hand of the Testator^m. What is written in a Codicil is as much confirmed as if it was written in the Testament itself. A Person cannot make a Codicil who is doubtful touching his own State, unless he be a Soldier. We often meet with the word *Codicil* in the Laws of *England*: wherefore in this case we follow the Rules borrowed from the *Civil* and *Canon* Law, for the Interpretation of them, unless they mention a Freehold Estate of Inheritance; and then they ought to be proved before the Ecclesiastical Judge, and to receive their Interpretation from the Laws of the Realm.



T I T. XX.

Of the Ratification, Approbation, and Confirmation of Last Wills and Testaments, Contracts and other Obligations, &c.

AS *Ratification*, otherwise by the *Civilians* called *Ratihabition*, has a respect unto Last Wills and Testaments, Codicils, and the like, as well as unto Contracts and Obligations, I chuse to give this Title a Place here. Now *Ratification* is nothing else but a kind of strengthening or corroborating of some precedent Act, as *Confirmation* is: Wherefore, the very same Things which are required in *Confirmation*, are also necessary in *Ratification*. Yet, in a large Sense, a Ratification is a kind of Approbation, and it even requires that the Person who ratifies a Thing should be certain. In respect of its Effect, *Ratification* imports the same as *Confirmation*: Because as they are either pronounced *affirmatively*, as I *confirm*, *ratify*, or utter'd *negatively*, as I *do not ratify* or *confirm*, they import the same thing.

Ratification is two-fold: The first is, when an Act or Contract is sped by another in my Name, and the Matter begins to belong to me from his acting for me in virtue of an *improper* Contract: In this case I may ratify the Act in the Absence of the Party; for such Ratification requires not the presence of the Parties; and it has a Retrospect to the Time of the Business doneⁿ. The other is a Ratification of an Act or Contract, which has been sped by me in a null manner, as because (perhaps) some Solemnity or other Matter has been wanting: And in this case the same Solemnity is required in the Ratification, which is necessary to the Will or Contract, as the presence of Parties, and other formal Requisites; otherwise the Ratification is not valid, unless it be made after the same manner, as the Will or Contract was or should be made, and this Ratification has not a Retrospect to make a null Act valid *ab initio*.

A *Ratification* is made three several ways, *viz.* *First*, by *express* Words; *Secondly*, by *tacit* Consent; and *Thirdly*, by the Intervention of some Act. A Solemnity, which is required in the first Act which is ratify'd, is also necessary in the Ratification of such first Act. Thus in ratifying the Alienation of an Ecclesiastical Estate, because a Solemnity is required in the principal Alienation, the same Solemnity is also necessary in the Confirmation or Ratification of itⁿ. A Ratification, whether taken in a proper or im-ⁿ Gemin. proper Sense, is not valid, when the Person approving has not full Know-^{Conf. 128.} ledge of the Act ratify'd: And a Person is proved to have full Knowledge^{n. 5.} thereof, when the Tenor of the Act is inserted in the Deed. If the first Disposition be null through a Defect of Knowledge, or through Surprise, the Ratification will likewise be null, unless mention be made of such Defect, and the same is cured by some Expression: Because as the Substance of Ratification is Knowledge; so a full Knowledge of the Act ratify'd with all its Qualities is required^o. Yea, a Minor, Body-Politick, and the like,^o Ba'd. Conf. because they may be ignorant of the Law, cannot be said to ratify any Act^{lib. 2.} in a valid Sense, unless they know both the Law and the Fact. And generally wherever Knowledge is required, such Knowledge ought to be entirely certain in order to prejudice the Party: Because, according to *Baldus*^p afore-^p Conf. 327. said, Knowledge both of Law and Fact is required to render a Ratification^{lib. 2.} valid; especially when the Question is about ratifying a fraudulent Contract, because not only Knowledge of the Contract is necessary, but also of the Deceitⁿ. For it is one thing to ratify and approve of an Act or Contract,^q Bald. Conf. and another to ratify the Quality of such Act or Contractⁿ. Nay, true^{222. lib. 2.} Knowledge is so far required in the Person ratifying, in order to render his^r D. 46. 8. 3. Ratification valid, that it is necessary for him to read the Instrument ratify'd,^{fin.} according to *Castrensis*^t, because an Instrument is not presumed to be read,^t Conf. 46. 5. unless it be said that the same was read, and explained in the vulgar^{lib. 1.} Tongue^s. And the same may be said of a Will, an Award given by Ar-^s Zabar. Conf. biters, called a *Laudum*, and also of a *Transaction*, or any Contract ratify'd.^{44. n. 5. & 6.} For it is not enough to hear the same read, unless it be also said that the Tenor thereof was read and understood. Because Presence alone is not sufficient to an Act, unless it be proved that such Act was understood, since he that does not understand a Thing, cannot be said to be present^t:^t D. 50. 16. Where Knowledge is required, it is meant touching full Knowledge, with^{209.} all its Qualities.

A Person who sues for or retains Goods which are left him in a Last Will and Testament, seems thereby to ratify such Willⁿ; and so does he^u D. 5. 2. 10. who receives the Fruits and Profits of a Thing bequeathed. If a Person^{31. & 32.} receives the yearly Rents and Issues of an Estate, he thereby seems to ratify and confirm the Act of demising such Estate. And in the like manner, he who receives the Purchase-Money of an Estate or Thing alienated, seems to ratify such Alienation^v.

If a Person simply appeals from a Sentence pronounced and had with a^{1.} false Proctor, he seems thereby so far to ratify that which is done by such Proctor, that he cannot afterwards alledge such Process to be null and void. And thus a Person, who demands another to render an account of his Administration, seems to approve of those Things which are done by such Administrator, and cannot afterwards say that he was not his Administrator. Again, a Person seems to ratify a Contract, who brings his Action to recover any thing in virtue of such Contract^w.

Ratification is a Matter of Fact; and as those Things which are Mat-^{489.} ters of Fact are not presumed, but ought to be proved^x; so he who al-^x D. 49. 15. 2. ledges the Ratification of any Act, ought to prove the same. And a Per-^{2.} son who founds his Intention on a Ratification, ought not only to prove that the Thing was ratified, but ought likewise to prove that the Person^{ratifying}

ratifying the same had Knowledge of those Matters which are contained in such Ratification. See *Baldus*^y and *Jason*^z on the Laws here quoted :
^y D. 1. 16. 4. 2. And the reason is, because he who is mistaken or ignorant of a Matter of
^z D. 29. 2. 17. Fact cannot be said to ratify the same, since there is a Failure of Consent
 1. through such Ignorance, and a Person that does not give his Consent does not ratify a Thing. A Man cannot ratify that which is not done in his Name, and on his Account, even though the Business does appertain unto him. And, for this reason, it is necessary that a Commission should be previous thereunto : But if a full Commission be given without a Promise of Ratification, then a Ratification is not held necessary, because the Fulness of the Commission supplies the same. If a Person has a certain Commission given him, and acts contrary thereunto, his Commission is not a Ratification, how full and large soever it be, but he acts as if he had no Commission at all. A Ratification does not extend the Act which is ratified to a *Species* not included therein : And, therefore, if a Proctor, who has not a Commission to make a Gift, should make a Gift, it does not introduce a Gift ; because as such Proctor could not make a Gift, a Ratification is not inferred.

A Ratification is necessary in many Cases. As *first*, it is necessary to give a Person an Action. *Secondly*, it is necessary in the Business of Bargain and Sale, or of any other Contract, if it be promised : For then without such Ratification, it is not valid. A Ratification is also necessary, whenever a Donation is made to an absent Person ; because such absent Person neither acquires the Property, nor the Possession of such Grant, unless he ratifies the Gift ; nor can he have an Action for the same without it^a. If
^a Castr. Conf. 195. a Ratification promised be not made within thirty Years, a Lapse of Time is in the Place of it. A Ratification in short makes every thing to be ours, which was done in Contemplation of our Interest. An Act which is null and void *ipso jure*, cannot be ratified, if the Defect was absolutely in the efficient Cause ; but it is otherwise, if it be only so by Accident.





T I T. XXI.

Of Legacies and Bequests, both simple, and in Trust; what Things may be bequeathed, and what not; and to whom any Thing may be bequeathed; and of the Signification of the Words and Things which appertain unto Legacies: Of yearly and monthly Legacies, at what Time they be due, in the Beginning or End of the Year; which of them be pure, and which conditional, &c.

HAVING already treated of Heirships and Inheritances, wherein universal Succession consists, and likewise of Codicils the Appendixes unto Testaments; I shall here discourse of Legacies, wherein I shall consider particular Succession: For a Legatary, in respect of the Legacy or Thing bequeathed, is, in some measure, as it were, in the Place of an Heir or Executor. We have several Definitions in Law given us of a Legacy. *Ulpian* says ^a, That a Legacy is that, which is left by a *Mode* of Law, ^a Lib. Reg. Tit. viz. That which the Testator commands by Will to be given to some cer- ³⁴tain Person or other. But I shall here define it according to *Justinian*, saying, That a Legacy is a Gift, which the Deceased leaves to be paid, and made good by the Heir unto the Legatary after the Testator's Death ^b. ^b I. 2. 20. 1. He calls it a Donation or Gift, because it includes an Act of Liberality, and ^{D. 31. 1. 36.} is not made by any Compulsion of Law: For tho' sometimes a Man bequeaths a Legacy to a Person unto whom he is bound or stands indebted; yet such a Legacy is free, because he was not obliged to bequeath it, but only to pay the Debt, or satisfy the Obligation. But a Legacy is not properly, but only improperly a Donation; for a *proper* Donation is only conferr'd on a Person that is present, and that accepts thereof; but a Legacy is left by Will, and often to a Person that is ignorant of it. It is said in our Books to be *relicta donatio*, or a Gift bequeathed, to distinguish it from a Donation, *in Prospect of Death*, which is not left and bequeathed, but made and constituted among Persons present, by mutual Consent. It is said to be *left by the Deceased*, and not left in his Testament, because Legacies may be left by Codicils. And the Words, *to be paid and made good by the Heir*, &c. are added, because the Testator during his Life Time shall not pay the Legacy: For tho' the Legatary be Lord and Proprietor of the Thing, even before the Delivery thereof; yet he loses the Legacy, if he takes Possession of it by his own Authority, and does not receive it from the Heir or Executor ^c. A Legacy is left by the Person deceas'd *directly* ^c D. 43. 3. 1. 7. and *immediately*, wherein it differs from a *Fidei commissum*, or a Gift in Trust, which is also left by the Deceased, but *mediately* to be paid by the Heir. All *simple* Legacies are to be paid by the Heir: For they pass to the Legatee, immediately on the Testator's Death, in respect to the Property of them ^d; yet the Heir must give the Legatary the Pos- ^d D. 31. 1. 80. session of his Legacy, as aforesaid.

By the old *Roman* Law there were four Kinds or Forms of Bequeathing; viz. First, *per Vindicationem*; as by these Words, *do, lego, capito, sumito, &c.* By which Form only such Things could be bequeathed, which did belong to the Testator at the Time of making his Will, and at the Time of his Death. The second was *per Damnationem*, as by these Words, viz. *Hæres meus damnas esto, dato, facito, Hæredem meum dare jubeo.* By which means all Things might be bequeathed, as well those which were of the Testator's Property, as those which belonged to another Person. A third was *sinendi modo*, as by these Words, viz. *Hæres meus damnas esto sinere*; or, Suffer the Legatary to have and take that Thing to himself: By which means the proper Goods of the Testator and Heir were bequeathed. The last Way was by Way of Precept or Command; as, *Illam rem præcipito*: And by this Means Things were bequeathed after the same Manner, as *per Vindicationem*, only with this Difference, that the Heirs were written *ex Parte*, that is to say, they had their proper Parts allotted them to pay. But *Justinian* put an End to these solemn Forms of Bequeathing, and, in Favour of Last Wills, enacted, That one and the same Nature and Power should be to all Legacies ^e, and that Legacies might be left by any Words whatsoever, whereby the Testator's Intention might appear. Yet some of the Emperors, I think, before *Justinian*, had taken away these Forms ^f. But tho' the ancient Solemnity of bequeathing Legacies be now taken away, in respect of Words; yet at this Day, a Legacy may be bequeathed *per sinendi modum*: For a Solemnity of Words is only so far taken away, that a Transposition of Words shall not vitiate a Legacy. For if the Testator shall say, *I depute such a Thing to Titius*, it is the same Thing as if he had said, *I bequeath it to him.* And 'tis the same Thing, if he says, *I assign such a Thing to Titius.*

^e I. 2. 20. 2.

^f C. 6. 37. 27.

By the ancient Law, there is a wide Difference between a *simple* Legacy, and a Legacy in Trust, called a *Fide-commissum*. For in *simple* Legacies, a Solemnity of Words was necessary, but not in Legacies in Trust. *Secondly*, *Simple* Legacies could only be left in a Will, or in Codicils confirmed by a Will; but Legacies in Trust might be left in Codicils not thus confirmed. *Thirdly*, The Nature of *simple* Legacies was strict; but Legacies in Trust might be more largely interpreted ^g. But now these ancient Distinctions are changed, and at an End, by the *Code*, and all Legacies, whether *simple* or in *Trust*, are equal unto each other; and as to the Effect there is no Difference between them: But still the essential Difference remains between *simple* Legacies, and Legacies in *Trust*: And that which is bequeathed in *direct* and *imperative* Words, is still a *simple* Legacy; and that which is left by *precarious* Terms, is called a Legacy in *Trust*.

^g I. 2. 20. 3.

But for the better Understanding of this Title of Legacies, I shall *first* consider, what Things may be bequeathed; *Secondly*, the Persons, unto whom a Legacy may be given; and *thirdly*, I shall speak of the Manner, whereby a Legacy may be left. Now all Things may be bequeathed, that are in *Rerum Natura* existing, or which may so exist, whether they are corporeal or incorporeal, moveable or immoveable, the Testator's own, or belonging to the Heir, or to another Person; provided they are such Things as lie in Commerce, and may be purchased ^h: For if they are the Goods of another Person, the Heir ought either to purchase the same for the Legatary, or to pay the Value thereof to him ⁱ. By a Fiction of Law, the Property of a Legacy is immediately vested in the Legatary, on the Testator's Death. As only those Persons can bequeath Legacies, who have the Power of making a Will ^k; so only those Persons are capable of receiving Legacies, that have the Power of making a Will; and a Legacy may be either to one Person or to several, and to them either jointly or severally ^l. But a Legacy could not be left to the Bondman of an Heir;

^h I. 2. 20. 4.

ⁱ C. 6. 37. 10.

^k D. 30. 1. 2.

^l D. 31. 2. 33
& 34.

Heir; because the Heir, unto whom he was a Bondman, could not pay himself ^m.

^m l. 2. 20. 32.

A Legacy may be left, either *purely*, or else under a Condition, or else *in Diem* ⁿ; and it may be left *sub modo*. As for Example, *Titius* making his Last Will and Testament, appointed *Mævius* to be his Heir, and by such Will, left unto *Seia*, a hundred Pounds, to the End that she should marry *Sempronius*. This Legacy, left *sub modo*, is like unto a Legacy left under a Condition. Hence, as it is, when a Condition is inserted; so it is also when a *Modus* is inserted, *viz.* That if it be not thro' *Seia's* Means, that she does not marry him, but thro' the Fault of *Sempronius*, she shall have the Legacy as if she had married him. If a Legacy be left to a Person in this Manner, *viz.* when he shall have Children, and he at the Time of his Death leaves his Wife pregnant, it is a *conditional* Legacy, and he is understood to have died fulfilling the Condition of the Legacy; and the Legacy is valid, if a Posthumous Child be born ^o. A Legacy left *in Diem iterabilem*, or to be paid on an anniversary Day, is understood to be a yearly and perpetual Legacy ^p. *Titius* in his Last Will and Testament ordered his Heir, that he should on his Birth-day distribute among the Burgomasters of *Bononia*, a hundred Pounds out of his Inheritance. In this Case his Heir ought every Year *in perpetuum*, to divide among the said Burgomasters, a hundred Pounds on the like Day as *Titius* was born. Some would have it, that this was only a Legacy, due for one Year only; but their Opinion was adjudged to be ill-grounded. *Seius* having a Daughter, a Widow, made *Titius* his Heir, and then said in his Will, *Let my Heir give unto my Daughter a hundred Pounds, in singulos Annos, during her Widowhood*, and afterwards he died. After the Testator's Death, the Daughter of *Seius* marry'd before the End of the Year, from the Time of the Death of *Seius*, and (notwithstanding) demanded of the Heir the full Sum of a hundred Pounds for that Year: And it was adjudged, that she should have it paid her ^q; for in this Case it is sufficient, if the Year be begun. *Marcus* bequeathed unto *Titius* a yearly Maintenance, without adding any certain Sum. And it was in this Case adjudged; that he seems to have bequeathed unto him, that which he was wont to pay him in his Life-time. And if he was not wont to pay him any Thing, then *Titius* shall have every Year for Alimony, paid him as much as is suitable to his State and Condition ^r. And thus, in Favour of Alimony, an uncertain Legacy is valid. A yearly Legacy for the first Year is a *pure* and *absolute* Legacy, and it betokens more Legacies to ensue: But for the following Year it is a *conditional* Legacy; for this Condition seems to be inherent to it, *viz.* If the Person lives; and therefore, if the Legatary dies after the first Year, the Legacy does not pass to his Heir ^s. A Legacy left to the Rector of a Church, is understood to be an annual Legacy in Favour of a *pious Cause*: But then the Words must be doubtful, whether it be left to the present Rector, for his Benefit alone, or to him and his Successors. A Legacy left to the State or Church, is a perpetual Legacy; and a Legacy left to the Parish-priest of any Church, seems to be left to the Church or *intuitu Ecclesiæ*, as *Bartolus* observes, if it be not otherwise specially mention'd.

ⁿ C. 6. 36. t. t.

^o D. 36. 3. 18.

^p D. 33. 1. 23.

^q D. 33. 1. 22.

^r D. 33. 1. 14.

^s D. 33. 1. 4.

^t In L. 2. D. 34. 5.

It often becomes a Question, when a Legacy may be said and presumed to be *pure*, when to be *modal*, and when to be a *conditional* Legacy. Now herein we ought to distinguish in two Particulars. The first, is, when a Legacy is left by an extraneous Person, or by one that is not of Kin to the Legatary, and not obliged to endow a Woman. The second, is, when it is left by a Father or Grandfather, who by the *Civil* Law is bound to endow his Daughter or Grand-daughter. As to the Particulars, I shall distinguish in some Cases. And the first Case, is, when certain Words are added to a Legacy, which signify a Condition, mode, or *pure* Legacy. As this Condition,

- dition, *viz. if he or she shall not marry*, ought sometimes to be fulfilled, and sometimes it is looked upon as not added. The ancient Law rejected this Condition, almost without any Distinction, as being contrary to the Procreation of Children, and the Advantage of the State: For such was the Judgment then, that Marriage ought not to suffer by any
- ^u D. 35. 1. 72. Impediment ^u. For though it be for the Interest of the State, that the
- ^{5. D. 35. 1. 6.} Testator's Will should be observed in other respects, yet the Wisdom
- ^{&c 64.} of Men has thought it more for the Advantage of the Commonwealth
- ^x D. 24. 3. 1. in this Case, that the same should be peopled by a lawful Off-spring ^x. And *Baldus* well observes, that the Good of the Publick rather consists in Marriages, than in a State of Continency; it being the Interest of a
- ^y D. 24. 3. 1. State to have as many Subjects as possible ^y. And this is to be observed in all first Marriages; but in second Marriages the Condition is to be fulfilled and perform'd. For Widows are Praise-worthy that content themselves with one Husband, as being a Pattern of Chastity
- ^z Nov. 2. c. 1. and Modesty ^z; because a second Marriage, according to the Canonicists, is a kind of Fornication, which yet is permitted upon a good Account, even by the *Canon Law*; and therefore, they stile it an
- ^a 31. 2. 1. 9. honest Fornication ^a. Wherefore, If a Husband leaving a Legacy to his Wife, adds this Condition, *viz. if she shall keep her Widowhood*, or until she marries a second Time, such Condition ought to be observed; for if she contracts a second Marriage, the Legacy is forfeited. And it is the same Thing, even by the *Canon Law*; tho' the Apostle says, that after the Husband's Death, the Wife is free from the Law of her Husband. A Legacy of Dower bequeathed unto a young Damself, when she shall be married, is a conditional Legacy, and is presumed to be due, according to the Testator's Meaning, as soon as she has contracted Marriage by Words *de presenti*, tho' carnal Copulation does not ensue thereupon ^b; for the Necessity of carnal Copulation, in order to consummate a Marriage, is only a Creature of the *Canon Law*. As when a Testator says in his Will, *I bequeath unto Caia a hundred Pounds, to be paid her at the Time of her Marriage*. In
- ^c Bart. & Socin. in D. 1. this Case, according to the Text and the best Interpreters thereon ^c, the Testator is presumed to mean the Time of Matrimony contracted, tho' no carnal Copulation ensues thereon, and the Legacy ought to be then
- ^d In Rubr. X. paid; and so says the *Abbot*, even on the *Canon Law* ^d.
- ^e D. 33. 1. 8. A simple yearly Legacy is determined with or by the Death of the Legatary ^e: But a yearly Legacy left for a certain Term of Time, is not thus determin'd; for it is due and ought to be paid, even to the End of the Term appointed by the Testator. In a yearly Legacy, if there be a Deficiency in the Fruits of one Year, such Defect ought to be supply'd and
- ^f In L. 13. D. made good, according to *Bartolus* ^f, from the Fruits of the following Year.
- ^g 33. 6. A Legatary *in singulos Annos*, if he shall die in the Beginning of the Year, transmits his Legacy of that Year unto his Heir or Executor: But this is not true in a Ufu-fructuary; for an Ufu-fructuary does not transmit the pendant or growing Fruits unto his Heir, if he dies in the Beginning of
- ^h D. 33. 1. 8. the Year, but only such as he has received or are sever'd from the Ground ^g. Though a Legacy left *in singulos Annos* be like unto an Ufufruct, it being determin'd by the Death of the Legatary; yet it is not determin'd by a *capitis Diminutio*, as by Banishment, and the like. When a Legacy is left to be paid *in singulos Annos*, it may be called an Annuity, or an annual Legacy; and then it appears that several Legacies (as already
- ⁱ D. 36. 3. 10. hinted) and not one alone are due ^h: And it matters not, whether a hundred Crowns be bequeathed *in singulos Annos*, or whether a hundred Crowns
- ⁱ D. 36. 3. 11. be left the first Year, a Bondmand the second, and Corn the third Year ⁱ. But if *this* or *that* Thing be bequeathd, it is but one Legacy: For the Enumeration of several Things, in the Disjunctive, does not make it several Legacies.

Legacies ^l. If a Testator shall bequeath to his Wife ten Sacks of Corn ^k D. 36. 3. 25. every Year so long as she shall continue in her Widowhood, and afterwards the Widow shall die within two Months, or marry a second Time, she shall have the whole Legacy for the Year she died or married in; because it is a yearly Legacy, which is due to her for the Year she died or marry'd in: For in this Case the Testator does not forbid her to marry, but is willing she should only have a Legacy during her Widowhood, and not after Marriage. And the Legacy being due and payable in the Beginning of every Year, she shall not be obliged to restore the Fruits and Profits for the Time past; but she cannot demand her Legacy *in futurum* after Marriage. But if an Estate in Land had been given her for a Legacy, she ought to restore the Estate itself, but not the Profits and Fruits actually received. If a Legacy be left by Way of Annuity, that is to say, to be paid yearly, the Payment thereof ought to be made at the Beginning of every Year, as just now related: Yet if the Legacy be of the yearly Corn growing out of such an Estate, such Legacy is only due at Harvest Time, and not at the Beginning of the Year. In these Cases, the Mind of the Testator is to be consider'd; for if he had a Mind to ease the Heir, he shall only be obliged at the End of the Year: But if he had an Intent to advance and help the Legatary, then the Legacy shall be paid in the Beginning of the Year. It has been said, that a yearly Legacy for that Year, wherein the Legatary dies, is transmitted to his Heirs: which also proceeds, if the Testator bequeaths an hundred Pound *per Annum*, issuing out of the yearly predial Profits of an Estate; but it is otherwise, if it be out of the natural Fruits themselves, unless they are sever'd from the Soil at the Time of the Legatary's Death.

Touching conditional Legacies, it is said, that a *poteſtative* Condition, which is easy to be fulfilled, ought to be performed out of Hand, *viz.* as soon as may be ^l. *Mævius* bequeathed unto *Sempronius* twenty Pounds, on ¹ D. 35. 1. 29. Condition that he ascended the Capitol after his Death, which was easy to be done, and then *Mævius* died. *Sempronius* may demand this Legacy, if he shall ascend the Capitol, as soon as possible he may after the Death of *Mævius*. But a *casual* Condition may be fulfilled at any Time ^m. *Publius* ^m D. 35. 1. 36. *Mævius* made his Will, and therein named three Persons to be his Heirs. And then said in his Will, *Let my Heir, or Heirs, pay unto Caius Scius, his Sister's Son, the Sum of four hundred Pounds, to support the Honour of the Consulship, if he shall be appointed Consul.* Afterwards, in the Testator's Life-time *Caius Scius* was made Consul, and declared that he would accept of the said Sum, and on the Calends of *January* (as the Custom was) he entred on the Consulship, and then the said Testator died. And now the said *Caius* demanded of the Testator's Heirs, the said four hundred Pounds: But the Heirs said, they were not liable to pay the said four hundred Pounds; because the Condition had its Event in the Testator's Life-time. But it was adjudged, that the said four hundred Pounds were due to him. A Condition, *viz.* *If the Legatary pleases*, makes a conditional Legacy. *Caius* left unto *Titius* a thousand Pounds, *if he pleased to accept of it*, and then died; and afterwards the said *Titius*. *Quære*, Whether the Legacy belongs to the Heir of the said *Titius*? And it was resolved, that it does not, unless the said *Titius* declared his Acceptance of the said Legacy; because a Condition seems to be enjoined the Person of the said *Titius* ⁿ; and conditional ⁿ D. 35. 1. 68. Legacies do not pass to the Heirs of the Legatees, before the Condition is compleatly fulfilled. A conditional Legacy is not extinguish'd by the Death of the Person that is charged to pay such Legacy, if he dies pending the Condition; for then he leaves his Heir bound ^o. An impossible ^o D. 35. 1. 64. Condition in Last Wills and Testaments is reputed as a Condition not added or annexed thereunto; because it cannot be fulfilled ^p. If the Event of a ^p D. 35. 1. 3. Condition be defeated before the Day of fulfilling the said Condition, the

Day is to be expected and waited for, by reason of the Word *Tunc*, or *Tunc*, which denotes an Extremity of Time ^q. As when a Person says, *If Titius shall not have a Son born to him within five Years, then let my Heir pay unto Seius ten Pounds*. In this Case, if *Titius* dies before the Time, the Money is not immediately due unto *Seius*, but he ought to wait the Time. In all Conditions *de non faciendo*, of not doing a Thing, which cannot be fulfilled before the last Breath of a Man's Life, without expecting the said Event, Caution *de non faciendo* is taken as Security for the fulfilling of the Condition. *Titius* left unto *Caius* ten Pounds, if he did not ascend the Capitol, or if he did manumise his Bondman *Stichus*. In this Case, if *Caius* shall give Caution to the Heir of *Titius*, That he will ascend the Capitol, or manumise *Stichus*, he ought to have the Legacy paid him ^r. And this Caution is in our Books call'd *Cautio Mutiana*, as being introduced by *Mutius*. And 'tis the same Thing, if one be appointed Heir under any of the like Conditions. For Example, *Seia* made her Husband her Heir in one Moiety of her Estate, if he did not sue for the Dowry which she promis'd, but never paid him : For the Husband shall, in this Case, give Caution to his Co-heir not to sue, and then he shall be admitted Heir. But if his said Wife made him alone her Heir in the aforesaid manner, and thus there is no one to whom Caution may be given, he shall be Heir, tho' he gives no Caution ^s.

A false Demonstration neither affects a simple Legacy, nor a Legacy in Trust, nor an Heir ^t. For Instance : *Caius* said, in his Will, *I bequeath to my Brother Titius an hundred Pounds* ; or, *I appoint my Brother Stichus to be my Heir* ; whereas, in Truth, *Titius* was not his Brother, and this he knew. In this Case, such Demonstration does not affect the Legacy, nor the said Appointment of his Heir. But if he had bequeathed a Legacy unto *Titius*, or had appointed *Titius* simply to be his Heir, without styling him his Brother, and one *Titius* should say that the Testator meant him, and another *Titius* should say that he was meant : In that case, *Titius*, who shall prove that the Testator meant him, shall be admitted Legatee, and not the other. It matters not, whether a Legacy be bequeathed unto any one by Name, as to *Lucius* ; or by pointing out his bodily Person, Trade, Office, Kindred, &c. As, *I give unto my Cousin the Notary ten Pounds*, &c. For a Demonstration is oftentimes in the Place of a Name, when it is made by expressing of the Person or Thing ^u. I say, *oftentimes* ; because sometimes it is otherwise. If the Person of the Legatary does not appear, the Legacy is not valid from such a *Non-constat* ^x. But a Legacy made to an uncertain Person, of Thing certain or uncertain, is valid, if such Uncertainty of the Person may be delared and pointed out by any future Event ^y.

A Legacy is sometimes left *sub modo*, (as before remember'd) : But such a Legacy left, cannot be effectually demanded, unless the Legatary gives sufficient Caution or Security to fulfil the *Modus* of the Legacy ^z. For Illustration-sake : *Termitius* had a mind to have a Monument erected to his Memory ; and to this End, he bequeathed unto *Lucius Publius* and *Cornelius Lentulus* the Sum of a thousand Pounds. If they give Security to erect the said Monument, they shall have the thousand Pounds paid them, and not otherwise. Words importing a *Modus*, according to Cardinal *Tuscbus* ^a, are such as these, *viz. Sub hac conditione* ; and, according to *Baldus* ^b, *Sub modo tibi relinquo*, &c. But a *Modus* and a Condition are Things different in their Nature ; as I have in a former Title declared. See also the Title, *Of a Condition*, &c. This Word (*Ut*) or *That*, in *English*, always imports a *Modus*, and not a Condition, as *Baldus* observes ^c ; where it is said, on the other hand, that the Word (*Si*) or *If*, in *English*, imports a Condition, and not a *Modus*. The Words *Modo* & *forma*

^q D. 35. 1. 4. 1.^r D. 35. 1. 7.^s D. tu supra.^t D. 35. 1. 33. pr.^u D. 35. 1. 34.^x D. 34. 5. 5.^y D. 3. 5. 6.^z D. 35. 1. 40. 5.^a Concl. 585.^b Conf. 229. lib. 2.^c Conf. 150. lib. 5.

formâ infra-scriptis, import a *Modus*, and not a Condition, according to *Castrensis* ^d. But if the Word (*Ut*) be added to a Term which depends on *Fortune*, it imports a Condition, and not a *Modus*; else it is otherwise, as *Alexander* remarks in his *Consilia Juris* ^c. The Word *Dummodo* also imports a *Modus*: But of this, see more in the Title of *Conditions*, as ^{lib. 2.} ^{Conf. 95.} ^{lib. 7.} afore said.

An uncertain Day, which is not apt and sufficient to suspend a Legacy, does not hinder the Descent of a Legacy after the Death of the Legatary. *Caius* said in his Will, *Let my Heir pay unto Titius, by way of Legacy, an hundred Pounds, when the said Titius shall happen to die.* This ought to be judged a *pure* Legacy, tho' it be left to be paid at an uncertain Day, and tho' it be a Kind of Legacy *sub Conditione*; (for an uncertain Day is look'd upon to be a Condition ^f). And thus it ought to be judged a ^{Conf. 292.} ^{lib. 2.} ^{Conf. 95.} ^{lib. 7.} ^{D. 35. 1. 74.} *pure* Legacy; because the Event of the said Condition is sure to happen, since *Titius* must die, sooner or later. And in this Case no Condition seems to be apply'd to the Legacy, but only a Delay or Suspension of Payment 'till the Death of *Titius*: And when *Titius* comes to die, the Day of the Legacy succeeds; and thus *Titius*, after his Death, transmits it to his Heir. But it had been otherwise, if the Testator had said, *Let my Heir pay unto Titius a hundred Pounds, when the said Heir shall die*; because then it ought to be judged a Legacy left under a Condition; since an uncertain Day is reputed as a Condition, as just now hinted. Hence, if the Legatary dies before the Heir, he does not transmit it to his Heir.

A Legacy given *in liberam voluntatem*, and at the Discretion of the Heir, are different Legacies: For the first is in the Breast of the Heir, whether he will pay it, or not; but the other, *viz. ad arbitrium Heredis*, imports the Will and Discretion of an honest Man, and is a valid Legacy ^g. ^{D. 30. 1. 78.} And it is the same thing, if it be left by these Words, *viz. Si videatur judicio tuo*, or, If it shall please the Heir to pay so much: For it imports the Discretion of an honest Man. But the Words *liberum* and *plenum arbitrium* import a free Choice, whether he will pay it, or not ^h. Under the ^{D. 31. 2.} Appellation of *Wood*, is contain'd Wood provided for Fuel, being separated from the Soil, tho' it be not specially mention'd; unless the Mind of the Testator, or the Condition of the Wood, induces the contrary ⁱ. For ^{D. 32. 1. 55.} there is one Kind of Wood, which is call'd Materials for Building; and another Kind, which is used for Fuel; and both these come under the Name of *Lignum*; tho' we, in *English*, stile the first by the Name of *Timber*, and the other *Fuel*. The first is never intended, unless the Testator specially names it. Under the Appellation of Books, in a Legacy, we may reckon all Volumes, whether written upon Parchment, Vellum, Paper, or any other Matter ^k: And therefore, in a Legacy of Books, ^{D. 32. 1. 52.} whether written upon Paper, Vellum, Parchment, &c. all the Books so written pass as a Legacy. But Blank Vellum or Paper, which are pure and not written on, do not pass by the Name of *Books*. Nor, on the other hand, are Books due as a Legacy, if a Person only bequeaths his Papers, unless it be in one Case, *viz.* when a Student, who has nothing else but Books, bequeaths unto another Student all his Papers: For then Books may well enough be reckon'd under the Appellation of his *Papers*; because the Testator's Will seems to be such. But if a Man bequeaths unto you all his clean and unwritten Papers, Parchments, Vellums, and other Materials whereon Men usually write, they do not pass hereby; because Paper is that which is made of Silk, Linen, &c. But Parchment and Vellum is made of Sheep-skins, &c. Nor are Books which are begun to be written, by such a Bequest, due as a Legacy: For Books begun to be written, cannot be call'd clean Paper. Nor can Books begun to be written,

written, pass under the Denomination of *Books*; for they are not then Books: But it is otherwise if they are compleatly written throughout, tho' they are not corrected, or bound up l, &c. And thus, if a Man bequeaths all his Books, only those are meant that are written throughout, and not those which are not finish'd. If Books are bequeath'd; those Things do not seem to be given, wherein the Books are contain'd and found; as

^l D. 32. 1. 52.

Book-cases, Boxes, and the like ^m.

^m D. 32. 1. 52. 3.

If the same Sum of Money be twice bequeath'd, it is twice due, as it is said; unless the Testator does afterwards, in express Terms, change his Mind, and revoke the same ⁿ. *Titius* made his Will, and therein bequeath'd unto *Seius* an hundred Pounds *purely* and *absolutely*; and afterwards, in the said Will, he left unto the same *Seius* the same Sum of an hundred Pounds *conditionally*, viz. if such a Ship should return out of *Asia* by such a Time, and then he died. And then the Question was, Whether the Testator would have this Sum of an hundred Pounds, which he had bequeathed *conditionally*, to be a distinct Legacy from the first? The first Sum, which he bequeathed *absolutely* and *purely*, is due immediatly on the Testator's Death; and that Sum which he left *conditionally*, is due, if the Condition shall have its Event. But if the first Sum, which he left *absolutely*, be paid; it seems that the second Sum, which he left to him *conditionally*, is not due. But, in this Case, it appears, that the *pure* Legacy is converted into a *conditional* Legacy, by the Testator's changing his Mind. But,

ⁿ D. 34. 4. 9.

In alternative Legacies there is only one Legacy due; and if one Part of the Alternative be conditional, nothing is transmitted to the Heir, if the Legatary dies in the Interim ^o. *Titius* made *Seius* his Heir, and gave a Legacy unto *Caius* in this manner: *I bequeath unto Caius my Estate at Tivoli, or my Estate at Brundisium*; and then *Titius* died. Now, the Enumeration of several Estates comprehended in a disjunctive manner by way of Legacy, does not create several Legacies, but only makes one Legacy as to the Payment of it. For the Heir is not bound to give the Legatary more than one of the said Estates. Nor is an alternative Legacy due for more than one, tho' one of the Alternatives be *purely*, and the other Part be *conditionally*, bequeathed. For, pending the Condition, the Heir has not his Choice which Estate he will deliver, whether the *pure*, or the *conditional* Legacy: Nor has the Legatary his Choice which Estate he will demand of the Heir, tho' the Testator has given the Legatary his Election; for an Election, properly speaking, is, when the Party can chuse which of the two Estates he will have. But in this Case it is not so: because the *conditional* Legacy cannot be chosen; nor can the *pure* Legacy on the Account of the *conditional* Legacy. And moreover, because it appears, that if the Legatary dies, pending the Condition, he cannot transmit the said Legacy to his Heir, if it be left alternatively. In Alternatives, if the Case be doubtful, the Legatary has his Option or Choice: As thus; if a Testator shall say, *I bequeath unto Titius my Estate at Milain, or the Usufruct of the said Estate; and I give him the Election of having which he pleases*; in this Case the Legatary may either demand the naked Property of the said Estate, or the Usufruct without the Property. But if he had bequeathed him the Estate itself, tho' he also hereby seems to have bequeathed the Usufruct to him, yet he cannot demand the Usufruct, and quit the Property: And so *vice versa*.

If a Term or Delay be granted in Favour of the Heir by the Testator, he may pay the Legacy before the Day of Payment: But if it be granted on the Legatary's Account, he may not do this ^p. And if it be a Question, whether such Term be added in Favour of the Heir or Legatary, it is

^p D. 33. 1. 15.

^q D. 45. 1. 122.

presumed to be added in Favour of the Heir, as being a Debtor ^q. For a Legacy

a Legacy is in the Nature of a Debt, tho' not a real Debt ; for a Legacy is not paid until all just Debts are deducted ^{r.} And thus, from what is ^{1 D. 7. 72. 1.} here said, *Ulpian* rightly observes, That as the Law, in doubtful Cases, favours Debtors more than Creditors : so, as often as a Time is added for the Payment of Legacies, such Term is deemed to be added in Favour of the Heir ; because, in paying of Legacies, and in executing Testamentary Trusts, the Heir represents the Person of a Debtor. And thus a great Advantage accrues to him : For before the paying of Legacies comes, he shall acquire to his own Behoof the mesne Fruits and Profits of the Legacies ^{c. 6. 42. 12. D. 31. 1. 43. 2.} And it shall be at the Discretion of the Heir, whether he will pay the Legacy when it becomes due, or not, unless some Prejudice shall happen to the Legatary from such an Anticipation of Payment. For Example : A Testator left to his Heir in Trust, to restore such an Estate either to *Titius* or *Sempronius*, as the Heir thought fit, after the said Heir's Death. Now such Heir cannot, in his Life-time, restore it to whom he pleases, in Prejudice of the other Person ; because the Will of the Deceased was, that he should give it to him who survived after the Heir's Death ^{t.}

Those who ought to have receiv'd Legacies from the Hands of an Heir deceas'd, are preferr'd, in Point of Right, unto all such Legataries as are made so by such Heir ^{u.} *Titius* died, leaving *Seius* his appointed Heir, ^{10. D. 32. 1. 41. 12.} and gave unto *Sempronius* a Legacy of ten Pounds. *Seius* also died, leaving *Mevius* his appointed Heir, and bequeathed unto *Caius* a Legacy of ten Pounds. Now the Question was, which of the two Legataries should be preferr'd, *viz.* whether *Sempronius* who was the first Legatary, or *Caius* ? ^{u C. 7. 72. 1.} And it was adjudged, That *Sempronius* should have the Preference in Point of Payment, because the first Legacy is due as a Debt. And thus the Legataries of the Deceas'd are preferr'd, in Point of Right, to all the Legataries of the Heir : And this Order is observ'd among the Legataries of several Wills ; because Legataries of the first Will are as Creditors, in respect of the second Will ^{x.} For a Legacy is in the Nature of a Debt, ^{x C. 7. 72. 1.} tho' not a real Debt ; since a Legacy is not paid, 'till all just Debts are deducted ^{y.} ^{y C. 7. 72. 1.}

Touching what we call *Legatum caducum*, or an escheated Legacy, it is such a Legacy as escheats from the Legatary unto the Exchequer ; and this in such a manner, (as *Ulpian* observes ^{z.}) that the Legatary cannot ^{z De Caduc. tollend.} receive the same. The *Lex Papia Poppæa*, touching escheated Legacies and Heirships, was made under the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, for the sake of increasing the publick Treasury or Revenue, which the Civil Wars between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and between *Pompey*, *Lepidus* and *Brutus*, had drained, and much exhausted ^{a.} And *Pliny*, in his Panegyrick ^{a Tacit. Ann. lib. 3.} upon *Trajan*, tells us, That the twentieth Part of all Inheritances was, by a Law, given to the Treasury, for the sake of increasing the publick Revenue. Moreover, there was another Reason for introducing the *Lex Papia Poppæa*, touching escheated Legacies, *viz.* for the sake of punishing Batchelors ; that, being frighten'd with the Punishment of Escheats, they might apply their Thoughts unto Marriage, and, by this means, add Subjects unto the Empire, whose Number had been much diminish'd by the Civil Wars. And as Legacies and Inheritances are diminish'd by the *Falcidian* Law ^{b.} and by the *Senatus-consultum Trebellianum* ^{c.} ; so, in the ^{b D. 35. 2. 1. c D. 36. 1.} like manner, were they not only lessen'd by the *Papian* Law, but even entire Legacies, and whole Inheritances, did, by this Law, descend unto the Exchequer, in order to support the Charges of the Wars. This Law contain'd several Heads or Articles. For, 1st, It was hereby provided, That a tenth Part of those Goods should be apply'd to the Exchequer, which a Husband, dying without Children, had left to his Wife. See *Ulpian's Fragments* ^{d.} But this Part of the Law was afterwards repealed, ^{d Tit. 15.}

^c C. 8. 58. 1 & 2. for wife Reasons ^e. 2^{dly}, This Law imposed a Tax or Duty upon all Batchelors, as aforesaid. And, 3^{dly}, It made a Defalcation on all Legacies and Heirships. But as this Law is abrogated, I shall no longer insist on it. It was call'd the *Papian Poppæan* Law, because it was made when *M. Papias Mutilus* and *Quint. Poppæus* were Consuls.

A Condition, that induces a perpetual Widowhood is remitted, according to *Baldus*, as invalid: As when a Legacy is left to *Sempronia*, if she shall always continue a Widow. But if a Legacy be left on this Condition, viz. that she shall neither marry *Titius*, nor *Seius*, nor *Mævius*, she shall lose her Legacy if she marries either of them: For perpetual Widowhood is not enjoined by such a Condition, since she may lawfully marry any other Person. If a Testator shall say, *I bequeath unto my Wife such a House, so long as she shall live chastly and honestly*, she ought to have the Legacy, tho' she passes to a second Marriage, because she does (nevertheless) live a chaste and honest Life, such a State being agreeable to the Modesty of a Woman ^f: And, therefore, *Bartolus* subjoins ^g, that the Testator ought to say, *so long as she lives honestly and chastly, and keeps herself a Widow*. But if those Words *chastly* and *honestly* are utter'd by the Husband towards his Wife, they ought to be understood *de plena castitate*; because (say the Novels) the Soul of her former Husband is made sad by her second Marriage ^h: But it is otherwise, if these Words are utter'd by a Father, or the Woman's Kindred.

A Condition of Marriage is either conceived in affirmative Terms, viz. *If he or she shall marry*; or else negatively, *If he or she shall not marry*. In respect of the first Case it is to be observed, that tho' no Person ought to be invited to Matrimony through Fear of Punishment ⁱ; yet he may be induced hereunto through a Prospect of Gain ^k. Wherefore, if a Legacy be left to a Person under this Condition, viz. *If he shall marry with Lucia*; he ought to comply with the Condition, otherwise it is a Bar to his Legacy, if he could contract Marriage with her *decently* and *honestly* ^l. Moreover, a Testator may take away a Legacy under a Condition, viz. *If the Legatary shall contract Marriage with such a Person, or a certain Kind of Persons*: For tho' such a Revocation seems to be made *nomine Pœnæ*, yet no Punishment is really inflicted, whereby any Thing is taken away, which he can properly call his own; and therefore, it cannot properly be stiled a Punishment ^m. A Condition of Marriage referred to the Advice and Discretion of another Person, is not valid in respect of a Legacy given on such Condition, though a Dowry may be conferred *in arbitrium alterius*. As when *Titius* gives unto *Caia*, a Legacy, if she shall marry with the Advice of *Sempronius*: In this Case she shall have her Legacy, tho' she marries without his Advice. But if *Titius* gives unto *Caia* a Dowry of one hundred Pounds, if his Heir *Sempronius* shall think fit to pay it, such Condition is valid. But a Legacy may in this Manner be given *in arbitrium alterius*, as a Condition; as, *I bequeath unto Titius an hundred Pounds, if Seius shall think well of it*: And in this Case the Legacy is valid, as if he had said, *If Seius shall ascend the Capitol* ⁿ; because here is no Restraint laid on a lawful Act. But if a Testator shall say, *I bequeath a Legacy unto Mævius a Pupil, if his Guardian shall think well of it*; this is not a conditional Legacy: Nor can the Guardian delay demanding the same, or transmit it to his Heir.

When a Testator says, *Let my Heir pay unto Titius, as much as Seius shall think proper*, or, *according to the Extent of my Estate*, such Legacy is valid ^o. A Legacy is also valid, if it be given on a Condition which depends on the Power of another; as *if Titius shall not ascend the Capitol*, for it is in his Power either to ascend, or not to ascend it: For the Legatary may then demand the Legacy, when it shall be certain, that *Titius* cannot ascend the Capitol. *Sempronius* bequeathed a Legacy of an hundred

dred Pounds unto *Titius*, under a Condition, that he the said *Titius* did so, &c. and then died. Afterwards the said *Titius* died before the Condition was fulfilled; in this Case the Legacy is extinguished. But it had been otherwise, if *Titius* had been banished to some Island in the mean Time, because the Legacy is not extinguished before his natural Death; for he might have been restor'd to the City again, and Banishment is only a civil Death. But if he had been made a Servant unto Punishment, it is the same Thing, as in the first Case; because Servitude is like unto Death itself ^p.

^p D. 35. 1. 58.

If a Person shall bequeath Part of his Goods, as is usually now done, the Legacy shall be paid without the Profits thereof; unless the Heir shall delay the Payment of it ^q. *Seius* bequeathed unto *Titius* a fourth Part of his Goods, and limited three Months for the Payment of the Legacy: In this Case the Heir is not bound to give the Legatary the Profits thereof, if he pays the Legacy within three Months; but otherwise he shall be obliged to yield him the Profits thereof. In a doubtful Case, a Man seems only to bequeath the Right which he has in a Thing, tho' the Right should be lost by Death. As for Example: If I have an Usufruct, and have bequeathed the same, such Legacy is of no Advantage to the Legatary, unless I afterwards purchase the Property thereof ^r. If a Man bequeaths all his Books or written Works, only those are intended that are written throughout, and not those which are not finished. If Books are bequeathed, those Things do not seem to be given, wherein the Books are found, as Book-cases, Boxes, and the like ^s.

^q D. 30. 1. 23.

^r D. 30. 1. 24.

².

^s D. 32. 1. 52.

A Man may not in Part renounce a Legacy, and in Part acquire the same: ³. But if he dies and leaves two Heirs, the one may acquire his Part, and the other renounce his ^t. If a Legatary renounces his Legacy, the Thing bequeathed is feigned never to be with the Legatary, but always to remain with the Heir. Thus if the Legatary deliberates, and the Heir delivers the Thing to another, such Delivery is void, if the Legatary afterwards accepts it: But if he renounces the Legacy, the Delivery is valid ^u. He who is hindred, or forbidden to execute the Testator's Will, on the Account of his being in the Service of the Wars, does not therefore renounce or lose his Legacy; because a Condition which is impossible by Law does not vitiate a Legacy, but such Condition is rejected and rendred void ^x. *Gracchus* made *Horatius*, who was a Soldier, by his Will, a Guardian unto his Son, being at the Age of Puberty, and left a Legacy to *Horatius* if he administered the Office of Guardianship. And it being a Query, whether he could receive the Emolument without the Incumbrance or *Onus*, it was resolved, that in this Case he might; because *Horatius* was a Soldier, who, by the Oath of War, is hindred from being a Guardian: So that here he is not barred from demanding his Legacy, since he cannot act as Guardian if he would ^y. A Legatary, who possesses himself of a Legacy, and takes it from the Heir by his own Authority in an unlawful Manner, loses his Legacy and his Action ^z.

^t D. 30. 1. 38.

^u D. 34. 5. 16.

^x C. 6. 37. 8.

^y D. 4. 6.

^z C. 6. 37. 5.

Enunciative Words, principally utter'd in a Last Will and Testament, *propter se*, do induce a Disposition, unless it be proved that they were emitted through Error and Mistake. *Titius* making his Will, appointed *Sempronius* to be his Heir; and, among other Things bequeathed, said, *I forbid my Heir to demand of Seius the ten Pounds which he owed me, because he had paid me*. Now if he has not really paid the Money, *Quære*, whether it may be demanded, or not? I answer, if the Money has been paid, it is plain it cannot be demanded; and if it has not been paid, *Seius* shall have an Action *ex Fidei-commissio* to be discharged, unless *Sempronius* shall prove that *Titius* would not have him to be discharged: But 'tis otherwise, if he had through Error thought that *Seius* had paid him.

A false Demonstration does not vitiate a Legacy, where a certain Sum or Quantity is expressed, either in Terms, or else pointed out by Relation had

to something else: But 'tis otherwise, if the Sum or Quantity be entirely uncertain. *Titius* making his Will, appointed *Caius* his Heir, and said thus, *viz. I give and bequeath unto Sempronius the ten Pounds which he owes me*; whereas, in Truth, *Sempronius* owed him nothing. *Quære*, whether such a Legacy be valid? Adjudged that it is, and may be sued for, by an Action on the Will. For it being said, that *I bequeath unto you the ten Pounds which you owe me*, here is something in certain expressed: But it had been otherwise, if it had been uncertain, as, *I bequeath unto you what you owe me*; for then the Legacy is not valid thro' the Uncertainty of it. And it is likewise the same, as if he had spoke in the third Person, as, *I bequeath unto him what he owes me*.

If a simple Legacy, or Legacy in Trust, be left in this manner, *viz. If my Heir shall think fit, &c.* both a simple Legacy and a Legacy in Trust shall be due and valid; because it is not given or merely left to the Will of the Heir, but committed to him as an honest Man, to judge of the Expediency of it ^a. Wherefore, heretofore there were several Disputes and Controversies about simple Legacies and Legacies in Trust, what they were, and what was the Difference between them, as we may see in the *Justinian Institutes*: But now these Disputes are laid asleep and taken away by this Law ^b, which makes simple Legacies to be equal to Legacies in Trust, and to agree with them in many Things. But yet, I think, they differ in several respects. For Legacies in Trust, by this Law cannot be effectually sued for ^c; but simple Legacies may. Again, simple Legacies are only in a Will ^d; but *Fidei-commissa*, or Gifts in Trust, may be otherwise conferred. Thirdly, a simple Legacy cannot descend or be bequeathed after the Death of the Heir; but a *Fidei-commissum* may be granted beyond his Time ^e. If a simple Legacy, or a Legacy in Trust, be left unto the Exchequer, with an Onus or Incumbrance at the Tail of it, it passes to the Exchequer with such an Incumbrance ^f. And it is the same Thing in respect of other Persons, besides the Exchequer. And so if a Legacy be revoked, the Onus or Incumbrance, which goes along with such Legacy, is also understood to be revoked together with it, as I shall note hereafter under the *Revocation* of Legacies.

By the *Civil Law*, a Thing belonging to another, may be bequeathed to this Effect, *viz.* That if the Testator has bequeathed such a Thing, the Heir shall be obliged to purchase it, and to deliver it to the Legatary, or else to pay the Value of it to him: But if the Testator did not know it to belong to another, or to be another Person's Goods, but thought it to be his own, then such Legacy is not due, even in respect of the Value thereof ^h: When a Testator bequeaths a Thing as a Legacy, which belongs to another Person, the Legatary is obliged to prove that the Testator knew it to be such: For, in a doubtful Case, it is to be presumed, according to *Theophilus* ⁱ, that the Testator believed it to be his own. But *Barbatus* thinks, that this Matter ought to be left to the Discretion of the Judge. I say, that in a doubtful Case, a Testator is rather presumed to bequeath that which is his own, than what belongs to another Man ^k; for this best suits with a Last Will and Testament, which was invented, to the end that a Man should or might dispose of his own Goods ^l. I will put a Case. *John* bequeathed unto *Peter* what belonged to another Person: Whereupon *Peter*, on the Testator's Death, demanded the Legacy of the Heir. But the Heir, on the other Hand, in Defence of himself, alledged, that the Testator did not know it to belong to another; and therefore, said, that he was not obliged to the Performance of this Legacy. But the Legatary averr'd the Testator's Knowledge herein; and, therefore, said that the Legacy was valid; whereupon a Dispute arose between the Heir and the Legatary, touching this Legacy. *Quære*, whether the Legatary ought to prove, that the Testator knew

knew it to belong to another, or whether the Heir ought to prove, that the Testator was ignorant thereof: And it was held, that the Legatary ought to prove the Testator's Knowledge; and it is not necessary for the Heir to prove the Testator's Ignorance, according to that general Maxim in Law, *viz.* That the Necessity of Proof is always incumbent on the Plaintiff.

A Legatary shall be put into Possession of the Heir's Estate, if the Heir does not either satisfy the Legacy, or give Security for the Payment thereof, within six Months after he has apply'd himself to the Judge. But the Testator may remit this Caution or Security to him, whom he has charged with the Payment of a simple Legacy, or a Legacy in Trust ^{m.} But tho' this Caution or Security in respect of a Legacy may be remitted unto an Heir; ^{m C. 6. 55. 2. & 7. D. 36. 3. 12. D. 35. 1. 77. fin.} yet that Security, whereby it is provided that such Heir shall make a right Use of the Legacy in his Hands, cannot be remitted: For if the Usufruct of a Thing be bequeathed unto the Heir, or any other Person, he ought to give Security, that he will restore the Thing, when the Time of the Usufruct is determin'd ^{n.} Note, Whenever an Heir pays Legacies, he may demand Caution from the Legataries, that they will refund such Legacies, in ^{n D. 7. 9. 1. D. 7. 1. 1.} Case that the Heirship or Inheritance be evicted.

Titia making her Will, appointed *Seia* to be her Heir, and bequeathed unto *Mævius* the Usufruct of her Estate, which was called *Fribach*, and in these Words made *Mævius* a Trustee. *I would have Mævius pay unto Pamphilus and Stichus from the Day of my Death sixty Pounds every Year, out of the Rent of my said Estate, during the Continuance of their Lives;* and then the said *Titia* departed this Life. Afterwards *Mævius* had the said Estate from *Seia* the Heir, and the said *Mævius* for some Years paid unto the aforesaid *Pamphilus* and *Stichus* the Annuity of sixty Pounds, and then the said *Mævius* died, and by this Means the said Estate reverted unto *Seia* the Heir, *pleno Jure*, so that the Usufruct was now extinct by the Death of *Mævius*. And hereupon it became a Question, whether *Seia* the Heir of *Titia* was obliged to pay *Pamphilus* and *Stichus* the said Annuity of sixty Pounds? And it was resolved in the Negative; because the said sixty Pounds were not left by the Heir, but by *Mævius* the Usufructuary ^{o. o D. 33. 1. 19.} For if a Legacy be begun and ended by the Death of the Legatary, the Incumbrance that was charged thereon, is extinguished *quoad omnes*. It became another Question, whether the Heirs of *Mævius* were obliged to pay it? And 'tis said, that they are not, unless *Pamphilus* and *Stichus* do evidently prove, that the Testatrix would have the said Annuity continued unto the aforesaid Persons, even after the Death of *Mævius*, and then the Heirs of *Mævius* the Usufructuary shall be obliged, if the Rent received by *Mævius* in his Life-time, from the said Estate, be sufficient, otherwise they shall not be liable ^{p.}

A Legacy is sometimes not valid, in respect of the Person bequeathing it, as being a Person that is intestable ^{q.} and the like, and sometimes in respect ^{q I. 2. 20. 24.} of the Person to whom it is bequeathed, because (perhaps) he is not capable of the Thing bequeathed: And, according to *Speculator*, there are several of these Persons, who can neither bequeath, nor take a Legacy given them. See *Speculator de Instrum. Editione 1.* And sometimes a Legacy is not valid ^{r §. Compen- diosa.} in respect of the Thing bequeathed; because the Thing itself cannot be bequeathed ^{s,} tho' regularly speaking, all Things may be bequeathed, which ^{s I. 2. 20. 4.} are not specially prohibited by some Law ^{t.} A Legacy bequeathed to an ^{t D. 30. 1. 41.} unlawful Purpose, may, by Consent of Parties, be converted to a lawful Purpose: But 'tis otherwise, if it be left to a lawful Purpose; for then it cannot be converted to an unlawful one. We have a Provincial Constitution in *Lendwood*, which strictly forbids all Annals, Trentals, and other Masses, to be sold, which is not lawful to do, even by the *Canon Law*:

Wherefore, when any one gives or bequeaths any temporal Thing to be paid as a Reward or Price for a spiritual Thing, such Disposition then ceases. Tho' it be not necessary, in the bequeathing of a Legacy, to assign a Cause or Reason for so doing; yet if a Reason be given, it ought to be a good one.

- If a Thing bequeathed, shall afterwards receive an Increase, the Legacy increases with it: And so, *vice versa*, if it be diminish'd, the Legacy decreases with it ^u. If I bequeath unto you, as a Flock, ten Sheep, which I have in my Flock, and which are said to make a Flock, and afterwards I have five added thereunto, the Legatary shall have all of them; because where a Flock is bequeathed, or any thing of the like Nature, those Things which do afterwards accede thereunto do belong to the Legatary ^x. If a Flock be bequeathed, and any of the Cattle shall happen to die in the Testator's Life-time, and other Cattle shall be substituted in their Room, the Legatary shall have the whole Flock notwithstanding; because it seems to be the same Flock: And if any of the said Flock of Cattle shall happen to be diminish'd, and even but an Ox or Sheep remain, the Legatary may claim it, tho' it then ceased to be a Flock ^y. That which is not yet in the Nature of Things, but only in future Expectation, may be bequeathed; as the Vine which shall hereafter grow and be produced from my Estate, and the like ^z. If a Testator bequeaths a certain Sum of Money to such and such Persons, on Condition that they do a certain Thing, and one of them fails in the Performance of it; yet, notwithstanding this, the other shall have his Part of the Legacy ^a. *Titius* having appointed his Heirs, afterwards said in his Will, *I bequeath unto my Neighbour Scius, and to him of my Sons who shall come to my Funeral, an hundred Crowns*. None of his Sons, after his Death, came to his Funeral. *Quere*, Whether *Scius* shall have the whole hundred Crowns? And it was adjudged that he should, and that the Legacy should not be lessen'd upon this Account ^b.

- A Legacy left to one under the Name of a Dignitary, is understood to be left also to his Successor in such Dignity, unless he be a subaltern Person. Thus a Legacy left unto the Prince, is also deemed to be left to his Successor; because the Testator is presumed to have the same Affection for the Prince who succeeds, as he has for the Prince now living ^c. And it is the same Thing touching a Legacy bequeathed to a Bishop: For if such Bishop shall die in the Testator's Life-time, it seems (according to *Bartolus* ^d) to be left even to his Successor, when it is left to him as a Dignitary, as being Bishop of *Surum*, &c. But if a Legacy be left to a Vicar, it does not seem to be left to his Successor; because a Vicar is a subaltern Person, who has his Dignity from another, and not from himself. But whenever the giving a Legacy coheres to the Person of the Legatary, and not incident to his Dignity, it is then deemed to be left to his Person. Whereupon, we ought to consider which Name is first express'd in such Legacy, whether that of his Dignity, or his proper Name ^e. A Legacy left to a Parson or Parish-priest, as to the Rector of *Cripplegate* Parish in *London*, seems to be left to the Church itself, and shall go to the Parson, and his Successors ^f: But if it be left to *J. S. Rector of Cripplegate*, he shall have it to his own Use; for the proper Name of the Person determines the Legacy. A Legacy bequeathed unto a Man's Wife only under her appellative Name, is not due to a second Wife, which the Testator had after the making of his Will, on the Death of his first Wife ^g; because the Testator could not be supposed to provide for a second Wife by such Will: But if the Testator had no Wife at the Time of making his Will, then a Legacy to his Wife, as a Wife, is not only due to his first, but also to his second or third Wife; because Legacies are favour'd in Law.

An Heir, unto whom the Care of erecting a Monument is committed; is not obliged to be at the whole Expence of it, if sufficient Affets do not come to his Hands by way of Legacy. *Titius* appointed his Wife *Seia* to be his Heir as to the twelfth Part of the Inheritance, and *Mævia* to be his Heir to all the rest, and, in these Words, order'd to have a Monument built in Honour of himself; *viz. I would have my Body to be deliver'd to my Wife, to be bury'd in such an Estate; and my Will is, that there be a Monument erected to me, to the Value of five hundred Crowns.* *Quære*, Whether the Testator, by the said Words, wou'd have his Wife alone, who had no more than an hundred and fifty Crowns of her Husband's Estate, at her own Cost and Charge, erect the said Monument; or, whether both Heirs should be at the Expence of this Monument, according to the respective Shares of Goods that came to their Hands? And it was held, That both the Heirs should be at the Charge of this Monument, according to their respective Shares in the Testator's Goods; and that the Wife, by these Words, was only enjoin'd, through conjugal Affection, to see this Work performed.

A Person bequeathing a Thing which is in common with him to another, is only understood to bequeath his own Part of the Thing ^h. If the Whole ^{h C. 6. 37 20.} be bequeathed unto one, and a Part of the Whole unto another, a Part of the Whole is deemed to be revoked and taken away from him by such a Legacy ⁱ. If there are two Codicils made upon one and the same Day, ^{i D. 40 6. 6.} and a Thing be bequeathed unto *Titius* in one of them, and the same Thing be bequeathed unto *Caius* in the other, they both seem, by the Will of the Deceased, to have a concurrent Right in the Thing, and shall be admitted to the Legacy together. Where a Thing cannot be had in *Specie*, an Action accrues for the Value thereof; as in the Case of a Legacy, where the same Thing is left to me, by way of a Legacy, in Trust; and likewise bequeathed unto you, not with a Design of bequeathing the Thing in common, but unto each Person *in Solidum*. For if it be paid unto one, the other has no Right unto the Thing itself; but yet he may have an Action for the Value of it ^k.

In a Legacy, we ought rather to consider the Thoughts and Intention of the Testator, than the Words and Writing of the Will, whereby a Legacy is given: For if the Design and Meaning of the Testator be proved, it is; in a doubtful Case, to be preferr'd to the Writing of the Testament. But if it does not appear what and how much is bequeathed, nothing is due, unless it be in favourable Cases ^l: And a Legacy is of no Advantage, ^{l 30. 1. 75. 1.} unless the *Species* of the Legacy be expressed. But Legacies left to *charitable Uses*, tho' they are uncertain, are yet supported in Law: And so likewise is an uncertain Dower bequeathed: For it ought to be declar'd and ascertain'd by the Judge; unless it be simply bequeathed by the Husband, in which Case there is no Occasion of a Specification. If Legacies, which are given to such a Sum, do exceed the Estate or Patrimony of the Person deceased, they lessen the Quantity of the Legacy given in *Specie*.

By the *Civil Law*, a Bishop ought to take Care and see, that a Legacy given to *charitable Uses*, be fulfilled according to the Testator's Intent: And this he ought to do without any Fee or Reward; according to that Command of our Saviour *Christ*, *viz. Freely ye have received, freely give* ^{m. m Mat. 10. 8.} These Legacies were publish'd before the Magistrates, and recorded in their Rolls. But by the common Usage of the Country, in *Holland*, these Legacies are not wont to be publish'd before the Magistrates; but the Deacons, and other Persons that are Stewards for the Poor, are obliged to fulfil the pious Designs of the Deceased, according to good Conscience, and without Delay ⁿ. In *England*, the Bishop is to see that ^{n Groenv. de L.L. Abr.} the

the Testator's Will be observ'd in this respect ; and if the Executor fails herein, he may call him to an Account : And if other Feoffees are fraudulent or negligent in their Duty, a Commission of Charitable Uses will go out of the Court of *Chancery*, to enquire touching such Neglect or Abuse of such Charity. See the Statute of *Charitable Uses*. It is one thing to leave a Legacy to *pious Uses*, and another to bequeath it for the Maintenance of a Person. For a Legacy, left for Maintenance unto a certain Person, does not seem to be left to *pious Uses* : But if it be left to the *Poor*, it is left to *pious Uses* ^o. Tho' Money left for Alimony may be put out to Use, and the Interest receiv'd from thence go towards Alimony ; yet Money left to charitable Uses cannot be put out to Interest without the Bishop's Consent, whom the *Civil Law* has intrusted with the Care of it. If a Person, by his Will, leaves a certain Sum of Money, or the like, by way of Legacy, to be distributed to the Poor ; *Quere*, Whether it may be given to one poor Man alone ? *Bartolus* ^p thinks that it may : But herein he differs from himself in another Place of his *Commentary* ^q. And the common Opinion of the Lawyers is, That it ought not to be conferr'd on one only : It being more agreeable to the Testator's Intent, that it should be distributed unto several ; and his Intent ought to be regarded. For the Reason hereof is different ; because it is more agreeable to Charity to supply the Wants of several, than to relieve one Person.

^o C. 1. 3. 49.

^p In L. 67.

D. 30. 1.

^q In L. 1.

D. 38. 1.

^r C. 1. 2. 1.

^s Sacrosanct.
Eccl. C. 1. 17
& 20.

^t D. 33. 1. 20. 2.

Before the Time of *Constantine the Great*, it was either unlawful, or very seldom practis'd, to bequeath any Thing to the Church : And though *Constantine*, by an Imperial Constitution ^r, permitted such Legacies to be made ; yet the Emperor *Arcadius* afterwards did, for wise Reasons, forbid any Thing to be left to Ecclesiasticks. See the *Theodosian Code* ^s. This *St. Jerom*, in a Letter to *Nepotianus*, styles a good Caustick apply'd to the Wound which the Priesthood had given to the Church, by their insatiable Avarice : But yet this did not restrain their Covetousness, but they eluded this Law, by procuring Legacies in Trust ^t.

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^u D. 34. 5. 20.

^x D. 34. 5. 2.

^y D. 34. 5. 5.

^z D. 34. 5. 6.

^a C. 4. 2. 1.

If a Man bequeaths any Thing to his *Kindred*, he seems to bequeath it to such as were of his Kindred at the Time of making his Will : But if he had no Kindred at that Time, then it goes to such as were so at the Time of his Death ^u. That which is bequeathed to Administrators or Directors of any Corporation, seems to be bequeathed to such Corporation. And 'tis the same thing, if it be bequeathed to the Citizens of such a City ^x. If there be not a *Constat* of the Person of the Legatary, the Legacy is not valid from a *Non-constat* of the Person ^y. But a Legacy given to an uncertain Person, of Things certain or uncertain, if they may be pointed out, is valid ; for such Uncertainty of the Person may be declared (perhaps) by some future Event ^z, and then it is valid. A Legatary is not obliged to pay Debts upon Contracts, but the Heir is obliged ^a : And the Reason is, because the Heir, by accepting of the Heirship, contracts (as it were) with the hereditary Creditors.

^b D. 32. 1. 90.

^c D. 32. 1. 91. 5.

A Legacy is said to be *namely* or *expressly* given, if it may be understood from that which is bequeathed, tho' the Name of it be not mention'd ^b. If a House be bequeathed, the Garden and Backside belonging to such House are due, if such Garden or Backside are purchased for the sake of the House, that the House may be more pleasant and healthy, and there be a Passage to the Garden by or from the House ; and, lastly, if the Garden be an Appendage unto the House ; for we purchase Gardens for the sake of Health and Pleasure ^c, and Backsides for Conveniency. If

Wooll

Wooll be bequeathed, even that which is dyed is due as a Legacy ; for dyed Wooll is Wooll.

If any Thing be bought and purchas'd out of the Money bequeathed to a Person, the Legacy is not thereby extinguish'd, but shall be made good to the Person out of the Thing purchas'd d. *Titius* made his two Sons ^{d D. 34. 4. 23.} and his Daughter his Heirs, and divided his Substance between them ; saving a few Chattels, which were to remain undivided, and in common : And would have his said Daughter accept of three hundred Pounds out of that Gain which he, the Father, had made, from the Administration of a publick Office which he had. And afterwards, out of the Money arising from the Profits of the said Office, the Father purchas'd an Estate, and for the said Estate he gave four hundred Pounds out of the said Profits, and so gave a hundred Pounds more than he had bequeathed to his Daughter. After this, the Father died ; and the Question was, Whether the Brothers and Daughter were bound to make good the said Legacy of three hundred Pounds unto their Sister ; because the three hundred Pounds, with another hundred Pounds of the said Profits, were laid out in a Purchase ? And it was judged, That they were oblig'd ; because, what is converted into the Body of an Estate, does not seem to be spent or consumed. Wherefore, the said Daughter shall have her Legacy, out of the Estate or Inheritance, before any Division is made, and then the Remainder of the Inheritance shall be divided between the Co-heirs, Share and Share alike e. ^{e D. ut supra.}

If a simple Legacy, or a Legacy in Trust, be left unto the Prince or Emperor, by Virtue of an imperfect Will, he ought not to claim the same, because it is contrary to Decency ; for the Prince ought to observe those Laws from which he seems to be exempt f. Let the Flatterers of Princes, ^{f D. 32. 1. 23.} therefore, give Ear unto this Doctrine : For it is not only contrary to Decency, for a Prince, who is the Head of the Laws, to have Thoughts of breaking the Laws, but even contrary to the Laws themselves. A Legatary ought to give Caution for the fulfilling of a *Modus* g : As, when a Man ^{g D. 35. 1. 40. fin.} bequeaths an hundred Pounds unto *Berta*, that she may marry *Sempronius*. If a Testament be imperfect or invalid, for want of a Solemnity requisite thereunto, as because the Will had not a sufficient Number of Witnesses, or was defective in some other testamentary Solemnity, the Legacies in the Will are not due, on the Account of such Imperfections, as just now hinted, unless there be a codicillary Clause put in such Will, to support and strengthen the Legacies thereby.

If a Testator bequeaths his House, with all Things therein, nothing excepted, he does not hereby seem to bequeath the Money in *Specie* which shall be found therein. Yet the Corn, and other Things which are there, are well comprehended in such Legacy ; and so is the Money, if it be left there by way of Safeguard, as in the Place of a Treasury. And the Reason why Money in Cash is excepted, is, because Money in Tale or *Specie* is not locally circumscribed. And if a Testator shall say, *I bequeath my House, with all Things therein existing*, this is to be understood of those Things which were there at the Time of the Will made, and not of those Things which came in or were there afterwards h. ^{h D. 32. 1. 44.}

If a Father shall leave to his Son all his Law-books, provided he becomes a Proficient in the Study of the Law ; or his Physick-books, if he shall become a Student in the Art of Physick ; the Son shall acquire both the Law and Physick-books, if he shall become a Proficient in each Art or Science.

If a Testator bequeaths Cloaths and Jewels to his Wife, valued by him at two hundred Pounds, and at length they do not appear to be worth so much, the Wife cannot sue or demand to have the Undervalue thereof supply'd and made good to her ; because the Husband (perhaps) might be

the Testator's Will be observ'd in this respect ; and if the Executor fails herein, he may call him to an Account : And if other Feoffees are fraudulent or negligent in their Duty, a Commission of Charitable Uses will go out of the Court of *Chancery*, to enquire touching such Neglect or Abuse of such Charity. See the Statute of *Charitable Uses*. It is one thing to leave a Legacy to *pious Uses*, and another to bequeath it for the Maintenance of a Person. For a Legacy, left for Maintenance unto a certain Person, does not seem to be left to *pious Uses* : But if it be left to the *Poor*, it is left to *pious Uses* ^o. Tho' Money left for Alimony may be put out to Use, and the Interest receiv'd from thence go towards Alimony ; yet Money left to charitable Uses cannot be put out to Interest without the Bishop's Consent, whom the *Civil Law* has intrusted with the Care of it. If a Person, by his Will, leaves a certain Sum of Money, or the like, by way of Legacy, to be distributed to the Poor ; *Quere*, Whether it may be given to one poor Man alone ? *Bartolus* ^p thinks that it may : But herein he differs from himself in another Place of his *Commentary* ^q. And the common Opinion of the Lawyers is, That it ought not to be conferr'd on one only : It being more agreeable to the Testator's Intent, that it should be distributed unto several ; and his Intent ought to be regarded. For the Reason hereof is different ; because it is more agreeable to Charity to supply the Wants of several, than to relieve one Person.

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Wooll be bequeathed, even that which is dyed is due as a Legacy ; for dyed Wooll is Wooll.

If any Thing be bought and purchas'd out of the Money bequeathed to a Person, the Legacy is not thereby extinguish'd, but shall be made good to the Person out of the Thing purchas'd d. *Titius* made his two Sons ^{d D. 34. 4. 23.} and his Daughter his Heirs, and divided his Substance between them ; saving a few Chattels, which were to remain undivided, and in common : And would have his said Daughter accept of three hundred Pounds out of that Gain which he, the Father, had made, from the Administration of a publick Office which he had. And afterwards, out of the Money arising from the Profits of the said Office, the Father purchas'd an Estate, and for the said Estate he gave four hundred Pounds out of the said Profits, and so gave a hundred Pounds more than he had bequeathed to his Daughter. After this, the Father died ; and the Question was, Whether the Brothers and Daughter were bound to make good the said Legacy of three hundred Pounds unto their Sister ; because the three hundred Pounds, with another hundred Pounds of the said Profits, were laid out in a Purchase ? And it was judged, That they were oblig'd ; because, what is converted into the Body of an Estate, does not seem to be spent or consumed. Wherefore, the said Daughter shall have her Legacy, out of the Estate or Inheritance, before any Division is made, and then the Remainder of the Inheritance shall be divided between the Co-heirs, Share and Share alike e. ^{e D. ut supra.}

If a simple Legacy, or a Legacy in Trust, be left unto the Prince or Emperor, by Virtue of an imperfect Will, he ought not to claim the same, because it is contrary to Decency ; for the Prince ought to observe those Laws from which he seems to be exempt f. Let the Flatterers of Princes, ^{f D. 32. 1. 23.} therefore, give Ear unto this Doctrine : For it is not only contrary to Decency, for a Prince, who is the Head of the Laws, to have Thoughts of breaking the Laws, but even contrary to the Laws themselves. A Legatary ought to give Caution for the fulfilling of a *Modus* g : As, when a Man ^{g D. 35. 1. 40. fin.} bequeaths an hundred Pounds unto *Berta*, that she may marry *Sempronius*. If a Testament be imperfect or invalid, for want of a Solemnity requisite thereunto, as because the Will had not a sufficient Number of Witnesses, or was defective in some other testamentary Solemnity, the Legacies in the Will are not due, on the Account of such Imperfections, as just now hinted, unless there be a codicillary Clause put in such Will, to support and strengthen the Legacies thereby.

If a Testator bequeaths his House, with all Things therein, nothing excepted, he does not hereby seem to bequeath the Money in *Specie* which shall be found therein. Yet the Corn, and other Things which are there, are well comprehended in such Legacy ; and so is the Money, if it be left there by way of Safeguard, as in the Place of a Treasury. And the Reason why Money in Cash is excepted, is, because Money in Tale or *Specie* is not locally circumscribed. And if a Testator shall say, *I bequeath my House, with all Things therein existing*, this is to be understood of those Things which were there at the Time of the Will made, and not of those Things which came in or were there afterwards h. ^{h D. 32. 1. 44.}

If a Father shall leave to his Son all his Law-books, provided he becomes a Proficient in the Study of the Law ; or his Physick-books, if he shall become a Student in the Art of Physick ; the Son shall acquire both the Law and Physick-books, if he shall become a Proficient in each Art or Science.

If a Testator bequeaths Cloaths and Jewels to his Wife, valued by him at two hundred Pounds, and at length they do not appear to be worth so much, the Wife cannot sue or demand to have the Undervalue thereof supply'd and made good to her ; because the Husband (perhaps) might be

mistaken in his Valuation of them. And thus, on the other hand, if those Jewels or Vestments should be worth more, the Heir cannot demand the Surplusage, nor diminish any Thing of the Legacy: but the Cloaths and Jewels as they are bequeathed in certain, ought to be given to the Wife, without any Regard to the Testator's Value and Estimation of them, since such Estimation ought not to be consider'd. But if the Testator had commanded his Estate to be sold for such a Price, such Estimation ought to be regarded: Because, that tho' the Estate was worth more, yet the Testator seemed (perhaps) to give the Surplusage thereof in Sale, by Way of Gift, unto the Buyer. If a Testator shall say, *I bequeath my Seian Estate, which I value at one thousand Pounds*, such Estimation does not change the Condition of the Legacy; for if the Estate will yield so much, the Heir ought to pay the Value thereof: But if the Heir shall be charged with a *Fidei-commissum* or Trust, and be ordered to give me the Estate, or one thousand Pounds, it belongs to the Judge's Office, if the Estate itself be not given, to consider whether the Estate be worth more or less than one thousand Pounds. And 'tis the same Thing, if the Heir shall be charged to sell an Estate to another for a certain Price, tho' the Price be very small, yet the Testator's Estimation shall be observed: For what is above the Value ascertain'd by him, he gave the Buyer by Way of Legacy, as aforesaid.

A Legacy left to any Place of Charity, as to an Hospital or the like, for the Maintenance of the Poor, is no longer due or payable, if such Place of Piety, &c. shall be destroyed: And the Reason, is, because every Disposition ought to be consider'd according to the Time wherein it was made. Thus a Legacy given to all the Churches of a Diocese, is not due to Churches afterwards built. A Legacy left to a Woman, if she shall bear and bring forth a Child, shall not have Place, if the Child be taken out of the Mother's Womb, *exsecuto Ventre*; because the Woman then shall not be said *peperisse Filium*, or to have brought forth a Child; and for this Reason the Legacy shall cease. But if a Child shall be born into the World, which was taken out of his Mother's Belly alive after her Death, he shall be capable of Succession, provided he came out entirely alive into the World, tho' he should die immediately afterwards: For these Children, tho' they be brought into the World by violent Means; yet as they have a Soul, they differ nothing from other Children that are *naturally* born; and therefore they are included in all Matters of Legacies, &c. But a Legacy made to a Woman, when she shall *have* a Child, shall be due, tho' such Child was cut out of the Mother's Womb after her Death, because the Woman is said to *have*, tho' not *peperisse filium*, the Child being taken from the Woman herself after her Death, by cutting open the Womb.

If I have alledged and averr'd, that a Last Will and Testament, wherein I have a Legacy left me, is false and *inofficious*, I cannot afterwards sue for such a Legacy therein bequeathed me; because I have got a Sentence against the Will, and then it is not due, since Legacies are not due from Last Wills and Testaments, which are false and *inofficious*: Or else a Sentence is pronounced in Favour of the Will; and then it is not due, because I have endeavour'd to impugn the same, and therefore ought not to have any Advantage from thence. But by Way of Objection it is said, that I may obtain a Legacy, even from a Last Will, which I have endeavour'd to overthrow; because, though I have alledged such Will to be less solemn, and am cast therein, yet I may demand the Legacy thus left me. But this is not quite the Case above-mentioned. *Sed quære de hoc.*



T I T. XXII.

Of an Usufruct, Dwelling, the Labour of Servants, and of a Dowry bequeathed; and what Profit the Legatary has thereby; of the Choice and Election of the Thing bequeathed; of Wheat, Wine, and Oyl bequeathed, and what is contained under every of them; of Ground furnish'd or a Stock bequeathed, and the Instruments thereunto belonging, and what is to be understood by such a Bequest.

EITHER the Usufruct of one Thing alone, or of all a Man's Goods, may be bequeathed ⁱ, or the Propriety alone without the Usufruct; ⁱ D. 33. 2. 1. or the Propriety may be bequeathed to one Person, and the Usufruct unto another. If a Testator bequeaths an Estate in Land, called a *Fundus*, by the Bequest of such an Usufruct, such Estate shall be in common between two Legataries ^k, because this Word *Fundus* even comprehends an Usufruct and a Propriety ^l. But an Usufructuary himself cannot bequeath an Usufruct; ⁱ D. 50. 16. 60 for it determines and reverts to the Proprietor ^m. If the yearly Fruits of an Estate be left, the Usufruct of such Estate is understood to be bequeathed; ^o D. 30. 1. 24. because this seems to be the Testator's Meaning ⁿ. But tho' the yearly Rent or Revenue of an Estate bequeathed, and thereupon the Fruits and Value become due; yet a Dwelling or Habitation does not go along with such Devise ^o. The Legacy of an Use or Usufruct is determined by the Death of the Legatary, as just now hinted, and does not pass to Heirs: nor does a Legacy of Rent; since it is like unto an Usufruct, or to a Legacy of an Annuity ^p.

The Labour of a Freeman as well as of a Bondman may be bequeathed, according to the *Civil Law* ^q; And such a Legacy is not determin'd by the Death of the Legatary, nor by a Non-user, nor by a *capitis diminutio*, or a Disfranchisement ^r. An Habitation or Dwelling may also be bequeathed; ^r D. 7. 7. 2. but such a Legacy likewise expires with the Death of the Legatary, as the Legacy of an Usufruct does, since it is only for the Service of the Legatary. All these yearly Legacies, *viz.* an Use, Usufruct, yearly Rent or Annuity, &c. are like unto each other ^s. Predial Services may also be bequeathed ^t D. 33. 2. 22. by those who may constitute the same *inter Vivos*, and give them unto those who have a predial Estate, unto which these Services may be annexed. And such a kind of Legacy is perpetual, and is not determin'd by the Death of the Legatary; because a Service is a *real Right*, or a Right which favours of the Realty, and is *ipso Jure* constituted *in Perpetuum*, and not for a Time ^u. But the Usufruct or Use of a Service cannot be bequeathed, ^v D. 8. 1. 4. pr. because there can be no Service of a Service. Tho' the Wife, on the Death of her Husband, be Mistress and Proprietor of her Dower; yet the Legacy of a Dower is valid, because it is a fuller Right than an Action of Dower ^w. For a Legacy may be demanded immediately, but a Dower ^x I. 2. 20. 15. heretofore yearly, or on the second or third Day, though at present only after a Year, whether it consists in Moveables or Immoveables. All Facts made in Prejudice of the Wife, in Relation to the Restitution of a Dower, are quashed, if such Dower be bequeathed beforehand ^x. But ^y D. 33. 4. 1. 1. this

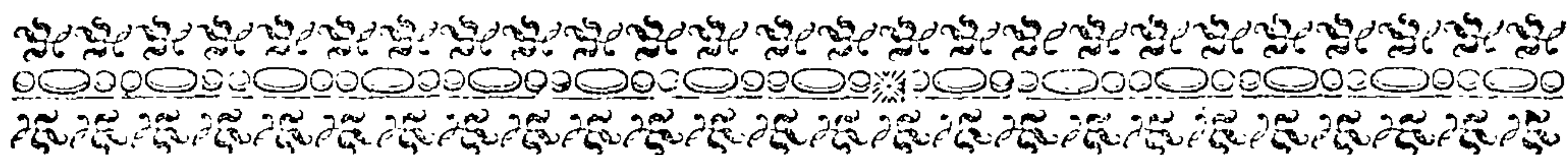
this Title touching a Dower bequeathed, is now out of Use; and therefore I shall say no more of it.

- ^y D. 30. 1. 5 & 10. Heretofore the Option of a Legacy was propounded in a solemn Manner y: But the Election of it was arbitrary. But at this Day, these Solemnities being removed and taken away, Option and Election are put upon the same Footing z. If a Legatary has his Election bequeathed unto him, the Legatary may chuse what Thing he pleases, even the best of the Testator's Goods a: For he ought to have his Choice, who has the Power of bringing what Action he has a Mind to. But this ceases in Contracts, wherein the Debtor has his Election. If there are several Persons, unto whom an Option is bequeathed, and they disagree in their Choice, the Matter shall be decided by drawing Lots, and he shall have his Option, on whom the Lot shall fall b. An Option is to be made after the Heir has accepted of the Heirship c. If the Legatary shall delay or forbear to make his Election, the Judge may decree a Time, within which he ought to do it, and then he shall lose his Right of Choice if he does not comply with the Judge's Decree d. After the Legatary has once made his Option, he cannot change his Will e. A Legacy, wherein the Legatary has his Option, at this Day passes unto his Heirs; but it was not so formerly f.

- If a Legacy of an hundred Hogsheads of Wine be bequeathed to a Person, and the Testator has left no Wine behind him, the Heir ought to buy such a Quantity of Wine, and deliver it to the Legatary, and not Vinegar, which has been reckon'd as Wine g. And if Wine be bequeathed, it is due, together with the Vessels that contain it; not that the Vessels are any Part of the Wine, but because such was the Testator's Mind, viz. That the Hogsheads should go along with the Wine. But if the Wine be in a Wine-cellar, belonging to the Testator, it is otherwise; or if the Vessels are so large, that they cannot be well moved; for then the Wine ought to be drawn into Bottles, &c. and these are due. But if Wine be bequeathed in Bottles, the Bottles are not due h. When a certain Weight of Oyl is bequeathed, without adding the Quality thereof, the Question is not what Sort of Oyl the Testator was wont to use, or what Sort of Oyl was in Use in that Country: Wherefore, the Heir may pay unto the Legatary what Sort of Oyl he pleases i, unless the Testator has bequeathed unto the Legatary his Election k. If a Person shall bequeath a Legacy of Wheat, and in such Legacy shall express an impossible Weight, such Legacy is not valid: As when a Person bequeaths an hundred Bushels of Wheat, each Bushel weighing an hundred Pounds l, which is deemed an impossible Weight in Wheat, according to the common Standard of a Bushel. If a certain Quantity of Wine, Oyl, and the like, be not expressed, the Heir is not at his own Discretion to pay what *Quantum* he thinks fit, but as much as the Testator has left, is deemed to be the Legacy m.

- The Stock or Furniture of an Estate is an *Apparatus* or Provision of Things, which are to remain thereon for a Length of Time, and without which the Estate cannot be driven or managed n. And this Stock may be ascribed unto several Things. For there is one Kind of Stock, which is proper unto Husbandry, or Tillage of Land for Corn o; another, which is peculiar to the Dressing and Culture of a Vineyard p; and another Kind, which is serviceable to a Painter q, Fisher r, Baker, and the like s; and, lastly, there is one Kind of Stock which belongs unto an House t. These several Kinds of Stocks are described and set forth in the Laws quoted in the Margin. There is a wide Difference in a Legacy, whether a Person bequeaths an Estate with the Stock or Furniture thereunto belonging, or an Estate stocked, or an Estate and the Stock u. If an Estate be bequeathed with the Stock, only those Things are comprized, which belong to the *Apparatus* or necessary Furniture of the Estate, viz. for gathering and preserving

erving the Fruits thereof. If an Estate stocked be bequeathed, those Things are deemed to be bequeathed, which moreover belong to the Use of a Master of a Family, as Household Goods ^x. If such an Estate be- ^x D. 33. 7. 12. queathed, be alienated, the Stock is due. But not, if an Estate be be- ^{27 & 28.} queathed with the Stock ^y. Therefore, in a Legacy of an Estate stocked, ^y D. 33. 7. 5. we reckon Servants, necessary Provisions for the Table, Corn set aside for sowing the Land, called, Seed-corn ^z, all Kind of Cattle necessary to the ^z D. 33. 7. 12. Farm ^a, Household-goods, &c. If an Estate be *simply* bequeathed, the ^a D. 33. 7. 25, Predial Advantages, that is to say, those Accessions and Emoluments of the Estate, which the Master of a Family is wont to take from such Estate, for the Tillage and Culture thereof, are not included and reckoned ^b. In all ^b D. 33. 7. 21. Legacies of this Kind the proper Signification of Words is not regarded, but ^{&c} 26. the Testator's Intention, and what he would point out, and what is customary, and may be presumed, according to the Manner of the Country where the Persons dwell, ought to be observed ^c. ^c D. 33. 7. 18. 2.



T I T. XXIII.

Of Store bequeathed, in Latin called Penus, and what is comprized under that Word; of Household-stuff bequeathed, and of Gold, Silver, Women's Attire, Ornaments, and such like Things; and, lastly, of Alimony, Victuals, &c. bequeathed.

UNDER the Appellation of the *Latin* Word *Penus*, or Store in *English*, we may reckon such Eatables and Drinkables as are procur'd and laid up for the Sake of long Use ^d. And if such a Legacy be be- ^d Aul. Gell. lib. queathed, those Things are comprehended which serve for Eating and ^{4. c. 1.} Drinking, and the Vessels which contain such Stores; unless the Testator's Mind appears to be contrary hereunto ^e. If a Person shall be enjoined by ^e D. 33. 9. 4. the Testator to pay or give any Thing by Way of *Store*, and if he does not pay, or give it, to pay so much Money, tho' the Heir be obliged to pay it in *Store*, yet if he be in Delay of giving it in *Store*, it may be demanded in Money ^f. Provender for Horses, and such other Cattle which the Master ^f D. 33. 9. 1. uses for his own immediate Service, and the like, is included under the ^{D. 50. 16. 115.} Notion of *Store*, but not for such as he lets out to hire, or makes Use of for Tillage or Dunging his Land ^g. So likewise Pulse, Bread-corn, and ^g D. 33. 9. 3. 7. Barley are comprehended under this Denomination of *Store*; but Wood for Fuel, Coals, and the like, are not ^h. ^h D. 33. 9. 3.

By Household-stuff, we mean such Furniture as belongs to the Master of a Family, for the Use of House-keeping, and which is not wrought in Gold and Silver Plate, nor reckon'd among wearing Apparel ⁱ; but that which ⁱ D. 33. 10. 1. cannot be cast entirely into another Species ^k, and which is a Thing of a ^k D. 33. 10. 7. moveable Nature, as Beds, Tables, Stools ^l, &c. For it would be too tedious to enumerate all the Goods that are contained under this Article of Household-stuff. See the Laws here cited in the *Digests* ^m. But a Le- ^m D. 33. 10. 2, gacy of all a Man's moveable Effects and Goods comprehends, Books, ^{3. 4. 5. &c.} Gold, Silver in Bullion and in Cash, Fruits sever'd from the Soil, and all

other moveable Goods ; and likewise all living Creatures, and Fruits hanging on the Tree, and tho' not separated from the Soil, do yet come under the Stile of Moveables: But Monies laid up for the Sake of lending the same, are not included under such a Legacy; nor are those Things which are affixed to the House or Soil, as Glass-windows, Wainscot, &c.

If a Legacy of *Alimony* or Maintenance be bequeathed, Victuals, Cloathing and Dwelling shall be due, because the Body of Man can't be supported without these Things: But such Things as relate to Discipline and Education are not included in such a Legacy ⁿ, unless it be proved that he wou'd have it so ^o. If a certain Sum of Money be left by Way of Alimony, it ought to be paid unto the Legatary ^p. When Alimony is bequeathed by Way of Trust, without expressing the Quantity, we ought to consider, what the Person deceased was wont to allow, and *Secondly* what he left to others of the same Degree and Order; and if neither of these appears, such Alimony ought to be measured according to the Circumstances and Substance of the Person deceased, and the Charity of him unto whom the Trust is committed ^q: For the Uncertainty does not vitiate the Legacy, since it may be easily declared. If a Legacy of an Estate be given, to the end that the Legatary should receive a Maintenance from thence; that rather seems to be an Annuity for Life, than a Legacy of Alimony ^r. If a Legacy be given by the Name of *Diet* or *Victuals*, neither a Habitation, nor Wearing-Apparel is due; because the Testator only intended to bequeath Food, and not Raiment ^s. A Person, that is bound to have his Commorancy with another, in Virtue of a Legacy of Alimony bequeathed to him, is not simply bound to follow him where-ever he goes, but such Attendance shall be adjudged of according to the Mind of an honest Man, or an upright Judge ^t. *Marcellus* making his Will, therein appointed *Claudius* to be his Heir, and left unto *Caius* Alimony, so long as he should live with *Claudius*. *Claudius* died, and it became a Question, whether Alimony was still due unto *Caius*? And it was adjudged, that it was; because a *mix'd* Condition being rendred ineffectual, or defective by Chance, does not make a Legacy of Alimony to be void: And, moreover, it seems to be the Testator's Will, that *Caius* should have Alimony, even after the Death of *Claudius*; because the Legacy was rather left in Contemplation of the Legatary, than in regard to the Person with whom he ought to live ^u. These Legacies of Alimony are not increased or diminished, if the Testator, who bequeathed them, shall afterwards engage or bind such and such Estates unto the Person that is to have Alimony, that he may more securely receive his Maintenance from thence ^x.

If Gold or Silver be bequeathed, every Thing wrought or not worked up, is included, but not Gold and Silver in Coin or Stamp for Money ^y. Wrought Gold is that, which is cast into a certain Form or *Species*, as golden Vessels, &c. But that which is unwrought or not worked up, is that which has not received any certain *Species*, but continues in the Ingot or Bullion. That which is coined, is that which is stamp'd with a publick Form, and is reckon'd amongst Monies in Cash or Tale.

A Woman's Attire, called *Mundus Muliebris* in our Books ^z, is that Apparel which she puts on for Elegancy and greater Neatness, or (as we say) her best Apparel; and this the Husband may retain unto himself ^a; unless it be her *Paraphernalia*, or such Cloaths as are provided for the Sake of Health ^b. Under a Woman's Attire, we may also reckon her Toilet or Dressing-table. A Woman's Ornaments, are those Things which are provided for no other End, than for the Sake of decking out and adorning her Body ^c. To Vestments may be referr'd all those Things, which come under the Denomination of Wearing-apparel for the Body, Bedding, &c. and Things necessary hereunto ^d. Statues and Images may be bequeathed ^e. If

^f D. 34. 2. 23.
^g D. 34. 2. 12.
^h 14.

If a Creditor bequeaths a Release or Discharge unto his Debtor, such a Legacy is valid ^f. And this may happen several Ways ; as, when he dis- ^{f D. 34. 3. 1. &c 3.} charges him expressly by Name in his Will ; or bequeaths unto him the Specialty of the Debt ; or commands his Heir not to sue him ^g, or to ^{g D. ut supra.} give a Release unto such a Person being his Debtor ^h. So that even a ^{h D. 34. 3. 19.} Thing impawned or mortgaged may be bequeathed unto the Debtor : In which Case the Right of the Pledge seems to be remitted, though the Debt itself is not discharged by such a Legacy ⁱ. A Discharge may ^{i D. 34. 3. 1. 1.} be either in the Whole or in Part hereby, or for a Time, or for ever ^k. ^{k D. 34. 3. 7.} If the Release of a Debt be bequeathed, the Debtor is not only defended ^{pr} by an Exception ^l, but may also have an Action against the Heir, to acquit ^{l I. 2. 20. 13.} him by *Acceptilation* ^m, and implore the Office of the Judge to impose per- ^{m D. 34. 3. 3.} petual Silence on the Heir in this Matter, according to *Bartolus* ⁿ. ^{n In L. 3. D. 34. 3.}



T I T. XXIV.

Of the Revocation of Legacies, and how a Legacy may be transferr'd from one Person to another ; and of the Falcidian Law, &c.

LEGACIES are lost several ways ; *viz.* either by Revocation, Transferring of them, by the Doubtfulness of Expressions in the writing of the Will, or by way of a Punishment added if the Legatary renders himself unworthy of them, or by the *Catonian* Rule, or if there be a Failure in the Consideration or Condition of the Legacy. Now the Revocation of a Legacy may be either *expressly* or *tacitly* made. *Expressly*, when it appears that the Testator has recalled his Intention, either by Words *directly* contrary to such Legacy, or by any other Means, whereby the Testator's Will may be known ^o, and that either in the same Testa- ^{o D. 34. 4. 5.} ment, or in another equally solemn, or even in Codicils ^p ; or by some ^{p D. 34. 4. 17.} Fact, as when the Testator advisedly cancels that Part of his Will wherein he had bequeathed a Legacy ^q. It is also a Revocation of a Legacy, if the ^{q I. 2. 21. pr.} Legatary dies before the Testator, or the Thing bequeathed perishes, or be exempted from Commerce, without the Fault of the Heir ; and when the Thing bequeathed comes to the Legatary by some other *lucrative* Cause or Title ^r. Legacies are *tacitly* revoked, either by the simple or naked ^{r D. 34. 4. 15.} Will of the Testator, when he gives the Thing bequeathed in his Life- time unto another ^s, or alienates the same without any Necessity : Or they ^{s D. 34. 4. 18.} are *tacitly* revoked by the *presumptive* Will of the Testator alone, as by capital Enmities supervening between the Testator and Legatary, which are not removed by any Reconciliation ^t. A Legacy is also *tacitly* revoked, ^{t D. 34. 4. 22.} when a Legatary, before the Delivery of the Legacy, and after the Testa- tor's Death, has debauched the Testator's Relict ; for then the Legacy is taken away from him, as being unworthy thereof ^u. But a Legacy is ^{u C. 6. 42. 27.} not deemed to be revoked, tho' the Sum of the Legacy be converted into the Body of the Estate purchased ; for the Sum bequeathed is, notwith- standing, due unto the Legatary ^x. The Thing bequeathed, upon ^{x D. 34. 4. 23.} Revocation thereof, remains with the Heir, with all its Incumbrances ^y. ^{y D. 34. 4. 19. & ib. Bart.}

As to the second Part of this Title, it is to be observed, That as a Legacy may be revoked ; so, it being taken away from one, it may be transferr'd

- ^z D. 34. 4. 5. transferr'd to another ^z. And such Transferring of Legacies may be made
- ^a D. 34. 4. 6. four Ways, according to the Lawyers ^a. 1st, From the Person of the Legatary unto another Legatary : As when I now give unto *Seius* the Estate which I had bequeathed unto *Titius*. 2^{dly}, From the Person of him who is order'd to pay it, that another should give it. 3^{dly}, It may be transferr'd from a Thing to a Thing : As when the Testator commands an hundred Pounds to be paid in Lieu of an Estate devised. And, 4^{thly}, It may be transferr'd from the present Time, to the Event of a Condition : As when that which is *simply* and *purely* left, is transferr'd *sub Conditione*
- ^b D. 34. 4. 24. under which it is bequeathed, unless the Condition adheres to the Person ^b. But that if the Person on whom it is transferr'd be incapable, shall such Transfer be valid ? And it is held, That it shall, according to the *Gloss* ^c.
- ^e In L. 20. D. 34. 3. If a Legacy be given in such doubtful Terms in respect of the Person, that such Doubt cannot be removed by any suitable Interpretation, it is a Defeazance of such Legacy ^d ; as when the Name of the Legatary is not express'd in the Will, or when the Testator gives a Legacy unto his Friend *Sempronius*, and there are two of the same Name equally the Testator's Friends, and in the like Cases ^e. But a doubtful or ambiguous Legacy ought always to be interpreted in favour of the Legatary, if known. For where there is an Ambiguity of Words, a Legacy ought to be taken in a large Sense, *viz.* That the greater, and not the lesser Thing, should be due ^f ; as when a Testator has bequeathed unto *Seius* three hundred Pounds, with the two hundred Pounds which he deposited in his Hands : For tho' it becomes a Doubt, whether the two hundred Pounds deposited with him shall be reckon'd into the three hundred Pounds ; yet it is said, that they ought not to be so reckon'd. Wherefore, such Ambiguity is interpreted in Favour of the Legatary, *viz.* That not only the three hundred Pounds, but five hundred Pounds, the Total of both Sums, shall be due. A Legacy in a doubtful Case, is not understood to be revoked ; because, according to *Baldus* ^g, the Revocation of a Legacy is an odious Thing in the Eye of the Law, which favours Legacies.
- Legacies left unto certain Heirs, and their Successors, were sometimes taken from them, as being unworthy Persons, and apply'd unto the Exchequer ^h ; provided such Heirs were guilty of any evil Design against the Testator, and died after him. See *Baldus* ⁱ. As when they kill'd the Testator, or were the Occasion of his Death ^k, or did not prosecute or avenge his Death within the Term assigned by the Judge, provided they could discover the Authors of such Murder ^l. Those Persons also lost their Legacies, as unworthy thereof, who sued for the *Bonorum-possessio*, contrary to the Tables of the Will ^m, or who marry'd a Wife contrary to the Laws ⁿ, or excused themselves from a Testamentary Guardianship ^o, and likewise those who committed any Depredation on the Inheritance, so far as such Robbery extended itself ^p, and the like Persons.
- By a Constitution of *Antoninus Pius*, Legacies left *nomine Pænæ* were invalid ^q ; because Legacies ought not to proceed out of Hatred, and by way of punishing the Heir, but out of Love and Benevolence to the Legatary ^r. But *Justinian* would have these Legacies to be valid, unless they contain any thing dishonest, or contrary to the Laws ^s. By the *Catonian* Rule, the Legacy became ineffectual, if the Testator died at the Time of the Will made ^t. This obtains in Legacies, and in *pure* Appointments of Heirs, but not in conditional Institutions ^u. There are some Legacies, which are look'd upon as not written in the Will, being such as are given to Persons that have ceased to be in the Land of the Living ^x ; and such as are expressly left to Persons incapable of receiving Legacies, and these remain with the Heir.

I shall next speak of the *Falcidian* Law, which was introduced on a very good Account; and the Effect thereof is of great Advantage to Heirs or Executors. For heretofore, by a Law of the Twelve Tables, the Power of Bequeathing was confin'd to no Limitations, but left entirely at large to the Testator; inasmuch as that he might give away his whole Patrimony or Estate (without any Controul) in Legacies, and leave nothing to his written Heir: For by that Law of the Twelve Tables it was thus enacted, viz. *Quod sicuti quisque legasset rem suam, ita jus esset*; that is to say, In what manner soever a Man has bequeathed his Estate, his Will ought to be executed. Wherefore it was afterwards thought expedient, for the Advantage of the Estate, to restrain this unbounded Liberty of bequeathing Legacies. And therefore it is now provided, for the sake of the Testator's Will; (for before, they often died, as it were, Intestate; their written Heirs refusing to accept of the Heirship, because they receiv'd little or no Profit thereby, and were frequently great Sufferers by this means, on the score of paying the Testator's Debts and Legacies, the Benefit of an Inventory not being known when the *Falcidian* Law was made); That it should not be lawful for Testators to bequeath more than three-fourths of their whole Estates; and that, whether the Testator appointed one or more Heirs, a fourth Part should always remain with the Heir or Heirs, for his or their Trouble y. Indeed, the *Lex Furia* and the *Voconian* Law ^{y I. 2. 22. 1} were anciently made, to remedy the aforesaid Inconvenience. But these ^{& 2. D. 35. 2. 1.} Laws were not sufficient to hinder this Evil z; (for Heirs renounced ^{z I. 2. 22. 1.} their Heirships, notwithstanding): And therefore, afterwards, the *Falcidian* Law was establish'd. This Law was not so call'd from the Word *Falx*, as some Persons, in the Time of *Harmenopolus* a, imagin'd, but ^{a Harm. 9.} from *Falcidius* a Tribune of the People, in the Time of the second Triumvirate.

In the *Falcidian* Law, all the Testator's Debts and Funeral Expences are first to be deducted b, and not reckon'd in the Inventory, so far as to affect the Heir; because only those Things are deemed to be a Man's ^{b D. 35. 2. 18. & 87. 2.} Goods and Chattels, which are the Surplusage of his Estate, after his Debts are deducted. So that, if a Testator was indebted to him whom he has made his Heir, it shall not be reckon'd among his Chattels, so as to injure the Heir in his fourth Part, tho' the Debt be merged by his being made Heir. And thus the two chief Points of the *Falcidian* Law were, *first*, to confirm unto Testators the Power of Bequeathing, which was given them by a Law of the Twelve Tables; and, *secondly*, to limit this Power, as aforesaid, that the Heir might have a fourth Part secured to him c; a ^{c D. 35. 2. 1.} Law not known in *England*. By the *Lex Furia*, it was not lawful for a ^{P^r.} Person to bequeath more than a thousand *Aurei*: And by the *Voconian* Law it was provided, That a Legatary should not have more than the Heir. But now simple Legacies are lessen'd by the *Falcidian* Law, in Proportion to the Testator's Substance, as *Fidei Commissa*, or Legacies in Trust, are by the *Senatus-consultum Trebellianum*.

The Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law does not only accrue to the written Heirs themselves, but likewise to their Heirs and Successors d: And if ^{d C. 6. 50. 10. & 16.} there be more Heirs than one appointed, it accrues to each of them, namely, that each of them shall have the fourth Portion secured to him, upon a Division of the Heirship e. And by *Accident* it also belongs to ^{e D. 35. 2. 77.} intestate Heirs, when Legacies in Trust are bequeathed in Codicils by the Intestate, in such a manner, that the whole Inheritance is charged with the Payment of a Legacy in Trust f. But the *Falcidian* Law does not ^{f D. 35. 2. 18. Nov. 1. c. 4.} obtain in Point of Benefit, when the Heir does not make an Inventory, or ^{§. 2.} the Testator himself has forbidden it to take Place g. The Sum of the ^{g Nov. ut supra.} Testator's Estate, to which the Reason and Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law has

has a Respect, is to be consider'd at that very Time when the Testator died : Nor are Legacies diminish'd or conserv'd upon this Account, if the

^h D. 35. 2. 30. Testator's Goods are diminish'd or increas'd after the Testator's Death ^h.
^{& 73.}
ⁱ X. 3. 26. 18. Touching the *Portio Trebellianica*, tho' the Word be not found in the Civil Law, yet it is expressly made use of in the Canon Law ⁱ. For tho' it was introduced by the *Senatus-consultum Pegasianum*, after the Example of the *Falcidian* Law ^k ; yet because this Decree of the Senate was exploded, the *Senatus-consultum Trebellianum* obtains in respect of Heirship in Trust ; and a fourth Part is at this Day retained by the Heir in Trust, in Virtue of the *Senatus-consultum Trebellianum* ^l, the *Senatus-consultum Pegasianum* being transferr'd or converted into the *Senatus-consultum Trebellianum*. Wherefore, it is not without Reason call'd *Portio Trebellianica*, which is nothing else but a fourth Part or Portion which the Heir in Trust deducts from the Legacy in Trust ; as a simple Heir, by the *Falcidian* Law, deducts the fourth Part from all simple Legacies. Thus the Portion call'd *Trebellianica*, is the fourth Part of all the Goods which are anywise taken by Vertue of the Testator's Will ; and the Words *Falcidia* and *Trebellianica* are often used promiscuously for each other ^m.

^m D. 28. 6. 21.
 D. 35. 2. 86.
 D. 36. 1. 16.



T I T. XXV.

Of Intestate Succession, with us call'd an Administration ; and who may have the Administration committed to them, and in what Order the Administration is committed : As, First, To the Children of the Deceased ; Secondly, To those that are next of Kin in the Male Line ; Thirdly, To those who are near of Kin in the Female Line, according to the ancient Civil Law ; (which Difference, notwithstanding, between Male and Female, is at this Day taken away, and those that are next of Kin are equally admitted in either Sex). Who may be said to die Intestate, &c.

HAVING, in several of the foregoing Titles, handled the Business of Succession given by Testament ; I shall here treat of that Kind of Succession, which immediately flows from the Law itself, when a Person dies Intestate ⁿ, call'd *Legal* or *Intestate* Succession. And as this Title is of frequent and daily Use among us, I shall endeavour to explain the Matter thereof in a more ample manner. And, *First*, It is to be noted, That the Law of the Twelve Tables did, in the *First* Place, call those to the Succession of an Intestate Estate, whom our Books stile *sui Heredes* ; meaning, such Children as were in the Power of the Person Intestate, excluding all emancipated Children. The *Second* Persons called unto this Kind of Succession, were the *Agnati*, or Kindred by the Man's Side, in the ascending Line. And then, *Thirdly*, came the *Cognati*, or Kindred by the Woman, in the same Line. But it is here to be observ'd, that Succession rather descends, than ascends.

ⁿ D. 50. 16.
 132.

Afterwards, by a supervening Law of the *Prætor*, tho' these three Orders of Succession were restrained, yet the *Civil* Law was corrected in some Respects ; the *Prætor* ordaining contrary to what the *Civil* Law had before

before decreed; as by calling the emancipated Children to succeed their intestate Parents, by the *Bonorum-possessio*, as being Children. And, in some Cases, the *Pretorian* Law herein is in Aid of the *Civil* Law, by admitting them to the Succession of intestate Estates, who were only otherwise, by the *Civil* Law, admitted after the *sui Hæredes*; as the *Agnati* and *Cognati* were, first in the ascending, and then the collateral Line. Wherefore the *Pretorian* Law introduced a fourfold Possession of the Goods of the Intestate. The first stiled *Undè Liberi* ^o, when the Children were to succeed the Intestate. The second named *Undè Agnati*, or *Legitimi*, which is given to the Parents or Kindred by the Father's Side. The third termed *Undè Cognati* ^p, which was given to the next of Kin on ^r D. 38. 8. the Part of the Mother. This was not allow'd by the *Civil* Law. But the Distinction between the *Agnati* and *Cognati* is now wholly taken away by *Justinian*. The last was call'd *Undè Vir & Uxor* ^q, by which the ^q D. 38. 12. Survivor of the Husband or Wife, by the Grant of the *Prætor*, succeeded each other in the Estate, when the Kindred failed. And many Imperial Constitutions follow'd hereon, as may be seen dispersed in the Body of the *Roman* Law: By which Constitutions the ancient Laws are much amended in several Points; and some new Laws are added by the *novel* Constitutions, among Lawyers call'd the *Jus novissimum Authenticum*. So that Emancipation and the Power of the Father being out of Doors, and the Difference of *Agnation* and *Cognition* being also removed in regard to Succession, the *Novels* have establish'd the other three Orders of Succession ^r Nov. 118. pr. Thus, touching this Kind of Succession, call'd *Intestate* Succession, we meet with several Alterations made in the *Roman* Law.

For the Law of the Twelve Tables was so strict in Point of *Intestate* Succession, that it prefer'd the Male Issue or Off-spring, and wou'd never suffer the Right of Heirship to come or be divided between the Mother and the Son, but entirely set the Mother aside from succeeding to her Intestate ^s I. 3. 3. pr. Son. But the *Pretorian* Law, in order to exclude the Exchequer, upon a Failure of Kindred by the Father's Side, at length admitted the Mother after the *Agnati* to succeed her Children by the *Bonorum-possessio*, *undè Cognati* ^t, as aforesaid. Then the Emperor *Claudius*, to comfort the ^t I. 3. 3. 11. Mother, for the Loss of her Children, admitted her to succeed her Children, even though there were Persons of the Father's Kindred living. See the *Gloss* on the Word *Amifforum* in the *Institutes* ^u. After this, it was ^u I. 3. 3. 14. provided by the *Senatus-consultum Tertilianum*, That if the Mother of an *ingenuous* Birth should have three Children born, she should be admitted to succeed her Children dying without Issue, excluding the Kindred by the Father's Side ^x: And this Law was also extended to a Woman that was ^x I. 3. 3. 21. a *Libertine*, if she had four Children ^y. And this was call'd the *Jus trium* ^y I. 3. 3. 3. *liberorum*. *Mynfinger* says, That the Lawyer *Tertullian* was the Person who perswaded the introducing this Decree of the Senate, whom the Emperor *Justinian* ^z stiles an Interpreter of the ancient Law. But the ^z C. 5. 70. latter Emperors took away from the Mother, though she had the *Jus trium liberorum*, some Part of the Inheritance, and gave a third Part of it to the Uncle of the Person deceas'd by the Father's Side, or to his Son, as being of Kin by the Father's Side. And when the Mother had not the *Jus trium liberorum*, then the said Uncle, or his Son, came in for two Parts in three of the Inheritance, and the Mother had only a third Part ^a. And at last, ^a I. 3. 3. 52. by an Imperial Constitution of *Justinian*, it was enacted, That the Mother should be call'd to the Succession of her intestate Son indistinctly, tho' she was not the Mother of three or four Children born ^b. So that the Emperor ^b C. 8. 59. 2. taking away the *Jus trium liberorum* in this respect, had only a Regard ^c I. 3. 3. 6. to Nature, and the Danger of Child-bearing, which often carries Death along with it: And hence, at this Day, Mothers succeed their Children.

And

And thus this Business of *Intestate* Succession suffer'd five or six Changes before it was settled. By the ancient Law there were four Orders of succeeding ^c D. 38. 6. 1. ^{pr.} as there are at present, though differently stiled. The *First*, according to the Antients, were the Children or *sui Hæredes*. *Secondly*, the *Agnati*. *Thirdly*, the *Cognati*. And the *Fourth* Order was the Husband and Wife. Of all which Orders before. According to the present Law, we may reckon Descendants, Ascendants, Collaterals, and Husband and Wife.

^d D. 1. 3. 28. Wherefore, as latter Laws are derogatory, and do repeal former Laws ^d, and since the Emperor has order'd the Law of the *Novels* to be observed ^e Nov. 118. ^{pr.} in the Business of Successions ^e, I will here follow the Rule laid down by *Justinian*. And *first* speak of Succession, as it relates to Children, in the *descending* Line, whom the common Vote of Nature and Parentage calls to the Succession ^f. *Secondly*, I will treat of Succession, as it relates to *Ascendants*, viz. to Parents, who succeed their Children by an inverted Order of Mortality ^g D. 5. 2. 15. ^g, it being more frequent for Parents to die before their Children. *Thirdly*, I will discourse of Succession, as it respects *Collaterals*, viz. the *Agnati* and *Cognati*: But in respect of Succession to allodial Estates, there ^h Nov. 118. ^{C. 5.} is at this Day no Difference between the *Agnati* and *Cognati* ^h. And *fourthly*, I shall handle the Business of Succession, as it concerns Husband and Wife ⁱ D. 38. 1. L. ^{un.} ⁱ. And lastly, speak of fiscal Succession. And as in many Cases we observe the *Saxon* and *Lombard* Law in this Country, which differ from the *Roman* Law, I will also say something of those Laws, and by certain Rules and Conclusions lay open the whole Matter, for the Advantage of our own common Lawyers. But *first*, I shall consider, what Person may be said to die Intestate, as an Introduction to the following Enquiries.

Now a Person may be said to die intestate several Ways. *First*, When he has made no Will at all, though he might by the Law have done it, as being prevented (perhaps) by sudden Death, or hindred by some Impediment ^k D. 38. 16. 1. ^{pr.} ^k. *Secondly*, He is said to die Intestate, who has not made his Will according to the Direction of the Law, because he has in such Will omitted some Solemnity of Law, which ought to intervene therein ^l; as the calling of Witnesses thereunto, the setting of Seals, and the like, or has passed by in Silence a Child which he has in his Power. For it is the same Thing not to do a Thing at all, as not to do it as it ought to be done ^m D. 2. 8. 6. ^m. By the Law of *England*, the affixing of Seals is not necessary; nor is it necessary to call Witnesses where the Will is in the Testator's own Hand-writing, and only disposes of a personal Estate, and such Hand-writing may be otherwise proved: And as to the passing by of a Child in Silence, it is entirely out of Use in all Countries; for every one may now dispose of his Estate to whom he pleases, as before related, under the Title of *Testamentary* Succession. *Thirdly*, A Person is said to die intestate, who, though he has made a Will that is firm and valid in Law, yet afterwards ⁿ D. 28. 1. 8. ^{1.} repeals the same by a *capitis diminutio* ⁿ, viz. by Banishment, or losing the Rights of a Subject, &c. or else by the Birth of a Posthumous Child ^o D. 38. 16. 1. ^{pr.} passed by ^o; or *thirdly*, by making of a second Will which is not found; or lastly, by a *Querela inofficiosi Testamenti*, and the like ways, whereby Testaments are pronounced to be unjust and made void ^p. For it is the same Thing to make no Will at all, as to make such; such a one may be pronounced null and void, according to what I have before hinted. And lastly, he also is said to die intestate, who has made a Will, that is valid in its own Nature, but yet falls to the Ground, as a Testament, according to the *Civil* Law ^q I. 3. 1. ^{pr.} ^q, because no one will accept of the Heirship, or because such Heir appointed therein could not do it by reason of some Defect, under which he labours ^r D. 38. 16. 1. ^{pr.} ^r. And this is not an improper Sense of the Word *Intestate*, according to the *Roman* Law, though *Bartolus* impugns the same: For the Text says, that he

he is properly an *Intestate*, whose Heir refuses to accept of the Heirship. In this Case, we here in *England* grant Administration of the Goods to the next of Kin, with the Will annexed.

Having thus far considered how many Ways a Person may be said to die *Intestate*, I shall next enquire what is meant by *legal* or *intestate* Succession, and who may be said to succeed *ab Intestato*, in Pursuance thereof. Now *Intestate* Succession (as already remembred) is nothing else, but such a Succession as is given to Men by the Power and Ministry of the Law alone ^s. Wherefore, if any one dies Intestate, according to the Ways ^s D. 50. 16. before related, his lawful Heirs, or Heirs at Law, are called to the Succession of the Intestate's Estate: Among which we ought to have a due Regard to the several Orders of lawful Heirs, meaning to that of the Descendants, Ascendants and Collaterals. Therefore, in these Cases, when any one dies Intestate, the Heirship or Inheritance is not given by the Disposition of a Testator, or Man, but by a Disposition of Law in a certain Order, to the nearest of Kin, by Consanguinity: And from hence that Heirship, which the Law gives of an Intestate's Estate, is in our Books properly stiled *Legitima Hereditas* ^t, or an Inheritance at Law, though even that Heirship ^t D. 17. 2. 3. which is given by Testament, may likewise be so called, because the Law ² confirms the same as it does the other. See the *Gloss* ^u. But this Case is ^u Inl. 3. D. 17. improperly so termed; because it does not so immediately proceed from ² 2. it, as from the Disposition of Man through the Approbation of the Law.

Intestate Succession is either *personal*, which is made *in Capita*, or by Right of *Representation*, which is made *in Stirpes*. And this Right of Representation, in respect of Descendants, is *in Infinitum*: But, in respect of Collaterals, only in the first Degree of the Person's succeeding. Again, intestate Succession is either *Natural* or *Civil*. The first is that, which proceeds from Right of Blood or Proximity, and is either *Primary* or *Secondary*. Primary is that, which accrues to Children, *in Infinitum*, by the natural Order of Mortality ^x, without any Distinction had to Sex, or Regard had to Children in the Intestate's Power ^y; and is extended to posthumous Children, as well as to Children already born. But it is of great Importance, whether they are lawful or illegitimate Children. Lawful and Natural, and also Children legitimated, do succeed indistinctly ^z. Natural ^z Nov. 12. C. *Illegitimate* Children born from a Concubine, do succeed the Mother, and the Mother's Parents; and if the Father has no lawful Children of his own, they may succeed him in a sixth Part of his Estate only ^a. But *spurious* ^a Nov. 89. c. Children only succeed the Mother, and the Mother's Parents ^b, but never ^b D. 38. 17. 1. the Father. *Incestuous*, and Children born in *Adultery*, are entirely cut off ² from all Succession ^c. The *secondary* Succession abovementioned, is, that which happens *turbato Mortalitatis Ordine* (as the Law phrases it ^d), or contrary to the natural Order of Succession; and this accrues to Parents alone, if they are sole; or if they are but one, then to Brothers and Sisters of the whole Blood, together with them *in Capita*, and to the Children of Brothers and Sisters with them *in Stirpes* ^e. The nearer Parent excludes ^e Nov. 118. c. the more remote. If there are several Parents, they are equal in Degree; but ² & 3. if there be a Disparity in Number, they are equally admitted to the Goods of the Deceased, by a Dividend made *in Stirpes*, and not *in Capita* ^f. ^f Nov. 118. c.

If a Person, who dies Intestate, has no one to succeed him in the Descending or Ascending Line, Brothers and Sisters of the whole Blood are first called to the Succession of such Intestate's Estate, and likewise the Children of such Brother or Sister as dies before the Intestate: Exclusive of all Brothers and Sisters of the half blood; for the Children of such a Brother or Sister deceased, shall be prefer'd before the Brothers and Sisters that are only of the half-blood, though in the third Degree of Kindred ^g. ^g Nov. 118. c. But after Brothers and Sisters of the whole Blood, and their Children, ² §. 1. Nov. 127. c. 1.

Brothers and Sisters of the half blood are admitted, and their Children, by Way of Representation, as Brother and Sister's Children of the whole Blood are ^h: For these Brothers and Sisters Children being of equal Kindred unto the Deceased, are preferr'd unto Uncles and Aunts. Adoptive Brothers, if they were in the Power of their adopting Father, succeeded as lawful and natural Children ⁱ. After Brothers and Sisters, and Brothers and Sisters Children, all Persons whatsoever, that are nearest in Degree of Kindred, are called unto the Succession, on the Failure of the aforesaid Persons: So that those, that are *pares in Gradu*, are *pares in Jure*, or have an equal Right, and shall be equally admitted; the old Distinction of Males and Females, that is to say, of *Agnation* and *Cognition* being taken away. But the Division ought to be made *in Capita*, and not *in Stirpes* ^k.

A Succession *in Capita*, is, when the Inheritance is to be divided according to the Number of Persons, which are to succeed; as the Inheritance of the Father into four Parts, among his four Sons. But a Succession *in Stirpes*, is, when by a *Fiction of Law*, a Family comes, by *Representation*, into the Place of the Person deceased, and divide that Share among themselves, which he himself would have received if he had been living. As if one of the four Sons had died before the Father, and left Children behind him, those Children should have *represented* their Father, and have had his Part, *viz.* a fourth Part amongst them all. In respect of *Ascendants*, the Right of Representation has no Place at all. In respect of *Descendants*, it has Place *in Infinitum*: But in respect of *Collaterals*, it does not extend beyond Brother's Children. By the *Saxon Law* the Right of *Representation* is only admitted in respect of *Descendants*, and not in respect to *Collaterals*. *Bartholus* ^l will have it; that the Right of *Representation* does not extend itself beyond Grandchildren: but with him I do not agree; because *Justinian*, after he has reckon'd up Grandchildren of the Male and Female Sex, says, that Great Grandchildren may succeed in the Place of Parents; and then he subjoins, that this shall have Place in other Persons further. And the *Novels* ^m, moreover, add, That if any of these *Descendants* happen to die, leaving Sons and Daughters, or other *Descendants*, the Sons or Daughters of such Person deceased shall succeed in the Place of the Parent. But touching the Right of *Representation*, I shall speak more by and by.

Tho' the Distinction of *Agnation* and *Cognition* be taken away, in respect to *Allodial Estates*, as before observed; yet in *Feudal Estates*, the *Agnati* do even at this Day, by Way of Prerogative, enjoy them before the *Cognati*, unless the *Fief* be a Female *Fief*. See *Zazius*, touching the Use of *Fiefs* ⁿ. Thus the *Roman* and *Lombard Law* differs in Point of Succession to immoveable Estates; for the *Lombard* or *Feudal Law* does not meddle much with moveable or personal Estates, but leaves them in some measure to the Disposition of the *Civil Law*. By the *Roman Law* both Males and Females now succeed to the Inheritance equally: But by the *Lombard Law*, all Women do not succeed in the same Manner as Males. For though, according to the *Lombard Law*, by a special Constitution of *Luitprand* ^o, Daughters, or a lawful Daughter, if she be sole without Brothers, shall have her Father's whole Inheritance: Yet, by the said Constitution, if there be a Son together with her, she shall only be admitted to a third Part thereof, and the Male shall have two Parts. Besides, a natural Daughter is not excluded by a lawful Daughter: But a lawful Daughter has only a third Part, and a natural Daughter, whether there be one or more, has another third Part, and the King's Court or other Parents have another third Part. Again, if a Father has endowed his Daughter, she shall not come in for more in the Succession. *Thirdly*, by the *Lombard Law*, a lawful Son born after a Donation, which his Father has made of all his Estate in his Lifetime, may revoke that whole Grant after his Father's Death: But a Daughter

^h Nov. 118.
^c 3.

ⁱ I. 3. 1. 14.

^k Nov. 118.
^c 3.

^l Inl. 1. D. 38.
16.

^m Nov. 118.
^c 1.

ⁿ De Feud. Suc.
^c 8.

^o Leg. Lomb.
Tit. 45.

ter can only revoke a third Part. But this is not a Part of the *Feudal*; though it be of the *Lombard* Law, but rather a special Constitution. *Fourthly*, by the *Lombard* Law, a Daughter cannot *Faidam levare*, but a Son may do this. But the more noble Provinces of *Lombardy*, which consider'd each Sex more accurately, and the Nature of them, prefer'd the Males: And this was according to the Law of God ^p, the Wisest of all ^p Num. 27. Legislators. To this Male Succession *St. Paul* alludes, when he said, *If* ^{s, 9, 10, &c.} *thou art a Son, thou art also the Heir* ^q Gal. 4. 7. ^q But the eldest Son had a double Portion, as we read in *Deuteronomy*, Cap. 21. v. 17. By the ancient Law of the *Armenians*, Women did not succeed to their intestate Parents, nor to their Brethren, till *Justinian* corrected that Part of the Law by a *Novel* Constitution ^r. Among the *Alemanni* the Goods of the intestate ^r Nov. 21. Father were first equally divided among the Brothers, tho' born of different Mothers: But each of them succeeded the Mother *seriatim*; and if any or all of them died without Children, then the Daughters succeeded; and if without Daughters, then the next of Kin. By the Laws of the *Visigoths*, those of the first Degree or Order were called in the first Place, as among the *Romans*, viz. first Sons, then Grandsons, and after them Great Grandsons. See the *Code* of the *Gothick* Laws ^s. And upon Failure of these, the ^s Lib. 4. Tit. Father, Mother, Grandfather and Grandmother, and afterwards the nearest ^{s, l. 1 & 2.} in Degree, succeeded.

Tho' some particular Countries may differ in their Way and Manner of succeeding to intestate Estates; yet the common Custom of all Nations almost, is, that Sons and Daughters should succeed their intestate Parents, equally, without Distinction of Sex, according to the ancient *Roman* Law; for the Law of the Twelve Tables did not distinguish in this Kind of intestate Succession ^t, but the *Voconian* Law only admitted Daughters and other ^t C. 6. 28. 4. Women to a certain Part. This Descent to all, equally in equal Degree, according to the *Civil* Law, was to prevent Envy and Dissentions, which in all likelihood will happen, when one is preferred before the other. But tho' this Policy suits best with ordinary Families; yet, when it is for the Advantage of the Publick to preserve Kingdoms or Dignities, it may be reasonable to prefer the eldest Son. The Law of *England* distinguishes Estates into *real* and *personal*; and in real Estates, generally following the *Feudal* Law, it prefers the eldest Son, tho' sometimes by a local Custom, called *Borough-english*, the youngest may inherit, and sometimes by *Gavel-kind*, the Fee is divided among all the Sons: Yet, in personal Estates we pursue the Wisdom of the *Civil* Law, and call Sons and Daughters equally to the Division of an intestate Estate, deducting a third Part for the Wife, if there be any.

By a Law of the Twelve Tables, Children were not to inherit the Mother's Estate, because they were neither *sui Hæredes*, nor related to her by Agnation. But, this Law seeming hard, the *Senatus-consultum Orphitianum* was made, at the Instance of *Marcus Antonius* ^u: According to which, the *legal* ^u I. 3. 4. pr. Inheritance of the Mother was given to her Son and Daughter, tho' they were subject to the Power of another Person ^x; and they were hereby preferred ^x I. 3. 4. 1. to the *Agnati*, and other Kindred by Blood unto the Mother deceased. Heretofore, also, by the *Civil* Law, the Brother of the Deceased excluded the Mother from succeeding to her intestate Son ^y: but at this Day he does ^y I. 3. 3. 3. not exclude or bar her ^z. If the Person deceased left a Mother and Sisters ^z C. 6. 56. 7. only surviving, the Mother succeeded to one Moiety, and the Sisters to the ^{Nov. 22. c.} other Moiety of his Estate, according to the *Code* ^a: But now, by the *Novels* ^{47.} ^a C. 6. 56. 7. the Mother shall only succeed in *Partem virilem*, or come in for no more than that of the Sister's Part. If a Son died, and left a Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters, the whole Property came to the Brothers, and half of the Usufruct to the Father and Mother for their Maintenance, if the Person deceased

^b C. 6. 56. 7. 1. deceased was *sui Juris*, and the other Moiety was given to the Brothers ^b.
^c C. 6. 58. 13. Then, afterwards, the whole Ufufuct went to the Father ^c. And, in
 Process of Time, the whole Use was given to him to inherit as his Property
 or Freehold ^d. But if the Person was not *sui Juris*, the Father alone
^d Nov. 118. acquir'd the whole Ufufuct : But this Law was afterwards changed. But
^c 2. the Mother acquir'd the Property, and half of the Ufufuct, if she came in
 with the Sisters alone. By a Law in *Spain*, the Father succeeds the Son,
^e Duanaz. Reg. by excluding the Brothers of the Person deceased ^e. And, by another
³⁶⁴ Law, it is there enacted, That he who dies without Children, cannot charge
 his Father or Mother to pay any more in Legacies than the third Part of
 his Substance ; unless it be in some Places and Cities which are favour'd
 in this Point ^f.
^f Duanaz. ut
 supra.

Touching *Intestate* Succession, we have two Rules laid down in Law. The first is, That such as are in *pari Gradu*, shall equally succeed to the Goods of a Person dying Intestate. And the other is, That he who is prior in Degree, shall be preferr'd unto the Succession. But each of these Rules admits of some Limitations or Exceptions. For what we call *sui Hæredes*, whether in an equal or remoter Degree, were preferr'd to Ascendants or Collaterals. The *Agnati* also, that were in a remoter Degree, were preferr'd unto the *Cognati*, who were in a nearer Degree. The *Agnati*, or such as are related to us by the Male Side, succeeded even to the tenth Degree ; but the *Cognati*, or such as are of Kin to us by the Female Side, only succeeded to the sixth Degree, unless he was such a Person as was descended from the *Sobrinus* or *Sobrina* of the Person deceased : For he being placed even in the seventh Degree, was by this Law admitted ; because he was, in some measure, nearer of Kin to us. The Reason of this Difference, why an *Agnatus*, that is in a remoter Degree than a *Cognatus*, was admitted before him, was, *viz.* because the Rights of the *Cognati* were founded on the Law of Nature ; and Nature does not suffer any one to live beyond the seventh Degree : But the Rights of the *Agnati* were founded on the *Civil Law*, which is arbitrary. From whence these Rights, by the *Civil Law*, may be extended *in Infinitum*, as they are also by the same Law restrained in some certain Cases. For Persons heretofore, who contracted incestuous Marriages, had no one to succeed them : But at this Day, by a *Novel* or *Justinian Law*, Children born from any lawful Marriage, may succeed their Parents. Whilst there are any of the Descending Line remaining, *Ascendants* and *Collaterals* are excluded from the Succession.

By the *Civil Law*, the Goods of a Stranger or Foreigner dying Intestate, went to his Heirs, as aforesaid, *viz.* 1st, to his Descendants ; 2^{dly}, to his Ascendants ; and, 3^{dly}, to his Collateral Kindred : But if he happens to die without an Heir, his Inheritance shall not go to *pious Uses*, but to the
^z C. 10. 10. 1. Exchequer ^g ; and therefore the Bishop of the Place at this Day ought not to intermeddle with vacant Goods of this Kind, as he might have done heretofore. In *France*, the King, *Jure Albinatûs*, seizes the Goods of all Foreigners that die in his Dominions, and have Goods with them there, unless they are Scholars who come thither for the sake of Learning, or are by certain Privileges exempted from the *Jus Albinagii*, as the *Scotch*, *Switzers*, and the like, are. See *Rebuffus*, in his Proem to the *Gallick Constitutions* ^h ; and *Paponius*, touching the Right of *Albinage* ⁱ. But though the Right of *Albinage* be in Use among the *French* ; yet by the *Roman Law* this Right did not accrue to Kings, in respect of the Goods and Estates of their Allies and Confederates dwelling in their Territories. In *Holland* and *Flanders*, heretofore, the Goods of Strangers and Travellers devolved to the Exchequer, as Goods escheated, and not having an Owner
^k L. 1. par. 13. to claim them. See *Grotius's Introduction* ^k. But when these Countries
^{§ 13.} began

began to flourish in Trade and Commerce, especially by the great Access of Strangers and Travellers, this Rigour, by Degrees, grew into Disuse in the *Netherlands*; so that now both Subjects and Strangers enjoy the same Right.

Representation, whereby a Son represents the Person of the Father, is by several Persons call'd a Fiction of Law, when the Question is about Succession to an Intestate's Estate ^l: But *Parisius*, *Socinus* the Younger, *De-*^{1 Aretin. Alex. Rubeus, &c.} *cianus*, and some others, stile it a *Presumptive* Representation, and not a Representation by Fiction of Law. I think, both Opinions may be true; by this Explanation thereof, *viz.* That all Representation is a Kind of Fiction, which the Law makes Use of, by feigning the Person of the Son to be that of the Father, as the Text sufficiently proves, when *Justinian* says in the *Institutes* ^m, That it seems equitable, that the Son should be reckon'd in the Place of the Father: yet this Fiction is founded upon the presumptive Will and Mind of the Father, when the Dispute is about the Succession and Inheritance of the Father. For the Law presumes, that a Person dying Intestate, as a Grandfather, or an Uncle by the Father's Side, did *tacitly* call the Son into the Place of the Father, who would otherwise have succeeded him. But when the Question is about Testamentary Succession, then, they say, the Whole depends on the presumptive Will and Mind of the Father, whether this Representation shall take Place, or not. *Quære?* *Secondly*, 'Tis to be observed, That this Representation is by a special and particular Right; and therefore, it being somewhat extraordinary, it ought to have no Place in a doubtful Case, according to *Bartolus* and *Aretinus*. *Thirdly*, 'Tis to be noted, That in those Cases wherein it is ordained either by Law, or the Disposition of Man, that Representation shall obtain, it cannot be said to be taken away or impeach'd by any Conjectures whatever, unless it be by such as are inferr'd from the Words of a Disposition. And, *Lastly*, when we say, that a Son goes into the Place of his Father, the Degree is not said to be destroy'd, but to be represented: And this is not said to be more remote, but to be that very Degree wherein the Father represented would have succeeded, if he were living ⁿ. Thus the Force and Power of Representation is so great, that a Brother's Son of the whole Blood shall be preferr'd in Succession before a Brother that is only such by the half Blood: So that, in this Case, a Person that is really in the third Degree, is, by a Fiction of Law, brought nearer, and preferr'd to a Person *truly* in the second Degree. Heretofore, indeed, the Brothers and Sisters of a Person deceased were preferr'd unto the Children of other Brothers ^o: But now, by the *Novels*, the Right or Benefit of Representation is granted unto the Children of a Brother or Sister deceased ^p. ^{1 Bald. Alex. & alii.}

There was anciently another Kind of Intestate Succession, call'd *Civil* Succession, (for I have been hitherto speaking of *Natural* Succession), and that was, *First*, when the *Patron* was call'd to succeed to the Goods of his *Freedman* or *Libertus* dying without Children or Parents, and leaving to the Value of an hundred *Aurei* or Crowns ^q. But this is grown out of Use; ^{2 I. 3. 8.} the Distinction of Patrons and Freedmen ceasing at this Day. *Secondly*, When the Husband or Wife succeeded to the Goods of the Intestate Husband or Wife. *Thirdly*, When Partners or Collegues succeeded to the Goods of a Colleague or Partner dying without Children, Parents, or any other Kindred by Agnation or Cognation ^r. *Fourthly*, After all these, the Exchequer succeeded, *quasi in Subsidium*, and possess'd itself of the hereditary Goods, by way of Escheat ^s. And heretofore the Exchequer had a Right to the Goods of Persons condemned, in Preference of the *Cognati*; ^{a C. 10. 10. 1. & pen.} but at this Day the *Cognati* or Kindred come in, even to the third Degree: And if the Persons condemned have no Relations within this Degree, the Exchequer seizes the Goods, as is strictly observ'd in Treason.

- ^t C. 6. 59. 7. But Succession does not accrue to any one by Right of Affinity ^t, but only by Right of Consanguinity: And therefore, a *Vitricus*, or Foster-father, does not succeed his *Privignus*, or Son-in-law, dying Intestate; nor shall a Son-in-law succeed his Foster-father. And thus, if a Man's Heirs which are his Children, die, or renounce the Heirship, his Brother may
- ^u C. 6. 58. 6. succeed him by Right of Consanguinity, or Agnation ^u: And what I here say of a Brother, may be also said of a Sister; for by the Word *Frater*, in this Law, a Sister is also said to be understood, as it may be noted in many other Laws. By a Law in the *Code*, the Succession to an Intestate is not equally given to an Uncle by the Father's Side, and to an Aunt by the Mother's, who are in the third Degree; but the Father's Brother shall, by Right of Agnation or Consanguinity, be preferr'd unto the Mother's
- ^x C. 6. 58. 7. Sister ^x: Yet, by a *novel* Constitution, such Uncle is not preferr'd unto
- ^y Nov. 18. c. 3. such Aunt ^y. In *Holland*, at this Day, Intestate Heirships, or Administration of the Goods of an Intestate, are not granted according to the Rules of the *Roman Civil Law*, but according to a Statute and Municipal Law of the Country ^z, as in *England*.
- ^z Groenv. de L. L. Abr. D. 5. 3. 3.



T I T. XXVI.

Of the Bonorum-possessio, viz. decretal and edictal, and how the latter is divided into ordinary and extraordinary. Of the Bonorum-possessio secundum, and contra Tabulas. And of the Bonorum-possessio accruing to a Madman, Infant, &c. Of the Possession of Goods, according to a Soldier's Will. And of Collations, or throwing the Inheritance into an Average among Children, according to the Rules of Equity.

T H E R E are some Persons whom the Judge or *Prætor* calls to the Possession of an Estate; but these Persons do not become Heirs *ipso Jure*: For the *Prætor*, by his Authority alone, cannot make an Heir; because Heirs are only such by the Law, or by some Constitution like unto the Law; as by an Imperial Constitution; or by the Decrees of the Senate, (among which we may reckon the *Senatus-consultum Tertulianum*, and the *Senatus-consultum Orphitianum*). But whenever the *Prætor* grants unto any one the *Bonorum-possessio*, they are in the Place of Heirs; because they do not only obtain the Possession of the Goods, but even the Property of all hereditary Estates of the Deceased belongs to them. And as they are in every respect substituted in the Place of Heirs, though, properly speaking, they are not such, every Disposition of Law, that mentions an Heir, includes them. And thus the *Bonorum-possessio* did not grow out of the *Civil Law*, strictly so call'd, (which only makes Heirs, and gives Right of Succession), but was a Creature of the *Pretorian Law*, or the Law of Conscience, which, in Equity, calls several Persons to the Succession of other Mens Goods by Administration, where there is no Will; and in some Cases where there is a Will; as, where the Will is concealed, or the Executor renounces the Will, &c.

- ^a D. 37. 1. 2. 3. Now the *Bonorum-possessio*, according to *Ulpian* ^a, is defined to be that Right which any Person acquires and retains by imploring the Office of the

the Judge, when he wou'd possess himself of the Estate or Patrimony which another has at the Time of his Death, and wou'd retain the same. This Definition, taken from the Effect and Office of the Possessor, ought to be expounded in the largest Sense of the Word *Bonorum*, viz. for the whole Patrimony and Succession; including the Advantages and Disadvantages which accrue from the hereditary Goods ^b, without deducting the Debts ^b D. 37. 1. 1. & 2. of the Person deceased ^c. And as the *Civil* Law is pointed out to us by the Words *Hæreditatis aditio*; so, by these Words *Bonorum-possessio*, the *Prætorian* Law is signify'd to us, in respect of this Kind of Succession; the *Bonorum-possessio* being only given to us by the *Prætor*, as the *Aditio Hæreditatis* is by the *Civil* Law given unto the proper Heir. Hence the Lawyers make a remarkable Difference between the compound Word *Bonorum-possessio* (which only consists in Law), and the *Possessio Bonorum* as it is figur'd to us by two distinct Words; which Possession of the Goods only consists or depends on some Fact, and is used for that Possession which any Person has by natural Means, and has no relation to the Judge or *Prætor*. ^c D. 50. 16. 39. 1.

The Word *retain*, in this Definition, denotes a Difference, *First*, Between *Vulgar* Possession and *Prætorian* Possession. For he who has the vulgar or corporeal Possession of an Inheritance, shall (notwithstanding) be obliged to apply himself to the Judge to decree the hereditary Possession of the Goods: And, on the other hand, tho' the Judge has decreed the vulgar Possession of the Goods; yet he has not hereby the corporeal Possession, but only the Right and *Utile Dominium* of the hereditary Goods ^d. By *Utile Dominium*, I here mean a Right of Using, without the full Property ^d D. 37. 1. 1. & 2. of them. ² & 3. pr. *Secondly*, this Word *retain*, denotes a Difference between the Possession of the Goods, and a *Petitio Hæreditatis*, which does not accrue to the Person in Possession. For those Persons who heretofore thus desir'd to have the Heirship decreed to them, were said, *agnoscere Bonorum-possessionem*, according to the Law of the *Prætor*; as we say, *adire Hæreditatem*, according to the *Civil* Law. Now a Man is said, *adire Hæreditatem*, when he proves the Will, or takes the Heirship on himself; and *Bonorum-possessionem agnoscere*, when the *Prætor* decrees him the Possession of the Goods: So that these two Phrases only distinguish the different Ways of coming at the Goods of the Deceased. For after the *Prætor* had interposed his Decree, those that succeeded to the Goods were stiled *Bonorum-possessores*, after the same manner as we call those Persons *Heirs*, who succeed according to the *Civil* Law. And hence the Difference is seen between the Authority of the *Prætor*, and that of the *Civil* Law, or the Law of the Twelve Tables. For since the *Prætor* could not make an Heir *ipso Jure*, as aforesaid (that Authority being preserv'd unto the sovereign Power of the Law); it seem'd expedient, that he should have the Power of granting the Possession of the Goods, by Virtue whereof he grants the Right of succeeding to such and such Persons ^e. Therefore, an Heir and a *Bonorum-possessor* differ not in the Effect of the Thing, but only in Order of ^e D. 37. 1. 1. & 2. Law, as the Words *Aditio* and *Possessoria Agnatio* do. For an Heir acquires a Right, *ipso Jure*, in a private manner, by an Acceptance of the Heirship, though he has not the corporeal Possession of any of the hereditary Effects. But a Possessor of the Goods invokes the Office of the Judge, and publicly declares his Mind, in order to have the corporeal Possession of the Inheritance in some manner or other. And this is that which *Ulpian* means, when he says, That the Possessors of Goods, are in all respects in the Place of Heirs ^f. *Paulus* makes the *Aditio Hæreditatis*, and the praying of the *Bonorum-possessio*, to be equivalent. Moreover, we sue to have the Heirship conferr'd on us by an Action call'd *Hæreditatis Petitio*: But we sue to have the *Bonorum-possessio* by an Action call'd *Bonorum-possessoria Hæreditatis Petitio*. ^f D. 37. 1. 2.

Petitio. But the *Civil* and *Pretorian* Law are at this Day reduced to an Agreement; and, being one and the same in respect of Heirship, there is no further Use of this Title, touching the *Bonorum Possessio*: For those Persons, who succeed others, either by Will, or by intestate Succession, are according to *Vinnius* ^g, called Heirs to the whole Inheritance. See *Bagnion de legibus abrogatis*.

^h L. 3. 10. 1. The *Prætor* introduced the *Bonorum Possessio* for the Sake of mending the ancient Law ^h. For the Law of the twelve Tables does not acknowledge an emancipated Son so as to make him an Heir, having a Regard to Children in the Power of the Father: But the *Prætor* granted the *Bonorum Possessio* to him, even contrary to the Tables of the Will, if a Will was made, and the Father did in such a Will pass by or disinherit his emancipated Child. For the *Prætor* consider'd natural Kindred and Relation, which cannot be taken away by any civil or positive Law. Again, the *Civil* Law entirely excluded those that were of the Kindred by the Mother's Side, from succeeding to an intestate Estate, called *legal* Succession. But the *Prætor* calls them in the third Place to such a Succession, and has given them the *Bonorum Possessio*, by an *unde Cognati* ⁱ. Nor indeed did the *Prætor* only thus correct and supply the ancient Law, in respect of inheriting intestate Estates, but also in respect of the Estates of such Persons as died making a Will. For if a Stranger, that was a Posthumous Person, was appointed Heir, though he could not take the Heirship on himself by the *Civil* Law, such Institution being not valid; yet by the *Prætorian* Law he was made a *Bonorum Possessor*. viz. when he was aided by the *Prætor*. And as a Person might heretofore, by the Aid of the *Prætor*, obtain an Inheritance by means of the *Bonorum Possessio*; so such Person may now even by the *Civil* Law ^k obtain it, according to a Constitution of *Justinian*. The *Bonorum Possessio* was introduced sometimes to mitigate the Rigour of the general Law, sometimes to supply its Defects, sometimes to correct it, and sometimes to confirm it ^l. In Effect the *Bonorum Possessor* differs nothing from the Heir (as aforesaid) only that the Law gives to one his Power, and the *Prætor* to the other.

^m D. 38. 9. 1. Now this Grant of the *Prætor* is twofold ^m. The first is *Decretal*, whereby the *Prætor* does in some Cases, upon hearing of the Cause, decree, not that one should succeed the Deceased in his Inheritance, but only that he shall have the Right of Possession for some Time, till it can be known whether the Matter alledg'd be true, or not.

Thus this Grant may be made to a Minor, till it be known whether he be the Child of his reputed Father, according to the *Carbonian* Edict: For if there be a Controversy, whether such Person ought to be reckon'd among the Children, upon a Summary Cognizance had of the Cause, Possession shall be granted to him by Vertue of this Edict, as if there was no Dispute had about this Matter, and Judgment shall be deferr'd to the Time of Puberty ⁿ. If there be no Caution given on the Part of the Pupil for proving him to be the Son of such a Father, the Person who commenced the Dispute shall have Possession decreed him, together with the Pupil ^o. But if Caution be given (as aforesaid) by Sureties, this Possession does not only extend to the actual obtaining of Possession, but it also gives the Pupil a Power to demand Debts, and to prosecute other Matters ^p. Secondly, such Grant may be made to the Wife, in respect of her Husband's Goods, till it be known whether she be with Child, or not. For the *Prætor* may, upon the Prospect of a Birth, or Child to be born, put the *Venter* into Possession of the Husband's Goods, even contrary to the Tables of the Will ^q, if the *Venter* be not disinherited; and the Child that is in the Womb shall be reckoned among his Children ^r. If a *Venter* be put into Possession of the Goods, one or more Curators are wont to be assign'd to take Care of the

the Goods *s.* But as a *Venter* cannot be disinherited by the modern Law ^{t, ^o D. 37.9. 11} and the Difference between a Son in the Father's Power, and an emancipated Son taken away, the same Respect is shewn to disinherited and emancipated Children. This *Decretal* Kind of Possession was granted to an emancipated Child, who is either disinherited, or else passed by in Silence; that he might have Time to try whether the Testament was *Inofficious*, or not, and lest he should be injur'd thereby ^{u.} And thus the *Prætor* granted the Possession to emancipated Children, as if they were in the Father's Power: ^{u D. 5. 2. 81. D. 37. 8. 1.} But yet in such a manner that the emancipated Child should only have one Moiety of the Goods, and the other Children the Remainder. But this Edict was afterwards repealed by the *Novels* ^{x Nov. 118. c. 1.}, on destroying the Distinction of Children in the Father's Power, and emancipated Children.

The second Kind of *Bonorum-possessio* was by Edict, when the *Prætor* gave the Possession of the Goods unto Persons in a certain Degree, without hearing the Parties *Judicially* ^{y.} And this Grant was *extraordinary* or *ordinary*. ^{y D. 29. 2. 30. 1.} The first was that, which was made, either by some special Law, Decree of the Senate, or Constitution of the Prince, unto certain Persons. The latter was that, which was made, *first*, where there was a Testament, and the Grant was *secundum Tabulas* ^{z, I. 3. 10. 3.}, or according to the Will; which was a Grant of the Goods to him who was already instituted Heir by the Testament, and, by Strictness of Law, could not act: Or else contrary to the Tables of the Will; which was a Grant of the Goods *contrary* to the said Tables and Disposition of the Testament, when the Children or Parents, &c. were passed by in the Testament without just Cause shewn. But when a Grant is made *contra Tabulas*, it is reasonable there should be a *Collation* ^{a a D. 37. 6. 1.}, or Contribution of all the Goods (which at any Time came from the deceased Person) made into the common Stock, unless the Testator order'd the contrary; lest he that has the Grant, contrary to the Tables of the Will, should be admitted into an equal Division of the Inheritance, and not make an Allowance for that Part which he had received before from the Testator, whilst he was living. Not but that this *Collation* may be made upon the Goods of a Person that dies also *Intestate*, and shall oblige all the *Descendants*, whether they succeed in the Male or Female Line ^{b, but not b Nov. 118. c.} those that succeed as *Ascendants* or *Collaterals* ^{c, or that take as Legatees c C. 6. 21. 16.} by Testament. Hence I shall close this Title of the *Bonorum-possessio* with the Title of *Collations* in the *Code* ^{d, which carries with it an evident Equity. d C. 6. 20.}. For when the *Prætor* admitted emancipated Persons to the Possession of the Goods, contrary to the Tables of the Will, and gave them a Share of the Father's Goods, with those Persons that were in the Father's Power, he thought it but just and equitable, that they throw their own Goods into an Average or common Fund with the Father's, whose Goods they coveted ^{e. c. D. 37. 6. 1.}.

Tho' the Word *Collation* be a general Term, as it is sometimes taken for a Contribution of a certain Sum of Money for carrying on of some publick Work, and sometimes for the Comparison of a Man's Hand-writing, and sometimes taken (according to the *Canon Law*) for the conferring of a vacant Benefice, &c. Yet it is here used for the throwing of a Man's own proper Goods into the common Stock of the Inheritance, that the same may be equally divided with the Hereditary Goods, Share and Share alike ^{f. f Bald. in l. 9. c. 6. 20.}. The Reason of introducing this Kind of *Collation*, was, that a Man's Children in his Power, being his Heirs, might not be injur'd by Persons emancipated, unto whom the *Prætor* granted the *Bonorum-possessio*. For heretofore Persons emancipated had a full Property of whatever they acquired; and if the *Bonorum-possessio* was granted to them, contrary to the Tables of the Will, they came in equally with the *sui Hæredes*, or Children in the Power of the Father, and shared the Father's Goods with

them; and likewise such Goods as were acquir'd by Children, in the Power of the Father, which went to the Father in Virtue of his paternal Power. And hence an Injury arose to the said Children that were the Father's Heirs; because such emancipated Persons did not only keep what they had acquir'd themselves, but also succeeded with their Brothers to the common Stock of the Father: Which had been a manifest Injustice, both to the Children and Grandchildren, if the *Prætor* had not enjoined this Contribution to all the emancipated Children, and taken Care that they should bring in their own Goods into the common Stock, to be equally divided, in the same Manner as if they had acquir'd such Goods from the Father of them

^g C. 6. 20. 1
& 2.

all g. But regularly, those Goods are brought into a *Collation* or common Fund, which came from the Ascendant, whilst living, for the Maintenance

^h C. 6. 20. 12.

and Provision of the Descendant h. But not Gifts and Rewards for Ser-

ⁱ C. 8. 51. 17.

vices, nor the Price of Ransom from Captivity in War i; tho' Money paid for a Fine, or to save one from Punishment, ought to be brought into the Contribution; for the Fault of one ought not to be prejudicial to another.

So the Portion, the Jewels, the precious Garments, and gold Chains, given to a Daughter in Marriage; but not the Expences for the Marriage-feast; for that seems rather to be given for the Credit of the Father, and not as a Part

^k C. 6. 20. 17.

of the Portion k. Nor the Charge of Necessary Education, for every Child has already had such a Share. Nor the Charge which the Father had been

^l D. 10. 2. 50.

at in Books for his Son l, nor the Charge which the Father laid out for his

^m D. 37. 6. 16.

Son, that he might take a Degree, or acquire any other honourable Title m; for if the Son dies, his Successor can have no Advantage by it. Upon this

Account therefore the Costs expended in Equipage, for a Son to go to the

ⁿ C. 6. 20. 20.

Wars, shall come into the common Contribution n, because he receives Pay

^o D. 37. 6. 1.

from the Publick. *Collation* chiefly obtains in intestate Succession o, and

C. 6. 20. 7.

also by the *Novels* in Testamentary Succession, unless it be expressly remit-

^p Nov. 118.

ted p. This Contribution may either be made actually and really, or else

^{c. 6.}

^q D. 37. 6. 1. 9.

by giving Caution to contribute q, or by giving Caution *De defendendo*,

^r C. 6. 20. 2.

that those Persons, to whom the Contribution is made, should be discharged

from the Necessity of paying any Thing r. If a Person shall refuse to con-

^s D. 37. 6. 8.

tribute or give Caution, he shall have the Benefit of Hereditary Actions

deny'd him s, or be compelled hereunto by imploring the Office of the

Judge. This Right of *Collation* cannot be taken away by any Pact or Cove-

^t D. 37. 6. 5. 1.

nant, though it may by the Father's Will t. Parents or Children must

^u I. 3. 10. 5.

apply to the *Prætor* for this Grant of the *Bonorum-possessio* within a Year

after it comes to their Knowledge, that they had a Right to petition for it u.

Others within a Hundred Days, or else they lost the Benefit of it; and this

was so appointed, that the Creditors might not be delayed. But now the

Bonorum-possessio is not in Use: For the Succession by Testament, and by

Law, comprehends every Case.

^x 31. E. 3. c.

11.

In the Laws of *England*, as to Goods and Chattels, the Statute of *Edward*

the third x enjoin'd the *Ordinary* to grant Letters of *Administration* of the

Goods of an Intestate to his next and most lawful Friends, who were to have

the Benefit of an Executor. This seems to be in Imitation of the Grant of

the *Bonorum-possessio* by the *Prætor*. The 21st *Hen. VIII.* cap. 5. directs,

that Administration of the Intestate's Goods shall be granted to his Widow,

or next of Kin to the Intestate, or to both, as the Ordinary shall think fit.

And then the Statute of 22 & 23 of *Car. II.* cap. 10. order the Distribution

of the Surplusage, after Debts and Funeral Expences are paid, among the

Kindred, viz. one third to the Wife, the Residue amongst the Intestate's

Children, and such as legally represent them, if any of them are dead; other

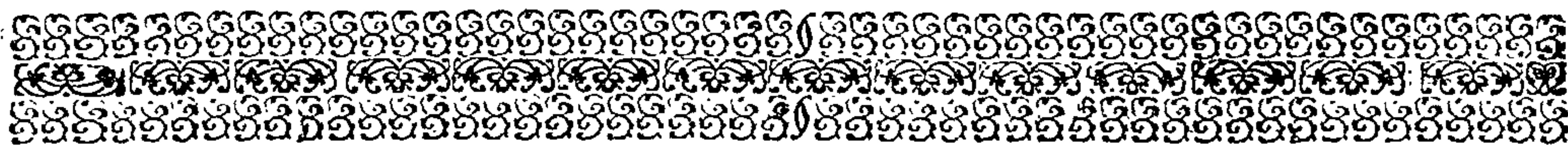
than such Children (not Heirs at Law) who shall have an Estate by Settle-

ment of the Intestate in his Life-time, equal to the other Shares. Children

(other than Heirs at Law) advanced by Settlements or Portions, not equal

to

to the other Shares, shall have so much of the Surplusage, as shall make the Estate of all to be equal. If there are no Children nor legal Representatives of them, one Moiety shall be allotted to the Wife, the Residue equally to the next of Kindred to the Intestate in equal Degree, and those who represent them. No Representatives shall be admitted among *Collaterals*, after Brothers and Sisters Children. And if there is no Wife, all shall be distributed amongst the Children; and if no Child, then to the next of Kin to the Intestate, in equal Degree, and their Representatives.



T I T. XXVII.

Of the Jus Accrescendi, or Right of Survivorship, in respect of Legacies, Contracts, &c. and when it has Place, and when not; and of the Edictum Successorium.

THE *Jus Accrescendi*, or *Accrescendi* is that Right, whereby a vacant Portion of a Person that is joined together with others in an Heirship, Legacy, Donation *in Prospect of Death*, &c. accedes and falls to the Survivors in Possession ^y. As for Example, *Titius* dies, and makes *Caius*, ^{D. 50. 16. 142.} *Mævius* and *Sempronius*, joint Heirs or Legatees unto such an Estate. Now on the Death of either of these Heirs or Legatees, his vacant Portion falls to the other two. For the *Jus Accrescendi*, or this Right of Survivorship, only obtains in such Things, as are left by Last Will and Testament, and not in Contracts which are adjudged according to the Form whereby they are entred into. This Right of Survivorship was introduced by a Law of the Twelve Tables, and it respects the Thing, or the Estate, and not the Person of a Man; and therefore, according to *Bartolus* ^z, it descends to Heirs. ^{In l. 83. D. 29. 2.} And as the Testator may grant this Right; so he may likewise impeach or forbid it: And it seems to be thus prohibited, by inserting this Clause in the Appointment of an Heir, *viz. And I forbid him to demand more*, &c. To the end that this Right should have Place, it is necessary that the Will should be made according to Law.

I say, that this Right of Survivorship only obtains in such Things, as are left by Last Wills and Testament, and the like; and not in Contracts, &c. For there is no Room for the *Jus Accrescendi* in Donations *inter Vivos*, called *simple* Donations, since these are like unto Contracts; unless they ^a flow from the Emperor's Bounty and Liberality ^{C. 10. 14. l. un.}. Thus if a Man buys an Estate for himself and *Titius*, the Estate purchased is only said to go to the Purchaser, not by Virtue of the *Jus Accrescendi*, but on the Account of the Vender's Interest, lest he should become a Tenant in common against his Will. The *Jus Accrescendi* is not between those Persons unto whom an Usufruct is left or bequeathed separately, *alternis vicibus*, *viz.* when one enjoys the Usufruct one Year, and the other Person another: For if one of the Persons dies, his Part shall go and accrue unto the Proprietary, and not to the Fructuary; because each of them had their proper Times and Seasons for receiving the entire Fruits without the Concurrence of the other Fructuary. And thus the Right of Survivorship is a Right of retaining or gaining the Share of him who has not a concurrent Right or Property in the Thing, or of him who has ceased to have such a concurrent Right or ^b Property ^{D. 32. 1. 8.}.

But

But an Ufufuct is fometimes acquir'd by the *Jus Accrefcendi* ; but not unless the Ufufuct be bequeathed jointly ^{c.} And thofe Perfons are faid to be joined together in Intereft, who are fo connected either by Law or Man, that they are looked upon as one Perfon ^{d.} Hence the *Jus Accrefcendi* accrues and has Place between Coheirs, as being joined together by the Teftator's Appointment ; as when he fays, *I make Titius and Mævius my Heirs in Solidum* : Yet a Teftator may prohibit the *Jus Accrefcendi*, by fubftituting another Heir in the Place of one of them, upon the Heir's Death, or by a Waiver of the Heirfhip. This (I think) the Teftator may do, when he has made them Heirs diftinctly, but not when he has made them Joint-heirs ; becaufe he cannot in his Will order that the Laws should not have Place therein ^{e.}

There are feveral Cafes wherein the *Jus Accrefcendi* does not obtain ; as in Donations *inter Vivos*, call'd *simple* Donations, and the like ; unless, as before excepted, they flow from the Emperor's Grant. For that which the Prince or Emperor gives unto two Partners, accrues to the Survivor, if one of them dies without an Heir ^{f.} In a Subftitution, ftill'd *Subftitutio Fideicommiſſaria*, the *Jus Accrefcendi* has no Place, if one of the Fcoffees, or Perfons in Truſt, renounce his Truſt. But it is otherwife in *direct* Subftitutions : For in a *direct* Subftitution the *Jus Accrefcendi* has Place ; left otherwife the Teftator ſhould die partly Teftate, and partly Inteftate. Which Reaſon ceafes in a Subftitution given in Truſt ; for the Heir appointed gains that Part of the Heirfhip which is renounced. And thus, if a Teftator has an Heir, it does not accede or accrue unto the other Perfon ^{g.} Nor has the *Jus Accrefcendi* any Place in Services : But the *Jus Decrefcendi* has, according to *Bartolus* ^{h.} In thefe and in many other Cafes the Right of Survivorfhip does not obtain. I ſhall next remember to the Reader wherein it does proceed. And,

First, If a Thing purchafed will not admit of a Diviſion ; for then the Whole goes to the Perfon, after the Death of the Joint-poſſeſſor ^{i.} *Secondly*, The *Jus Accrefcendi* has alfo Place between Coheirs, (as before related), being named in a Will, but not fo much in Virtue of their being joined together by the Teftator's Appointment ; though that alfo obtains, as already remarked, as through a Rule of Law, which judges it abſurd to retain one Part of the Heirfhip, and to repudiate the other ; and thus to make the Deceased die partly Teftate, and partly Inteftate ^{k.} if this Right were not admitted. It has likewise Place between Heirs at Law, who ſucceed *ab Inteftato*, by the tacit Conſent of the Perfon deceased ; becauſe Nearneſs of Blood and Equality of Degree join them together ^{l.} And thus the *Jus Accrefcendi* has Place, whenever a Part of the Inheritance, or a Thing bequeathed to two Perfons jointly, is determin'd in one of the Heirs or Legatees, and accrues to the other ^{m.} As, when I bequeath an Eſtate to *Caius* and *Mævius*, and one of the Joint-tenants dies, the Legacy ſhall, *in Solidum*, go to the other. For, after Acquiſition had, the Right of Survivorfhip accrues to the other.

The *Edictum Succeſſorium* is an Edict touching the Succeſſion to the Goods of a Perfon dying Inteftate : For as Perfons, who, as Children, deſire to obtain the *Bonorum-poſſeſſio*, ought to ſue for the ſame within a Year ; ſo, if ſuch Perfons, as are prior in Degree, do not ſue for it, or demand it as they ought to do, which is the ſame thing ; thoſe who are next to them in Kindred, may, according to this Edict, demand the ſame ^{n.} This Edict was introduced by the *Prætor*, to prevent the Delays which Parents, Children, and other Kindred, gave unto Creditors, by not ſuing for the *Bonorum-poſſeſſio* within a convenient Time ^{o.} It preſcribed an Order of Succeſſion unto the Goods of the Deceased, and was of great Service, in the Confuſion as Things ſtood before it was decreed. But now this Title of the

Edictum

Edictum Successorium is grown out of Use, since the *Civil* and *Pretorian* Law are reduced to an Agreement, and the *Bonorum-possessio* being antiquated, all Persons are said to be Heirs, who succeed to the whole Inheritance, either by Testament, or by Intestate Succession. See *Groenwegen* on the *Institutes* p.

P. I. 3. 10. §.



T I T. XXVIII.

Of an Inofficious Testament, and of a Querela Testamenti Inofficiosi, when given, and to whom, and when it rescinds such a Will, &c.

BECAUSE it often happen'd, that Parents disinherited their Children, or (at least) passed them by in Silence, without any just and sufficient Cause; it was therefore first introduced by Custom ^q, (for it was not in the Beginning establish'd by any Law), That Children thus disinherited or passed by, might form a Complaint or Action, against their Father's and Mother's Will; which Complaint was stiled *Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti* ^r: And this wholsom Institution was afterwards confirm'd by a written Law touching an *Inofficious Will*. And by such Complaint, they might declare and set forth, That they were disinherited or passed by, contrary to Justice, and the Duty of a Parent; founding the Equity of their Action upon this, viz. That the Persons who disinherited or passed them by in their Wills were not in their right Senses at the Time when they made their Will. But yet it ought not to be said, that they were entirely Mad, and the like; but, on the contrary, it ought to be averr'd, that the Will is good, but that it was not made with a true Motive of paternal Piety and Affection: For if the Testator was not truly and really in his Senses at the Time of making the Will, he could not have made the same. For an *Inofficious Will* is here said to be that, which is rightly made in respect of the Solemnities; but invalid, because it is made *contra Officium Pietatis*, against the Duty of paternal Affection and filial Piety, and the like ^s; since such Persons are disinherited and passed by, who ought not to be so; as Children, Parents, Brothers and Sisters ^t.

^q D. 3. 1. 32.

D. 28. 6. 2.

D. 27. 10. 1.

^r D. 5. 2. 1 & 2.

^s D. 5. 2. 2.

^t D. 5. 2. 3. 1.

A *Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti* is a kind of preparatory Way unto a *Petitio Hereditatis*; which is an universal Civil Action *bonæ Fidei*, whereby a Person sues to be declared Heir, and to have the Inheritance, of Right belonging to him, to be restored to him, by him who possesses the same as Heir or Possessor thereof: For Children unjustly disinherited cannot demand or sue for the paternal Inheritance 'till such time as the Father's Will has been rescinded by this *Querela*. And thus, an *Inofficious Will* being rescinded by this *Querela* or Complaint, a Claim or Demand of the Heirship may be made on the Account of such *Inofficious Will* ^u: And the Person unjustly disinherited or passed by, upon rescinding of such *Inofficious Will*, shall be declared Heir Intestate, by Virtue of a *Petitio Hereditatis*.

^u C. 3. 31. 3

& 34.

This *Querela*, or Claim of the Heirship, is not a distinct Remedy from the *Petitio Hereditatis* itself, as some of the Doctors would have it, saying, That a Testament is only rescinded by this Method, and that a *Petitio Hereditatis* follows, upon rescinding of the Will: Whose Mistake is sufficiently

* D. 5. 2. 8. 8. ciently refuted by the feveral Laws here quoted in the Margin x. Where-
 D. 5. 2. 27. 3. fore, we may alfo file a *Querela* to be an univerfal Action, whereby fuch as
 D. 5. 2. 20 & have been unwarrantably difinherited or paffed by, in a Will, demand to
 21. 2. have fuch Will refcinded, as being made contrary to that Affection which
 is due from a Father towards his Children. The Office of the Judge is in
 this Cafe implored; and the Perfon that exhibits a written Will muft aver,
 That he is difinherited or paffed by without juft Cause, contrary to the
 Duty of Piety; and then pray to have fuch Will refcinded, as being
 y D. 5. 2. 8. 12. unjust y. A *Petitio Hereditatis* is wont to be joined or added unto this
 Complaint, That, upon refcinding the Will, the Complainant may be
 declared Heir, and have the Inheritance or Heirship adjudged to him: So
 that this is not properly a diftinct, but one and the fame Remedy in Effect.
 I have faid, That a *Querela* is then granted, when a Perfon is unjustly
 difinherited or paffed by: For any Perfon may be removed from the
 z D. 48. 20. 7. Succellion, on a juft Account z.

pr. According to the ancient Law, the Causes of Difinheriting were not
 definitely determined by any Laws, but depended on the Judgment of
 thofe Perfons who took Cognizance touching an *Inofficious Will*, whose
 a D. 37. 4. 3. 5. Buſineſs it was to confider the Merits and Demerits of the Perfon difinherited a.
 C. 3. 28. 19. And the *Centumviri* at Rome were the Perfons that had the Cognizance of
 a *Querela Inofficioſi Teſtamenti*, and alfo of a ſimple Petition of Heirship,
 and of other Cauſes of greater Importance: And from hence, according to
 b D. 5. 2. 13 Feſtus, theſe Cauſes were termed *Judicia Centumviralia* b; and a *Querela*,
 & 17. call'd *Judicium Centumvirale* c. But, from their being arbitrary Cauſes,
 c D. 5. 2. 13. Juſtinian will have the Teſtator to aſſign certain and proper Reaſons for Dif-
 inheriting; and as ſuch he reckons them up in the *Novels* d, in reſpect of
 d Nov. 115. Children and Parents, and likewise in reſpect to Brothers and Sisters e.
 C. 3 & 4. And whereas, formerly, a Son was obliged to prove, that he was excluded
 e Nov. 22. from the Heirship without any juſt Demerits of his own f, the Emperor
 C. 47. afterwards would have it, that Parents ſhould expreſſy infer in their Wills
 f D. 5. 2. 5. 1. the very Acts of their Childrens Ingratitude or Diſobedience; and the
 written Heir was to prove the Truth of theſe Cauſes or Reaſons g. Yet if
 g Nov. 115. a Teſtament was made without expreſſing theſe Reaſons, it was not to
 C. 3. be adjudged null, but was to be reſcinded by a *Querela Inofficioſi Teſta-*
 h Nov. 115. *menti* h.

This *Querela* is granted to Children, Parents, Brothers and Sisters, and
 to ſuch Perfons to whom the lawful Portion is due i; and it might be
 granted againſt the Will of any Perſon whatſoever k; unleſs he was a
 k D. 5. 2. 8. 3. Soldier in actual Service l, or a *Filius-familias* who diſpoſed of his
 l D. 5. 2. 27. 1. *Peculium* acquired by his own Induſtry m, or unleſs he was a Clergyman n.
 m C. 3. 28. 2. 37. Firſt, It was granted unto Children difinherited by any Parent, and paffed
 n Nov. 123. by in Silence by the Mother, or the Grandfather by the Mother's Side o.
 C. 8. For natural Reaſon, as a certain Kind of tacit Law, has in ſuch a manner
 o I. 2. 13. 5. given the Heirship of the Parents unto the Children, by calling them
 (as it were) to the due Succellion of their Eſtates, that Parents cannot
 p D. 48. 20. 7. otherwiſe diſpoſe thereof, unleſs it be for ſufficient Reaſons p. After
 pr. Children, a *Querela* is, in the ſecond Place, granted unto Parents, who are ad-
 mitted to the Heirships of their Childrens Eſtates, on Account of their great
 q D. 5. 2. 15. Tenderneſs and Affection towards them q. And this *Querela* is given to
 D. 38. 6. 7. 1. all Parents, of whatſoever Denomination they are r, if they are difinherited
 r D. 5. 2. 1 & by their Children, or (what is the ſame thing) paffed by in Silence s:
 30. For theſe Things make no Difference in the Line of *Aſcendants* or *Col-*
 s D. 5. 2. 14. *laterals*. After Parents, in the third Place, this *Querela* is granted to Bro-
 t D. 5. 2. 1. pr. thers and Sisters t: For Brotherly Affection next in Degree, follows the
 Love of Parents to their Children. But formerly it was only given to
 Brothers by the whole Blood, call'd *Fratres Germani* or *Conſanguinei*; and
 not

not to Brothers by the half Blood ^u, stiled *Fratres Uterini*. But the Emperor ^u C. 3. 28. 27. *Justinian* taking away this Distinction of the *Agnati* and *Cognati*, annulled this Difference entirely in all Successions; and therefore, by the *Novels*, a *Querela* now seems to be granted to the *Fratres Uterini*, or Brothers by the Mother's Side ^x. But it is not granted to Brothers and Sisters *simply*, ^x Nov. 118. but only when the written Heirs are branded with Infamy, or any Note ^{c. 4.} of Turpitude ^y. In the Number of which Persons, we may also reckon ^y C. 3. 28. 27. a *spurious* Issue: For though they do not deserve Infamy, nor are they branded by any Law with the same, yet it cannot be deny'd but that they are blemished in their Births ^z. ^z Deut. 23. 2.

If a Person has obtain'd the *lawful* Portion, he shall not be admitted to this Complaint or Remedy ^a: And therefore a Man may safely dispose of his ^a D. 5. 2. 8. 6. Estate by Will; provided he leaves the *lawful* Portion to his lawful Heirs; which Portion was heretofore a fourth Part ^b, and is at this Day a third Part ^b C. 3. 28. 6. of the whole Inheritance ^c. This *lawful* Portion in respect of Children, ^c Nov. 18. c. 1. was introduced by the *Civil* Law, as appears by the Text, where *Justinian* says, That the Law (meaning the *Civil* Law) lays a Necessity on Parents, of leaving a *lawful* Portion of their Estates unto their Children. And hence it is, that this *lawful* Part is also due unto such as are Children by Adoption, which, by the Law of Nature, were unknown unto Mankind. And moreover, not only a fourth Part, but even the whole Inheritance was, by the Law of Nature, due unto Children. Thus, by the *Civil* Law, a fourth Part of the Testator's Estate in his Possession at the Time of his Death, after a Deduction of Debts and Funeral Expences, was formerly due to the Children: But at this Day, if there are only four Children, or under that Number, living, a third Part thereof is due ^d. And if there ^d Nov. 18. c. 1. are more Children than four, then one Moiety of the Whole is due to them: And the same Law holds good even in respect of Parents.

It has been a Question, indeed, Whether this *lawful* Portion shall be increased in respect of Brothers? And the better Opinion of the Lawyers is, That it shall; because it is augmented to all Persons that may complain of an *Inofficious Will*. Some of the Lawyers heretofore said, That it was not by Right of Law, but by Accident, (as when a dishonest Person is appointed Heir), that this *Querela* lay for Brothers; but that such Persons to whom a *Querela* lay by Right of Law, might have an Action for the lawful Portion; as Parents, Children, Grandchildren, &c. But this is not inferr'd from the *Novel* here quoted ^e, which not only increases the *lawful* Portion ^e Nov. 118. of those Persons to whom a *Querela* accrued by an ordinary Course of Law, but it generally confirms this Augmentation to all Persons that might by any means, before that Law made, have had a *Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti*. Formerly this *lawful* Portion was left *quocunque Titulo*; but now it is not left to Children otherwise than by the Title of *Institution* ^f. And *Facbi-* ^f Nov. 115. *neus* says, that *Justinian* has establish'd this as a general, solid, and lasting ^{c. 3.} Foundation, *viz.* That Children shall be appointed Heirs by their Parents, unless they shall be disinherited on a very just Account, though they have a *lawful* Portion left them by way of Legacy, or on any other Title whatsoever.

Thus this Action of a *Querela* is granted unto those to whom the *lawful* Portion is due. *First*, Unto lawful Children, without Distinction of Sex or Degree ^g, whether they are in the Power of the Father, or eman- ^g 1. 2. 18. 1 & 2. cipated ^h: But only with this Difference between Children in the Power ^h 1. 2. 18. pr. of the Father, and Children emancipated, *viz.* That the first being passed by the Father, they may alledge the Will to be null, and the emancipated Children may have the *Bonorum-possessio* granted them, contrary to the Tables of the Will ⁱ. But natural Children cannot sue out this Remedy. *Second-* ⁱ D. 5. 2. 23. *ly*, It is granted to Parents, whether passed by or disinherited, against the Testaments

^k I. 2. 18. 1. Testaments of such Children as may make a Will ^k. But of these Persons I have spoken before. The Effect of a *Querela* heretofore, was, that it damned the whole Will, because it was said to be made by a Person not of sound Mind and Memory ^l: But now it only evacuates the Institution and Appointment of the Heir ^m.

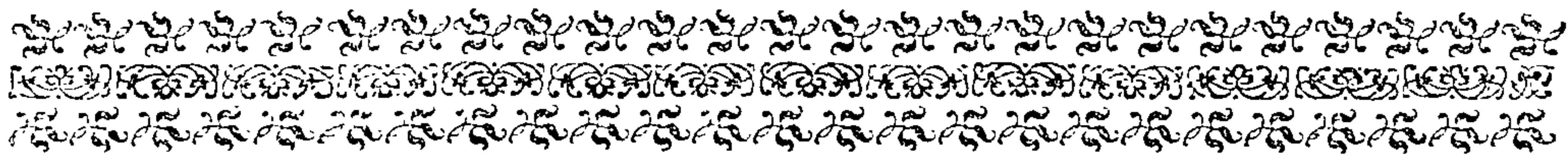
^{c. 2.} A *Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti* passes to the Heirs of the Person injur'd, and to Children indistinctly ⁿ; but not unto extraneous Persons, unless the same be prepared by the Person deceased ^o. And a *Querela* is said to be prepar'd, when a Person has a Purpose of Complaining, and has declar'd his Mind, as having threatned an Impeachment of the Will, or tendred a Libel against the same, in the Life-time of the Testator ^p. It lies against Heirs of what Condition and Dignity soever they are ^q, and against their Representatives ^r, and sometimes also against a particular Legatary, who being suspected of Collusion, comes to defend the Will ^s, unless he be defended by a Privilege that is left him ^t. But this Action of a *Querela* ceases several Ways. As *first*, when the Disinheriton is just and lawful. *Secondly*, if the Plaintiff may obtain his Right by some other Remedy: For a *Querela* is the last Aid and Refuge a Man has ^u. *Thirdly*, if the Plaintiff renounces or remits the same, either expressly ^x, or tacitly (for it ought to be sued within five Years ^y), it is an Abatement of the Action. *Fourthly*, if the Plaintiff be appointed Heir to the *lawful* Portion, either in the Whole, or in Part: For in Case he had the whole *lawful* Portion by the Title of *Institution*, he could sue for no more; and he who had only a Part could not rescind the Will by a *Querela*, but was driven to sue for the Residue by a Condition *ex Lege* ^z. As the *lawful* Portion is due unto Children by the common Vow or Tie of Parents ^a, and to Parents on the Account of their Tendernefs ^b, so it is due unto Brothers in Opposition unto the Heir appointed ^c. There is a *lawful* Portion of the Inheritance also due, though a Person dies intestate ^d. At this Day, though a Testament be rescinded by a *Querela*, yet simple Legacies and Legacies in Trust are due ^e.

^{c. 2.} By the Law of England, a *Querela* of an *Inofficious Will* is not heard or regarded. In the Disposition of Chattels, the Customs of sundry Places vary, and of these we have some Memorials left us by the ancient Writers of our Law; as by *Glanvil* ^f and *Bracton* ^g. But of *common Right* the Testator always had the free Disposition of his own Goods and Chattels, as the same Authors observe. Wherefore, that Writ *de Rationabili Parte Bonorum*, which lies as well for the Wife as the Children, to recover against Executors some Part of the Father's Goods, is not a general Writ, as the original Register of Writs remarks ^h, but only peculiar to some certain Counties, where Custom prevails and requires, that after Debts are deducted the Residue of the Estate of the Person deceased shall be divided into three Parts: One Part to go to the Wife, another to the Children, and the Testator shall have the free Disposol of the third Part ⁱ. This Custom indeed seems to be borrowed from the Roman Law.

As a *Querela Inofficiosi Testamenti* usually prepares and leads the Way unto a *Petitio Hæreditatis*, and is often attended by it, I shall here say something of this Demand or Petition also, because I cannot find a more proper Place to insert it, without creating a new Title. Now a *Petitio Hæreditatis* is an universal real Action *bonæ Fidei*, which lies against a Thing or an Inheritance, and is given to him who avers himself to be an Heir, whether he be so by a Last Will and Testament, or be an Heir Intestate; and hereby he demands and prays to be declared Heir of such an Estate, and thereupon to have the Inheritance restor'd and given to him, by the Person that is in the unjust Possession thereof, as Heir or Possessor, or who, by some Act of Fraud and Deceit, has quitted the Possession of it. And likewise it matters not, whether the Person be Heir to the Whole, or only

to a Part of the Estate; provided he brings his Action *pro modo sui Juris*, according to the Interest he has therein. But if he should acknowledge the Heirship to be in Vertue of a Testament, which was afterwards resigned (perhaps) by a *Querela*, he may (notwithstanding) claim it, as an intestate Heir, if any Right accrues to him.

This is called an *universal* Action ^k, because there is no particular Thing ^h D. 6. 1. 1. sued for, but the whole Heirship is demanded, which is an universal Right ^l. ¹ D. 50. 16. 24. Nor is it any Objection to say, that Part of the Inheritance only is sued for ^{D. 50. 17. 62.} by this Action, since such Part belongs to the whole Inheritance; and he who sues for a particular Thing as an Hereditary Thing, has an universal Action; for he desires to be declar'd Heir, that is to say, Lord of the collective Substance. It is called a *real* Action ^m; because it lies against a Possessor, on the Account of that which he possesses ⁿ. It is also said to be a ^{18.} *Civil* Action; because, tho' the *Prætor* grants it in his Edict, yet it is given ^h D. 5. 3. 13 & 14. by Vertue of the *Civil* Law, whereby all Inheritances are sued for ^o. This ^o D. 5. 3. 1 & 2. Action lies as well on the Account of a Will, as on the Score of an intestate Heirship, and may be brought by all Persons who desire to be declared Heirs. But in the first Place it is granted unto written Heirs ^p. Afterwards, if a Testament be evacuated or declared void, it is given unto Administrators or intestate Heirs, to recover the Possession of the Intestate's Estate ^q. But it is not given till after the Death of the Person, whose Inheritance is in Question; For a Person in his Life-time has no such Thing as an Heir ^r: And then 'tis not given to the Heir, till he has proved the Will or accepted of the Heirship. It ought to be brought in the Place, where the Defendant or Possessor of the Goods has his Dwelling, according to *Bartolus* and *Baldus* ^s, or where the greater Part of the Inheritance is situated; and the Plaintiff shall have his Choice ^t. It lies against him, who ^u In l. un. C. 3; as Heir or Possessor, possesses the Inheritance, or, at least, Part thereof, and ^{20.} ^v C. 3. 13. 7. against his Heir ^u, and against him, who knows himself not to be the Heir, ^h D. 5. 3. 9. 10. & 13. and yet contends for it.



T I T. XXIX.

Of Exheredation or Disherison of Children, how it ought to be made, and for what Reasons: Of the old and new Law touching the same, &c.

TESTAMENTS are principally not valid, upon three Accounts, *viz.* *First*, if they want the proper Solemnities prescribed them by Law. *Secondly*, if the Testament be made by him who has not a Right and Power of making a Will. And *thirdly*, if the Person shall not expressly name and appoint an Heir, or shall appoint such to be his Heir, or Heirs, as the Law disallows of, or shall not (at least) expressly by Name disinherit such as the Law permits and enjoins. Hence the Lawyer *Caius*, observes; that, among other Things, necessary for the ordering of Wills, the Designation or Institution of Children to be Heirs unto their Parents, or an express Exheredation of them, is a principal Law, or Part. By *Exheredation*, which our *English* Lawyers call *Disherison*, I mean the Depriving or Taking away the Inheritance from a Man, unto whom the Law has given it ^x: ^x Nov. 115.

For to disinherit, is, properly speaking, to remove him from the Heirship; who is *ipso Jure* appointed Heir. Wherefore, this Word *Exheredation* is only used in respect of such Persons whom we stile *sui Hæredes*, or Heirs by Right of Blood: For as to Strangers, or extraneous Persons, Exheredation is vain and idle ^y; because the Heirship does not belong to them *ipso Jure*. But extraneous Persons are then said to be disinherited, when such as are written Heirs, are for some Cause or Event, or other, deprived of the Heirship ^z. But this Word may, by Impropriety of Speech, be apply'd, even to such Persons as are passed by in Silence. The *Civil Law* will have Exheredation to be made in a regular and solemn Manner ^a. And to the end that the same may be said to be rightly and solemnly made, it is necessary that it should be done by an express naming of the Person, to be disinherited, in the Testator's Will: And such Exheredation ought to be made *purely*, and not *conditionally*; and he ought likewise to be excluded from the whole Inheritance ^b.

Wherefore, in treating of *Exheredation*, I shall first consider what the old Law was, touching the Exheredation of Children, and by what Form they were disinherited; because that Law seems to have a great Regard to Children. *Secondly*, I shall shew after what manner they are disinherited at this Day. And *thirdly*, I will make some Remarks hereon. Now every Testator, that had a Son in his Power, was by the old Law, either bound to make him his Heir, or else by Name to disinherit him in his Will: For if he passed him by in Silence, his Will was of no Effect, and was so little to be regarded in Law, that he could have no Heir from such a Will, tho' such Son thus passed by, should die in his Father's Life-time; because the Will was *ipso Jure* ^c (according to the *Civil Law*) null, from passing by his Son, who was in his Power at the Time of making his Will. But as to Exheredation, according to the ancient Law, there was a great Difference between Sons and Daughters, between Persons born and Posthumous Children, &c. But the ancient Law only extended itself to Male Children of the first Degree, and not unto Daughters: For the Ancients did not observe this in respect of them, or other Children of either Sex in a remoter Degree. But this is not so according to the *Pretorian* or new Law, which supports the Will with Equity and good Conscience, if the Son survives the Father, and be disinherited ^d. I say, this Law did not obtain in respect of Daughters and other Children, descending by a Male Line, meaning, Grandchildren of either Sex. For it was not necessary to disinherit them by Name, but they might do this *inter cæteros*, or generally; and they being passed by, did not defeat a Will, but had the *Jus accrescendi* ^e. And thus the Form of Exheredation is twofold, *viz.* either by Name, or else *inter cæteros*, which we call a *special* and a *general* Disinheriton.

Heretofore Posthumous Children could not be appointed Heirs; it being uncertain to what Father they did belong. But because a Will is rupted, if a Posthumous Child be born alive and perfect, according to a human *Species*, it is now received; That even Posthumous Children may be either appointed Heirs, or else must be disinherited ^f. But there is a great Difference to be made between Children born in the Father's Life, and Posthumous Children, as before hinted. For if a Testator passes by his Son, that is born in his Life-time, his Testament is null and void *ipso Jure* ^g: But if a Posthumous Child be passed by in Silence, the Will subsists *ab initio*, and must be rescinded by the Decree of the Judge ^h. All Posthumous Children, whether they be Male or Female, do rupt the whole Will by their Nativity, if they are passed by ⁱ; but Females born in the Father's Life-time, do not do so: But a Father is compelled to leave some Legacy unto his Posthumous Daughters, if they are disinherited *inter cæteros*, by a general Exheredation, lest they should seem to be passed by through Forgetfulness;

fulness; but it is not the same Thing to Daughters born in the Father's Life-time ^k. Again, all Posthumous Children ought to be disinherited, in ^k I. 1. 13. 1. express Terms, or by Name: But it was otherwise, in respect of Grandchildren born in the Testator's Life-time ^l. By *Posthumous* Children, ^l I. 1. 13. 1. properly speaking, we mean those, that are born *post humationem Patris*, after the Father's Death ^m: Which Notion, drawn from the Etymology of the Word, not only pleases the Lawyers, but the Grammarians likewise. ^m D. 50. 16. 164. But, according to *Accursius* ⁿ, there is another *Species* of Posthumous Children, or Births improperly so called, which has a Relation to such as are born before the Testator's Death, but after the making of his Will: For by the *Civil* Law, even those seem to come under the Name of Posthumous Children, which yet are not so in Propriety of Speech; and therefore in municipal Laws, this Term is not to be so taken and made use of, according to *Bartolus* ^o. Grandchildren, that are born after the Death of their Grandfather, the Son dying before the Father, may likewise be stiled Posthumous Children: And these are to be appointed Heirs, according to an Institution of the Lawyer *Gallus Aquilius* ^p. ⁿ Glof. in Rub. C. 6. 29. ^o Inl. 29. D. 28. 2. ^p D. 28. 2. 29.

Adoptive Children, as long as they were in the Power of their adoptive Father, were either to be appointed Heirs, or else to be disinherited (for they had the same Right with those begotten in lawful Wedlock ^q): But if these Children were emancipated by their adopted Father, they were not by the *Civil* Law reckoned among Children; because they ceased to be *sui Heredes*: Nor were they so by the *Pretorian* Law; because they at the same Time lost the Name of Children ^r. ^q I. 2. 13. 4. D. 1. 17. 1. ^r I. 2. 13. 4. D. 38. 6. 4.

The Premises was what the ancient *Roman* Law introduced. But the Emperor *Justinian* alter'd this in several respects, and by a new Law took away all that Distinction of the ancient Law, in respect of Sex and Degree, and ordained, That all Persons, whether they were in the Power of a Father, or were emancipated, might either be appointed Heirs, or else by Name be disinherited; and it matters not, whether they are already born, or are in the Womb to be born hereafter ^s. Yet by this new Law, a Soldier is not obliged to make his Children his Heirs, or to disinherit them by Name: ^s C. 6. 28. 4. 1. 2. 13. 5. For his Silence in respect of Heirship is valid; and passes for disinheriting of them ^t. So that a Soldier's Will is not only valid, without such an express Disinheriting, but it cannot be defeated by a *Bonorum Possessio contra Tabulas*, nor by a Complaint of an inofficious Will ^u. But yet such Soldier's Children might demand and sue for the *lawful Children* (as it is called) by a personal Action, termed *Condictio ex Lege* ^x. Nor is the Mother or Grandfather by the Mother's Side bound to make their Children their Heirs (for under the Word *Children*, we may also here reckon Grandchildren ^y) or by Name to disinherit them, but may pass them by in Silence: For the Silence of the Mother and Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and other Ascendants by the Mother's Side is equivalent to an express Exheredation of the Father; because the Children of these Persons are not under their Power ^z. But yet if they are in the Mother or Grandfather's Will passed by in Silence, without a *just Cause*, the Will may be set aside as an *inofficious* Testament ^a. If Children are passed by in *Silence* by the Father, the Will is void, as has been already noted; and if they are disinherited without sufficient *Cause*, the Will is *inofficious* ^b: If *with Cause*, it ought to be expressed in the Will, for the Light of the Judge. ^t D. 38. 2. 12. C. 6. 23. 9 & 10. ^u C. 3. 28. 9. Nov. 115. c. 3. ^x C. 3. 28. 30. & 32. ^y D. 50. 16. 220. ^z I. 2. 13. 7. D. 37. 4. 4. 2. ^a Nov. 115. C. 3. ^b I. 2. 12. pr.

[The Law of *England* requires not an express Disinheriton, as the *Roman* Law did, but leaves this Matter to the Love of the Father, through a Presumption of natural Affections, that a Father will not disinherit his Children without a just Cause, as for very ill Manners, &c.]

Now the justifiable Causes of Disinheriting are at this Day fourteen in Number ^c. Some whereof are for striking or cursing the Parents, or ^c Nov. 115. endeavouring ^c 3.

endeavouring to kill them; or accusing them in criminal Causes, unless on the Behalf of the Prince or State; or for refusing to give Security for a Parent, that he may be discharged from Prison. Again, it is a sufficient Cause, if the Son turns Stage-player, or keeps Stage-players Company without his Father's Consent; if the Son becomes Heretical, and the like. But in *Holland* Hereticks enjoy the same Right, in respect of Hereditary Successions, as the Orthodox do. See *Groenvegen de LL. Abrogatis* d. There are eight Reasons almost of the same Nature, to justify Sons in disinheriting their Fathers e: But there are only three reckon'd sufficient among Brothers and Sisters f. It seems just, according to the *Civil Law*, that the Causes of Exheredation or Disinheriting should be always expressed, and the Magistrate made Judge of them, that no Room may be left to Fancy, Passion, Neglect, Importunity, Authority, and the like. By the Law of *England*, the Testator has so large and ample a Liberty given him, that though he has Children of his own lawfully begotten; yet he may appoint others to be his Heirs or Executors, secretly omitting, or openly excluding and disinheriting according to his Pleasure. For our Law has left that solemn Way of Disinheriting Children, unto which the *Roman Laws* bound the Subjects of that State, unto the Love of Parents, which it presumes Nature has so firmly implanted on the Minds of all Fathers, that it cannot be eradicated, unless it be for the most profligate Behaviour of their Children. And therefore all Persons have the free Disposition both of their real and personal Estates, as well in respect of those which they have purchased themselves, as in regard of those which they have by Descent from their Ancestors, unless it be a Fee-tail. For we cannot dispose of such an Estate, unless we first dissolve or cut off the Entail by a Fine, or Recovery g. See *Plowden* in the Case of *Stavel* and *Zouch*. Yet our ancient Law-writers, as *Glanvil* and others, say, That Fathers were not permitted to devise an Inheritance, which they had received from their Ancestors, unto any one besides the next Heir h. Upon which Account they have it, that the Heir is answerable for the Father's Debts, so far as the Estate extends. But Laws of latter Times seem to have set Bounds to this Necessity i. And therefore the Heir is not at this Day oblig'd to discharge the Debt of his Ancestor, unless it be so specially mention'd in a Deed of Contract, and the Inheritance be sufficient for this End and Purpose. In respect of Chattels and personal Estates, *Bracton* thinks k they ought to be distributed, viz. After the Debts of the Deceased are paid, such Chattels as remain are to be divided into three Parts; one Part of which ought to go to the Children, a second to the Wife, and a third Part was left to the Disposal of the Testator. If there are no Children, then one Moiety is reserved to the Disposal of the Deceased, and the other goes to the Wife. But if there be no Wife, then one Moiety to the Children, and the other to the Deceased. But this rather seems to be Counsel, than a Command. For a little after in the same Place, he says, that neither the Wife nor Children can take more of the Husband or Father's personal Estate, than is specially bequeathed unto them, unless it be of special Grace and Favour; as for great Merits to him in his Life-time. And for this he gives a good Reason, viz. That if he should be compelled to leave any Thing unto his extravagant Children, or to his undeserving Wife, at the Time of his Death, it would be an Encouragement unto Disobedience, Riot and Perverseness: Wherefore, it is necessary that he should be free in this Matter. For by this Means both his Wife and Children will be incited unto Vertue and Merit: which otherwise (perchance) they would not follow, if they knew they must inevitably obtain a certain Part of the Testator's Goods, even without his Will.

I have

d In Nov. 115.
c. 3.

e Nov. 115. c.

f Nov. 22. c.

47.

g 4 H. 7. c. 24.

32 H. 8. c. 6.

h Glan. lib. 6.

c. 17 & 18.

Bract. lib. 2. c.

26.

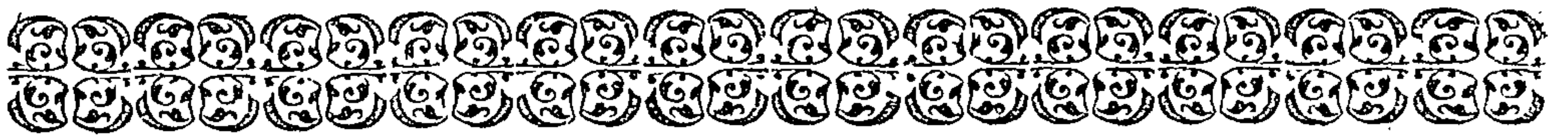
i 32 H. 8. c. 1.

k Lib. 2. c. 26.

n. 1.

I have before remembred, That Exheredation is nothing else but a Depriving of Children (to speak properly) of the Heirship or Inheritance. And hence a Person cannot be said to be deprived of the Heirship, unto whom the same is not due according to Law ¹: And, therefore, Exheredation cannot be said to lie in respect of Strangers, or extraneous Persons. ^{1 Bart. in L. 132. D. 45. 1.} And upon this Account it is not properly adapted unto Collaterals; because no one is by Law forced to make them his Heirs, unless it be when a Man has appointed such a Person for his Heir, who is of a bad and infamous Character: In which Case the lawful Heirship is due to the Brother, according to *Baldus* ^m. Those Persons are stiled *extraneous*, unto whom the *Bonorum Subsidium* is not due. A Person that disinherits his Children, seems to disinherit them by Name: But a Person is not bound to disinherit extraneous Persons by Name; but it is enough to pass them by in Silence. Children disinherited, are presumed to be disobedient and undutiful to their Parents, unless they prove themselves to be otherwise: But Parents disinherited are presumed to be affectionate to their Children, unless the contrary be proved. Wherefore, Children, that bring a Complaint against the Will of their Parents, ought to prove that they have constantly paid them all Manner of Duty and Obedience which Nature requires. But an Orphan Daughter is not deemed to be undutiful, because she cultivates Friendship and a good Agreement with her Husband against the Will of her Mother ⁿ. ^{n C. 3. 28. 20.}

Though a Father may disinherit his Daughter for committing Fornication, or living a libidinous Life before the 25th Year of her Age; yet a Son cannot disinherit his Mother for being Guilty of Whoredom ^o: But a Son is not obliged to make her his Heir, if she passes to a second Marriage, or to leave her any Thing: Which see hereafter under *Marriages*. A Person does not seem to disinherit those Children which he does not know that he has ^p. As for Example, *Titius* making his Will, made *Seius* his Heir, and had other Children, *viz.* *Caius* and *Sempronius*: And believing *Sempronius* to be dead, wrote thus in his Will, *viz.* *And for all my other Sons and Daughters, I disinherit them.* *Quære*, whether *Caius* and *Sempronius* are hereby both disinherited? Touching *Caius*, doubtless, he is. But in respect of the Error which the Father had about *Sempronius*, whom he thought to be dead in his Life-time, it was a Question with the Judge, and resolved in the Negative. If the Son commits any Act of Disobedience or Ingratitude against the Father, for which he may be disinherited, and the Father remits the Injury by Pact, the Son shall not upon that Account be disinherited, according to *Paul. de Castro* ^q. A Son may be disinherited, not only for one of those fourteen Causes reckon'd up in the *Novels*, but even ³ for other Causes not expressed there, provided there be the same, or a greater Reason: And this is the common Opinion of the Doctors, as *Jason* avers. As a Father, by blessing or speaking well of his Son in his Will, is not deemed to make him his Heir; so, by cursing, or saying ill of him, he is not adjudged to have disinherited him; because Words of Indignation ordain nothing. ^{o Paul. de Castro. Conf. 416 Vol. 4.} ^{p D. 28. 2. 25.} ^{q In l. ult. C. 2.}



T I T. XXX.

Of the Inventories of Goods, how many Kinds of them, and the Time and other Circumstances of Making the same; and of Passing Accounts, and the like.

HAVING already, under the Title *Of a Written or Appointed Heir*, according to the Rules of the *Civil Law*, explain'd the Reason of such an Institution or Appointment; I shall here speak of the principal Consequences or Effects thereof, which in chief are Three: *viz.* The *first* is, in our Law-books, stiled the *Jus Deliberandi*, which I shall first consider in this Place. The *second* is, The Right of an *Inventory*; and under this Head, I shall discourse of the Method and Form of Making the same. And the *third* is, The Acceptance of the Heirship, of which I have already treated under the Title of *Heirs*; but shall here, notwithstanding, lightly touch thereon.

The *Jus Deliberandi*, or Right of Deliberating, was a Power granted the Heir, within a certain Time, to consider with himself, whether he would accept of the Office and Trust of an Heirship accruing to him, or whether he would refuse and disclaim the same: For it is not the Part of a prudent, but rather an Argument of a rash Man, to enter and possess himself of an Inheritance without mature Deliberation; because if he has once taken the Heirship on himself by meddling, he stands engaged to answer all hereditary Creditors, though the Inheritance be not sufficient to discharge the Debts of the Testator, or Intestate, deceased: And thus an Heirship by Will, as well as an Intestate Heirship, which we in *England* term an Executorship and Administratorship, were often wont to prejudice both these Kinds of Heirs. Whereupon, in Process of Time, the Benefit or Right of thus *Deliberating* began to be in Use, and was granted to Executors and Administrators, that they might consider with themselves, whether it was expedient for them to enter on the Heirship, as above-mention'd, and to intermeddle with the Estate and Goods of the Deceased.

Now this Time for the Heir's Deliberation was not settled by any Law, nor was it ascertain'd by the *Prætor's* Edict, but left entirely to the Discretion of the Judge, upon hearing of the Matter. But I must observe, That Testators were sometimes wont to appoint Heirs within a certain Period of Time, by limiting the Number of Days; within which Time they were either obliged to accept of the Heirship, or to renounce the same; and this Term of Deliberation thus given to the Heir by the Testator, *Ulpian* stiles *Cretio Dierum*: And the Heir appointed was bound, within this Time prefix'd, either to take this Heirship on himself, or he was excluded by Time alone, without any other Act. But before this Term was expir'd he could not be barr'd the Heirship, tho' he should at some Time before have disavow'd the same; since he might within this Time come and repent. But this Aid or Power of *Deliberation* is out of Use at this Day, by the Means of an Imperial Constitution.

For this Right of Deliberating being found defective, and not sufficient for the Information of the Heir, to let him into a true Knowledge of the State of the Inheritance, the Emperor *Justinian* did, for this and other wise Reasons,

Reasons, hereafter to be remember'd, introduce the Benefit of an Inventory, as a safer Method to indemnify Heirs against the full Demand of hereditary Creditors and Legataries suing for Debts and Legacies beyond the Amount of the Inheritance itself, which our *English* Lawyers term *Assets*. So that if they suspected the Ability of the Inheritance, they might accept of the Heirship without any Deliberation and Danger of being compell'd to pay the Creditors beyond the Extent of the Inheritance itself, if they made an Inventory thereof, and therein faithfully described and set down the whole Substance of the Inheritance, according to the Form deliver'd in the *Code* ^{u. ^u C. 6. 30. 22.} And upon this Foundation principally it was, that the Emperor, changing the whole Right of *Deliberation*, and all those Points of Law which gave Occasion thereunto, prescribed this new beneficial Method of satisfying all hereditary Creditors and Legataries in their Demands on or from the Inheritance, as being grounded on a much better Equity, and is more in Use at this Day, than the former Course of proceeding by *Deliberation*.

But though I may observe, That there are several Sorts of Inventories mentioned in our Law-books, as that of Tutors and Curators, Debtors and Creditors, fiscal Inventories, &c. as well as this relating to Heirs; yet I shall only in this Place treat of this Kind, as more immediately to our Purpose: which is nothing else but a Description of all the Goods and Estate of the Person deceased ^x, made in the Presence of all Persons having an ^x Nov. 1. c. 2. Interest therein; or (at least) on a due Citation of such to be present at the making thereof, if they think it their Advantage so to be. And this Inventory ought to be made according to the Form directed in the *Code* ^{y. ^y C. 6. 30. 22.} For the Heir shall begin to make it within thirty Days after the opening of the Will, or within thirty Days from the Notice given him of being Heir, or within thirty Days after the Administration or Intestate Heirship is granted him. And if he shall make an Inventory within sixty Days after he has begun the same, he shall not be liable to Creditors and Legataries beyond the Assets thus recorded ^z: But if he shall not make it, he shall not only be ^z C. 6. 30. 22. liable to Creditors beyond the Substance of the Inheritance, but shall also ⁴ lose the *Quarta Trebellianica*. If a Person does not make an Inventory, doubtless he loses the Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law; because this is expressly provided for on this Law, on the score of presumptive Fraud and Knavery. But a *quasi*, or an *improper* Heir, shall only lose so much as the *Falcidian* Law allows. Therefore, whoever will reap the Advantage of this Law, ought to make an Inventory ^a: For if a Man despises the Law, ^a C. 6. 30. 22. he renders himself unworthy of the Benefit of it. ^{4.}

[By the Laws of *England*, though a Person ought to make an Inventory, under Pain of making himself liable unto Creditors and Legatees, for his presumptive Fraud; yet I do not find any Time prescribed for this Purpose: Nor does the Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law prevail with us. By an Edict of *Charles V.* ^b Emperor of *Germany*, the Benefit of an Inventory ought to be ^b A. D. 1544. obtain'd from the Prince; and the Inventory ought to be perfected within forty Days after such Art. 39. Grant purchased. By the Custom of *Holland*, no certain Time is prefix'd, but an Inventory may be demanded at any Time, at the Instance of Creditors ^c; and so it is practis'd in *Friesland*: But ^c Groenv. de whoever does not exhibit an Inventory on such Demand, and the Decree of the Judge thereupon, LL. Abr. is saddled with all the Testator's Debts and Legacies, as a knavish Person. In *France* we have a Constitution of *Lewis XIV.* ^d touching an Inventory, which I have taken Notice of elsewhere, ^d A. D. 1666. under the Title of *Herrs*.]

The Doctors will have it, That there are many Solemnities requir'd in Making an Inventory. As, *First*, It ought to be made touching those Things which the Deceased was possess'd of, and left behind him at the Time of his Death; and the Time for Making it is within the Term above-mention'd: For it ought to be compleatly finish'd within three Months from the Heir's being made acquainted with the Testator's Appointment of him as Heir, or from the Knowledge of his being Heir Intestate. But if
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the Goods be not present and at hand, but the Whole or the greatest Part of the Testator's Substance lies in some other Province, then the Space of a whole Year is allow'd ^e for the making of an Inventory by Proctors and Agents well instructed and commission'd for this Purpose. Some, indeed, have doubted, whether the making of an Inventory ought to be begun precisely within the thirty Days : Wherein *Bartolus* and *Cynus* ^f determine in the Negative : For, say they, it is sufficient, if it be perfectly finish'd within the three Months. *Secondly*, 'Tis necessary for the Heir to cause all Creditors and Legataries to be judicially cited for their Appearance on a certain Day, and at an Hour certain of that Day, as already hinted ; that being present, they may see the Inventory begun, proceeded on, and finish'd by such Heir : And if the Creditors be certainly known, every one of them ought to be specially cited by their particular Names ; otherwise, a general Citation, by way of publick Proclamation, is sufficient, if the Creditors be not certainly known : But if such Creditors be not in their usual Places of Residence, their Friends ought then to be cited, or (at least) three Witnesses made use of to supply the Absence of these Persons. This Solemnity is not observed with us here in *England*, in the making of an Inventory. *Thirdly*, This Inventory ought to be written in the Hand of some Notary Publick hereunto requested ; for the Hand-writing of a private Person is not sufficient to give Evidence thereof ^g : Yea, tho' the Heir shall be able to shew an Account or Scroll of the Goods of the Deceas'd, under the Hand-writing of the Deceased ; yet he shall be excluded the Benefit of an Inventory, if he pursues not this solemn Method of a Notary ; because the Inventory ought to take its Beginning from the Person of the Heir, and not from that of the Deceased ; Notaries are not used in *England* in this Case. *Fourthly*, 'Tis necessary that two or three Witnesses, at the Beginning and perfecting of the Inventory, should be present, who have the Inspection of the whole Substance of the Inheritance laid before them ; and by these Witnesses the Inventory ought to be proved ^h : And if the Creditors and Legataries (perchance) be absent, then (besides these two) three other Witnesses shall be used ; and the Witnesses ought to be well known to the Heir, this being Special and Particular in an Inventory : For in other Instruments, when Witnesses are apply'd, it is not necessary for the Parties contracting to be acquainted with them ⁱ. *Fifthly*, 'Tis requir'd, that the Heir should subscribe himself to the Inventory, averring all Things to be lawfully done therein without Fraud and Deceit : And if he should be so illiterate as not to know how to subscribe himself, or write his own Name, another Person (according to some) may subscribe himself in the Heir's Name ; tho' the better Opinion is, that he shall subscribe in his own Name by his Mark, testifying there is nothing attempted to be done in this Matter through fraudulent Means. Others will have it, that the Person thus subscribing in the Heir's Name, ought to be some other Notary than the Notary assumed to write the Inventory ^k. In Popish Countries, where Superstition prevails much more than true Religion, the Sign of the Cross ought to be prefix'd and set at the Head of the Inventory ; tho' the Omission of this Solemnity (they own) does not vitiate the same, as not being directed in the *Code*. Others aver, that an Inventory ought to be made and enrolled in the Judge's Presence, to avoid a Suspicion of Fraud : But this Opinion is not only impugn'd by Lawyers of the greatest Learning ^l, but even by constant Practice. For as the Imperial Constitution mentions not the Judge's Presence, it wou'd be an Hardship on the Heir to introduce the same, especially since the Judge's Presence is not easily had. Therefore, in respect of Heirs or Executors, it is well enough if it be made extrajudicially before one Notary : But in order to give it Credit and Authority against Debtors, and Persons whose Names

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^e C. 6. 30. 2. 3.^f In L. 22. C. 6. 30.^g C. 6. 30. 22. v. *Præstabit*.^h Nov. 1. c. 2.ⁱ Nov. ut supra, C. 6. 30. 22.^k C. 6. 30. 22. 2.^l Bart. Conf. 54. n. 7.

are therein specify'd, 'tis necessary that it should be made in the Judge's Presence ^m. The last Thing necessary to an Inventory, is, that all the Hereditary Goods, both Corporeal and Incorporeal, be inserted therein, *viz.* Moveables and Immoveables, Debts and Credits, Profits and Disprofits, and even Things belonging to the Right of Strangers, as Things deposited and lent by way of *Commodatum*, Pawns, Hypotheques, &c. if they be found among the Goods and in the Possession of the Deceased at the Time of his Death. When I say, That Things in the Custody of the Deceased, at the Time of his Death, by way of *Depositum*, *Commodatum*, &c. ought to be described in the Inventory; I mean, they ought to be set down with an Annotation of Allowance, or a Petition for deducting the same: For should those Things be omitted, much Fraud might ensue to Creditors and Legataries, under Pretence of Things deposited with the Deceased, or lent him by way of *Commodatum*, &c.

But some are so rigid as to have the Inventory vitiated in such a Manner, if any one or more of these Things are omitted, that the Heir is thereby liable to hereditary Creditors and Legatees beyond the Amount of the Estate, on the Score of such Omission: But *Paul. de Castro* ⁿ says, No, if these Things were *bona fide* omitted; For if other Goods shall come to the Knowledge of the Heir after the Inventory is finished, he ought *de Novo* to add them thereunto, which is the common Practice. Wherefore, the Doctors deliver this Caution to be observed in Practice, *viz.* That the Heir, in making an Inventory, does make a Protestation at the Foot thereof, that he has caused all Things to be inserted therein, which have hitherto come to his Knowledge; and that if any Thing has been omitted, which shall be otherwise discover'd, he desires to add them thereunto, so soon as he shall be made acquainted with the Omission: And, on the contrary, if any Things be therein enter'd, which ought not to be described, he prays they may be deemed as not inserted. So that by this Protestation he renders himself safe against all unwillful Omissions, and may at any Time afterwards add unto the Inventory such Things as shall come to his Knowledge. Add hereunto, that when an Inventory is made, the Value of Things by honest Appraisers ought to be described therein.

If Goods shall be concealed and omitted thro' Deceit, the Heir loses the Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law, according to the *Digests* ^o, only in respect of the Things concealed; and if the Heir was a Bondman or Vassal, he lost the *Jus abstinenti* ^p, or the Right of Waving the Heirship, after it descended to him: But by the *Novels* he now loses the whole and entire Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law, in respect of all Legacies whatsoever ^q. For the Heir, by not making an Inventory, or fraudulently making an imperfect one, is by Law presumed to have subtracted and withholden so much of the Inheritance, as the *Falcidian* Law has given him: And he that abuses the Power and Trust reposed in him by Law, deservedly loses the Privilege and Advantage thereof ^r. But yet he is not liable to Creditors and Legataries beyond the Extent of the Inheritance, but only subject to Restitution in Twofold of the Goods thus concealed ^s.

As to the further Punishment of an Heir, that neglects the making of an Inventory, or that abuses the Confidence which the Law reposes in him, it has been, *first*, a Question, Whether, by such Neglect or Abuse, he shall not lose the Advantage of the *Lex Trebellianica*, as he does the Benefit of the *Falcidian* Law? And herein the Matter has been so warmly disputed among the Doctors, that it is hard to discern which is the common Opinion. *Bartolus* will have the common Opinion to be, that he shall not lose this Advantage: And others confirm the negative Side of the Question. *Secondly*, It is a Question, whether a *Fidei-commissarius*, or an Heir in Trust, may be

^x In L. 11.
D. 35. 2. 5.

compelled to make an Inventory? *Bartolus* ^t says; That he may; because an universal Heir in Trust is reputed to be in the Place of a direct or simple Heir: But an Inventory made by a simple Heir is of no Advantage to the Heir in Trust, unless such simple Heir assigns this Right to him. If the Heir makes an Inventory, and afterwards dies, the Heir of such Heir shall have the Advantage thereof; because the Deceased and his Heir are one and

^u Nov. 48. pr. the same Person in Law ^u.

But, in regard both to simple Legataries and Legataries in Trust, a Testator may remit the making of an Inventory; because it was in his Power not to have given such Legacies, and might if he had pleas'd, even after such Bequests made, have revoked the same: And, therefore, *à fortiori*, he may prejudice such Legatees, by remitting unto the Heir the making of an Inventory; but in respect of Creditors, according to *Guid. Papa* ^x, &c. he cannot do the same. And thus though a Release or Discharge from rendering an Account in a future Administration cannot be expressly made or bequeathed; yet the Testator may remit unto a Guardian the Business of making an Inventory, if the Pupil be not injur'd thereby: For tho' the Testator has so order'd it; yet the Judge or Ordinary may, for the Pupil's Advantage, according to *Jason* and the Doctors ^z, compel a Guardian to make an Inventory. For the Magistrate may rather chuse to follow the Pupil's Advantage, than the Order and Writing of the Testator, if he finds the not making of an Inventory to be hurtful to the Ward. And so, upon a just Account, he may remit unto the Guardian or the Testator's Executor, the Business of making an Inventory; as when it is not expedient or convenient that the Sum and Substance of the Pupil's Estate, or of the Goods of the Deceased, should be made known and manifest to the World ^a. That a Guardian and an Heir, with us called an Executor, is bound to make an Inventory, appears from the Text and Gloss of the Law here quoted ^b: And such an Inventory he is obliged to make before he administers or intermeddles with any of the Goods of the Person deceased, unless he be assigned only to a certain *Specie*, or Part thereof. And, in the Making of this Inventory, a general Proclamation or Citation of all the Creditors or Legataries is sufficient, *viz.* That if any of the said Persons should think it his Interest, he should appear ^c, and in no wise necessary that all of them should be cited by their respective Names. But such a general Citation is not enough, when there is only one certain Person to oppose the Inventory ^d; for then he must be cited in special.

^b C. 1. 3. 28. 2.
v. Debitum.

^c C. 7. 43. 2.

^d D. 25. 3. 1. 1.

As to the Passing of Accounts upon the Inventory, the Heir or Executor ought to observe and follow the same. He ought to set down all Receipts and Disbursements thereon, and to deliver in to the Ordinary a Scroll or Schedule of all the Particulars upon Oath, in case of minuter Matters; but if the Sums are large, then he ought to prove the Payment thereof by Witnesses and Acquittances: And unto the Passing of this Account, the aforesaid Persons are cited in the same manner, as in the Case of an Inventory, to object to the Account if they find Reason, otherwise the Judge confirms and passes the same. It has been a Question among the Lawyers, whether the Testator may remit unto his Heir the Business of passing an Account: And the common Opinion is, he cannot, because this is a Matter that depends on *common Right* and the Law itself, which the Testator cannot dispense with. But touching this Matter, see the Title of *Accounts* hereafter.

The End of the THIRD BOOK.

BOOK



B O O K IV.

Of ACTIONS and OBLIGATIONS, the Third Object of the Law.

T I T. I.

Of Obligations in general; how divided into Civil, Prætorian, and mix'd: Of Obligations arising from proper and improper Contracts; and, lastly, of Obligations arising from private Trespases and Offences, &c.

I HAVE already, towards the Beginning of this Work, observed, that the whole Law, which Men make use of, has either a Relation to Persons, Things or Actions. And, having in the foregoing Books treated of Persons and Things, and how the Property of Things may be acquir'd, both by the Law of Nations and the Civil Law, I shall here speak of Actions. But because an Obligation is the Mother of all Personal Actions especially ^a, and as the Mother precedes the Daughter, according to ^a D. 3. 3. 42. the Order of Nature, I shall therefore, in this and the following Titles, discourse of Obligations, Contracts, and Offences in general, from whence every Obligation arises, and consequently an Action. And our daily Experience sufficiently assures us, that there is not a more useful Subject in all Civil Life, throughout the whole Body of the Law, than this of Obligations; since there is nothing more frequent than Contracts and Obligations, not only among Merchants, but also among Men of all Ranks and Conditions.

I have before remembered, That there are some Things which are filed *Corporeal*, and others which are called *Incorporeal*: And among these last we may reckon Services, Inheritances, and Obligations. But having already spoken of the two former *Species* of Things, *viz.* of Services and Inheritances, it remains for me here to handle the Matter of Obligations. But this Title, in the *Institutes*, contains little or nothing else but a Definition of an *Obligation* taken from the efficient Cause and Effect thereof, and some certain Divisions given of Obligations. For as we cannot come at the Knowledge of Particulars without the Knowledge of more General Things; I have, for this Reason, judged it necessary to enquire what an Obligation is, and how one Obligation is distinguished from another, as *Justinian* has done before me ^b.

^b I. 3. 14. 1 & 2.

Now

Now the Word *Obligation* is a general Term, which not only includes a *Civil*, but also a *Natural* Obligation, and sometimes an Obligation which is both *Natural* and *Civil* joined together, called a *Mix'd* Obligation. An Obligation is also distinguish'd either into such as arises from a *proper* or an *improper* Contract, or else from a *proper* or an *improper* Trespass, as I shall note again by and by. But the Lawyers define an Obligation to be a Bond of Law, whereby we are necessarily tied either to the Payment or Performance of something, according to the Laws of that State or City whereunto we belong ^c: And it is the Parent or Mother of all Judicial Actions; for there is no Action which has not its Rise from some Obligation or other. I here speak of a *Civil*, and not of a *Natural* Obligation, because a *Natural* Obligation does not produce an Action at Law, as having no Power and Effect in Law; and, consequently, in Propriety of Speech, it cannot be called an Obligation ^d. For he only can be said to be a Debtor, who can be convened in a Judicial Action: And therefore, he who only owes a Thing by *Nature*, as Gratitude to a Benefactor, and the like, is not strictly, but only improperly, said to be a Debtor ^e. Indeed the Person, who receives a Debt, that is founded on the Law of Nature, is understood to have received his own, but he cannot sue for it in a Court of Law: As a Father cannot by any Action at Law require any filial Piety from his Son, though the same be due from the Son to the Father of Natural Right. By the Word *Bond*, in this Definition ^f, I rather mean the Effect of a Bond, than a Bond itself: Because a Contract, or an Offence committed, is properly stiled the Bond, whereby Men are tied or obliged.

As an Obligation is a Bond of Law, which necessarily obliges a Man to perform or pay that which is due, it may rightly be divided into a *Simple* and a *Mix'd* Obligation. And again, a Simple Obligation may, moreover, be divided into an Obligation which is only *Natural*, and into an Obligation which is only *Civil*: And a *Mix'd* Obligation may, according to *Vultei*us on the *Institutes* ^g, be divided into an Obligation that is *Natural* and *Civil* together. Now every Civil Obligation, of which I shall here principally treat, if we consider the Nature of it, does, by a Necessity of Law, oblige Men unto something or other, though the Force of an Obligation may sometimes be hindered through the Weakness of the Cord, and is likewise defeated by an Exception: Yet it does not entirely cease to be an Obligation, till after such Defeat.

I have above hinted, that an Obligation is either meerly *Natural*, or meerly *Civil*, or else of a *mix'd* Nature. An Obligation *meerly Natural* is a Bond of Equity, whereby we are obliged to give or do a Thing, though no Action arises thereupon by the Civil Law for the Non-performance of it ^h. And this may be sub-divided into an *Effectual* or an *Ineffectual* Obligation, or (as some say) *in plenior* and *minus plenum*. An *Ineffectual* Obligation is that, which is not destroyed or assisted by the Aid of the Civil Law. And such an Obligation, *first*, is an Obligation to Gratitude; and, *secondly*, an Obligation from a Will less solemn. An *Effectual* Obligation is a *Natural* Obligation, which has almost the same Effects as a *Mix'd* Obligation, barring only an Action which it does not produce: For such a Natural Debt may be compensated with any other Thing that flows from the Covenant ⁱ. Sureties and Pledges may accede thereunto: But a Natural Debt, discharged through Error and Mistake, cannot be recover'd again ^k, as a Civil Debt may. An Obligation *meerly Civil*, is such as is meerly founded on the Civil Law, whereby a Person is so bound, that an Action

lies

lies against him *summo Jure*; which yet in Equity, or by the *Prætorian* Law, may be defeated by an Exception ^l. As when a Person ^{1 D. 13. 5. 3. 1. D. 50. 17. 112.} has promised any Thing, being thereunto compelled through Fear, or being thereunto induced by some Error and Mistake; or when the Debtor, after an Obligation entred into, covenants with his Creditor not to sue him ^m. A *Mix'd* Obligation is that, which is partly *Natural*, and partly *Civil*; and is a Bond of Equity as well as a Bond ^{m l. 4. 13. 1 & 2.} of Law, whereby a Person so binds himself that an Action lies against him. *Mix'd* Obligations are either *Civil* or *Prætorian*. *Civil* are those, which are constituted by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and which are approved of by some Civil or Municipal Law. And *Prætorian* Obligations are such as the *Prætor* has introduced in Vertue of his Jurisdiction ⁿ. *Civil* Obligations, I say, are such as are establish'd by ^{n l. 3. 14. 1.} the *Roman* Law in General, or approv'd of by some particular Law, as an Obligation in Vertue of the *Aquilian* Law, and the like: For there are some Obligations that are of the Invention of the Law of Nations; and some that are founded on the *Roman* Civil Law. *Prætorian* Obligations, which the Judge or *Prætor* ordain'd in Vertue of his Jurisdiction, are sometimes in our Books stiled *Honorary* Obligations ^o, because the *Roman* *Prætor* bore Honours. And this of *Civil* ^{o D. 5. 4. 1. D. 13. 6. 1 & 17.} and *Prætorian* Obligations, was the principal Division of all Obligations according to the *Roman* Law ^p; and was made in respect of ^{p l. 3. 14. 1.} the several Laws from whence every Obligation proceeds.

Again, Obligations, in respect of their several Causes or Considerations, on which Account they are produced, are divided into four *Species*, because every Obligation arises either from a *proper* or an *improper* Contract, or otherwise from a *proper* or an *improper* Trespas ^q. There ^{q l. 3. 14. 2.} are four *Species* of Obligations, which arise from Contracts properly so called. For as these Contracts are such as are made either by some Thing done, or else by Words, or *thirdly* by Writing, or *fourthly* by Consent alone: So there are so many *Species* of Obligations that are founded on these several sorts of Contracts, called *proper* Contracts. The first is stiled a *real* Obligation, and is contracted five several Ways, *viz.* *First*, By a Loan made; *Secondly*, by a Payment of that which is not due; *Thirdly*, by a *Commodatum*, or a Thing lent for a certain Time and Use, and to be returned in the same Species: *Fourthly*, by a *Depositum*; and *Fifthly*, by a Pawn received. *Verbal* Obligations, or such as are contracted by Words, consist in naked Promises and Stipulations. An Obligation contracted by Writing, is, when a Person does in Writing acknowledge himself to be a Debtor to such a one, whether the Money was actually received by him or not: And such a Person shall not have an Exception *non Numeratæ Pecuniæ*; because he has acknowledged himself to be a Debtor; and this is agreeable to the Law of *England*, according to *Glanvil* ^r, *Britton* ^s, and *Fleta* ^t. These ^{r Lib. 10. c. 12. s Cap. 28. t Lib. 2. c. 56.} Kinds of Obligations in Writing, are, with us, of a more exalted Nature than Stipulations, and bind more than them. For if Writing intervenes, it is not necessary to express the Consideration. See *Plowden's Reports* ^u in *Sherington's Case*. If a verbal Contract be made touching any Matter, and an Obligation be afterwards from thence drawn into Writing, the first Contract is entirely extinguish'd, and produces no Action, but only the Written Obligation can be sued. An Obligation in Writing cannot be destroyed by any verbal Pact *de non petendo*. An Obligation contracted by Consent alone, is, when a Person engages to do a Thing without any Thing deliver'd, or Stipulation made, or any Promise drawn into Writing, as in Bargain and Sale, Hiring and Letting to Hire, and the like; and this is the Contrivance of the Law of

Nations. These *proper* and *improper* Contracts, &c. (of which hereafter) are the four ordinary Fountains of all Obligations. But sometimes Obligations do, by a Peculiarity of Law, arise from various Forms of Causes, which rather depend on Equity than on any strict and certain Law x.

* D. 12. 1. 32.
D. 10. 4. 3. 3.

I shall next speak of such Obligations as are not properly said to arise from a Contract: But yet because they are not substantiated by a Malfeasance or Trespas, seem to arise from an *improper* Contract y. Therefore, when any one has managed or done Business for another Man in his Absence, Actions arise between them *hinc inde*: And these are called *Actions for Business done*, and the like z. These Actions are so called, because they do not arise from a Contract, or from a *proper* or an *improper* Trespas a, properly speaking. For a Contract is only between two or more Persons; and no one is obliged by a *proper* Contract but he who consented thereunto b. A Misdemeanor or Trespas, in *Latin* term'd *Maleficium*, is not contracted without some Fault or evil Design in the Person that commits it. But oftentimes an *improper* Trespas or Misdemeanor is couched under the Word *Maleficium*, or a Misdemeanor; and so is an *improper* Contract under the Appellation of a Contract c. And thus all *Mix'd* Obligations arise either from a *proper* or an *improper* Contract, or else from a *proper* or an *improper* Trespas or Misdemeanor d.

* D. 44. 7. 4.

b D. 2. 14. 1.

z I. 3. 28. 1.

y I. 3. 28. pr.

A *Civil* Obligation is taken away and dissolv'd by a contrary Civil Act, as by a Sentence, or by Acceptilation, (of which hereafter) but not by a Natural Act. And it is one Thing to toll an Obligation *ipso Jure*, and another to toll it by the Help of an Exception. For when an Obligation is taken away *ipso Jure*, it is simply annihilated as if it had never been in the Nature of Things: And this Power the Law has, which makes a *Non-ens* of an *Ens* or Being. Thus *Acceptilation*, which is a feign'd kind of Payment, does *ipso Jure* toll an Obligation, and the Debtor is by this Means discharged, as if he had naturally paid the Debt; and if he shall be afterwards condemned in the Debt, the Sentence is null and void, whenever *Acceptilation* shall be pleaded and appear. But to toll an Obligation by the Help of an Exception, is not entirely to annihilate the Obligation, but only to quash and weaken it, in such a Manner as it shall have no Operation in Law, when the Exception is objected to it: For if an Exception be not objected to it, then a Condemnatory Sentence is valid *ipso Jure*, and the Debtor is justly condemned: And this a Pact *de non petendo* does. For Example, *Titius* is bound to me in a Debt of Ten Pounds, and I covenant with him not to sue him: The Obligation is not hereby taken away, but that I may implead him by Law: But then an Exception shall stop the Suit; for when he objects the said Covenant, I am thereby repelled, and the Action is quashed. Neither a *Civil*, nor a *Natural* Obligation is dissolved by a *Cession* of Goods, though it produces a good Exception in Law, and suspends the Force of an Obligation for a Time: The Extinguishment of an Obligation being one Thing, and the Cession of it another; for when an Obligation is once extinct, it never revives again e. A *Civil* as well as a *Natural* Obligation is *ipso Jure* dissolved Twelve several Ways, *viz.* By Payment, Acceptilation, Novation *Voluntary* and *Necessary*, by Delegation, Compensation, Confession of a Debt, a lawful Tender, and sometimes by a naked Consent, and the like; of all which hereafter. An Obligation is only made by Verbs of the Future Tense f.

* D. 46. 3. 98. 8.

f I. 3. 16. 1.

[All *Civil* Obligations, according to the Law of *England*, are principally divided into two Kinds, *viz.* either into such as have their Rise from the Common Law, or else into such as have their

their Rise from some Statute of the Realm. Of the first, we have an Example in that vulgar Obligation, which we stile a *Penal* Obligation, and in other Obligations of the like Nature. And of Obligations which arise from some Statute, we have an Instance in those which are founded upon a Statute-merchant, Statute-staple, &c. And these Obligations are wont to be reduced into Writing, and an Action is brought upon the Statute. See the Statute of *Alton Burnet* ^g 1 Edw. I. ^{c. 1.} ^h 38 Edw. III. ^{c. 4.}

In *real* Obligations, *viz.* in such as arise from something done, without the exprefs Consent of the Parties, a Pupil and a Madman may be obliged, even without the Consent and Authority of his Tutor or Curator: As for Example, in an Estate which I have in common with a Pupil or Madman, if I lay out any Money of my own thereon, such Pupil is, in this Case, bound to pay me such Expences as I have been at on his Part. And it is the same thing, if a Pupil, that is capable of Deceit or an ill Design, does me any Damage in that Estate which is in common to us both; for even then he is thus obliged. When several Persons are bound, *in Solidum*, in the same Bond or Obligation, and stand on the same Bottom, they may all and every of them, in that Case, be condemned *in Solidum*: But it is otherwise when they are not all bound by the same Tie, but by a different Obligation ⁱ ^{D. 45. 1. 75. 8.}

An Obligation inserted in a publick Deed or Instrument, is of so great Force in Law, that, in respect of the Evidence thereof, it is in our Books stiled *Probatio Probata*; nor is there any more valid Proof requir'd. And, moreover, no stronger Proof can be found, whereby a Debtor may be compelled to the Payment of a Debt, and to make Satisfaction unto his Creditor. But if the Cause or Consideration of a Debt be inserted into such an Instrument, the Obligation (though inserted) makes no Proof thereof, nor is it valid: And to the End that an Obligation should be valid, and make Proof, it does not only require a good Cause or Consideration to be inserted, but even that such Cause or Consideration should be apt, certain, and intelligible.

When any Thing is promised under an impossible Condition, neither a *Civil* nor a *Natural* Obligation is contracted ^k. Every Obligation, both ^l ^{I. 3. 20. 11.} *Civil* and *Natural*, may have Suretiship added thereunto for the Performance thereof: For a Surety may be apply'd to every Obligation, whether it arises from a Contract, or a Malfeazance, commonly call'd, with us, a Trespass, whether such Obligation be only *Natural*, or only *Civil*, or *Natural* and *Civil* together. And thus a Surety may accede to an Obligation, which arises from a *Depositum* or a *Commodatum*: As, when I have deposited any Thing in your Hands, and you have been guilty of some Fraud or Deceit therein, I may, in this Case, receive Sureties from you, that you will make me Satisfaction for the Damage you have done me in the Thing deposited with you. A *Natural* Obligation is founded on the Law of Nations; and so likewise is an Obligation which arises from *proper* Trespases and Misdemeanors: But an Obligation flowing from an *improper* Trespass or Misdemeanor, is founded on the *Civil* Law; and so likewise is an Obligation that descends from an *improper* Contract. A *Natural* Obligation, that had a *Civil* Obligation join'd with it *ab Initio*, preserves the Action which it produced, being joined with the *Civil* Obligation, though such *Civil* Obligation be taken away. A *Natural* Obligation join'd with a *Civil* one, are not one Substance, but two Things.



T I T. II.

Of Contracts in General ; how divided ; and what are Contracts Stricti Juris, and what are Contracts Bonæ Fidei, or founded on Equity ; what Contracts are founded on the Law of Nations, and what on the Civil Law ; and of the Interpretation of Contracts, &c.

THE Word *Contract*, taken in a large Acceptation thereof, signifies a Covenant or an Agreement made between two Persons or more : Which Covenant or Agreement produces an Obligation (at least) on one Side. For by the Word *Contract*, I do not only mean to include such an Obligation as obliges on both Sides, as Bargain and Sale, Hiring and Letting to Hire, &c. but even such an Obligation as arises from one Side only, as a Loan, Stipulation, and the like. Nor do I intend to include those Contracts only, unto which the Laws have given a proper and certain Name, which are therefore call'd *Nominate* Contracts, as Bargain and Sale, Hiring and Letting to Hire, Partnership, &c. (a certain and nominate Action arising from these Contracts) ; but even those which want a peculiar Name, and are therefore stiled *Innominate* Contracts ; there being more Matters and Things for their Objects, than we have Names to express them by. And for these last no certain Action lies, but only an Action *Præscriptis Verbis* ; that is to say, an Action conceived in a Form of Words proper and agreeable to the Nature of the Business : And such is an Action of Permutation, or an Estimatory Action, and the like.

I say, *taken in a large Acceptation* ; because I wou'd, in this Definition, include a *Pact*, a *Donation*, and a *Promise*, which are in some measure stiled Contracts ; and do produce an Obligation (at least) on one Side of the Parties. For a *Donation* produces an Obligation in the *Donor*, as he is bound to abide by his *Donation* : And a *Promise* accepted, induces an Obligation on the Person making such Promise, by obliging him to fulfil the same. But a Contract, in the strict Sense of the Word, may be formally defin'd after this manner ; *viz.* To be an external Act between two or more Persons, sped by the Consent of each of them, and which mutually obliges both of them *. It is called an *External Act*, by way of *Genus* : For he who makes a Contract, does some outward Act ; though every one that does an Act, does not make a Contract. And we use the Word *External* ; because when a Contract is executed between two or more, it ought to be expressed by some external Sign or Token ; since one Man sees not into another's Heart. It is said, *by the Consent of each of them, &c.* by way of Difference ; to distinguish a *Contract*, in its strict Signification, from a *Donation*, *Pact*, and the like ; which does not produce a mutual Obligation (as we call it) *ultra citroque*. Some Persons hold a Contract to be a mutual Obligation, &c. but such Definition is not *formal*, but only a *casual* Definition, derived from the Effect which a Contract produces ; for a Contract is not *formally* an Obligation, but only produces an Obligation.

Now to shew that a Contract produces an Obligation, we are to consider, that an Obligation is that Bond, whereby Persons contracting, are obliged
either

* D. 2. 14. 7.
1 & 2.

either to do, or not do something ¹. And upon this Foundation it is, that every Contract produces an Obligation (at least) *in Foro Conscientiæ*, provided the Contract be not null and void in its own Nature, or else render'd so by some positive Law : Because the Law of Nature commands, That a Promise made to another, and accepted by him, be solemnly kept and observed. Hence it appears, that every lawful Contract begets an Obligation ; and he that violates an Obligation arising from a Contract, which consists in a lawful Promise made, acts contrary to the Law of Nature. I say, *in Foro Conscientiæ* ; because some Contracts produce not an Obligation *in Foro Externo* ; as Nude-pacts not confirm'd by an Oath. Wherefore, every Contract produces an Obligation (at least) *in Foro Conscientiæ* ; provided it be not made void by the Law of Nature, or by some private Law. For as private Men may add and apply Conditions to Contracts, in such a manner as such Contracts shall be valid, as long as those Conditions subsist, and shall be invalid if they do not subsist : So, *à fortiori*, a Prince may apply Conditions of this Kind, in such a manner, that the Contract shall be invalid, if those Conditions are not perform'd, or (at least) may be irritated and made void.

All Contracts do belong and appertain to real Actions ; and they ought to have their full *Substantials*, without which it is not lawful for any one to make a Contract. And the *Substantials* of Contracts are, *viz.* a Form, *lawful Matter* (I mean, such Matter as the Law allows of), the *Consent of both Parties*, the *Capacity, Ability, and Idoneity* of the Parties Contracting ; and, lastly, what we call *Bona Fides*, or Honest Dealing. The chief and especial Form of Contracts, is that which is solemnly express'd by Words or Writing : And all Contracts ought to have such Form, otherwise there would be no *Constat* of a Contract. The Matter of Contracts ought also to be aptly founded, and such as is lawful : For there are many Things which are not subject to Contracts, or, touching which, we cannot be said to contract ; and such are those Things which are not subject to the Commerce of private Persons, as Things Publick, Sacred, Religious, Litigious, &c. Moreover, in all Contracts, the Consent of each contracting Party ought to be had ; and especially in Contracts which are made and executed by Consent alone, as in Contracts of Bargain and Sale, Hiring and Letting to Hire, Permutation, and the like. And therefore, no *simulated* Contracts are valid ; because, in such Contracts, a full and perfect Consent of each Party contracting is not had. And thus, as in every Contract, the Consent of the Person contracting is requir'd ; so if there be any Defect of such Consent, the Obligation itself is also defective. For when I say, That some Obligations are contracted by Consent ; I don't mean, that all Obligations require a Consent ; but, that there are some Obligations which are perfected by Consent alone, without Delivery, or any other Solemnity.

Again : The Parties contracting, ought to be *Habiles & idonei ad contrahendum* : For there are several Persons that cannot make a Contract ; some, through a Defect of their own proper Age, as all Infants, Minors, &c. which have no Consent ; others, from a Defect of their own proper Power, such as Children under the Power of the Father, Pupils and Prodigals, who are not qualify'd to make Contracts, because they are not *sui Juris*, but are under the Law and Power of Tutors and Curators ; others, through a Defect of natural Power and Grace, as Persons deaf, dumb, Madmen, and the like ; others, by reason of the Frailty of Nature and Sex, as Women ; and others, by reason of some Crime or Offence committed by them, meaning, such as are publickly infamous, &c. There are others who cannot make a Contract, because they are forbidden by some written and positive Law ; such as Judges, and their proper Officers, with the Parties litigant ; for these cannot make a Contract with those that are subject

to their Jurisdiction, during the Time of their Offices. Physicians also can make no Contracts with their sick Patients, during the Time of their Sickness and Infirmary : And, for the same Reason, in the Judgment and Opinion of some Men, Surgeons cannot make a Contract with Persons maimed and wounded, being their Patients, during the Continuance of their Wounds, &c. In the like manner, Advocates ought not to make Contracts, nor enter into any Pact or Covenant with their Clients, so long as the Suit or Process of the Cause is depending : Because if a Proctor or Advocate should in the least discourage their Clients in the Success of their Causes, they would give up the whole Matter, through Fear of losing their Cause. But this is to be understood only, pending the Suit ; for, before and after the Suit they may make Contracts. The *Civil* Law has forbidden the aforesaid Persons to make Contracts, as above related, in order to prevent Wrongs and Oppressions which may ensue from thence : But I do not anywhere find, that the Laws of *England* have prohibited such Contracts.

The last Matter of Substance to be consider'd in Contracts, is, what we call *Bona Fides*, or Fair Dealing ^m : And this is necessary thereunto, not only at the Time when the Contract is enter'd into, but even when it is fulfilled. Wherefore, a Judge ought not only to examine whether a Contract be rightly enter'd into, and whether it be binding, or not, on the score of some Fraud therein, but he ought likewise to consider the Time of Fulfilling the same, and what one Party ought to perform to the other : And if the Contract was fraudulently enter'd into, then this Distinction shall be observ'd, *viz.* That if one shall make a fraudulent Contract with another, and it be a Contract *Bonæ Fidei*, it shall be null and void *ipso Jure*, as if no such Contract was made : But if it be a Contract *Stricti Juris*, and the same has been occasion'd through Fraud, or founded thereon ; then it is valid *ipso Jure*, and shall not be render'd invalid, unless it be by an Action or an Exception of Fraud objected thereunto ⁿ.

^m D. 4. 3. 7. 3.
D. 45. 1. 56.

^o I. 4. 6. 29.

Hence it appears, that there are two Kinds of Contracts : Of which some are stiled Contracts *Bonæ Fidei* ; and others call'd Contracts *Stricti Juris*. The first of these Kinds of Contracts *Justinian* terms Actions *Bonæ Fidei* ^o ; wherein Good Faith and Equity ought to be more consider'd, than the Words of the Contract themselves ; and they ought to be constru'd according to the Mind and Intention of the Persons contracting ; and the Place of such Construction, is the Usage or Construction of the Place or Country where the Contract is made. But in a Contract *Stricti Juris*, no more can be demanded or sued for than is covenanted and agreed on therein, it being founded on Rigour of Law : And the Judge, in pronouncing Sentence, is bound to have a principal Regard to the Covenants of the Parties, without making any other Interpretation thereof than the Covenants strictly admit of. Contracts are said to be contracted *Bonæ Fidei* ; because in them the Judge extends his Office in a more exuberant manner, as to those Matters which are *Bonæ Fidei*, than he does in Contracts *Stricti Juris*. All Contracts which are made with the Prince, have the Nature of Contracts *Bonæ Fidei* : And a *Feudal* Contract is also said to be a Contract *Bonæ Fidei*. All Contracts, whether Contracts *Bonæ Fidei* or *Stricti Juris*, require Honesty and Fair Dealing in the Parties Contracting, (as aforesaid) ; though, in respect of some Things, this *Bona Fides*, call'd Equity, is rather adapted to Contracts *Bonæ Fidei* than *Stricti Juris*, as *Baldus* notes ^p ; because all Contracts *Bonæ Fidei* may by a Pact be reduced to Contracts *Stricti Juris*, as when the Parties covenant a Thing which may be added or diminish'd. And, on the contrary, all Contracts *Stricti Juris* may, by a Covenant that Equity shall be observed, become Contracts *Bonæ Fidei* ^q. Contracts *Bonæ Fidei*, which are made and perfected

^p Conf. 343.
lib. 1.

^q Bald. ut supra.

perfected by Consent alone, do not stand in need of the Aid and Solemnity of Words, because in Contracts of this kind Consent is sufficient. If there be any Fraud or Deceit in Contracts *bonæ Fidei*, which is the Cause or Foundation thereof, it vitiates the Contract *ipso Jure*, as before hinted; and the Person that is thus deceived, shall not be bound thereby to perfect the same, if the Matter remains *entire*, and nothing be done therein: But if the Matter does not remain *entire*, (for that a Delivery, or something else, has follow'd thereupon) an Action of *Deceit* lies for the Restitution of the Thing deliver'd, and likewise to rescind the Contract; for that it proceeded only *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*. And Deceit is then said to give Cause, or to be the Foundation of a Contract, when any one is by Fraud and Deceit induced to enter into any Contract *bonæ Fidei*, which otherwise he would not have enter'd into. By the *Canon Law*, all Contracts are Matters of Equity or *bonæ Fidei*.

It has already been remarked, That there are some Contracts stiled *Nominate*, and others called *Innominate* Contracts: And some may be term'd *Customary* Contracts, because they were introduced by the Custom of the Place; as when a Person has promis'd to frank Goods for five Years. For this is not a Contract of Bargain and Sale, nor a Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire, but a Contract introduc'd by Custom, that a Person should tacitly sell *cum Pacto Francandi*. But in this Paragraph I shall only take Notice of a *Nominate* and an *Innominate* Contract. Those are stiled *Nominate* Contracts, which do immediately, *à principio*, produce an Action, as soon as they are made and perfected, whether they are made by Consent alone, as Bargain and Sale; or else by something done, as a *Mutuum*, and the like: But the bringing or suing out such Action is barr'd, and in nowise given to him that has not fulfilled the Contract on his Part ^r; and this Law proceeds and takes Place, if such Neglect be objected to the failing Party. For in Contracts, which do mutually oblige on both Sides, the Plaintiff, or he who sues in vertue of the Contract, is bound on his Part not only to fulfil it, but also to prove that he has fulfilled his Part of the Contract: For in *Nominate* Contracts one Person cannot sue and implead another, unless he has first fulfilled the Contract on his own Part ^s. In *Nominate* Contracts, the Action is not grounded and brought to rescind the Contract, by Reason of Non-performance, or Non-observance thereof; but to oblige the Party contracting to observe and fulfil his Contract. As for Example, if I buy a Horse upon a Contract, that such Horse shall be deliver'd to me upon Payment of a certain Sum of Money; I pay the said Sum of Money, and the Vender (notwithstanding) refuses to deliver the Horse: Hereupon (I say) I may have an Action, not to rescind the Contract by Reason of the Vender's Non-observance thereof; but an Action to oblige the Seller to observe the same, by a Delivery of the Horse sold. In *Nominate* Contracts there never is any room for Repentance or Foregoing the same; yea, though the Matter be *entire*, or (as we phrase it) *re integra*, so that the Contract may be dissolv'd thereby; but a good Action at Law lies to compel the Party to fulfil the same ^t. But in ^r D. 19. 1. 13. Correlative Contracts, if there be a Dissolution caused or effected on one Side, the whole Contract is dissolv'd or at an end ^u. But in ^s D. 21. 1. 25. *Innominate* Contracts, which are not Relative and Mutual, there is room for Repentance, and we may forego the Contract. And there are *Innominate* Contracts *simply* made, and respecting each other, which follow, *viz. Transaction, Permutation, a Nude-Pact*, and Contracts of the like Nature ^x. But in *Innominate* Contracts, which are Mutual and Rela-^{8. & Gloss.}
^{10.}
^t D. 13. 6. 17. 3.
^u D. 18. 5. 5.
^x Gloss. in L. 36. D. 2. 14. pr.

tive, there is room for Repentance, on the part of him that has fulfill'd the Contract, unless such Contract be strengthen'd and fortify'd with an Oath, or a Stipulation: For if so, then there is no room for Repentance or drawing back. These respective *Innominate* Contracts are of so weak a Nature, that they seem not to produce a Natural Obligation; or if they produce it by reason of Consent given by the Person Contracting, yet this Obligation is far weaker than any other Natural Obligation, which is not respective or reciprocal, but has only an Existence on one Side: For such an Obligation will not give a Retention, nor bar a *Condictio Dati*.

Every Man is free to Contract or not to Contract *à principio*, but after an Obligation is once contracted, one of the Parties contracting cannot renounce such Contract, being once entred into, without the Consent of the other. Therefore, if you once contracted with any one about the Sale of Goods, or about the Lease of a House, and the like, you cannot forego that Obligation contrary to the Will of the other Party ^y C. 4. 10. 5. And this holds more especially true in respect of all *Nominate* Contracts. But though in *Innominate* Contracts there is often room ^z D. 12. 4. 5. for Repentance ^z; yet this Repentance ceases, if there be any Stipulation added thereunto, whereby such Contract is strengthen'd and confirm'd, as just now hinted: For in *Innominate* Contracts no Obligation, no not so much as a Natural one, arises, before a fulfilling of the Contract does ensue; and though this fulfilling thereof should even intervene on one Side, yet there is no room for Repentance. For he that has fulfill'd the Contract on his Part, may sue for and recover the Thing, which he has given or paid in pursuance of the Contract: Which must be understood *re integrâ remanente*, or before the Person delivers it to him, or fulfils his Promise, and before he has sustain'd any Damage; because he has been at some Expence in preparing the Condition and fulfilling the Contract. Nor is it any Objection to say, That in *Innominate* Contracts (at least) a Natural Obligation arises, and that this Obligation prevents the Recovery of the Thing paid; because this proceeds, when the Natural Obligation is Simple and not Conditional: In which case it has the effect of *Retention*, but not when it is Relative, as in *Innominate* Contracts. Yet 'tis to be observ'd, that in *Innominate* (in Favour of Dower) there is no room for Repentance, though the Matter be *entire*: But this is a singular Case. Our Books say, *Cessat Pœnitentia, ubi adest Stipulatio*: Because, of *Common Right*, if a Stipulation be apply'd in *Innominate* Contracts, an effectual Action and Obligation arises, before the fulfilling of the Contract ensues by either Party. In *Innominate* Contracts, a Condictio *ob causam* takes ^a C. 4. 6. 11. Place ^a: But if a Stipulation be apply'd in such Contract, this Condictio *ob causam* ceases.

There are four *Species* of *Innominate* Contracts, as *do ut des*; *do ut Facias*; *Facio ut des*; and *Facio ut Facias* ^b D. 19. 5. 5. And the Parties do hereupon mutually covenant and agree by a *Nude-Pact*. And thus *Innominate* Contracts are judged of according to the Manner of entring thereinto, and not according to the Manner of fulfilling the same; and an *Innominate* Contract has something of the Likeness of a *Nominate* Contract. But in *Innominate*, the Person obliged to give or do any Thing, is not precisely obliged thereunto, but he shall be discharged *Solvendo Interesse*, by paying the Damage or Interest that accrues to ^c D. 19. 5. 5. 1. the adverse Party ^c. For in *Innominate* Contracts, an Action only lies for Damage, or for that which is a Man's Interest to have, and not to ^d D. ut supra. compel the Person to do or give ^d.

If an Act be celebrated or executed between certain Persons, and such Contract may have the Face and Appearance of a *Nominate* Contract, it is, according to *Bartolus* ^e, deemed to be such, if it be thus exprefs'd, or the Custom of the Place be such between the Parties contracting; otherwise it is accounted an *Innominate* Contract: But *Romanus* says ^f, That in a doubtful Case it is adjudg'd to be an *Inno-* ^g Conf. 302.
minate Contract. A *Nominate* Contract sometimes, from the adding of a Pact, passes into an *Innominate* Contract; and sometimes *à contra*: For a Contract is adjudged to be such, as the Substance of it, and the Words of the Covenant themselves will bear; and therefore one Contract passes into another, when the Words will admit thereof, and the Substance is repugnant to the first Contract. As when I say, *I make a Donation, Mortis Causâ, irrecoverably*, it passes into a simple Donation; because, as it cannot be revoked, it is repugnant to a Donation *Mortis Causâ*; and, the Words of one Donation being adapted unto the other, those Words, *Mortis Causâ*, stand for the Cause or Consideration of the Donation, as *on the Prospect of Death*: But it is otherwise, if the Words do not agree; as when I grant any Thing in a precarious Manner. Though a Stipulation added to a *Nominate* Contract, be a *Nominate* Contract in itself; yet if it be added to an *Innominate* Contract, it still retains the Nature of the Contract into which it is added: And it is adjudged to be a *Nominate* Contract, or an *Innominate* Contract, as it more or less assimilates a *Nominate* than an *Innominate* Contract; and yet the contrary is observed in an odious Matter ^g. An *Innominate* Contract is a Contract of great Imbecillity, and ^h Alex. Conf. does not produce an Action, till it be fulfilled on the Part of the Agent: But it is otherwise in respect of a *Nominate* Contract ^h. A ^h Rom. Conf. Tender of Money is not sufficient to demand an Action in an *Inno-* ⁸⁶
minate Contract, but an actual depositing the same is requir'd: But it is otherwise in a *Nominate* Contract ⁱ. At this Day the Use of an ⁱ Grav. Conf. *Innominate* Contract is very rarely practis'd. *Nominate* Contracts had ³³¹
heretofore certain Forms prescribed, which are therefore in our Books called *vulgar* Forms ^k; because they accrued unto all Contracts of such ^k D. 47. 2. 42.
Species, only changing the Name and Price set forth in the Contract: ^{D. 19. 5. 1.}
But it was not the same in *Innominate* Contracts; because the whole *Series* of the Matter was to be described. But these *vulgar* Forms are now grown obsolete and disused.

There is another Distinction of Contracts, *viz.* There are some Contracts which are in Writing, and others without Writing. A Contract in Writing has many Specialties annexed thereunto. For if a Contract be executed in Writing, and, by a Mistake, the Day of the Contract be omitted, it cannot be added and supply'd by the Notary; though in another Contract, which is not made in Writing, it may be added ^l. ^l Guid. Pap. Decil. 585.
Contracts are said to be celebrated in Writing two several Ways, ¹ ^m C. 4. 21. 16.
First, When the Parties so expressly agree, that it ought to be made in Writing ^m: And when the Parties thus agree, the Contract is not deemed to be perfected, till it be reduced into Writing. For if the first Contract were valid, the Notary afterwards making a Writing, could not be said to be asked touching the first Contract, because he can only be said to be asked what is done before him, and there would be two Contracts, *viz.* the first made without Writing, and the other made at the Time of the Deed or Instrument executed, which cannot be. *Secondly*, A Contract is said to be celebrated in Writing, when Writing is of the Substance of a Contract, as it is in some Cases. Thus with us here in *England*, a Contract of Debt upon a Statute-merchant, or a Statute-staple, ought to be executed in Writing,

and recorded before such Persons as are authorised by Statute to receive such an Acknowledgment of the Debt contracted. With us here in *England*, Contracts in Writing are, or seem to be, of a more exalted Nature, and to bind more than meer Stipulations: For if Writing intervenes, it is not necessary to express the Consideration of a Contract. See *Plowden's Commentaries* in the Case of *Sherington* ⁿ. If a verbal Contract be made touching any Thing, and an Obligation in Writing be afterwards drawn thereupon, such former Contract is wholly extinguished, and does not give any Action, but only the Deed or Speciality has Operation in Law ^o: And herein the *Civil* and our *Common Law* do both agree.

ⁿ Fol. 308.

^o Fitzh. N.B. Fol. 121.

^p Bart. Conf. 59. lib. 1.

^q Alex. Conf. 204. lib. 2.

^r Abb. Conf. 51. lib. 2.

^s Alex. Conf. 104. lib. 2.

^t D. 40. 1. 23. D. 2. 14. 28. 2.

^u C. 4. 6. 1.

^x D. 46. 3. 33. 1.

^y Glof. in L. 7. D. 18. 1.

^z D. 7. 5. 2.

As a Contract, properly speaking, is said to be, when an Obligation intervenes *hinc inde*, between two Persons, or more, by Consent; so if the Parties dissent or disagree about any Thing therein, it vitiates the Stipulation or Contract: Wherefore, the Parties contracting ought to hear each other on both Sides, and to have a right Understanding of the Matter contracted for: For if one understands one Thing, and another understands it of another, nothing at all is done therein ^p; and therefore we ought to abide by the Words of the Contract: And the Words of Contracts ought to be understood according to the proper Signification of them, and not to be taken loosely and improperly ^q; because every Contract, Pact, Renunciation, and Obligation, as they are chiefly contrary to *Common Right*, are deemed Odious; every Departure from *Common Right* being adjudged so ^r. And as the Words of a Contract are to be understood strictly, a Grandson does not come under the Appellation of a *Filius* or Son; nor does the Masculine Gender include the Feminine, according to the common Opinion of the Lawyers ^s. In Contracts made in *Latin*, and expressed in the Subjunctive Mood, when it is doubted whether the preterperfect or future Tense is meant; it shall be intended of the preterperfect, and not of the future Tense. To *reform* a Contract, is to modify it in respect of its Qualities, either by lopping off, qualifying, or in some respect altering the Form of the Contract, but yet retaining the Contract itself. As when I sell you a House for One hundred Pounds, and immediately we covenant and agree, that you shall only pay Eighty Pounds for it: And this is called the *Reforming* of a Contract: Which I here mention, because our Books speak thereof. As he, who acquires a Right by Verrue of a Contract, ought to accept of such Contract, with all the Pacts and Clauses therein specially contain'd ^t; so he, that makes use of any Contract, seems to have receded from a Pact for the rescinding any Clause or Covenant of such Contract, and *tacitly* to have approved thereof. But if the Contract falls to the Ground, all those Things which are comprehended in such Contract, and the Pacts and Clauses annexed thereunto, have no Operation at all ^u.

Those Things which belong to the Nature of a Contract, are looked on as Things expressed in such Contract: And therefore, in a Loan or *Mutuum*, it is deemed to be agreed, That a Thing of the same Kind and Goodness shall be restor'd, otherwise the Borrower shall not be released from an Action ^x. Now the Nature of a Contract is the very Force or Quality of the Contract itself, which is introduced according to the proper Bounds of the Contract, and is separated from such Things as may happen foreign to such Contract ^y. But the Substance of a Contract is the principal Essence thereof, without which the Contract falls to the Ground and cannot subsist ^z. Hence it is, that though the Matter and solemn Form of a Contract are widely different from each other; yet they are couched under the Name of the Substance

Substance of a Contract ^a, as already remember'd. There are some Things, ^a Bart. in L. 1. D. 12. 6. which seem *naturally* to belong to the Substance of a Contract, and others which do only by *Custom* belong to the Substance thereof. The first, are such Things which are so annexed to the Origin of the Contract, that they may be removed or taken away without destroying the Contract itself; as in a *Præcarium*, that the same should be revoked at the Pleasure of him who grants it ^b: And it is the same Thing in a Contract of Bargain and Sale, *viz.* That he, who is the Proprietor of the Thing sold, should transfer the Property thereof to the Buyer, and the Buyer should pay the Price. But those Things which are of the Substance of a Contract by *Custom*, are such as these, *viz.* That the Vender do stand to an Eviction of the Thing sold ^c, &c. And these Substantials may be taken away by a contrary ^c D. 21. 1. 31. Pact, without destroying the Contract.

In all Contracts or Conventions, Four Things are principally to be consider'd. *First*, The Matter of the Contract, which is fit to receive the proper Terms, touching which a Convention may be made. *Secondly*, The Persons which give a Form thereunto, and by whom Conventions are made. *Thirdly*, That which is transacted therein, and the Quality of the Contract, which is propounded as perfected, when it goes before the Issue of the Contract, and denotes the Matter and Form thereof, in order to produce an Effect. And, *Fourthly*, The Action itself, which is the Effect and Consequence of a Contract. Now, whatever Things we have the Property of, may, by our Act and Deed, become the Subject of a Contract, unless they are hinder'd by some special Prohibition. And we may be hinder'd either by Nature, or by Man, or by the Law, from making it. A Contract is forbidden by Nature, touching a Thing which cannot naturally happen or be perform'd by us. For, touching such Things, there is no Obligation incumbent on us. And therefore, such Things as are not *in Rerum Naturâ*, or which are impossible to be done, are accounted *pro non adjectis*, or, as Things within the Compass of this Axiom, *viz. impossibilium nulla est Obligatio*. So that a Pact or Contract which is impossible to be comply'd with, is not valid ^d. Thus, if a Person ^d C. 8. 38. 8. would, by a Pact or Covenant, set aside the Right of Blood, in other Terms call'd *Agnation*, it is an invalid Act: For the Law of Nature has an everlasting Perseverance; the proper Matter hereof remaining untouch'd with its Form. Hence *Augustus* abolish'd and wou'd not suffer unto the *Roman* State that ridiculous Abdication of the *Greek* Children. Yet it must be own'd, that some Pact may be made by way of Fiction, touching Things; but it must be without any Regard had to their Possibility, *viz.* either that they may have been, or may be: As when a Man, through his own Fault, does not perform that which is due, when he might and ought to have done it, he shall be obliged to do it after the Loss of that Thing, and the Thing is feigned to have a Being.

Touching the Persons who give a Form unto a Contract, and by whom Conventions are made, it is to be known, That every one who is endued with Reason may make a Contract, unless as before excepted; provided he has the Administration of the Goods or Estate touching which he is to contract, and is not hinder'd by Law: because a Contract is a human Act, which ought to be executed in an human manner, according to a Disposition of Law. But he that is not endued with the Use of Reason, has neither the Administration of his Estate or Goods; and therefore cannot execute a human Act, because he has not the Right of making any Disposition. Hence it follows, *First*, That Madmen, when they have not their lucid Intervals, and Infants not yet come to the Use of Reason, cannot make a valid Contract; since a free Consent is necessary to perfect the same: And so likewise is the Use of Reason which the aforesaid Persons are destitute of. And this is true, though they attempt to make a Contract, and bind

bind the same with an Oath. *Secondly*, A Prodigal, to whom the Law has interdicted the Administration of his Estate, cannot make a Contract : And therefore a Contract made with him, without his Curator's Consent, is invalid. But of these Persons I have already treated.

^e In L. 6. C. 5.
11.

^f D. 26. 8. 9.
Pr.

^g Gloss. &
Bald. in L. 13.
D. 6. 2.

Solemnities of Contracts, according to *Baldus* ^e, are said to be those Things which some Law or Statute requires, to give Strength and Validity to a Contract, besides or beyond the original Form of the Contract. Hence it is, that a Pupil or Minor cannot, without the Consent of Guardians, and the Decree of the Judge, sell a real Estate, though such Sale has all the Substantials of a Contract, as before mention'd : For if the Guardian's Authority and the Judge's Decree do not intervene in the Sale, such Contract celebrated by a Minor is not valid ^f. And this Decree of the Judge, and the Guardian's Authority, which are requir'd in a Sale made by a Minor, beyond the Form and Perfection of the Contract of Sale, are call'd the Solemnities of the Contract ^g. A Solemnity which is requir'd in the principal Contract, is also necessary in the Ratification of that Act or Contract : For the Ratification of a Contract is call'd an *improper* Contract, whereby the Person ratifying such Act is obliged not to contravene or impugn such Act ratify'd by himself. Hence it happens, that such Solemnity as is requir'd in the Contracts of Minors, is even necessary, when a Ratification thereof is made by themselves in the Time of their Majority. If a Contract be made by a Minor without a Solemnity, and such Contract be made for his Advantage, it is valid without any Regard had to the Solemnity omitted. Yea, though a Minor be not obliged by a Contract which is null and void when he comes to full Age ; yet he shall have his Option, whether he will compel the Person contracting with him to fulfil the Contract, or not. And it is the same thing, if he continues still a *Major*, and he be prepar'd to perform the necessary Solemnity, or does it when he comes to full Age.

^h Bald. Conf.
279. lib. 2.

ⁱ D. 45. 1. 95.

^k D. 30. 1. 37.

^l D. 41. 1. 115.

There are Six Things which are requir'd to corroborate and strengthen a Contract, in such a manner as that an Action may be brought thereupon. As, *First*, It is necessary that there should be a Creditor and Debtor belonging to it. *Secondly*, The Thing contracted for, ought to be such as may be the Object of a Stipulation, and not sacred, &c. *Thirdly*, The Cause or Consideration of the Contract ought to be honest, reasonable, and possible. *Fourthly*, A Condition ought to exist ; because, before the Event of such Condition, no Action lies. *Fifthly*, The *Modus* of such Contract ought to be fulfilled. And, *Sixthly*, The Contract itself ought to be clear and intelligible ; because, if a Contract be doubtful, and cannot be understood, no Action arises from thence ^h. But, generally speaking, doubtful Words are interpreted against him who founds his Intention on a Contract, or against him who produces the same. Uncertainty renders a Contract ineffectual upon several Accounts : Sometimes, by reason of the Generality of the Words, a Person may be discharged from that which was the Interest of the Stipulator to accept of ⁱ ; as, when he who promised another an Estate, offers a Palm of Land ^k, which is from the Uncertainty of the Promise void. Sometimes, from a presum'd Error ; as, because it was agreed, that a Thing should be express'd in the Contract itself with more Certainty, which is found to be omitted ^l : And so in other Respects.

^m D. 45. 1.
134. 1.

If any Person brings an Action, or impleads another on the score of a Contract which he has enter'd into, the Plaintiff ought to prove the Contract formed *certo Modo* : For it is not enough to prove the Treaty of such a Contract, or that such a Contract was treated of ; because the bare Proof of such a Treaty is not relevant, unless a Proof be also made that that Treaty was concluded and agreed on ; since there are many Things treated of, which are not finish'd and perfected by a Conclusion intended ^m. Now a Contract is understood to be formed *certo Modo*, when there is a Deed or Instrument

Instrument in Writing between the Parties contracting; and this Instrument having receiv'd its Completion, has been executed between the Parties on all Sides, *viz.* by a Subscription of the Parties themselves contracting, and by Notaries *n*, &c. for 'till the Parties have subscribed themselves, the Contract is not perfected, And if the Deed of Contract is not executed and made perfect by all the Parties, in every Part thereof, it is lawful for one of the Parties contracting to recede from the Contract, though the other opposes the same. For if the Contract be not perfected in all Parts, it is only *Propositum in mente*, or a mental Purpose, which has no Operation at all in Law. A Contract is not said to be perfected, though a Man should say, *I am willing to contract*; because it is one thing to contract, and another to be willing to contract: For the *Latin* Verb *Volo* most commonly imports something *de futuro*; though sometimes it denotes a Thing *de presenti*, as may be seen in the Title *Of Last Wills and Testaments*. ⁿ C. 4. 21. 17.

'Tis very much the Interest of every Person contracting, to know the Condition of him with whom he contracts; because if he be ignorant thereof, and receives any Damage or Detriment thereby, he ought to impute such Damage to his own Fault, for that he made no better Enquiry into his Condition, there being afterwards no Room for Repentance or drawing back from the Contract. Therefore, if any one has lent Money to a Person under the Power of the Father, and such Person has squander'd away this Money in immoderate eating and drinking, or in whoring, and the like, the Creditor cannot by Suit recover his Money lent, though the Exception of the *Senatus-consultum Macedonianum* (which provides for the Father and the Son) had never been given; for such Money is entirely lost to him, by the ancient *Civil* Law. Nor can the Creditor complain that he was circumvented; since he ought to know, that such *Filius-familias* may enjoy and use this Benefit.

Again: If a Person enters into Partnership with a Partner who is a prodigal or a negligent Fellow in Business, he ought not to complain of it; but must blame himself that he has assum'd such a Partner. 'Tis also inferr'd from this Law, That he who accepts of an insufficient Security; whether he does it knowingly or ignorantly, cannot afterwards set him aside, and demand a more proper Surety; for he ought to have examin'd, and with more Diligence to have enquir'd into his Substance, before he accepted of him. Lastly: If any one shall buy a Thing stolen, he is not only bound to restore the Thing to the Owner, but shall lose the Price that he paid for it: And the Emperor's Answer may well enough be objected to him, *viz.* *Learn to traffick more cautiously, lest thou art damnify'd by this way of Dealing, and dost incur a Suspicion of Theft*. By the Law of England, if a Man buys stolen Goods in a Market-overt or Fair, and the Goods are tolled, the Buyer may sue the Seller for the Price paid; and shall not incur the Suspicion of Theft.

It is laid down as a Rule in Law, That he who makes a Contract, is not presumed to make such Contract by any Compulsion or Fear ^o; because it is a Crime or Trespass to put any Person under an Impression of Fear; and a Crime or Trespass is not presumed ⁿ. And this Presumption ^p truly has Place, when a Contract is celebrated in any City or famous Place wherein there is a constant Administration of Law or Justice ^q. But this ^q Presumption has Place much more, if the Contract has been celebrated in the Presence of Friends, who will not suffer their Friend to be put into such Fear. Much less are those Persons presum'd to put a Man in Fear, over whom the Person alledging it has an absolute Power and Command. A Contract made either through a grievous or light Fear, is a valid Contract, according to the Law of Nature; because there is a sufficient Consent and Will to make a Contract: For, according to *Aristotle*, Fear does not

simply take away Consent ; but it is otherwise, according to the *Civil Law*. No one acquires any Right by Virtue of a Contract, though sworn to, if such be an unlawful Contract.

* Bald. Conf.
444. lib. 1.

* Bald. Conf.
119. lib. 1.

* C. 4. 6. 1.

A Contract, in Propriety of Speech, is the Act and Deed of the Parties with all its Pacts and Causes ; and it differs from the Instrument of such Contract, which is the Act and Report of the Notary ; containing the Day, Month, Year, Place, the Names of the Witnesses, and their Subscriptions ^r. *Secondly*, Because the Pacts and Conditions put in a Contract are Part of the Contract, and cannot be separated from it : And therefore, a Person who hires any Thing, and takes all fortuitous Cases on himself, is said to hire it for a lesser Price ^s ; and it is in this Sense a Part of the Contract. Where the principal Contract is not valid, the Pacts which are accessory thereunto have no Operation in Law ^t, according to this Rule, *viz. Ubi deficit Substantia, ibi deficit Accidens*. As there are some Things which are term'd the *Substantials* of a Contract, and of all Acts, an Omission of which annuls the Contract ; so there are some Things which are stiled the *Accidents* of a Contract, which may be omitted without vitiating the Contract. If a Man contracts to pay Money for a Thing which he has bought and purchas'd, and then gives a Bond for the Money thus contracted to be paid, the Contract is thereby discharged, and he shall not have an Action of Debt upon the Contract, but upon the Bond, (as before hinted). A Contract is previous to an Obligation, as an Obligation is to every Action : And it is sometimes null and void, to the Prejudice of one Party, and not to the Prejudice of the other, as it is upon him who founds the Cause of his Contract upon Deceit and Knavery. But tho' the Person guilty of Fraud cannot have an Action on such Contract as is founded upon Deceit ; yet he, who suffers by such a fraudulent Action, may ^u. A Contract may be perfected in respect of one Moiety, and not in respect of the other : As when I say, *I give this Thing, or this Money, to you*, and you say, *I accept thereof as to one Moiety* ; the Gift in this Case is perfect in respect of that Moiety, and not in respect of the other ^x. In Contracts that are mutually binding, as soon as one of the Parties contracting has fulfill'd the Contract on his Side, the other Party that has not perform'd his Part, when he might have done it, is adjudged to be *in Morâ*, though there be no Time fix'd and appointed for the Performance thereof ^y.

* D. 2. 14. 7. 7.

* D. 29. 2. 1.

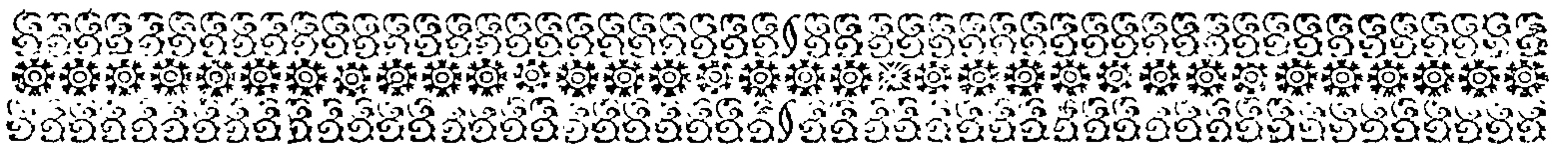
* D. 19. 1. 13.
19.

The Words of a Contract ought to be referr'd to the Time when the Contract was made ; and ought likewise to be taken *cum Effectu*, and in a Civil Acceptation of them. They ought to be understood in the Nature of the Contract, and the Subject-matter thereof : For the Effect of a Contract ought to be more regarded than the bare Words thereof ; though, generally speaking, they ought to be taken strictly ; it being Equity, rather to consider the Design of a Contract, than the Words themselves. A Fiction is not admitted in the Interpretation of a Contract ; because such a Fiction does not obtain in a Contract and Disposition of Law. But though the Time, when the Contract was made, ought to be consider'd in the Interpretation of Contracts, as aforesaid ; yet the Time of the Contract is not consider'd in those Things which have a Retrospect to Matters pass'd ; but the Condition existing is consider'd. Every Contract ought to be understood *ad bonum & sanum intellectum*. Enunciative Words do not induce any Obligations in Contracts, but do only serve to induce a Proof thereof. A Contract is proved by the Evidence of the Seals, if a Notary be wanting thereunto. A Contract seems to be made in that Place where a Discharge ought to be perform'd : And as Contracts are regularly understood to be solemnized and executed according to the Sense and Custom of the Country where they are made ; so the Place or Country where the Contract is made, ought to be very much regarded in the interpretation

pretation thereof. When two Contracts are contrary or incompatible unto each other, we ought to abide by the last of them: For, in such a Case, the last dissolves and abolishes all former Contracts.

Every Contract is discharged after the same Manner, as it was first made and enter'd into: For if it was made by Words, it may be dissolved by Words; but if it was made by Writing, it ought to be dissolved by Writing. And a Contract made by Consent, is dissolved by a contrary Consent, if nothing ensues thereupon; and the same be *Res integra*. Regularly speaking, all Contracts and Obligations pass to Heirs, though Heirs be not mention'd therein. And hence that Clause of Notaries is superfluous, when in Instruments they mention not only the Parties contracting, but even their Heirs. For every Covenant in a doubtful Case, is a real Covenant or Convention; and consequently passes to Heirs, provided the Person that acquires any Thing thereby be mention'd in the Convention. If a Contract be fulfilled either by the Party himself, or by any other Person in his Name and on his Account, it is sufficient. Contracts receive the Force of a Law from the Parties contracting; provided such Contracts are not founded on Deceit, or establish'd on Iniquity. Thus the Contract of the Prince or Emperor is deemed a Law, when it is made *absque vitio*: But it is otherwise, when it is made *cum vitio*, as when it is contrary to the Law of Nature, or good Manners. And all Contracts are of such a Nature, that if they are once enter'd into, they cannot be easily revoked; for *Quod placuit in Contractibus, displicere non potest*, says the Law: But the Nature may be changed by the Covenant and Agreement of the Parties contracting. All Contracts are introduced by, and proceed from the Law of Nations, except these four alone, *viz.* *Stipulation*, *Donation* on the Score of Marriage, an *Obligation in Writing*, and an *Emphyteusis*. In all Contracts whatsoever, there are three Things to be consider'd, *viz.* The Covenant, the Obligation, and the Action: And as an Obligation arises from the Covenant, so does an Action arise from the Obligation. The Appointment and Adding of a Penalty unto a Contract, is null and void, if the principal Contract itself be null and void, and contrary to Law.

Among *Nominate* Contracts there are five Kinds, which are founded upon mutual Consent alone, as it has been already observed, *viz.* Bargain and Sale, Hiring and Letting to Hire, Partnership, an *Emphyteusis*, and a *Mandatum* or Commission given. Wherefore, I shall in the following Titles first treat of these Kinds of Contracts; and then proceed to discourse of such as are grounded upon some Thing done, which are stiled *real* Contracts or Obligations, as a *Mutuum*, *Commodatum*, *Depositum*, and a *Pignus* or Pledge given; and lastly, I shall speak of Contracts or Obligations arising from Words spoken, and from Writing. And first *Of Bargain and Sale*.



T I T. III.

Of Bargain and Sale, the Essentials and Accidentals thereof; what Things may be bought and sold, and who may consent to this Contract; how it differs from Barter or Exchange, called Permutation, and how from Hiring and Letting to Hire: Of a Conditional Bargain, and who ought to risque the Loss of the Thing Sold, whether the Buyer or the Seller, and who ought to reap the Advantage of it, &c.

HAVING already, under the foregoing Title, treated of Contracts in General, and therein observed that there are some Contracts which are founded on and perfected by mutual Consent alone, I shall here consider the first of those Contracts under the Denomination of *Buying and Selling*, otherwise called Bargain and Sale: Whereby the Seller is obliged to deliver the Thing sold, and the Buyer bound to pay the Price for the same ^a. It is a *Nominate* Contract, founded upon the Law of Nations, and said to be perfected by *Consent alone*, because this Contract is perfected, as soon as the Buyer and Seller are agreed about the Thing, and have settled ^b touching the same, though such Price be not paid down in Money, nor any Earnest, nor any Writing made thereupon, or Thing deliver'd ^c. But yet this admits of two Limitations, *viz.* *First*, Unless it be agreed between the Parties, That a Writing or Deed of Sale should intervene, in which Case the Sale is not perfect, unless such Deed or Writing be compleatly finish'd, subscribed and executed according to Law ^d. And, *Secondly*, Unless an express Condition, or a Condition implied, be added, that the Determination of the Price should be referr'd to the Judgment of a third Person ^e. The ancient Lawyers, indeed, doubted, whether a Purchase was valid, if it was only agreed between the Persons contracting in this Manner, *viz.* That the Thing should be sold for so much as *Titius* should value it at. For Example; I would buy a Horse of my Friend, who says to me, That I shall have it for the Price which *Titius* shall rate it at. Now if *Titius* shall set a Price thereon, the Contract is in this Case valid, according to *Justinian*, which, before his Decision, was doubtful: But if he who is named to set a Price thereon, either will not, or cannot determine the Price thereof, the Contract is not valid, through the Uncertainty of the Price of the Thing. And the same may be said in respect of Hiring and Letting to Hire. If no third Person be expressly named to determine the Price of it, but that it shall be according to a Price arbitrated by an honest Man, the Judge's Office may, in this Case, be implored to determine the Price thereof. But more of this by and by.

I have said, that this Contract of Bargain and Sale ought to be perfected by Consent, which ought to be mutual on both Sides ^d; and it ought to be certain, both in respect of the Thing and the Price itself ^e. Hence we may infer, that the essential and constituent Parts of this Contract are the *Merx* or Thing, the Price and the Consent of Parties ^f. By the *Merx* or Thing, I mean the Thing which is bought and sold: And by the *Price*, I understand a Sum of Money paid for it, whereby the Thing itself is estimated

mated and valued *g.* If the Parties contracting disagree, either in the Price, ⁸ D. 18. 1. 5. 1. or about the Thing sold, the Contract is imperfect; and therefore Consent is essentially necessary. On the Buyer's Part, the Payment of the Price agreed on, and on the Seller's Side; a Delivery of the Thing or Commodity sold, is the Consummation of the Contract ^{h.} The Price of the Thing ^h D. 19. 1. 11. 2. sold ought to consist either in Money paid down, or else promised to be paid, and not in other Things: For if it did, we could not distinguish, who was the Buyer, and who was the Seller, nor what was the Thing, nor what the Price; whereupon it will be rather called *Permutation*, which is a *Species* of Contract separate from Bargain and Sale. I say, by the Word *Price*, we understand Money, which was invented as the Measure and Standard of all Things vendible and in Commerce. For before the Invention of Money, there was no such Thing as Buying and Selling, but all Commerce was carried on by Barter and Exchange of Goods for Goods: Which Method and Dealing among Men, as it was attended with many Difficulties and Inconveniencies; so it was thought necessary to find out and discover something as the Measure of Things vendible and commercial, whereby Traffick might be render'd more easy and commodious among Men; and this was by the Means of Money. A Buyer, or Debtor, makes Satisfaction by the Payment of any *Species* of Money, *naturally* speaking. *First*, Because, in all Payments made, the Value of the Money paid, and likewise the Sum due, ought to be regarded, and not the Quality of the ¹ D. 45. 1. 65. Money paid ^{i.} And, *Secondly*, Because no Money coin'd or stamp'd with a Publick Impression, according to Law, may be refused. 'Tis therefore a received Custom in *Italy*, and other Places, for Payment to be made in any *Species* of Money, unless it be Brass Money, in the Payment of a large Sum; because the Receiver of Brass Money in a large Sum, must be attended with some Inconvenience. But there is sometimes a Compact or Custom for Money to be paid in a particular *Species*, as Gold, and the like; and herein a certain *Species* is to be observed. And therefore, I say, *naturally* speaking, in order hereby to exclude a contrary Custom, Law, or Compact; since it may be establish'd by Custom, Law, or Compact, that Payment should be made in Money of a certain *Species*, contrary to the Opinion of *Bartolus* and others, saying, That Gold Money may be tender'd even for a Debt in Brass Money.

Every Thing, which is the Subject of human Commerce, whether Moveables or Immoveables, may be bought and sold, even an incorporeal Thing itself, as an Action, an Heirship, and the like ^{k.} not only that which is ¹ D. 18. 1. 34. 1. extant, and has a present Existence, but even that which we have in view, and hope will happen hereafter, as the Reversion of an Estate, &c. But there are some Things which cannot be bought and sold, according to the Law of Nature and of Nations, as being Extra-commercial, *viz.* *First*, Those Things which have no Being in *rerum Naturâ*, and of which we can have no Hope they will ever exist ^{l.} *Secondly*, Things Sacred, Reli- ¹ D. 18. 1. 8. 1. gious, and what we stile *Res Sanctæ*, are not the Object of Bargain and Sale; because they do not lie in Civil Commerce ^{m.} And if any of these ^m I. 3. 24. 5. Things are sold to an ignorant Buyer, the Seller shall be obliged to make ^{D.} 18. 1. 22. good the Interest or Value thereof to the Buyer ^{n.} who may otherwise ⁿ D. 18. 1. 62. 1. suffer thereby: Nor, by the Law of Nature, can any one buy a Freeman, knowing him to be such ^{o.}; because on the Head of such a Person no Value ^o D. 18. 1. 70. can be set. By the *Civil* Law also there are some Things which cannot ^{D.} 18. 1. 32. 2. be bought and sold at all: As, *first*, Things which are of a publick Nature, and which belong to the State and Commonwealth; and likewise such as belong to a Corporation or Body Politick ^{p.} unless this be done by ^p D. 18. 1. 6. the greater Part of such Corporation, and the Names of the Individuals of the said Corporation, which were then present at such Sale, be expressly

^a C. 11. 31. 3. mention'd in the Sale ^q. Nor can Things stolen, or in the Possession of
^r I. 2. 6. 2. any one by forcible Means ^r, nor Things given by way of Jointure, or
^s I. 2. 8. 1. Dower, be sold ^s; nor Things granted by way of *Emphyteusis*, without
^t C. 4. 66. 3. first requesting the Consent of the Lord and Proprietor of the Fee ^t; nor
^u C. 8. 37. 2. Things which are Litigious ^u, (pending the Suit), unless the Alienation of
 them be necessary; as on the Account of Partition, Dower, Donation *prop-*
^{*D. 31. 1. 69. 1.} *ter Nuptias*, Legacy, and the like ^x. And, *lastly*, By the *Civil Law*,
^y C. 6. 49. Things subject to Restitution cannot be sold ^y, unless it be in Favour of
 Dower, Alimony, Donation *propter Nuptias*, or in case of Necessity, or
^z In L. 22. C. for Charitable Uses, &c. And then, according to *Bartolus* ^z, it ought to be
^{6. 30. 4.} done by the Decree of some competent Judge. And the *Civil Law* like-
 wise forbids all Poisons to be sold without Leave, through Fear of the ill
^a D. 18. 1. 35. 2. Consequences thereof ^a.

Regularly speaking, all those Persons may make a Contract of Bargain and Sale, who can give their Consent; because, as this is a Contract founded on the Law of Nations, and perfected by Consent, it may be made between absent Persons, and by a Letter or Messenger; for Consent may be
^b D. 18. 1. 1. 2. given by a Messenger, or the Intercourse of Letters ^b. But a Conditional
^c D. 18. 1. 7. pr. Sale is not perfected, before the Condition has its Event ^c. A Sale of those Things which consist in Weight, Number, and Measure, as Corn, Wine, Oil, Silver, Coffee, &c. is perfected two several Ways, *viz.* *First*, When Things are simply sold, without any Regard had to their Weight, Number, and Measure. And, *Secondly*, When we consider the Weight, Number, or Measure of the Things sold. When Things are simply sold, the Contract is deemed to be perfected, as soon as the Price is agreed on, whether we consider the Action, or the Risque of the Buyer, or not. But when we have a Regard to Weight, Number, or Measure, the Sale is Conditional, and the Contract does not seem to be perfect, till the Things sold
^d D. 18. 1. 35. are weighed, number'd, or measur'd ^d. Nor is this Contract said to be perfected, before the same be executed in Writing, as it ought to be, if the
^e C. 4. 21. 17. Parties article to have the same reduced into Writing ^e. A Day (which
^f D. 18. 1. 41. may be added hereunto ^f) does not suspend the Obligation of it, but only
^g D. 50. 16. the Delivery, and the Fulfilling of the Contract ^g.
^{213.}

It has been a Question among some, Whether a Delivery of the Thing sold be necessary unto the perfection of this Contract; or whether Consent alone be sufficient? To which I answer, That Consent alone, expressed by Words, or some external Sign, does perfect the same, as to its Substance, and the Buyer may have an Action for the Delivery thereof ^h, and also to
ⁱ D. 18. 6. 13 make good all manner of Loss and Damage ⁱ. If Goods are sold in Gross, and without Weight and Measure, the Sale is perfected by a Delivery of
^j C. 4. 48. 2 the Keys, where such Goods or Wares are kept, unto the Buyer ^k. But if Goods are sold from a Ship, instead of delivering the Keys, it is suffi-
^l D. 41. 2. 51. ent to put the Custody of the Ship into the Hands of the Buyer ^l, and the
^{fin.} like. By the *Civil Law*, a Buyer, from the Time of the Thing deliver'd
^m C. 4. 49. 5. to him, ought to pay *Use* or Interest for the Purchase-Money not paid ^m; and so likewise shall he who receives the Fruits of an Estate or Thing, before the whole Price is paid: But, I think, this is otherwise by the
English Law. Fruits hanging on a Tree, or growing on the Soil at the
ⁿ D. 19. 1. 3. 1. Time of a Purchase made, though they are ripe, yet belong to the Buyer ⁿ: But if they are sever'd from the Soil, though not carried away, yet they belong to the Seller of the Estate; and if the Buyer receives them, he shall
^o D. 19. 1. 2. be oblig'd to refund them to the Seller of the Land ^o.
^{fin.}

When Wine is sold *ad Mensuram*, the Seller shall run the Risque of the Wine being changed, running out, &c. before it be measur'd: But when it is not sold by Measure, but as a certain Body, or in Gross, the Buyer shall immediately run the Risque, or stand to the Hazard. Thus the
 Risque

Risque of the Sharpness of Wine sold in Hogsheads, immediately appertains to the Buyer, after Tasting; and Approbation thereof; (a Note or Evidence whereof, is, Having the same consigned over, or the Buyer setting his Mark to it ^p); unless the Seller has affirmed touching the Goodness of it, ^{p D. 18.6.1.2.} and knew that the Goodness of it wou'd be changed within a few Days. For in that Case, unless he warns the Buyer of the Fault of it, the Seller shall abide by the Loss ^q. What is here said in respect to Wine, holds ^{q D. 18.6.15.} also good in regard to Oil, Corn, and the like, which grow worse and are entirely spoiled after Sale ^r. *Titius* sold unto *Caius* all the Wine in such a Cellar, and deliver'd him the Keys thereof: In this Case, if the Wine be changed or grow worse, *Caius* shall stand to all the Loss thereof. ^{r C.4.48.2.} But if *Titius* sell Wine unto *Caius*, in a certain Quantity, as twenty Gallons, and the like, the Seller shall here abide by the Loss, if the Buyer was not in Delay in receiving the same. A Vender is guilty of Delay in delivering of a Thing, if on the Day of Delivery, Weighing, Measuring, and the like, he has not summoned or given Notice to the Buyer to come and see these Things perfected ^s. But if the Seller gives such Notice, it excuses him from Delay, and the Buyer incurs a Delay by not coming. ^{s D. 18.6.1.3. & l.4.} The Danger of Theft, and the like, belongs to the Buyer, unless the Seller has taken the Custody on himself for a certain Time ^t; but after such Time is expir'd, he is not liable ^u. If the Seller has taken the Custody ^{u D. 18.6.1.} indefinitely, without any Time added and limited, he shall not be obliged thereunto *ad infinitum*, but only for a reasonable Time ^x: And therefore, ^{x D. 18.6.14. fin.} after Notice given to the Buyer to take away the Goods, the Seller is not obliged to take Care thereof ^y. If any fatal Damage shall happen to Goods in the Custody of the Seller, as an Earthquake, Fire thrown into the Warehouse by some mischievous Fellow, a Tempest, Inundation, Shipwreck in Port, the Violence of Robbers, &c. he shall not be answerable, unless he has delay'd the Delivery of such Goods, or hinder'd the Buyer from Tasting of the Wine ^z, &c. If a Thing, that is sold, be burn'd, the Loss and Damage belongs to the Buyer; unless such Fire happen'd by the Fault and gross Negligence of the Seller ^a. But if a Thing sold ^{a D. 19.1.11.} *sub Conditione* perishes before the Event of the Condition, the Vender shall sustain the Loss; unless it be covenanted that the Thing shall be preserv'd at the Cost and Hazard of the Buyer ^b. ^{b D. 19.1.10.}

A Person, that exposes Victuals to Sale, may be compelled to sell them for a just and reasonable Price: For the superior Magistrate may, in such Things as are necessary to human Life, set a just Price thereon; it being the Concern of the Magistrate to provide for the Necessities of the State, and of such as are subject to him. Hence *Bartolus* infers, that since Men cannot live without Cloaths and Lodging, which consist in Houses fit to Let, the Magistrate may ascertain the Rent of them. Thus, in all well-govern'd States and Cities, they have a publick Officer or Magistrate to tax and assess a just Price on all Provisions, which are of daily and necessary Use, being exposed to Sale; and this we call the *lawful* Price of Things; setting aside every humorous Inclination to the Thing exposed to Sale. For, in the Sale of such Things, it ought not to be left to the Discretion of Tradesmen to do as they please and think fit ^c. In Things which are necessary, the true Price is consider'd; but in Things which are not so, the Price agreed on is to be regarded ^d. By the *Canon* Law, a Bishop ^{d D. 15.3.5.} may compel Persons not to sell Things dearer to Passengers and Persons dwelling in the Place, than they are sold in the Market; for no one ought to sell his Goods for more than they are worth there. With us, Bishops have nothing to do in this Matter; but Things are said to be worth so much as they may commonly be sold for, unless where there is a particular Assize set on them.

Though

Though a Seller ought to free himself from all Fraud and Deceit in the Thing sold ^e, as not to sell Brass for Gold, and the like ; (for herein the Parties contracting are not agreed as to the Matter) ; yet these Persons may circumvent each other in respect of the Price in such Bargain and Sale ; provided such Circumvention does not exceed a Moiety of the just Price : For, in a Sale, Fraud is presum'd, from an exorbitant Price. A Vender, by commending his Mercantile Goods is not liable to an Action of *Deceit*, if he does not do this for the sake of deceiving the Buyer ^f ; for every one is to praise his own Commodity, if it deserves it. But it was otherwise in *Plato's* Commonwealth : For he, in order to prevent the Evil of Lying, and that no one should be enticed by the deceitful Words of the Seller, to buy a Thing dearer than the true and common Price thereof, made an excellent Law, much wanted amongst our present Merchants and Tradesmen, *viz.* That the Seller should not give any Commendation of his Goods to be sold, nor swear to the Value of them, under Pain of being scourged and whipt by every Citizen that was thirty Years of Age, hearing such Person swearing thereunto : And if such Citizen did not do his Duty herein, he was deemed a Betrayer of the Laws. And he who sold any adulterous Wares, in Disobedience to the Laws, might be accused by any Person before the Magistrate ; and if he was an Inmate or Servant, he was to take such adulterated Ware to himself. And if any Citizen, knowing the Persons guilty, neglected to accuse him, he was adjudged a Knave : But if he accused and convicted him, such Wares were then devoted to the Gods presiding over the Market. And the Seller taken in the Sale of such Things, did not only forfeit the Thing itself, but had as many Lashes given him in publick as he receiv'd Drams for such Goods ; and the Cause of his being whip'd, was to be publish'd by the Voice of the Common Cryer. By the *Roman* Law, the Purchase is valid, if a Man buys a married Woman, and thinks that he buys a Virgin : For Error is not allow'd, in this Case, to dissolve the Contract *ipso Jure*, but the Buyer is driven by his Action *ex Empto* to rescind the same ^g.

The Seller is not bound to deliver the Thing sold, if the Price be not paid him ^h, but may retain the same *in loco pignoris*, 'till such Time as the Price is paid him ⁱ ; for the Buyer ought not to enjoy the Thing bought, and the Price both ; and this proceeds from the Nature of the Contract. Nor does it become the Property of him who receives the same, unless a Price be paid for it, or the Purchaser has Credit given him for the Price ^k. The Seller is obliged to the safe Custody of the Goods sold, before the Delivery thereof : And therefore, the Vender of a House is bound to make good the Damage of the House, before he has quitted the Possession thereof, and deliver'd the same to the Buyer ^l. The Seller is likewise bound to the Buyer by the Deeds and Instruments containing the Right of the Estate sold, call'd the Purchase-deeds ; and also to declare the Metes and Bounds of such Estate ^m. If a Man buys an Estate of a private Person on this Condition, *viz.* That it shall pay no Tax or Tribute to the Government ; he is not, by such Pact or Covenant, exempted, but may be compelled not only to the Payment of future Taxes, but even to pay all Arrears ; unless he has a special Covenant on the Seller to do the same ⁿ.

A Person buying an Estate, or any Thing impawn'd or mortgaged to another, and which he, the Buyer, has improved and render'd of greater Value, shall be heard against the Creditor or Person to whom such Estate is mortgaged bringing his Action for such Estate or Thing, if he will pay off the Mortgage, and discharge the Thing itself ^o. And this proceeds, when the Buyer has made such Improvements. But it is otherwise, if the Debtor who mortgaged the Estate has made those Improvements ;

ments ; because, then, Improvements are as an Accession unto the Mortgage, and go along with it *p.* But if he who has purchas'd the Estate be willing to deliver up the Estate itself unto the Creditor or Mortgagee, then such Purchaser shall be paid for such Improvements as he has made. And thus Accessions made unto an Estate mortgaged, as all Improvements are, are equally due unto Creditors upon a Mortgage, and render the Mortgage better, when such Improvements are made by the Debtor who mortgaged the Estate. But 'tis otherwise, if these Improvements are made by another Person, to whom the Estate mortgaged passes *cum suo onere*. And if the Estate be evicted, he who improved such Estate bought, but mortgaged to another, shall be discharged, or have the Estate, by paying the prime Value of it. See more of this under the Title *Of Mortgages*. *p. D. 20. l. 16.*

An Estate or Thing bought by a Man's Wife, by the *Civil Law* becomes the Wife's, and not the Husband's, notwithstanding the Law, which says, That whatever the Wife acquires, is deemed to be the Acquisition of the Husband, and shall be reckon'd among the Husband's Goods : For this does not hinder the Contract made by the Wife herself to her own Use ; yet it is presumed the Wife paid for the same out of the Husband's Money. Wherefore, she is bound to Account, for the Money thus laid out, unto her Husband, unless she shall otherwise prove, that she had that Money from some other Person ; and in the mean time, what was purchased by the Wife, shall belong to the Wife, and not to the Husband. But if, in the Deed of Purchase which she makes, it be said, That she paid for it out of her own Money, and bought it in her Husband's Presence, he consenting thereunto, such tacit Concession of the Husband shall be a Bar against him, and so far prejudice him, that it shall not be presumed that the Money paid for it, was paid out of the Husband's Estate. By the Law of *England*, a Woman under Coverture cannot make a Purchase to herself by any means ; because, in this respect, she is the same Person with her Husband.

A Man that buys a Thing *bonâ Fide* of a Possessor *malæ Fidei*, may defend himself against the Owner by Prescription or Usucapion : And he is said to buy a Thing *bonâ Fide*, who really believes and supposes the Thing, which he has bought, to be the Goods and Property of the Seller himself, and that the Seller has the Right of Selling the same, without any Collusion. Nor shall it be a Prejudice to the Buyer, for that he knew the Thing sold to be bound or mortgaged to another, or that the Usufruct thereof belongs to another. But a Man that *bonâ Fide* buys a Thing that is subject to Restitution, upon Eviction of the Thing, shall recover the Price or Value thereof, and shall have an Action *ex Empto* for Damages. But if a Man buys a Thing of a Disseisor or violent Possessor, he shall not make it his own by Usucapion, long Possession, or Prescription of Use. A Person, who buys a Thing, notwithstanding Warning or Notice is given him, that the Thing sold does not belong to the Seller, may be said to be *in malâ Fide*, or guilty of dishonest Dealing : But it is otherwise, if simple Notice be given him after he has purchased it. A Guardian or Tutor may buy the Estate and Goods of his Ward, with the Consent and Authority of the rest of the Guardians ; provided he does it *openly* and *bonâ Fide* ; otherwise he may not do it ; this being forbidden, through a Presumption of Fraud *q.* And this also holds good in every private or publick Admi- *q. C. 4. 38. 5.*
nistrator. For a Person that buys any Thing of a Ward or Pupil, without the Authority of his Guardian, or with the Authority of a false Guardian, does not seem to buy it *bonâ Fide* ; nor shall he make it his own by Usucapion, or Prescription of Use. Yet such a Purchaser shall not be compelled to restore the Thing bought ; unless the Money paid for it, and whereby the Pupil is enrich'd, be return'd to him again. A Person buying a Thing without the Guardian's Authority, is made liable to the Pupil ; but the

Pupil is not made liable to the Buyer, unless he be enriched thereby. A Man that buys a Thing of a Pupil in the Beginning, through Error of Law, cannot make it his own through Prescription of Use, though the Guardian's Authority should afterwards intervene. A Person that buys any Thing of a Pupil, ought to prove that he bought it with the Guardian's Consent and Authority, and that no Law forbids him so to do : And if he buys any Thing of a Pupil being deceived with the Authority of a false Guardian, he seems to have bought the Thing *bonâ Fide*. A Man that buys a Thing by the Judge's Decree, is a Possessor *bonæ Fidei*, and has the Property thereof ; and he who buys a Thing *bonâ Fide* may defend himself against the Creditor of the Seller by a Prescription of ten or twenty Years, which the Seller cou'd not do.

If I sell any Thing to you, and, in Virtue of Sale, I deliver the Thing sold to you : In this Case, that Right which was in me the Seller thereby passes to you the Buyer, and no more. Wherefore, if I was the *direct* Owner and Proprietor of the Thing sold, the direct and full Property thereof passes to you the Buyer : But if I have only the Usufruct of the Thing sold, then only the Property in such Usufruct passes to the Buyer ; for he
 * D. 18. 1. 32. that sells a Thing, only transfers that Right which he has in the Thing r. When the Sale of a Thing is made, the Thing sold passes to the Buyer, with all its *Onera* or Incumbrances. As for Example : If I sell an Estate mortgaged or hypothecated, the Mortgage (which is the *Onus* or Incumbrance) shall pass along with it : And so of other Things upon which there is an *Onus* or Incumbrance. An Usufructuary may buy a Thing wherein he has the Usufruct ; and if he buys through Ignorance thereof, the Price of it shall be diminish'd by the Office of the Judge. Nay, a Man may buy that which is his own already under a Condition ; because, per-
 † D. 18. 1. 61. haps, he may expect the Lease to be his own s. We oftentimes buy the principal Things themselves, for the sake of those Things which accede thereunto ; as an House, on the score of its fine Marbles, Paintings, and the like ; and so we do an Estate, on Account of its Vassals belonging to it. If a Man sells his House, he is also understood to sell the Statues,
 ‡ D. 18. 1. 52. and all other Things which are incident and annexed unto the House t :
 C. S. 10. 7. And if there be any Obscurity in the Bargain and Sale, it shall rather affect the Seller than the Buyer ; because he might have express'd himself
 § D. 18. 1. 21. more clearly, if he had pleas'd u. If a Sale be made *alternatively* of several Things, it shall be in the Seller's Power to declare what Things are sold : But if two Things are sold *alternatively*, and the first-mention'd in the Sale is preempted or perishes, the other remains sold ; so that the Loss of the first belongs to the Seller, and the Loss of the latter respects the Buyer : but if they are both lost or perish'd, the Price shall be due to the Seller.

Heretofore no one could Sell a real or immoveable Estate to any Person whatsoever, but only to such as were related and near of Kin to the Seller, and this for the sake of supporting the Dignity of a Family : Which Law is still observed, where the *Feudal* Law governs, that is to say, where Estates are *Feudal* ; and in several Places it was and is observed, where Estates are *Allodial* *. But at this Day this Law, in respect of *Allodial* Estates, now stands corrected in many Places ; because in these Estates every one may freely sell and dispose of the same as he pleases, to any Person whomsoever. By an *Allodial* Estate, I mean, an absolute Freehold held of no Superior Lord, either mediately or immediately, and which is subject to no manner of Suit or Service : And for this Reason it is opposed unto a *Fief* or *Feudal*, which is always liable to some certain Service or other. For *Fiefs* were anciently granted on the Account of Fealty and Service due to the Lord of the Fee, the Property of the Estate ever re-
 remaining

* Rhenan.
 Rer. Germ.
 lib. 2.

maining in the Right of him that granted it; and only the Ufufuct passing to the Grantee, who was stiled the *Feudatary* *y*.

y F. 2. 1.

Though that which is not yet in Being cannot rightly be stiled a Thing or *Res*, as future Fruits, and the like; yet they may be well enough purchased, as before hinted; for there is always this tacit Condition implied therein, *viz.* If the Things shall be produced. Thus, if a Man sells unto another the Fole of such a Mare, when it shall fall, or the Cast of such a Net for Fish *z*, the Sale is good: For the Sale of a doubtful Event is an Event, though nothing shall happen from thence. But if it be by the Seller's Means that the Event does not ensue, the Buyer may have an Action *ex Empto* against the Seller. But though Things in Futurity may be bought and sold; yet, by this Law, a Freeman cannot be bought, when he shall happen hereafter to become a Bondman *a*, because it is contrary to the Law of Nature and the *Civil* Law, to expect the Mischief and adverse Fortune of such Freeman. But, by the *Civil* Law, a Son might be sold by his Father, upon the Account of excessive Poverty, to relieve Hunger *b*; and, by the Levitical Law, for the Payment of his Debts *c*. Offices, in their own Nature, may be bought and sold, unless there be some Law which prohibits the same; for Offices are rateable Things, and may be the Object of Price, as well upon the Score of that Eminency which the Persons themselves do enjoy, as on the Account of the Means of getting Money. I say in their own Nature: For, practically, it is not expedient that Offices should be sold; because they would often be sold to unqualify'd Persons, and to the Detriment of the State: And therefore, the *Civil* Law forbids it. A Publick Way, Market, and the like, may not be sold by a private Person, though the Sale refers to a Time when these Things shall come in the Hands of a private Man; because the State has a Right of purchasing the Reversion before a private Person. A Man cannot buy Things given and deliver'd to him; because, being the Proprietor by Donation and Delivery, he makes an idle and vain Purchase: But he may buy them in respect of the Possession, if they be not deliver'd to him, and in respect of the Right which another may pretend to have in them.

z D. 19. 1. 12.

a D. 18. 1. 34.

b C. 4. 43. 2.
c Lev. 25.

Things Spiritual, of their own Nature, are not the Subject of Sale; as consecrated Cups, Altars, Things Sacred, and the like: For these Things cannot be rated by Money in respect of the Use of them. Yea, according to the *Canon* Law, a Sale of such Things is a kind of Sacrilege and Simony in the Person selling them. But though Spiritual Things, in their own Nature, are not saleable Commodities; yet, by Accident, in respect of the Materials and Workmanship made use of in fabricating the same, they may be sold, even by the *Canon* Law, without Sacrilege or Simony. And by this Means, a Chalice, or an Estate, unto which the Right of Patronage belongs, may be sold: But if the Price and Value of such an Estate be enhanced on the Account of the Right of Patronage annexed to it, the Seller is stain'd with the Crime of Simony, according to the *Canonists*. Secondly, The Sale of any Church or Temple, made without the Prince's Authority, is invalid, though such Church or Temple, in the Sale thereof, be only consider'd in respect of its Materials, and the Expences laid out in Building the same: For a Sale of this Nature is irritated by the *Civil* Law *d*. But it is otherwise by the Law of *England*: For it is expedient for the Seller to have the Bishop's Consent, because it is under his Care.

d C. 1. 2. 22.

The Word *Venditio*, or Selling, does not appertain to every Kind of Alienation; for it does not include an *Emphyteusis*; nor the giving of a Pledge or Pawn: Nor, in the strict Acceptation of it, does it extend itself to a *Donation* or *Permutation*. But it has been a Doubt, by what Name we ought to stile that Contract, whether by that of *Bargain and Sale*, or *Permutation*,

Permutation, or rather call it an *Innominate*, when some other Thing is given together with Money, (for a Sale without a Price is null and void) ^e, viz. when Money is only given, as Part of the Price, together with some other Thing: As when I pay One Hundred Pounds for a House, and, besides this Money, I give a Horse, or something else: To which I answer, *First*, That if the Price or Money much exceeds the Value of the Thing given with the Money, it ought to be deemed a Contract of *Bargain and Sale*, though the Words bear the Sound of *Permutation*, or of an *Innominate* Contract; because that which much exceeds has the Essence of a *Principal*, and the Horse is the *Accessory*: And therefore, this shall be deemed a Contract of *Bargain and Sale*; since so great a Price in Money is paid for the House or Commodity sold. *Secondly*, I answer, That it shall be reputed a Contract of *Permutation*, when the Thing given with the Money, exceeds the Value of the Money itself, tho' the Words should sound in Favour of *Bargain and Sale*, as appears from a Reason to be given hereafter. Wherefore, if the Value of the Horse, in the Case propos'd, much exceeds the Value of the Money given together with the Horse, it is called *Permutation*, and not *Buying and Selling*. *Thirdly*, When the Thing given and the Money, is of equal Value, or the Excess is not great, it shall be deemed such a Contract as the Parties intended to execute. Wherefore, if the Parties design to execute a Contract of Sale, it is a Sale: But if they purpos'd a Contract of Permutation, it is Permutation. For a Contract has its Being from the Intention of the Parties contracting: But, in a doubtful Case, we ought to consider the Words whereby the Contract

^f D. 45. 1. 54. was executed ^f.

Bargain and Sale is distinguish'd from *Hiring* and *Letting to Hire*; for this last is, when the Workman or Artificer only reckons his Workmanship, and not the Materials: As when I deliver Gold to you to be made into a Ring, this shall be deemed a Contract of *Hiring* and *Letting to Hire*; because you let your Work out to me unto Hire, and I hire your Workmanship. But when the Workman reckons his Workmanship and Materials, it is then adjudged to be a Contract of *Bargain and Sale*: As when a Goldsmith delivers a Ring, which he has wrought out of his own Gold, and I pay him for it. Yet there are some Cases to be excepted out of this Rule. As when a Workman builds a House on another Man's Ground: For then, though the Workman finds Materials, as Timber, Bricks, Tiles, and the like; yet he is deemed to work for Hire ^g, because the Proprietor of the Soil does, from that very Act, and that very Time, in which the Workman built the House, and found Materials for so doing, acquire a Property in the Materials. For a House built on another Man's Ground, goes to the Lord and Proprietor of the Land, as appears from the Title *Of Property and Ownership* ^h, already deduced.

^h Pag. 292.

In *Bargain and Sale*, a Pact is valid, if it be covenanted, that the Buyer shall restore the Thing sold unto the Seller, if the Seller, or his Heirs, shall within a certain Time tender the Purchase-Money unto the Buyer, and thereupon the Seller and his Heirs have an Action *præscriptis verbis*, if a lawful Tender be made of the said Money; and if the Buyer be in delay of restoring, the Seller shall receive the subsequent Profits ⁱ. This Right, upon Agreement, that the Seller, or his Heirs, shall have the Power of buying back again the Goods or Wares sold, before any other Person, the Civil Law ^k styles *Jus Retractus*, or a Right *de retro-vendendo*. Wherefore, the Heir who has this Right, ought to be the next or nearest Heir, as he is said to be whom no one goes before in Degree of Kindred ^l. Yet the Lawyers vary much in their Definition of a *Propinquus*, or nearest of Kin: Some thinking, that the proximate Heir ought to be consider'd in respect of him from whom the Things proceeded, without any Regard

ⁱ D. 50. 16.

^k 55. D. 28. 8.

^l 5. D. 28. 6.

^m +.

had to the Seller. But *Tiraquel* ^m, with a better Appearance of Law, refers this *Proximity* to the Seller, and not to him from whom the Things first descended, or to his Stock. For when the Possessor dies, the nearest of Kindred, from whom the Goods first came, shall not succeed to those Goods, but the Possessor's nearest of Kin ⁿ. The Kindred, among the *Hebrews*, claimed this Right *de retrovendendo*, without any particular Covenant ^o. And this Custom is also approved of by the *Canon Law* ^p, confirm'd in a Text of the *Feudal Law* ^q, and follow'd in most Kingdoms, but not in *England*, for what Reason I know not.

^m In Retr.
Con. n. 1.

ⁿ D. 23. 6. 10. 2.

^o Lev. 25. 23.

^p X. 2. 41. 1.

^q F. 5. 14. 15

§ 16.

We have also another Pact in Bargain and Sale, stiled *Pactum Commissorium*. Which is, when it is covenanted, That the Thing sold should revert to the Seller, if the Residue of the Purchase-Money be not paid him by a Time prefix'd ^r; And thus a Person, who delivers an Estate, that it should revert to him again, if the Price be not paid within a certain Time, may have an Action *ex vendito*, but not a real Action ^s; because the Person did not make use of the Words mention'd in the *Lex Commissoria*, viz. That the Thing sold should be looked upon as not purchased. *Mævius* sold an Estate unto *Flaccus*, and *Flaccus* paid part of the Purchase-Money on these Terms, viz. That if he did not tender or pay the remaining Part thereof within a Year, the Estate should revert to *Mævius*. And it being a Query, Whether *Flaccus* might be convened in a real Action, it was held not; because, as *Mævius* had transferr'd the Property, he could only have a personal Action, *ex Vendito*, for the Price: But if he had only deliver'd the precarious Possession for a Time, a real Action would lie; because the Property then remain'd with *Mævius*. Again, *Sempronius* sold an Estate unto *Seius* on this Condition, viz. That if *Seius* did not pay the Purchase-Money by a Day appointed, the Sale should be void, according to the *Lex Commissoria*. *Seius* paid not the Money: But when the Term was elapsed, *Sempronius* demanded the Purchase-Money, with Interest: In this Case, *Sempronius* seems to have foregone the Privilege of the *Lex Commissoria*; because he had rather have the Price and Interest thereof than the Estate itself: And therefore, he cannot afterwards claim the Estate by a real Action; for he who first chuses the Price, with Interest, cannot have the Benefit of the *Lex Commissoria* ^t. *Valerius* sold an Estate to *Pamphilus*, and covenanted with him, That if the Purchase-Money was not paid by the Day appointed, *Pamphilus* should be obliged to pay him Interest. In this Case, if *Pamphilus* does not pay Interest, he may be compelled hereunto. But if *Valerius*, in the Beginning of the Contract, had not made this Covenant, no Interest should be due from the Time that *Pamphilus* was in Delay, unless he received the Mesne Profits of the Estate. But more of this hereafter, under the Title Of *Pacts*.

^r D. 18. 3. 4.

^s C. 4. 54. 3.

^t C. 4. 54. 4.

Though in Bargain and Sale it be granted to buy a Thing for a less Price than the Thing is worth, and to sell for a greater, and thus to circumvent each other in the Price of the Goods; provided the Deceit be trivial and the Damage small: Yet it is not lawful to circumvent each other in faulty Goods; as to sell a *Bristol Stone* for a Diamond, or a faulty Horse for a sound one, and the like. For if the Seller conceals the Faults or Defects of the Thing sold (whether moveable or immoveable) from the Buyer, or equivocates about the same, there may be what the Lawyers stile *Redhibitio* ^u, that is to say, the Contract may be rescinded, and the Seller must have his Goods, with the Profits of them, and may make Amends for Damages by Reason of those Faults, which if the Buyer had known, he would not have bought at all; but with this Proviso, that the Seller knew and concealed those Faults. If the Seller was ignorant, the Goods may be return'd, but he shall not answer for the Damages occasion'd by them ^x; no, though he commended his Goods in general Terms. There may also be

^u D. 21. 1. 1.

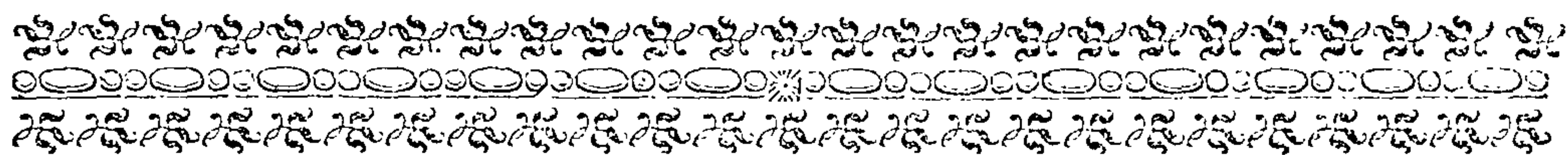
^x D. 18. 1. 45.

what the *Civilians* call a *Quanti Minoris*, namely, so much of the Price may be returned as the Thing sold comes short in Value by Reason of its Faults ^y, which, if the Buyer had known, he would not have given so great a Price. In living Creatures, the Faults must be so considerable as to lessen the Use and Service of them ^z, and such as were secret and inward, not such as were apparent ^a, and the Buyer knew, or might have seen; such Faults the Seller is not bound to declare, for they declare themselves ^b.

As a Contract of Bargain and Sale is made by Consent alone, without any actual Delivery of the Thing; so it may be dissolved by Dissent, unless it takes Effect from the Delivery of the Thing: In which Case it is not dissolved, unless the Thing be deliver'd back again ^c. For Example, if you have sold me a Horse, or the like, and you have not deliver'd it, nor I paid the Price, we may, by common Consent, recede from this Act of Bargain and Sale; for the Contract then is *Res Integra*. But if the Thing has been deliver'd, or the Price paid, which makes it not to be *Res Integra*, neither of the Parties can forego such Act of Bargain and Sale by a nude Consent or Will, unless some contrary Act intervenes, *viz.* by my delivering back the Thing, or by your paying back the Money; in which Case the Contract is dissolved. In *England*, no Contract for the Sale of any Goods for Ten Pounds or upwards, is valid, except the Buyer actually receives Part of the Goods, or gives something in Earnest for them, or unless some Note in Writing be made of such Sale and Contract ^d: And therefore, either of the Parties may forego the same. In *France* it must be in Writing, if it exceeds One Hundred Pounds: See *Domat* of the *Civil Law*, Tom. I. This I call a *voluntary* Departure from the Contract. But a Contract of this Kind may be rescinded by an Action at Law upon the Account of Fraud, Force, and Error. As to Fraud and Deceit, we ought to consider, whether it appears in the very Contract itself, or whether it was the *Cause* of the Contract. If Deceit was the Cause of the Contract, and the Inducement to it, the Contract is void *ipso Jure* ^e. But if it was in the Contract itself, (by buying too dear or too cheap) it is not void, but may be made void by Action or Exception. In a Contract of Bargain and Sale, Deceit consists in the Quality of the Seller's Mind, and not in the Price of the Thing: Or, in other Words, Deceit is proved from the Quality of the Fact, and not from the Smallness of the Price given; and, if such Deceit intervenes, an Action lies against the Party deceiving. And thus a Sale, made for something less than the Thing is really worth, is not rescinded, unless Fraud or Fear intervenes; or unless the Buyer was circumvented in more than Half of the just Price, a due Regard being had to the Time of the Contract ^f. To prove that a Thing was sold for something less than the Thing is really worth, it is sufficient to say, That the Seller in the Beginning asked a greater Price than was afterwards agreed on. If a Purchase be made through Fear or Force, it may be rescinded; because this is a Matter of ill Consequence and Example ^g: And as Buying and Selling is a Contract founded upon Consent; so there is nothing more contrary to Consent than Force, Fear, and Error; and therefore it shall be rescinded upon these Accounts. Hence it follows, that no one can be compelled to buy or sell, unless it be (perhaps) for the publick Utility; and such a Sale as is grounded upon Force or Error, is not valid, unless the Error be in respect of some Quality, and not in the Substance of this Contract ^h.

Bargain and Sale do so far require the Parties Consent, that a Madman, who is not capable of giving his Consent, cannot make such a Contract, unless it be at the Time when he has his lucid Intervals. If the Seller be a Minor, the Decree of the Judge is then necessary; and the Judge of the Place where the Seller lives, or of the Place where the Thing is, is (according

to *Baldus*) a competent Judge in this Behalf. As this Contract is founded upon Consent alone; so, if a Man should say, *I am willing to sell you an Horse for ten Pounds*, (naming the Horse in special) and another Person should immediately say, *I will buy the Horse*, or, *give you ten Pounds for the Horse*, a Bargain and Sale is contracted between them. Though a Bargain and Sale has more of Fact than of Law in it, yet the Obligation of such Contract is a Matter of Law.



T I T. IV.

Of Price, and the Agreement thereupon, whether certain or uncertain; and of a Price referred to the Judgment of a third Person: How and in what Money it ought to be paid, &c.

IT has been already remember'd, That in every Contract of Bargain and Sale, there ought to be a Price paid for the Goods bought and sold; and, properly speaking, this Price is that Sum of Money, which is given ¹ I. 3. 24. 1. to the Seller for the Thing bought and sold ¹. But the Word *Pretium*, or Price, is even sometimes taken for the Word *Præmium* ^k; and sometimes ^h D. 19. 4. 1. for the Word *Merces*, which has a Relation to *Hire* ¹. Now *Price*, in the ^{D. 42. 2. 10. fin.} general Sense of the Word, is the common Estimation or Opinion, which ¹ D. 47. 8. 2. 23. Men have about the Value of Things in Commerce, whether Moveable or Immoveable; and even Incorporeal Rights and Actions fall under the Power of Estimation. The Price and Value of Things, strictly speaking, ought to be according to the true intrinsick Goodness of them, and the common Estimation of thinking Men, and not according to the Whim and Fancy of particular Men, and what it assumes extrinsically: Nor ought we in such an Estimation to consider, what has only lasted for some small Time, or which seldom happens. Again, in the Estimation of Things Commercial, we ought to consider, whether they may be sold with Ease, and without giving Caution on the Score of Eviction, and the like. For if they may be thus sold, they ought to bear a greater Price and Value, than if they are sold *cum gravamine*, which, of Consequence, must sink the Price thereof. Nor ought it to be regarded, how much the same Thing would sell for at another Time: For a just Price is adjudg'd and prov'd, not from any past Bargain and Sale, but from the Rules and Measures of the present Market. A just Price for a real or immoveable Estate, is proved and computed according to the Value of the yearly Rents, which are issuable and received from thence ^m.

^m C. 4. 44. 16. The Value and Estimation of Things may increase and decrease, upon several Occasions. As, *First*, In the Time of War, and on the Account of a Pestilence; a great Dearth and Scarcity of Provisions, and other Commodities, &c. And the Doctors advise Advocates so to deduce Positions and Articles touching the Quality of Things bought, when there is a Controversy about the Price, as that they do not lessen or increase too much the Price of the Things purchased. For a Thing ought not to be valued *simply*, but according to the Qualities of both its Goodness and Faults, &c. Again: The Prices of Things vary, according to the several Circumstances thereof: As for Instance; according to the Variety and Diversity of Places where they are exposed to Sale; according to the intrinsick Goodness thereof; and

and also according to the Value of the Coin, and the Scarcity of Money ; and likewise according to the Plenty and Scarcity of the Commodity itself, &c. But we do not measure the just Price of Things according to the Affection, Singularity, and Advantage of individual Persons ; for that is not according to the common Estimation of Men expert and skilful therein. A *just* Price, is sometimes said to be that, whereby neither the Buyer nor Seller is injur'd above one Moiety of the true and common Value : And in this Case, the Person injur'd shall not be relieved by rescinding of the Sale ⁿ ; for he must impute it to his own Imprudence and Indiscretion. For the Law of Man distinguishes between a greater and a lesser Fraud in respect of the Price of Things, and permits a lesser for the sake of avoiding a greater Confusion, lest Trade and Commerce should be hinder'd thereby.

The Price of Things, in Bargain and Sale, may be said to be Threefold. The first is call'd the *common* Price : The second is stiled the *formal* or *conventional* Price : And the third is term'd the *legal* Price. The *common* Price is that, whereby Things of the like Kind and Goodness are rated and sold in the same Place ^o. The *formal* Price of Things, receives its Form from the Covenant and Agreement of the Parties contracting ; which Price, *Ulpian* says, differs from the Value and Estimation of Things, according to the true Value of the Thing ^p. For the Persons contracting may mutually circumvent each other ; that is to say, they may add more or less to the Price in respect of the true Value ^q. For there are several Things, which may either in respect of the Persons contracting, or else in respect of the Things themselves, increase or diminish the Price ^r ; *viz.* either because the Buyer has a greater Affection for the Thing, or that it is highly commodious for him, for which reason he will give more than the just or common Value ^s ; or else because the Seller wants Money, and then the Buyer has it for less than the common Value. The *legal*, or, more properly, the *lawful* Price, is said to be that which the Law calls a just Price and the true Value of any Thing, setting aside Whim and Affection, *viz.* when the Price is made according to the Return which the Thing itself yields ^t. *Justinian* thinks the true Price or Value of an Ecclesiastical Estate especially, to be as much as may be collected from the Rents thereof for fifty Years ^u.

To prevent Fraud, Avarice, and Monopolies, and that Trade might more easily be carry'd on, the Care of setting a Price on Goods exposed to Sale, and particularly of Victuals, in the City of *Rome*, was committed to the *Decurio's* or Aldermen of the City, whom the Law stiles by the Name of *Episcopi* ^x, or the Overseers of Victuals : For they did not think fit to leave this Expedient to the Discretion of Hucksters, Victuallers, and the like, lest they should abuse the People ^y. With Us, it is the Care and Business of the Clerks of the Markets, and other Persons presiding over Civil Affairs, to fix a just Price on vendible Commodities, which are of necessary and daily Use, whenever they are exposed to Sale, having a due Regard to Times and Places when and where they are sold. In *France*, by a Constitution of *Charles IX.* ^z it was ordained, That the Judges should set a Price on all venal Goods, especially Victuals : And, to prevent Fraud and Wrangling, all Innholders and other Victuallers were order'd to hang up Tables in Publick, containing the Price of all Provisions they sold. And this Constitution was afterwards revived by an Edict of *Henry III.* of *France*.

The *legal* Prices of Things vary, as the *common* Price thereof does, according to the Plenty or Scarcity thereof ; and therefore, an upright Judge ought thoroughly to consider this Matter, in condemning Persons for exceeding the just Rate. But in all Conventions and Covenants, where the Person

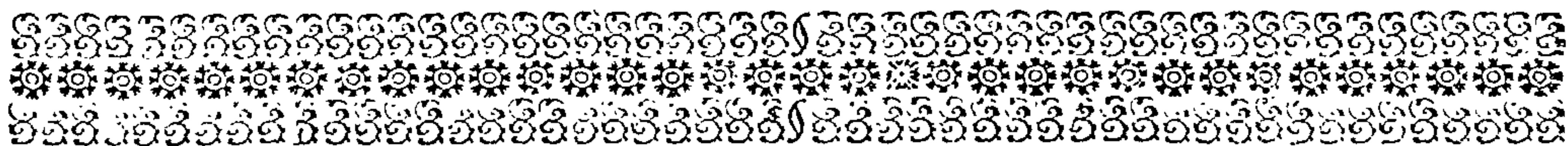
does

does not buy according to the stated and legal Price, we generally consider the Price of Things at the Time when the Contract was made, and other Circumstances. In judging of a just Price, we ought to consider the Value of the Thing, and the Rate of Money at the Time when a Purchase of Goods is made, and likewise the Place where it was made, without any Regard had to the anterior and posterior State and Quality of the Thing ^{a. D. 21. 2. 64. 1. C. 4. 44. 8. fin.} But though a conventional Price be arbitrary, and according to the Discretion of the Buyer and Seller; yet it ought to be founded upon Equity; *viz.* it ought in some measure to agree with the Nature and Value of the Thing ^{b. D. 30. 1. 66.} For if any one sells a Thing of a great Value for a mean and low Price, it is not deemed a Contract of Bargain and Sale, but some other Contract ^{c. D. 41. 2. 10. C. 4. 35. 22.} *viz.* either a Donation, or a feigned Contract ^{d.} For a Price is added to a Purchase, to equal and compensate the Thing sold, as much as possible: But a low Price is not sufficient to equal a Thing of great Value. Hence it is, that if, among several Things sold, it does not appear how much is sold, we ought to have Recourse to the Measure of the Price; and thus the Measure of the Price, the Quantity of the Thing, and the Quality thereof, do well declare what the Mind of the Persons contracting was.

I have already remember'd, under the Title of *Bargain and Sale*, That the Price agreed on between the Parties ought to be certain ^{e. D. 18. 1.}: Wherefore, a Purchase is not valid, if it depends on the Will of the Buyer or Seller; though such Price may be well enough referr'd to the Arbitration of a third Person to adjudge and determine the Value of the Thing sold. But, in this Case, if such third Person either will not or cannot determine the same, then such Purchase is void, as having no Price annexed to it ^{f. C. 4. 38. 15.} Thus also a Relation may be had to another Price, for the Certainty thereof: As, that you shall give me so much as you paid for a Thing of the like Kind; or, that you shall give me so much Money for it as you have in such a Chest ^{g. D. 18. 1. 7.} And thus the Certainty of a Price may be had, either by the Determination of the contracting Parties themselves; or else by relation had to some Person or Thing; or, thirdly, by Demonstration. The Person contracting, may reduce the Price to a Certainty, by a Question and Answer made ^{h. C. 4. 44. 8.}: As, Will you give me so much for such a Thing? &c. For it is only granted to the Proprietors of Goods by the Common Law, or of *Common Right*, to set a stated Price on their Goods ^{i. C. 1. 9. 9.}; yet, by a particular Law, the Magistrate may do it, and so may the Law itself. If there are several Witnesses produced to prove the Value of a Thing sold upon Contract, (as sometimes it may be, when a Person sends for Goods and does not agree about the Price) and one of them deposes that it is worth five Pounds, another says that it is worth ten Pounds, and a third says that it is worth fifteen Pounds; the Deposition of these Witnesses shall be valid in respect of the lesser Sum; because the lesser Sum is included in the greater, and herein they all agree.

It has been said, That Buying and Selling cannot be, without a certain Sum of Money agreed upon, call'd the Price of the Thing sold: Which is true in respect of the Bargain made, but not in respect of Payment; for Satisfaction may be made, upon Credit given, by some other Means than a Payment in Money. If the Parties contracting are simply agreed about the Price of a Thing, and it be not expressly said in what Kind or Quality of Money it shall be paid, the Price is then understood to be settled in the current and usual Money that passes in the Place where the Contract is made ^{k. D. 30. 1. 50. D. 31. 1. 70. fin.}. And in this Sense also Statutes are to be understood of the current Money, which speak of Money. As no one is said to be a Robber, who has paid the just Price of the Thing to the Owner thereof; so, he who receives the Price of a Thing, seems to have sold it, if he receiv'd such Price *ex certâ Scientiâ* for the Thing. The Smallness of a Price given for a Thing,

a Thing, creates a Presumption of Fraud ; and therefore it ought to be enquir'd whether such Thing was legally bought.



T I T. V.

Of Earnest given, and how forfeited on the Part of the Buyer ; and what Penalty happens to the Seller who refuses to perform his Part of the Contract : Of Bargain and Sale reduced into Writing and what follows thereupon : And, lastly, Of Actions of Bargain and Sale.

T*IT***I***U***S** sold an Estate unto *Caius*, upon this Condition, *viz.* That if he did not pay the Purchase-money at the Time appointed, he should lose the Earnest which he had given, and restore the Estate unto *Titius* ; and this Pact was held to be a good Covenant ^{l.} Now *Earnest*, is that Sum of Money or Thing which is given by the Buyer, on Account of a Purchase made, not as a full Payment of the Price, but in order to prove, with greater Evidence, that the Parties contracting were agreed about the Price of the Thing bought and sold ^{m.} And it seems to be first introduced on the score of Auctions, or large Sales of Goods, wherein a small Sum of Money was given, in order to confirm the Bargain ; because it was found an Inconvenience to Trade, for Men to carry great Sums of Money with them in Carts and Waggon, &c. to Places of Sale ; for that the first *Roman* Money was in Brass and Copper. It is in *Latin* call'd *Arrba*, according to *Isidore*, in his *Etymologies* ^{n.} *à re pro quâ datur*, that is to say, from the Thing for which it was given ; or, as others will have it, from the *Greek* Word *ἀρραβία*, importing the same as *firm*, in *English* ; because it confirms the Bargain. The Antients call'd it *Arabo*, as we may learn from *Terro* ^{o.} *Plautus*, and *Terence*. And this was not only made use of as an Argument of a Contract of Bargain and Sale already perfected, but Earnest was likewise given on the Account of Espousals ; which Kinds of Earnest were in *Latin* stiled *Arrhe Sponsalitie* ^{p.} But of this hereafter, under that Title.

Earnest in Buying and Selling is wont to be given two ways. *First*, As it is an Argument or Proof of a Purchase made, as when a Ring is given ^{q.} And in this Case either of the Parties may forego the Contract with the Loss of Earnest, which is call'd *simple Interest* : And this Kind of Earnest the Buyer may recover by personal Action *ex Empto*, if the Seller refuses to stand to his Contract ^{r.} And it is the same thing when the Contract is dissolved by common Consent of Parties ^{s.} *Secondly*, When Earnest is given as Part of the Price, and in Defalcation thereof ; and then the Parties cannot depart from the Contract without Loss. For if the Seller repents, and will forego the Contract, he shall restore to the Buyer double the Earnest given ; but if the Buyer repents, he loses his Earnest ^{t.} But the giving of Earnest, is not a Matter of Substance in this Contract, (for the same may be valid without it) ; and it is only given, in order to induce the Parties to fulfil the same. And thus Earnest is said to be forfeited, if the Buyer does not comply with the Contract. The giving of Earnest, is not a Contract of itself and in its own Nature ; nor does a Contract cease

to be *Res Integra* hereby, unless Earnest be given as to a Part of the Price ; and therefore, that which is given, may be recover'd *secundum fidem Pacti* ^{u.} But as Earnest is only a Token or Proof of the Contract, it ^u C. 4. 45. 2. ought to be return'd, unless it be made a Part of the Price, as it sometimes happens. A Person that loses his Earnest is not obliged to any other Interest or Damage, if the Contract be not perfected by Payment of the Price, or a Delivery of the Goods ^{x.} In giving of Earnest, the Buyer ^x C. 4. 21. 16. seems to place all his Hope of having his Contract made good to him ; and therefore, it is not enough for the Seller to return the simple Earnest, but he ought to forfeit double the Value thereof, otherwise (perhaps) he loses nothing by his Perverseness. The Proof of Earnest given, may be made either by the Confession of the Party receiving the same, or else by Witnesses that were present, or by a Notarial Instrument.

A Contract of Bargain and Sale may be executed two several ways, *viz.* either without Writing, or else in Writing. A Purchase made without Writing is perfected immediately by Consent alone, when the Parties are agreed touching the Price, though nothing be paid, nor the Thing deliver'd, nor any Intervention of Earnest had. And thus, in this Case, the Bargain is so perfected in respect of the Obligation and Action, that one Party cannot forego the same contrary to the Will of the other. This Contract is said to be perfect in three distinct respects. *First*, In respect of Repentance or Departing from thence ; for after any thing is done, as Goods deliver'd, or Price paid, neither Party can depart from it. *Secondly*, In respect either of the Risque or the Advantage of the Thing sold ; for if the Buyer has paid Part of the Price, he shall enjoy the same Profits, otherwise not ^{y.} And, *Thirdly*, In respect of the Delivery of the Thing, and ^y D. 18. 3. 4. 11. the Payment of the Price, which compleats the Contract. Bargain and Sale is celebrated in Writing, when it is agreed between the Parties in the Beginning, that a Deed or Writing should be made thereupon, to the End that the Contract may be proved, and not otherwise : And in this Case, before such a Deed is made and executed, neither of the Parties are under any Obligation. And this is often done among jealous and suspicious Persons, who are afraid of being imposed upon by the Words of each other at large : And therefore, to avoid all manner of Fraud and Wrangling, they will have a Writing to be drawn on the Contents of such Contract ; which being read in the Presence of the Parties, and agreed unto after a Treaty had, they execute on both Sides ; and this shall give Faith to the Contract. This Deed, if it be a private Writing, is said to be executed, when each of the Parties have acknowledged the same, and subscribed themselves thereunto. For he who subscribes a Writing, is deemed to approve the Contents thereof ; and therefore it shall affect him, as if he had written the Whole ^{z.} But if it be a Notarial Instrument, which is ^z D. 20. 6. 8. 15. a publick Deed, it ought to be read by the Parties, or (at least) read over to them by the Notary ; and, if they approve the same, the Notary signs it ; and then the Contract is perfected in such a manner, that there is no room for drawing back. But before the Writing is executed, there is room for recoiling, when the Purchase is celebrated in Writing : So that the Buyer and Seller may forego the Contract with Impunity, unless something be given by way of Earnest. For then, whether it be in Writing, or without Writing, the Buyer cannot forego the same without losing his Earnest, nor the Seller without restoring it ^{a.} In *England*, no Contract ^a I. 3. 24. pr. for the Sale of any Goods of ten Pounds Value, or upwards, is valid, except the Buyer actually receives Part of the Goods, or gives something in Earnest for them, or unless there be some Note made in Writing of such Sale and Contract ^{b,} as I have elsewhere related.

^b 29 Car. II.
cap. 3.

Touching Actions which arise from Bargain and Sale, there are some that are meerly founded on the *Civil Law*; and others that are introduced by the *Prætor*, called *Prætorian Actions*. Civil Actions are those which we stile Action *ex Empto* and *Vendito*; which are often so called from the Person unto whom they are given, and sometimes (though seldom) from him against whom they lie. As an Action *ex Empto* is often said to be that which is given to the Buyer ^a; and sometimes said to be that which lies against the Buyer ^d. Thus, in the like Manner, an Action *ex Vendito* is frequently said to be that which accrues to the Seller against the Buyer ^e, for Payment of the Price, as the other is for a Delivery of the Goods; and sometimes it lies against the Seller. Both these are personal Actions *bonæ fidei*, and are direct and transitory Actions; for they descend to the Person of the Heir ^f, and also lie for him, and likewise for universal, but not for particular Successors. An Action *ex Empto* lies against him who has sold a Thing in his own Name, and against his universal ^g, but not his particular Successors, and likewise against the Proctor or Agent. Whatsoever is done between the Parties contracting, is comprehended under this Action. But if there be nothing specially agreed upon, then whatsoever is naturally incident to this Contract, is subject to the Power of this Action. Now these Things are naturally incident to Bargain and Sale, *vis.* That the Seller should precisely deliver the Thing sold to the Buyer, and the Price shall be paid unto the Seller; that Possession shall be given to the Buyer, or the Seller shall be condemn'd in Damages from the Time of a Delay made, that is to say, from the Day when the Seller might have deliver'd the Thing without any Difficulty ^h. For after a Delay, the Buyer may have an Action for Damages, and for all the Fruits and other Accessions, from the Time of such Delay ⁱ. The Seller ought to deliver the Possession of the Thing, free from the Possession of another Person, and to transfer the Property thereof, together with a Warranty against any Eviction, unto which he is bound when the Purchase-Money is paid him ^k. If a Person shall sell an Estate, and conceal the Service that is due from such Estate, or conceal the Number of Acres, he shall be liable to an Action *ex Empto*, and be condemn'd in Damages. And 'tis the same Thing, if he shall sell a Vessel of Liquors for a whole Vessel, out of which something has been spilt or pour'd.

Among *Prætorian Actions*, we may reckon a *Redhibitory Action*, an Action *quantò Minoris*, Action on the Case given by the Edict of the *Ædiles*, an *Estimatory Action*, &c. If a faulty Thing be deliver'd, and the Buyer be not made acquainted with the Fault, he may have an Action *ad Redhibendum*, to compel the Seller to take the Goods again, and to make Amends for Damages by Reason of those Faults ^l. But if a Thing be bought, and both Buyer and Seller were ignorant of the Fault at the Time of Sale, then an Action, *quantò Minoris* lies, to force the Seller to return so much of the Price as the Thing sold is less in Value on the Account of such Faults ^m. But if the Seller has knavishly concealed the Fault; then, by an Action on the Case, he shall be obliged to make good all Damage which happens through such Fraud ⁿ. If a Thing be sold, by a false Commendation, for more than it is worth, an *Estimatory Action* lies; for the Thing shall be appraised, and an Abatement allow'd in the Price ^o. For that which is said on the Score of commending, shall oblige the Seller, unless the Faults are visibly apparent ^p. Lastly, Whatever is defective through the Fault or Fraud of the Seller, he shall be obliged to make good, whether it be covenanted in the Contract of Bargain and Sale, or not ^q. But the Buyer shall not be admitted to his Action, unless he has fulfilled the Contract on his Part, and has paid the Price, or (at least) made a Tender thereof ^r, whether the Action be *Civil* or *Prætorian*: For, if the Buyer has not fulfilled

fulfilled his Part, the Seller may retain the Thing sold, as a Pledge or Pawn ^s.

An Action *ex vendito*, lies for the Seller ^t and his Heirs, and even for ^r D. 19. 1. 13. a Pupil selling without the Authority of his Guardian ^u, against the Buyer ¹⁹. and his Heirs, and his universal Successors. But if the Seller brings an ^u D. 19. 1. 13. Action for the Price, without a Delivery of the Goods, an Exception of *the Goods not deliver'd* will bar his Action, till a full Delivery be made ^x. ^z D. 19. 1. 25. After a Delivery made of the Goods, the Seller may have this Action for the Price, and for the Fruits from the Time of a Delay made in Payment, and for Interest from the Time of the Goods deliver'd, together with all Charges he has been at after the Sale on the Goods sold; and shall recover so much as he could have sold them more for unto another Person, if he had not been deceived by the Buyer ^y. But when a Delivery has not been ^y C. 4. 49. 13. made, nor the Buyer in Delay of Payment, no Interest is due ^z: Yet the ^z D. 19. 1. 13. Buyer shall enjoy the Fruits from the Time of the Contract perfected, since ^z C. 4. 49. 13. he is to stand to the Loss and Hazard of the Goods ^a. But the Seller shall ^a I. 3. 24. 3. not stand to the Loss of the Price promis'd, because this is an Obligation of a *Genus*, which does not perish with the Loss of the *Species* ^b. There- ^b D. 12. 1. fore the Seller cannot demand *Use* or Interest from the Time of the Con- tract, but from the Time of Delay in Payment ^c. The Seller also shall ^c D. 22. 1. 32. have this Action, to oblige the Buyer either to take away the Things ². bought, or to pay him Damages for the Continuance of them in the Seller's Custody ^d, and for the Performance of whatever is expressly covenanted in ^d D. 18. 6. 1. 3. this Contract of Bargain and Sale ^e. If either Party be deceived above one ^e D. 19. 1. 13. Moiety in respect of the just Price, they may have a Personal Action, called a *Condictio ex Lege*, either to adjust the Price, or return the Goods, or to forego such unjust Contract ^f. Finally, it is to be observ'd, that ^f C. 4. 49. 2. these Actions *ex empto* and *vendito*, on Bargain and Sale only, lie in *Simplum*, unless it be otherwise covenanted and agreed upon by the Parties ^g. ^g D. 21. 2. 56.



T I T. VI.

Of Eviction or Security given by the Seller unto the Buyer, for the quiet Possession of that which he bought, (with us called Warranty,) expressed and implied; and what Remedy the Buyer has against the Seller, for Goods evicted; and how the Buyer ought to behave himself in suing this Remedy: And, lastly, Of an Exception of a Thing sold and delivered.

EVICTION, as here treated of, is a Judicial Recovery of a Man's Property, though the adverse Party has acquir'd the same by a Legal Title ^h: The Thing evicted being not the Property of the Person who ^h D. 21. 2. 24. sold or disposed of the same. And a Thing is said to be evicted, if it be ^{56 & 57}. so lost, that it is not lawful for the Buyer to have the same, but when all Hopes of retaining it are cut off and taken away ⁱ: For we cannot reckon ⁱ D. 21. 2. 24. that which is evicted to be among our Goods ^k. For if another Man's ^{1 & L. 35.} Goods are sold without the Owner's Consent, they may be taken away from ^k D. 50. 17. the Buyer by the Proprietor of them ^l; unless such Owner or Proprietor ^l D. 18. 1. 28. shall

shall afterwards confirm and ratify such Alienation or Sale; or unless the Goods of another, which are sold, do legally become the Property of the Vender: In which Case the Sale is ratify'd and confirm'd. Nor can he then afterwards demand or sue for the same Thing of the Buyer, as being sold, when it was in another's Property: Because every one knows, that if the Vender claims a Thing by Action which he himself has sold, he may be ousted of his Action by an Exception of *Deceit*, though he seeks the Property of it by another Right: For he knavishly endeavours to evict that which he himself has sold. So that the Buyer has free Power to defeat his Intention by an Exception, unless he had rather (the Thing being taken

^m D. 21. 2. 17. from him) recover Twofold in a Cause of Stipulation ^m. Hence it is

ⁿ D. 21. 2. 14. manifest, that the Vender cannot evict the Thing sold, nor even his Heir *eo Nomine, viz.* on the Account of being his Heir ⁿ; because he is bound to perform and make good the Act of his Testator deceas'd. Therefore, though the Buyer shall not object an Exception of *Deceit* unto the Vender aiming at an Eviction, but shall suffer the Thing to be evicted; yet (notwithstanding this) an Action is saved to him, and accrues on the Stipulation or Warranty; or else he may have an Action *ex empto* against the

^o D. 21. 2. 18. Vender or his Heir ^o. For it is not a new Thing for a Person that is cast in a Suit on an Exception, even afterwards to have Recourse to an Action.

The same Things may almost be affirm'd in the Person of the Vender's Surety or Voucher, who cannot evict the Thing that is sold ^p; because, by his Vouching or Suretiship, he has obliged himself not to evict the Thing:

For he acts a fraudulent Part, who demands or sues for a Thing which he

^q D. 21. 2. 76. must immediately restore. Nor is the last Law of this Title ^q any Objection thereunto, which treats not of a Surety or Voucher, but of the Heir himself, who is not hinder'd in his own Person, and on his own Account, from claiming a Thing for which the Person deceas'd had interven'd: Yet an Action of Eviction is even reserv'd to be brought against the Heir, from what has been already said. And to this End it is, that the Surety can only be compell'd in respect of the Consent which he has given for the Sale of the Thing, by which Consent he prejudices himself, and him who is willing to claim the Thing by his Hereditary Right thereunto, and cannot claim the Thing sold or alienated in his own proper Right, as the Heir may do, though such Surety may claim it in Virtue of his Hereditary Right ^r.

^r Barbof. in L.
^s S. D. 24. 3.

By an Edict or Order of the *Aediles*, the Buyer is to take Care of himself, that the Seller gives him Caution or Security in this Manner, *viz.* That if the Thing sold be evicted, the Seller shall make good the same, either in *Specie*, or in Value, unto the Buyer, whether the Whole or Part of the Thing be evicted: And this is done by Stipulation or Warranty; and this

^t Lib. 5. Tract.

^u Lib. 3. per
rot.

is either *real* or *personal*, according to *Bracton* ^s and *Glanvil* ^t. *Real*, when it is annexed to Lands or Tenements granted for Life, &c. *Personal*, whether it either respects the Property of the Thing sold, or the Quality of it. It passes from the Seller to the Buyer, from the Feoffee to the Feoffee, from him that releases to him that is released from an Action real, and such like. But this is our Common Law Notion of it. If a Thing be evicted only in Part, we ought to consider, whether it be held *pro Diviso* or *pro Indiviso*. If it be held *pro Indiviso*, as an Estate in Jointenancy, then the whole Estate ought to be valid, and an Action upon the Eviction will lie, and must be brought for a Moiety of the Whole: For the Goodness of one Part shall not be more consider'd than the Goodness of the other. But if such Estate be held *pro Diviso*, then the Action on Eviction shall be for

^u D. 21. 2. 1.

the Part evicted, with a Regard had to the Goodness of it ^u. When a Thing of an aggregate Nature is sold, as a Flock of Sheep, and the like, then the Caution or Warranty given is not of a particular individual Thing,

but

but for the Whole ^x. I shall next enquire, more particularly, what Persons are liable to Eviction.

^x D. 21. 2. 5.

And here it is to be observed, That the Seller and his Heir are liable hereunto, in whatever Degree such Heir is placed and constituted ^y. That the Seller is obliged, appears from hence, *viz.* because he ought to have given quiet Possession of the Thing sold to the Buyer: But a Thing does not seem to be deliver'd, if another Person may call that Thing out of the Buyer's Hands by way of Eviction ^z. But what if a Person shall sell a Thing in another's Name, as being an Agent or Proctor? To which I answer, That if such Proctor shall contract the Sale, without naming the Principal, he shall become liable to an Eviction, because the Buyer gives him Credit, and takes his Word in his own private Capacity, without considering him as a Proctor, and (perhaps) would not have contracted with him, if he had known or thought that he had to deal with the Principal: But if he shall contract the Sale in his Principal's Name, as a Proctor, such Proctor is not liable; for he thereby only pursues the Direction of his Commission, and the Buyer then had a Regard to the Credit and Honesty of his Principal, and not of him as a Proctor or Agent: And therefore, the Suit shall be with the Principal, by an Action *in Equity* after the Manner of an Action called *Actio Infitoria* ^a. Moreover, a Surety given by a Vender, and every Person that is like unto a Vender, may be sued on the Account of Eviction ^b. A Surety or Voucher, simply given by a Vender, is understood to be given to every Event of Eviction, unless it appears to be otherwise agreed on ^c.

^y C. 8. 45. 9.
¹⁸ & 23. pr.

^z D. 19. 1. 4
& 11. 8.

^a D. 19. 1. 13.

²⁵.

^b C. 8. 45. 7.

^c D. 2. 14. 39

Eviction is due from the Seller to the Buyer, when the Buyer cannot maintain and justify his Title from such a Sale, on the Account of another's Right thereunto: And, in such a Case, the Seller is bound to make good the Damage and Interest of the Buyer, by reason of such Eviction ^d. *Titius* granted unto *Seius* such and such Estates, and, by a Stipulation, promised to warrant or secure the Title thereof against any Eviction. Afterwards *Titius* died, appointing *Seius*, together with some other Persons, to be his Heirs. In this Case, if any Eviction be made on any of these Estates, *Seius* may have an Action upon the Eviction of these Estates against his Coheirs, for that Part wherein they are made Heirs, *viz.* an Action *ex Stipulatu*. But if he had not by Stipulation promis'd to Warrant the same against an Eviction, *Seius* could not by any Means convene them. *Sempronius* sold unto *Caius* an Estate, which was mortgag'd unto another Person: *Quære*, Whether *Caius* may have an Action *ex Stipulatu* against *Sempronius* on the Score of Eviction, before such Estate is evicted? And it was resolved, that he could not. For if I buy a Thing of you, which is said to be impawn'd to another, or which is said to be another Person's, though I am uneasy with my self about such Thing purchas'd, yet I cannot have an Action, till such Time as the Thing be evicted. If a more ancient Creditor shall evict a Pawn from a latter Creditor, to whom it is given in Payment, the latter Creditor may have an Action against the Debtor, who gave it by way of Payment, to recover Damage thereupon ^e; because a Contract of this Kind, that is to say, the giving it by way of Payment, is in the Place, and represents Buying: But yet there is a great Difference, whether it was given in Payment for Money in Tale which was due, or for any *Species*. For if it was given for Money in Tale, the Person shall have an Action *ex empto*, as if a Purchase was made ^f: But if it was given for a *Species*, it shall be deemed as Permutation, or the like Contract, and the Person shall not have an Action *in Equity* on the Purchase, if the Thing be evicted, but shall have an Action of Eviction ^g.

^e C. 8. 45. 4.

^f D. 13. 7. 4 &

²⁴. pr.

^g D. 46. 3. 46.

It has been said, under the Title *Of Bargain and Sale*, That the Sale of another Man's Goods is valid ^h; not that the Buyer shall have a Title to them,

^h D. 18. 1. 28.

them, but that he may sue for Damages, if they are evicted: For the Seller must warrant the Title, and make Amends, if the Goods, ^l D. 21. 2. 1. (moveable or immoveable) are claimed by others, in Whole, or in Part ⁱ. And this of Course, though there be no particular Agreement made for it ^h D. 21. 2. 2. between the Buyer and the Seller ^k; because the Law endeavours to promote Justice in every Instance. The Seller is not only to warrant the Title of the Thing sold, but likewise to restore the Price of the said Thing, in case of Eviction. And this he is compelled to do, either through the Nature of the Contract itself ^l, or else by an express Stipulation enter'd into between the Buyer and the Seller; whereby it is provided, that the Seller shall ^m D. 21. 2. 56. restore the Price and Damage, in case of Eviction ^m. And this last, as it is called an *express* Warranty, so the other is stiled a Warranty *imply'd*. In an Eviction upon a Warranty *imply'd*, only the simple Value of the ⁿ D. 21. 2. 60 Thing shall be repaid to the Buyer, together with Damages ⁿ: But in an ^{& 70.} Eviction upon an *express* Warranty stipulated between the Parties, the Seller may enlarge the Warranty, and oblige himself to refund twofold ^o D. 21. 2. 17. in respect of the Value thereof, in case the Thing sold be evicted ^o. But ^{48 & 53.} in this Case the Buyer cannot recover Damages or Interest for the Thing evicted, as he may do in the other Case; for, in the last Case, the Seller is bound no further than he has stipulated.

Heretofore simple Caution was given, to this End and Purpose, without ^p D. 21. 2. 56. Sureties or Vouchers ^p: But now, I think, the Seller may be obliged to give this Caution or Warranty by Vouchers, if his own single Caution be suspected. But what if he shall refuse or delay to give Caution? In this Case the Buyer may implore the Office of the Judge; and if he shall then refuse or be in Delay, it is the same thing as if he had done it, and he ^q D. 21. 2. 2. shall be condemned *in Duplum* ^q. These Cautions or Stipulations are forfeited, either when the Thing sold is, upon a Judicial Eviction, restor'd to the true Owner evicting it; or else, when the Buyer is compelled to refund the Value of it; or, lastly, when the Possessor, being convened by ^r D. 21. 2. 16. 1. the Buyer, is acquitted of Malice and evil Design ^r.

^{D. 21. 2. 21}
^{& 34. 1.} To the End that the Buyer may have Redress against the Seller, he ought in due Time to denounce the Matter unto the Seller; that is to say, he ought to give him notice that he is judicially impleaded for the Thing which he has purchased of him ^s. For he ought, at the Time of the Com- ^s D. 21. 2. 29. 2. mencement of the Suit, to give him Notice thereof, that he may defend ^{D. 21. 2. 37.} himself, if he pleases, unless the Seller be notoriously unjust in his Dealing, ^{53. 55 & 63.} (as *Baldus* remarks ^t). For there are several Things necessary in respect of Eviction; and the Law assigns Three Cases in Particular, wherein though the Thing be evicted, yet the Seller shall not be liable to the Buyer on an Eviction. As, *First*, If he shall omit to give the Seller Notice, as ^u In L. S. C. S. 45. afore said, after Suit is commenced against him, that the Seller may defend the Right of the Thing sold to him. *Secondly*, If the Buyer shall contumaciously absent himself at the Time of Sentence pronounced. And, *Thirdly*, If such Sentence shall be pronounced *per Injuriam*, or by the Knavery of the Buyer. And if there be a Failure in any of these Requisites, the Eviction has no Effect, in order to give the Buyer an Action against the Seller ^u.

I say, That Intimation ought to be given to the Seller, in order to give the Buyer an Action of Eviction against him, even though the Seller should ^x Rom. Conf. 211. n. 3. know it without Intimation ^x. And the Reason may be (perhaps) because the Buyer, *eo ipso*, in not denouncing to the Seller, is deemed to be guilty of Fraud. Another Reason is, because the Seller is presumed to be better acquainted with the Matter than the Buyer: And therefore, this ^y Bald. in L. 75. Intimation ought to be given to him, that he may defend his Right of Sale ^y. ^{D. 3. 3.} And this Intimation ought, (according to *Alexander* ^z) to be made with ^z Conf. 117. vol. 7. a Request,

a Request, that he would defend that Title of the Goods sold ; though (others say) that such Request is not necessary : But this we must refer to Practice. But a Notification is not good, unless it contains the Name of the Person that commences the Suit against the Buyer. It ought to be made to the immediate Seller, and not to the first Author of the Sale : For the Buyer cannot have an Action of Eviction against the Person whom the Seller bought it of, without an Assignment of his Right of Action : For, by such Assignment, the first Seller is liable to an Eviction, whether the Thing be evicted from the immediate Seller, or from a Person that has a Title from him, provided this Eviction be not caused by the Act of the Buyer ^a ; yea, though it should have passed through a thousand Hands, and he evicted from the last, yet the first Seller is liable, provided such Eviction be not occasion'd by any of his Successors ^b. But then Notice of the Suit ought to be given to the first Seller, when the others have assign'd over their Rights against such first Seller. Eviction ought to be made by a Sentence ; otherwise the Thing is not said to be evicted in such a manner as to relieve the Buyer ^c : And *Alexander* says, that a Sentence alone is not sufficient to entitle the Buyer to an Action, but the same ought to be executed, otherwise Eviction does not proceed ^d. But when a Person has knavishly sold that which belongs to another Man, Eviction has Place without a Sentence subsequent to the Sale ^e : And 'tis the same thing, when the Seller is sworn to an Eviction, and he does not fulfil his Promise ^f.

^a D. 21. 2. 22. 1.

^b Bald. in L. 23. C. 8. 45.

^c C. 8. 45. 3.

^d Alex. Conf. 4. lib. 3.

^e D. 3. 5. 19. 3.

^f Berof. Conf. 158. lib. 1.

As *Eviction* is said to be the Loss and Taking away of a Thing, which has been bought on a just and valuable Consideration, by the Judge's Sentence in a Court of Judicature, whereby the true Owner recovers his Right ^g ; it hence follows, that he is said to evict a Thing in Law, who thus recovers a Thing, which belongs to him, out of the Buyer's Hands, by proving, in a Court of Judicature, That the Thing purchased, does, by Right of Property, belong to him, and not to the Buyer, though he has bought the same. Wherefore, if I buy a House of *Titius*, which *Caius*, in a Court of Law, proves to be his, and *Caius* recovers that House by an Action at Law, *Caius* is said to gain and recover that House by *Eviction*, though *Titius* be at the same time liable to me on the score of Eviction, or, in other Terms, though *Titius* be obliged to indemnify me, by a Restitution of the Money paid for that House, according to the Interest which I have in the said House, in case the same had been evicted ^h. The Buyer and his Successor, and also the second and third Buyer, if an Eviction be commenced against them, may object an Exception *rei venditæ & traditæ* ⁱ ; viz. That the Thing was sold and deliver'd to them ; and this Exception lies against the Vender and his Successor. Eviction has not only Place in Bargain and Sale, but even in many other Objects of the Law ^k ; as in Permutation, Legacies in general, and in the Division of an Inheritance, and of Things which lie in Common, &c. But Eviction does not obtain in every Contract of Bargain and Sale.

^g D. 21. 2. 16.

^h D. 21. 2. 60. 70. & 74.

ⁱ D. 21. 3. 3.

^k D. 21. 2. 34. 1.

When there are several Things or Chattels distinctly sold, and each of these have a proper Price annexed to them ; then, if only one Thing be evicted, the Price of that Thing is only consider'd on the Eviction, and the Damage or Interest shall only respect the same, without any Regard had to the other Things ^l. As when a Man sells a Horse, Wine, and Corn, separately, and the Horse be evicted, the Price or Damage only of the Horse shall be made good to the Buyer ; because here there are so many Evictions as there are Things, though sold to the same Person ^m. But if a Man engages to sell several Chattels jointly for one Price, the Sale shall be rescinded in the Whole, if he cannot deliver them all ; because,

^l D. 21. 2. 11.

^m D. 21. 2.

to deliver a Thing, is an individual Obligation, according to the common Opinion of the Lawyers. See *Curtius junior* ⁿ.

ⁿ Conf. 74.
per tot.

It has been already hinted, That the Remedy which accrues to the Buyer upon an Eviction, is either an Action *ex Empto* ^o, or else an Action *ex Stipulatu*, whereby he shall recover the whole Value of the Thing, and the particular Damage he has sustained by such Eviction; that is to say, the Interest which he might have gained, in case such Eviction had not happen'd ^p; which admits of more or less, according to the Increase or Decrease of such Interest. But an Action *ex Stipulatu*, brought upon an *express* Warranty *in Duplum*, does not receive an Increase or Diminution, but is ascertain'd to twofold of the Value of the Thing sold ^q, as before related. When I say, That the Buyer has his Remedy by an Action *ex Stipulatu*; I mean, if the Person has stipulated in a penal Sum, as in Twofold, Threefold, &c. Note; These Actions cease, if the Buyer knavishly purchases a Thing belonging to another ^r; or if the Buyer has not made a just, but only a feint Defence in the Suit ^s; or if the Thing be injuriously taken from him ^t, or by his own Act, Fault, or Negligence ^u; or if he shall neglect to give Notice to the Seller, or his Heir, of the Suit commenced against him, before Condemnation had in the Cause ^x, even though the Seller had otherwise Knowledge thereof, as already remember'd; or if he has voluntarily compounded or compromised the Matter with the Plaintiff ^y; or, lastly, if the Buyer has suffer'd a Limitation or Prescription of Time to run against him from the Time of the Sale made ^z. The Seller may be compelled to assign over the Actions which he has for the Thing sold, against the Person he bought it of, unto the Buyer that suffers by Eviction. A Creditor sold a Thing *Jure Creditoris*, viz. in Right of being a Creditor, but would not be liable to an Eviction. The Thing was evicted in the Buyer's Hands, because he was not the Debtor. And thus the Creditor had a contrary *Pignoratitious* Action against the Debtor, because he had impawned a Thing which was not his own. Wherefore, though the Creditor be not liable to an Action of Eviction; yet he ought to assign over such contrary *Pignoratitious* Action, since it is no Injury to him ^a. Thus,

A Creditor selling a Thing *Jure Creditoris*, which he thought to be the Goods and Chattels of his Debtor, is not liable to an Eviction, unless he has expressly promis'd to the Buyer to become so. As for Example: If the Exchequer sells a Thing *Jure Creditoris* ^b, viz. either by Pact, or according to Law, the Exchequer is not liable to the Purchaser on the score of any Eviction; nor is a private Person, unless he has bound himself thereunto. But what if the said Pawn was gaged unto the Exchequer and to a private Person, and, after the Sale thereof, the Exchequer succeeds such private Person as Heir; may the Exchequer, in this Case, evict such Pawn, contrary to its own Act and Deed? And it is held, That it may not; either because that he was a Creditor who had the Preference of Right, or had not, when he sold it: For he who sells a Pawn, ought to shew that he had the Preference to other Creditors. See the Title *Of Pawns* hereafter.

Thus, if a Person sells a Thing as the Proprietor thereof, he is then liable to Eviction: But if he sells it as a Creditor, saying, That he sells it, because he is a Creditor; then he is not liable, if he has a Right of selling it either by some Law or Pact: But if he has no Right of selling it, then he is bound to the Buyer, by an Action, to assign him over a contrary *Pignoratitious* Action, if the Thing be evicted ^c. When the Buyer succeeds the Seller as Heir, or the Seller succeeds the Buyer, if the Thing be evicted, in both these Cases an Action lies against the Sureties ^d. *Titius* sold an House or an Estate unto *Caius*, and thereupon promis'd to give him a Surety

^c D. 21. 2.

^d D. 21. 2. 41.

Surety on the Account of Eviction, whereunto (notwithstanding) he was not obliged. Therefore, that he might fulfil his Promise, he gave him a Surety: In this Case the Surety is liable. But if *Caius* succeeds *Titius* as Heir, the Surety is discharged ^e. *Mævius* sold me another Person's ^c D. 21. 2. 41. Bondman, and, by way of Warranty, gave Caution *de Duplo*, as the usual Way then was. *Caius*, the Proprietor of the Bondman, died, and made me his Heir: *Quære*, Whether I may have an Action against *Mævius* in Twofold? And it was adjudged, that I could not: But yet I may have an Action *ex Empto*, to compel him to repay me the Purchase-money which I gave for the Bondman ^f. *Sempronius* had an Estate in Common ^f D. 21. 2. 9. with *Titius* and *Seius*, and *Sempronius*, as sole Proprietor thereof, granted me the Service of a Foot-way through the said Estate. Afterwards the other two Tenants in Common refused to consent and assign me the said Way. In this Case it was held, that *Sempronius* was liable to me in an Action of Eviction ^g. If a Person sells me a Cow big with Calf, and gives ^g D. 21. 2. 10. Caution *de Duplo*, and the Calf falls in my Keeping, but yet is evicted, I cannot, in this Case, have an Action of Eviction, but may have an Action for Damage ^h; because the Cow was the principal Thing sold, and the Calf ^h D. 21. 2. 16. was only an Accessory. It is not to be doubted, but that the Seller may be repelled by an Exception of *Deceit*, if he claims the Thing which he has sold by raising up another Title ⁱ. ⁱ D. 21. 2. 17.

It has been noted, That *Eviction* is Twofold; *viz.* what we have called *express* and *tacit* Eviction. The *First* is, When a Thing has been deliver'd, and evicted after Delivery: And in this Case a Sentence is required; and, according to *Baldus* ^k, a Promise touching Eviction has ^k Conf. 289. not any Force without such a Sentence. *Tacit* Eviction, is, When the ^{lib. 2. pr.} Thing is not deliver'd, nor can it be deliver'd: And, for this Reason, it is not properly call'd Eviction; to the End that the Buyer may have an Action touching Eviction: but he ought to have his Action *ad Interesse*, or for *Damage* ^l. Wherefore, *Baldus* (as before cited) styles this a *feigned* ^l D. 19. 1. 1. Eviction; because, from the Nature of the Sale, there is an inherent or implicit Promise, on the Part of the Seller, to deliver the Thing.

Eviction is derived from the Verb *Evinco*, which signifies the getting the better by Conquest of Suit, or otherwise; and *Eviction* is, the obtaining or taking of a Thing from another by such a Conquest: As when, in any Dispute, a Person gets the better of his Adversary by Dint of Argument. But it is often used as a Law-term, to point out such Eviction as is made either by Law, or a Judicial Process. When it is made by a Judicial Process, it is a Recovery or Taking of a Thing bought, or received upon some Account or other, by the Decree of the Judge ^m, as before described. ^m D. 21. 2. 24. For 'tis to be observed, That it was heretofore usual, that if a Thing was alienated according to the Law of Nations, and not by the *Roman* Law, the Person that acquir'd it received Stipulation in twofold, for the secure Possession of it; and this was called Caution *de Evictione*; and by our *English* Lawyers, *Warranty*.

[By the Common Law of *England*, no Man is bound to warrant the Title of what he sells or conveys, unless there be an *express* Warranty, or Warranty by Law ⁿ. And by the said Law the ⁿ Inst. 102. a. Buyer gains a Title, without Danger of Eviction, if the Sale be made in an open Fair or Market, and tolled for. See *The Doctor and Student* ^o.] ^o Lib. 1. c. 25.



T I T. VII.

Of Hiring and Letting to Hire; a Comparison between this Contract and that of Bargain and Sale: Of the Merces, or Reward and Wages agreed upon, or referr'd to the Judgment of a third Person; and wherein this Merces or Reward consists. Under this Title is comprized the Interest and Business of Landlord and Tenant.

AMONG Contracts founded upon Consent alone, we may also consider Hiring and Letting to Hire, in *Latin* called *Locatio-conductio*, as a second *Species* of these Contracts. The Ancients used the Words *Locatio* and *Conductio* in a promiscuous Sense, to signify one and the same Thing ^p, as they also did these two Words *Emptio* and *Venditio*. But *Location* is nearer of Kin to *Emption*, in respect of its Rise from the Law of Nations, as likewise in respect of that fair dealing which ought to attend it, and also in other Regards. *Varro* says ^q, that these two Words *Locatio* and *Collocatio*, are both derived from the *Latin* Word *Locus*, because the Cryer was wont to Let every Thing to Hire, which the Place consisted of, and for that every Thing may be Let to Hire which consists in Place, as every Thing may be purchased which consists in Price. Thus *Locare* is to give something to be done or made use of, for which the *Conductor* or Hirer is to pay a certain Reward or Hire; and this also extends itself to some Work that is to be done. For Example, *Locare Domum*, is to Let a House to a Person for a certain Rent or Pension: And he is said *Locare Opus*, who bargains with a Carpenter, or other Artificer, touching some Work to be done, on the Payment of such Wages or Hire. And, in this Sense, Hiring and Letting to Hire, is a Contract founded on Consent, whereby a Person is either to do or make something, on a certain Reward paid: And when it relates to Work done, the Reward is in *Latin* stiled *Merces*; but if it respects a Place, as a Stable, House, &c. it is then called *Locarium*, or a Rent.

I have before hinted, that Hiring and Letting to Hire, is near of Kin to Bargain and Sale, being govern'd almost by the same Rules ^r: Wherefore, I shall next consider, wherein Hiring and Letting to Hire do agree with Bargain and Sale, and wherein they differ. *First*, Wherein they agree. For as a Contract of Bargain and Sale is formed, if a Price be agreed on; so also is a Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire understood to be made, if a *Merces* or Rent be settled. And hereupon an Action *ex Locato* accrues to the Person who Lets a Thing to Hire; and an Action *ex Conducto* to the Person who hires ^s. *Secondly*, This Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire, is founded on the Law of Nature, and introduced by the Usage of all Nations, as Bargain and Sale is: So that in these Contracts there is no occasion of any solemn Form of Words. *Thirdly*, As in Bargain and Sale three Things are requir'd, *viz.* The Thing the Price, and Consent, which are the Substantials of this Contract: So likewise in Letting to Hire, there ought to be the Thing hired, the *Merces* or Hire, and the Consent of the Parties. *Fourthly*, As it is not lawful in Bargain and Sale, for one Party to recede

recede from his Contract without the others Consent: So neither is it in Hiring and Letting to Hire; for all Contracts are reciprocally binding. *Fifthly*, As in Bargain and Sale, when Eviction of the Thing sold threatens or happens *in Limine Contractus*, the Price is not paid: So it is the same Thing in Hiring and Letting to Hire. *Sixthly*, As the Seller is liable to the Buyer, in Case of Eviction: So likewise is the *Lessor* or *Locator* liable to be condemned to the *Lessee* in Damages and Costs of Suit. Another Semblance in each Contract, is, that the Price and Hire ought to be settled *in Pecunis Numeratis*, according to the *Civil Law* ^{t. D. 16. 3. 1. 9. I. 3. 25. 2.} And this Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire, is like unto a Contract of Bargain and Sale in many Respects: And both these Contracts have so near a Relation to each other, that in many Cases it has been a Question, whether it be Bargain and Sale, or Hiring and Letting to Hire ^{u. I. 3. 25. 3.} As when I agree with a Goldsmith to make me so many Rings, of a certain Weight and Form, out of his own Gold, and he has received for this Three Hundred Pounds in Money, it is deemed to be a Contract of Bargain and Sale ^{x. D. 18. 1. 65.} But if I furnish him with Gold, and pay him for his Workmanship, it is then said to be a Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire ^{y. D. 19. 2. 1. 1. I. 3. 25. 4.} And as this Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire, resembles a Contract of Bargain and Sale; so it is govern'd almost by the same Rules of Law, as aforesaid: And where there is no Difference found, an Argument from one to the other is valid. But these Contracts differ in some Respects; because in a Contract of Bargain and Sale, a Price is principally requir'd: But in a Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire, the Fact itself is only principally concern'd. *Secondly*, Bargain is perpetual, and cannot be retracted: But Hiring and Letting to Hire, is for a Time only. *Thirdly*, In Bargain and Sale, the contingent Hazard belongs to the Buyer: But in Hiring and Letting to Hire, the Danger falls on the *Locator* ^{z. D. 19. 2. 9. 3. D. 19. 2. 15. 2.}; unless the contrary be agreed on, or unless the Person that hires be in Fault. *Fourthly*, In Bargain and Sale, the Property of the Thing sold passes to the Buyer: But it is otherwise in Hiring and Letting to Hire; for herein only the Use of the Thing passes for a Time, and the Property thereof is not transfer'd to the Hirer ^{a. D. 19. 2. 39.} *Lastly*, In Bargain and Sale, Caution or Warranty, touching Eviction, obtains: But in Letting to Hire it does not. And these are the principal Differences between these two Contracts.

There are three *Species* of *Location*, or Letting to Hire, and one differs from another. A *proper Location* is simple, and for a moderate Time only, ^{b. Conf. 46.} according to *Aretinus* ^{b.} There is another Kind for a considerable Length of Time, but yet determinate, as for Twenty Years, and the like: And this differs from a simple and perpetual *Location*, or from a Lease for Length of Time not determinate. There is another Kind of Demise, or *Location*, for a Length of Time indeterminate, as for Thirty Years, and to be renew'd always from Thirty Years to Thirty Years: And this differs from the former, and is more properly an *Emphyteusis* than a Demise. As a Lessee cannot exceed the Time for which the Thing is Let ^{c. C. 4. 65. 3.}: So he is not bound to restore the Thing hired before the End of the Term; unless he has failed to pay the Rent or Hire for Two whole Years together: In which Case he is bound to restore it sooner ^{d. D. 19. 2. 56.} *Secondly*, He is bound to give it up sooner, if the Landlord or Proprietor stands in great need of the Thing itself ^{e. C. 4. 65. 3.} *Thirdly*, If the Tenant or Lessee, has injur'd and impoverish'd the Estate ^{f. C. 4. 65. 3.} *And, Fourthly*, If the Owner or Proprietor has a Mind to repair or rebuild the House, &c. If a Lessee continues in Possession after the End of his Term or Lease, he is presumed to have a second Demise or Lease made him. Corporations or Bodies Politick, can only Demise or make Leases for a moderate Length of Time, as for Ten Years, and under, unless they use the Solemnities that are requir'd in an Alienation; because

a Lease for any considerable Length of Time, is a kind of Alienation. But this is otherwise, when a Community has made a Lease only for a particular Person's Life, for then such Lease is valid without those Solemnities; and shall not be revers'd by way of Restitution *in Integrum*, unless some Damage be proved. By the *Canon Law*, a Lease of Ecclesiastical Estates, beyond the Time permitted by Law, which is Three Years, is prohibited, and not valid. By the Law of *England*, Colleges, Deans and Chapters, &c. may grant Leases for Three Lives, or One and Twenty Years, and no longer g; and no concurrent Lease shall be valid, unless granted to commence within Three Years from the Expiration of the old Lease h. By the *Civil Law*, a Lease may be made to last during the Will and Pleasure of the Lessor, or to determine on the Death of the Lessor or Lessee i. If no Time be expressed in the Demise, in Country Estates they seem to be Let for a Year, and no longer; but in City Estates, till one or either of the Parties shall renounce the Contract k. But this Renunciation ought to be made with some Grains of Allowance, that the Tenant or Lessee may have the Use of the Thing, and not be obliged to quit the same on a sudden l.

Hiring and Letting to Hire are transitory Things, and therefore pass to the Heirs of the Lessor or Lessee during the Time of the Lease m: And the Lessee may Lease to an Under-Tenant, provided the Lease be made to a fit and proper Person, and to the Use of the first Lessee n. And not only the first Demise, but also the Under-Demise or Lease passes to Heirs and Successors. And therefore, as the first Lessor cannot oust his Tenant during the Time of the Demise o: So, for the same Reason, the second Lessee cannot be molested by the first, unless there be sufficient Cause. If a Lease be made, it stands good till it be revoked; yet Death is no Revocation thereof: But if it be made to continue during Pleasure, it expires by the Death of the Lessor or Lessee. As long as the Lessor remains Owner or Proprietor of the Estate, he may (notwithstanding such Demise or Lease made) transfer the Property of the Thing Let unto another p; and the Person to whom the Transfer is made, as he has not contracted with the Tenant or Lessee, is not obliged to observe the Terms of the Demise. But yet such Tenant or Lessee may convene the Lessor to make good his Interest in the said Demise, or else to pay him Damages q. The Lessee is liable to answer to the Lessor for such Persons as dwell with him in the same House, if it be through his Fault that evil Persons are let into the House demised r: And it is the same Thing, if such Persons are taken in through the Fault of his Servants. But the Lessor must prove a Fault to be in the Lessee. So that if a House be burnt by Fire, and the Lessor would have an Action of Damage against the Lessee, he must prove that the Fire happen'd thro' the Fault of the Tenant or Lessee s.

If a Person in one Lease, and in the same Contract, demises unto any one two Farms or two Houses, and the Tenant behaves himself ill in one of them, he may be turned out of them both, as if one was only let to him t. But the Abuse or Dilapidation ought to be remarkable, and not light, which is left to the Discretion of the Judge; and the Damage ought to respect the Property, and not Fruits; because the Tenant is Lord of the Fruits. But it is otherwise in a Vineyard: For if Vineyards are not pruned and dressed as they should be for a long Time, it is a great Damage to the Landlord. By a Lease or Demise made, the whole Right of receiving the Fruits by the Tenant, is transfer'd, and the Fruits thus received by him do, *Jure Domini*, belong to the Lessee, according to their proper Portion, and not to the Lessor. But sometimes an Estate is Let for the Landlord to receive one Part of the Fruits, and the Tenant the other: And such a Tenant is stiled *Colonus Partiaris*, as being obliged to pay the Landlord's

Part out of the Fruits which grow on the Estate held of him. And thus a Person may compel his Tenant, who is obliged every Year to render a certain Quantity of Corn, to render such Quantity out of the Fruits and Grain, which he collects and gathers from the Estate; which his Tenant holds of him as a Husbandman. Where a Monthly or Yearly Price is by Contract settled and agreed upon for the Fruits of an Estate, such Contract is (according to *Bartolus* ^a) called a Covenant of Letting to Hire: And ^b In L. 1. C. 4. 66. this is true, whether the Parties contracting have made use of the Words *Letting to Hire* or not, or any other Term of Sale; for Letting to Hire is a kind of Sale. As when it is said, That such a one has sold the Revenues or Profits of an Estate for such a Price, to be Yearly or Monthly paid him: Such a Contract, I say, shall be deemed a Contract of Letting to Hire; for the Nature of the Contract is more to be consider'd than the Words of it ^x. And in such a Contract, the Rent or Hire ought to be remitted, if ^c C. 4. 65. 21. a Misfortune happens, as in a Contract of Letting to Hire.

A Contract of Hiring and Letting to Hire, does, of its own Nature, carry an Obligation along with it on both Sides. For the Landlord or *Locator* is to see that his Tenant, or the Person who Rents a Thing, has the Use and Enjoyment of the Thing demised or granted to him, otherwise he shall be obliged to remit the Rent or Hire, and pay Damages: And especially when such a Tenant or Hirer has been hinder'd from using the Thing, by the Default of him who Demised or Let it. But when such Hinderance is not occasion'd by the Fault of the *Locator*, he shall only remit the Rent or Hire, without an Assessment of Damages. But of this again by and by. The Payment of Rent shall also be remitted unto a Tenant or *Conductor*, on Score of unusual Floods, and great Overflowings of Rivers, the Force of Enemies, and the like ^y; or if any Blight shall ^v C. 4. 65. 35. destroy or spoil the Fruits, or if the Fruits shall be scorched up by an unusual Heat of the Sun, or the Land shall be swallow'd up by an Earthquake, or the House shall perish by Fire, without the Fault of the Tenant, or the Person that hires it ^z; and lastly, on the Account of all Force which ² D. 19. 2. 15. cannot be resisted. In all these Cases, the Person who Hires or Rents a Thing, may have an Action *ex Condicto*, in order to have his Rent or Hire remitted to him. But this, I think, is otherwise according to the Common Law of *England*, unless the Court of *Chancery* thinks fit to relieve the Tenant: But the Landlord would do well to be merciful without Compulsion. On the Part of a Person who Rents or Hires a Thing, it is his Duty to preserve, maintain, and uphold the same, and he shall have necessary Expences allow'd him; and he ought likewise to use the same Care in keeping it well, as a vigilant and circumspect Man would do in preserving his own Estate or Goods ^a, but he is not bound to use the same Dili- ² D. 19. 2. 25. 3. gence as the most prudent and careful Man would do; unless he takes on himself the Risque of a fortuitous Case ^b; or unless he receives a Reward ^b Not in L. or Salary for the safe keeping thereof; or unless the Thing in its own ²⁸ C. 4. 65. Nature requires the exactest Diligence ^c. ² D. 19. 2. 25. 7.

An Action is granted to the *Locator*, or Person who Lets a Thing to Hire, whereby he may sue for the Rent or Hire promis'd him; and if the Person who Rents or Hires a House, does not pay the Rent, he may be ejected and turned out of the House: But all the Goods and Chattels brought into the House, are, by a tacit Implication of Law, engaged for the Payment of the Rent. If a Landlord Lets out a House or any Thing unto a Tenant, who again Lets out the House, &c. unto another Person, he may not only seize on the Goods of the first Tenant, but also on the Goods of the other, if the Landlord be not paid his Rent. But first of all, Execution ought to be levy'd on the Goods of the first Tenant, and if those Goods are not sufficient for the Payment of the Rent, he may then (accord-
ing

^d In L. 10. D. ing to *Bartolus* ^d) proceed against the Goods of the second Tenant: But this is to be understood for that Part only which the second Tenant Rents ^e.
^{39. 4. fin.}
^e D. 13. 7. 11. 5. Because, though the second Tenant be not personally engaged to the first Landlord, with whom he has made no Contract; yet the first Tenant is bound to him, and the Goods of the second Tenant are tacitly engaged for the Debt of the first Tenant, since all the Goods of the first Tenant are bound to the Landlord, unless the House had been Let to the second Tenant *Habitandi Gratiâ*; for then his Goods are not deemed to be tacitly engaged to the first Landlord, since no Rent is due ^f. But it is otherwise in a *Colonus* or Husbandman, who Rents an Estate in the Country. For Goods brought on an Estate in the Country are not tacitly engaged *ipso Jure*, unless the Owner of the Estate be privy to the bringing them thereon, and, by express Covenant consented thereunto ^g: But the Fruits which arise from such an Estate unto the Husbandman, are tacitly engaged to the Owner of the Estate for Rent unpaid ^h. And this is the Difference between a *Colonus* and an *Inquilinus*, as the Law styles them. For Goods brought into a House hired by the latter, are bound as a Pledge for the Rent, though they are not brought in by the Consent and Privy of the Landlord: But in respect of the former, only the Fruits growing on the Soil are liable.

Every Person who succeeds to an Estate by the Decree of the Judge, or by the Testator's Will, &c. is obliged to abide by a Demise or Grant made by him who was the Proprietor of that Estate, because such a Transfer or Conveyance of the Estate is made *ex Necessitate*, and in such a Case a Successor is always bound to retain his Tenant, unless such Estate demised to the Exchequer by way of Confiscation or Forfeiture: For the Exchequer is not obliged to retain a Tenant, or stand to a Demise that is made by him whose Estate or Goods are confiscated ⁱ. It has been said, that a Purchaser is not bound to abide by the Demise made by the Seller in any Thing which he has bought ^k: But there is one Case wherein he is obliged to stand to such Demise, *viz.* if in the Contract of the Demise there be a Covenant inserted, That *the Thing hired may not be alienated to another, and if any Alienation be made contrary hereunto, it shall be null and void*: For then the Property cannot be transferred to another in Prejudice of a third Person.

I have already observed, That a Landlord may turn his Tenant out of the House which he Rents, if he has a Mind to inhabit the same himself, and has no other House to dwell in: But then the Landlord must pay his Tenant all Damages which he sustains by sudden Removal or Ejection ^l. But if the Landlord be so far pressed with Necessity, that he is compelled to repossess himself of his own House which he has demised to another, he shall not be obliged to pay the full Damage: For a Person that does an Act out of meer Necessity shall find Relief ^m. When a Tenant is turned out of his House for the proper Use of his Landlord, as when either the Landlord or his Son shall marry a Wife, or his Parents want a Dwelling, he ought to remit the Rent *pro Ratâ Temporis*. Letting to Hire is properly said to be, when the Rent or Pension for the Thing hired or Let to Hire is paid in Money ⁿ: For if the Hire or *Merces* be paid in any *Species*, it becomes an *Innominate* Contract. But though, by the *Civil* Law, the *Merces* or Hire chiefly consists in *Pecuniis Numeratis*, (for it may depend on another Thing,) yet with us here in *England* it may consist in Corn and other Things of this Kind, and sometimes even in Fealty alone ^o. But when we Let Lands for Lands, it is called *Exchange*.

Not only Things Moveable, as Horses, Oxen, Sheep, &c. are the Object of Hiring and Letting to Hire; but even Immoveables, as Lands and Houses ^p: And Things incorporeal may also be Let to Hire, as an Ushu-
^{fin.} fruct,

fruct, the Right of Pasture, and the like. But then these incorporeal Things, by our Law, cannot be Demised or Let without Writing ^{q.} If ^{9 23 Hen. 6. c. 10.} a Person hires a House in the Time of a War, or Pestilence raging in that Place, he cannot afterwards alledge a fortuitous Case of War or Pestilence: For a Promise which a Person makes touching the Payment of a Rent or Pension, ought to be understood according to the State of the Time, which was at the Time when the Person enter'd upon the Demise ^r; and a Re- ^{r Bald. in L. 17. c. 4. 32.} mission or Abatement of Rent ought not to be made upon the Account of a War, which was at the Time of the Contract made ^{s.}

As Hiring and Letting to Hire, is a Contract founded upon Consent ^t; ^{t 12. D. 19. 2. 1.} so this Consent may either be express'd by Words or Signs, and may also be by a tacit Implication of Law; as when a Person carries in a House after the Term of the Lease is expired ^{u.} But this Consent ought to center ^{u D. 19. 2. 13. fin. & l. 14.} in the Thing let and to be enjoy'd; and also to be touching a certain Rent or Hire, which is sometimes call'd a Price ^{x.} But if there be no Price or Hire agreed on between the Parties contracting, the same may be rightly ^{x D. 19. 2. 56. pr.} referr'd to the Discretion of a third Person, and not left to the Will of either of the Contractors: Wherefore, if a Person shall deliver Cloaths to a Taylor to be mended, or to a Scourer to be cleansed, and shall not immediately agree on the Price for the Work done, it shall be left to the Arbitration of a third Person. But this is not properly stiled Hiring and Letting to Hire; but an Action *Præscriptis Verbis* lies ^y. Too great an Inequality ^{y l. 3. 25. pr.} in respect of the Hire or Rent, and if either of the Parties are deceived in more than the just Price, do vitiate this Contract ^{z.} If a Person shall sell ^{z D. D. in L. 2. c. 4. 44.} the Revenues of an Estate for several Years *sub uno Pretio*, it will not be a true Contract of Bargain and Sale, being executed under such a Form; and consequently, the Risque of the Thing shall belong to the Buyer, nor shall a Remission of the Price be made on the score of Sterility; because he purchases the Hope of receiving the Profits of the Estate; which Hope succeeds in the Place of the Thing, and is not diminish'd though all the Fruits perish. But it shall be adjudged Letting to Hire, if a Person shall sell the Revenues of an Estate *sub uno Pretio*, to be paid at different Seasons; because such Payments thus divided, do render it a Contract of Letting to Hire: And this is true, when those Payments are uniform; but is otherwise if they are dissimilar.

There are two Sorts of Actions *Bonæ Fidei* ^a, which attend this Contract ^{a D. 19. 2. 54.} of Hiring and Letting to Hire; and they each of them pass to the Heir ^b, ^{b D. 19. 2. 19. 8.} but neither of them to a particular Successor ^c. The first is an Action ^{c D. 19. 2. 11.} *ex Locato*, which is given to the Person who lets a Thing to Hire, by Virtue whereof he may sue to have the Thing restored him after the ^d Term of Letting to Hire is expired ^d: And if the Thing be destroy'd, and the like, he shall also recover the Value of it ^e; and thus if the Thing ^{e C. 4. 65. 29.} hired shall perish by the Fault or Fraud of the Hirer, it shall be made good by this Action ^f. Secondly, This Action will compel the Hirer to pay the ^{f D. 19. 1. 15. 1. D. 19. 1. 9 & 10.} Hire or Rent due unto the proper Person, together with Use or Interest, after a Demise contracted ^g: But, I think, Interest is not due by Right of ^{g C. 4. 65. 17.} Action, but by Virtue of the Judge's Office. Thirdly, The Person who lets a Thing to Hire, may, by this Action, recover Damages, if the Person who hires or rents it quits the same before the Determination of the Term without just Cause ^h. The Oath *in Litem* may be given against a Person ^{h D. 19. 2. 14. D. 19. 2. 55. 2. D. 19. 2. 48.} not restoring the Thing hired ⁱ. An Action *ex Conducto* is given to the Person, who hires any Thing, almost upon the same Account: *viz.* If the Person, who lets a Thing to Hire, will not suffer the Person who has hired it to make Use thereof, either because the Possession of the whole Field, or any Part of it, is not given to the Lessee or Tenant, or the House be not repair'd, &c. In this Case the Lessee or Tenant shall have

^kD. 19. 2. 15
& 27. this Action for an Abatement or Remission of Rent ^k. But herein we ought to consider, whether the Tenant or *Conductor* has been hinder'd to use the Thing letten by any Impediment of the Lessor, or of any other Person: Because, in the first Case, the Lessor or *Locator* shall be liable *ad Interesse*, viz. to make good the Damage which the Lessee has sustained, by not having the Use thereof. But, in the other Case, if any third Person hinders the Tenant or *Conductor*, we ought again to consider whether the *Locator* might have prevented such Opposition given to the *Conductor*; and then, again, he is liable, *quatenus Interest*, if he has not forbidden such Opposition: But if he could not prohibit the same, then only a rateable Abatement of Rent shall ensue. The Tenant ought also to have an Abatement or Remitter of Rent made him, upon the Account of Sterility, or a very bad Crop ^l. But he who alleges the Sterility, ought to prove the same. ¹D. 19. 2. 9. 1.
²D. 19. 2. 15.
² & 7. And Sterility, or a Badness of Crop, may be prov'd by common Fame and Opinion; and it is proved, when a Person receives no more from the Fruits of an Estate, than the Expences which he has been at will amount unto. Sterility is also said to be, when the Tenant does not receive a Moiety of that which he was wont to receive, and also when he does not receive a Moiety of the Rent or Pension to be paid. The *Conductor* may also have this Action against the *Locator*, if he has either knowingly or ignorantly let unto him a vicious Servant, and the like, or bad Vessels to put Goods in ^m. ^mD. 19. 2. 19. 1.

A Taylor, Fuller, and other Artificers, who let out their Work for the sake of making a Gain thereby, are liable to make good all Damage for the Goods which they have received; and the Unskilfulness of an Artificer is reckon'd a Fault in him ⁿ. And such Persons shall not only be answerable for all Fraud and the Safe-keeping of the Things deliver'd to them, but also, sometimes, for the smallest Fault, according to the Circumstances of the Affair and Pacts made with them ^o, but not according to the Nature of the Contract. ⁿD. 19. 2. 13. 5.
^oD. 19. 2. 5¹. 1.
^oD. 19. 2. 40
& 41.



T I T. VIII.

Of Partnership, how distinguished into universal and particular Partnership. Of the Parts of Profits and Loss, equal and unequal, &c. how it expires either by Death, Renunciation, or when the Business for which it was enter'd into is determin'd, &c.

^pD. 1. 1. 3.
^qLib. 1. c. 16.
Lib. 3. c. 12. THE *Third* Kind of Contract, which is perfected by Consent alone, is, what we call *Society* or *Partnership*: And this, in the general Sense of it, is twofold; viz. *Publick* and *Private*. Nature itself has establish'd the first among all Men; it being nothing else but that natural Alliance and Relation which all Men have with each other in publick Conversation ^p; and *Cicero* has given us a full Account of it in his *Offices* ^q, under the Name of *Publick Society*; for which Reason I shall not treat of it in this Place. *Private Society*, or what we more strictly call *Partnership*, is that which Civil Authority has introduced among Men, by a formal Kind of Contract, in Imitation of *Publick Society* or *Partnership* introduced

introduced by the Law of Nature : And of this I shall here discourse at large.

Now this Kind of Partnership, in our Books ^r called *Societas*, is a ^r I. 3. 26. *Nominal Contract bonæ fidei* invented by the Law of Nations, whereby (on the Consent of two or more Persons) Goods and Labour are put in Common, that each of the Parties contracting should share in the Gain and Losses thereof ^s : I say, *by the Consent of two or more* ; because it is absurd, ^s D. 17. 2. 29. and contrary to the Nature of this Contract, that one Person alone should ^{& 67.} contract Partnership. This Kind of Society ought to be built upon Honesty and upright Dealing, and not upon Fraud and Iniquity ^t ; for, among ^t D. 17. 2. 57. Knaves and Rascals, there can be no such Thing as true Partnership ^{u.} ^{u.} D. 17. 2. 53. Wherefore, if two Persons should agree to enter into Partnership, upon ^{& 54.} a dishonest or forbidden Account, as Theft, or such-like Misdemeanor, it is not call'd Partnership ^x, but a Confederacy or Combination of Wick- ^x D. 46. 1. 70. edness. The Object of Partnership, is Trade and Commerce among Men ; under which I also include Labour, (as I shall observe hereafter) : For Partnership extends to all Things lawful and honest which may happen in Commerce ^{y.} In Partnership, the Stocks or Labour ought to be in ^y D. 17. 2. 63. Common, in respect of each Person concern'd therein : For if you neither ^{fin.} contribute Money nor Labour to the Partnership, it will be rather deemed a *Donation* than a *Partnership* ^{z.} Thus, either Goods on both Sides may ^z D. 17. 2. 5. 2 be brought into Partnership ; or else Goods on one Side, and on the ^{& 1. 37.} other Labour and Service ^a ; or Labour and Service on both Sides : For, ^a D. 17. 2. 29. between two or more Artificers there may be a Partnership, and their Gains may be in Common ^{b.} ^b D. 17. 2. 71.

Partnership, as here discoursed of, is twofold, *viz. universal*, and *particular*. The first, which the *Greeks*, by a particular Name, call *Koinonía*, extends itself to all the Partners Goods ^c, (which is always understood to ^c D. 17. 2. 1. 1. be contracted, unless particular Partnership be agreed on ^d) : And the ^d D. 17. 2. 7 other has only relation to some particular Goods in Trade and Commerce ^e ; ^{& 8.} as, in buying and selling Slaves, Horses, Sheep, and the like. There are ^e D. 17. 2. 5. (as just now hinted) two *Species* of this Contract distinguish'd according to the respective Shares which the Parties contract for. The first we may stile a *definite*, and the other an *indefinite* Partnership. Again : If the Shares are *definite*, it may be either stiled a *general* or a *particular* Partnership. The first is, of all the Goods a Man is possess'd of ; and herein we include Lands, and such-like Possessions : And the second is, of the Commodity alone ; as Wine, Oil, &c. There may be one Kind of Partnership in respect to Things publick ; as touching Customs, Taxes, and the like : and another, touching Things of a private Nature ; as Corn, Wooll, Leather, &c. This Contract had its Original either, *1st*, from the Smallness of the Stock of particular Persons ; or, *2^{dly}*, from Covetousness, where there was a Design of engrossing and monopolizing of Commodities ; or, *3^{dly}*, from the Nature of the Undertaking itself, which requir'd the Assistance of many, for the more convenient carrying on of Commerce, and for enlarging the Gain of it, as it happens in Companies. In a general Partnership, *Omnium Bonorum*, all Things belonging to the Parties contracting do immediately, upon entering thereinto, become in Common, as *tacitly* deliver'd ; unless it be a Man's Debts and Credits ^{f.} ^f D. 17. 2. 2. For when this general Partnership is entred into, all Legacies, Gifts, and ^{& 3.} Heirships are then in Common among such Partners ; and so likewise is that which is acquir'd by any other Title whatsoever ^{g.} ^g D. 17. 2. 3.

The Law of *England* is chiefly concern'd in such Partnership, where Persons hold Lands and other Estates jointly. And these Persons, our Lawyers stile either Co-partners, Joint-partners, or Tenants in Common ^{h.} The first are ^h Littl. lib. such either by Law or Custom. By Law, two or more Women of the same ^{c. 2, 3 & 4.} Degree,

Degree; do, through a Defect of Male Heirs, succeed equally to the Estate of their Ancestors; or even the Children of two Women, to whom the Lands, not formerly divided by the Mothers, descend. And those are Partners by Custom, who, according to the Custom of divers Provinces, which the old Lawyers call'd *Gavelkind*, do equally succeed unto the Estates of their Ancestors, whether they are Brothers or (in Defect of such) Sisters, Nieces, and the like Joint-tenants, are said to be such, either properly or improperly. Those are properly said to be so, who possess a Fee, a Freehold, or any Chattel, real or jointly, by Virtue of the same Title: And those are improperly said to be such, who are thus in Possession of any personal Chattel. Tenants in Common, are those that jointly possess the same Thing, as Lands or Tenements, or even Chattels real or personal, but by different Titles ⁱ. For if one of the Partners shall give or sell his Right unto a Stranger; he, and the rest, how many soever there be, are call'd Tenants in Common, but the rest retain the ancient Appellation among themselves.

ⁱ Littl. illb. 3.
c. 4.

Partnership may either be perpetual, *viz.* for the Life-time of the Partners ^k; (for there is no entering into eternal Partnership ^l); or else it may be for a Time only; or, *thirdly*, it may be under the Limitation of a Condition ^m. If no express Covenant be made touching the respective Parts or Shares of Profit and Loss, the Parties are adjudged to go Share and Share alike in all Profit and Loss ⁿ: But if the respective Shares herein are expressly agreed on, then such Agreement ought to be observed ^o. Nor can it be doubted but that such a Covenant (as this) is valid. Yet ^p *Portius* on the *Institutes* ^p thinks, that where the respective Shares are not express'd, a *Geometrical* Proportion ought to be follow'd, according to the Principal and Labour which each Person contributes thereunto; otherwise (says he) there would be a real Inequality ^q. But the Law seems to be plain against him, saying, That where the Shares are not expressed, they shall be equal in respect of Profit and Loss, though they contributed unequally ^r. If one Share be expressed in respect of the Gain, the same Proportion shall be observ'd in respect of the Loss ^s. It cannot be disputed but that such a Convention or Agreement as this is valid; *viz.* That two Parts in three of the Profit and Loss shall belong to one, and a third Part thereof to the other Party, when it is thus stipulated and agreed on between the two Persons ^t. But suppose that *Titius* and *Seius* shall make such Agreement as this between themselves, *viz.* That two Parts of the Gain shall belong to *Titius*, and a third Part of the Loss; and that two Parts of the Loss shall accrue to *Seius*, and only a third Part of the Gain: *Quere*, Whether such a Covenant would be valid? *Quint. Mutius* thought, that such an Agreement was against the Nature of Partnership; because Partnership has a Kind of Brotherhood, and therefore a Right of Equality ^u. But *Servius Sulpitius*, whose Opinion prevailed, thought otherwise; because the Labour of some Persons is often so valuable in Partnership, that their Condition may be better in Partnership, than if they had contributed Money. For a *Geometrical* and not an *Arithmetical* Proportion is observed in Partnership ^x. For it is not to be denied but that it may be thus agreed on in Partnership, *viz.* That one should contribute Money, and the other not, (for he may contribute his Labour); and yet the Gain shall be Common between them ^y; because oftentimes the Labour of one Man is of equal Value to the Money of another ^z. And therefore, it obtained against the Opinion of *Quint. Mutius*, that such a Covenant may subsist, *viz.* That one should have a Share of the Profit, and yet not be obliged to stand to any Loss ^a. But this ought to be understood with some Limitation: As when there is Gain in one Thing, and Loss in another, upon Compensation made; that

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is to say, upon a Reckoning had on both Sides. That is only said to be Gain, which remains after the Labour and Money laid out is deducted ^b.

^b I. 3. 26. 2. fin.

Partnership may be contracted several Ways: For here I adapt my Discourse to the more general Division of Partnership, according to the *Civil Law*; and consider it as it is either *expressly* or *tacitly* contracted. Partnership is said to be *expressly* contracted and enter'd into, when two or more Persons do advisedly, in express Terms, covenant and agree about the Joint Stock or Community of their Goods ^c: And this is made four several ^c D. 17. 2. 4. Ways, *viz.* *First*, By a Joint Stock of all their Goods, which *ipso Jure* includes all Things Corporeal, in respect of the Property and Possession thereof. *Secondly*, It includes Inheritances, as well as Legacies and Gifts made on the Prospect of Death: But Debts and Rights are not *ipso Jure* included therein, (as before noted;) but one Person must assign his Action over unto the other. Nor are those Things herein comprized, which accrue to a Man upon forbidden Considerations, as on the Score of Theft, Male-feazance ^d, &c. For Partnership in Offences carries a flagitious Tur- ^d D. 17. 2. 25. pitude along with it. Again, *Express* Partnership may be contracted *simply*, ^e 53. without any Mention made at all of the Goods: And then only such Things are comprehended as are acquir'd *ex Quæstu*, *viz.* by a Man's own personal Work and Industry: As when any Gain or Lucre arises by Buying and Letting to Hire. But Inheritances, Legacies, and Gifts *Mortis Causâ*, are not contain'd under this Kind of *express* Partnership; because these Things do not happen *ex Quæstu*, but by Reason of some Merit, or on the Score of good Fortune. *Thirdly*, *Express* Partnership is contracted on the Account of some one particular Branch of Traffick. And, *Fourthly*, It is contracted in dealing for one Thing only; as in the buying of a House, or any other individual Thing; and then Partnership is not extended beyond that particular Thing. Partnership is contracted *tacitly* by tacit Consent, when the Parties bring their Stock and Substance into Common, without any express Agreement: And such Partnership may be inferr'd from such Acts as are suitable to the Nature of Partnership itself: As when two Persons dwell together, and do in Common share in Profit and Loss: But then such Persons must be such as are qualify'd to contract; and then (according to *Roland à Valle* ^e, they are said to be Partners both *actively* ^f Conf. 91. N. and *passively*. Thus again, when two Brothers, of full Age, shall become ²⁷. Traders by a Joint Stock, they do, in that Affair wherein their Stock is in Common, seem to have contracted a *tacit* Partnership: But it is otherwise, if they are called to their Father's Inheritance in Common. And thus *express* and *tacit* Partnership differ from each other; because the first is made by Instruments in Writing, but the other may be effected by bare Acts of Partnership.

Two Merchants did each of them contract a mutual Partnership, and hereupon they caused Letters or Instruments of Partnership to be made; wherein it was declar'd, That whatever Profit should happen, it should be equally divided between them, and therein no mention is made of any Loss. And upon a Doubt in this Case, it was resolved, That the same Regard should be had in point of Loss, as is express'd in point of Profit ^f: ^f I. 3. 26. 3. And so *vice versâ*; because *eadem est Ratio Contrariorum* ^g. And so these ^g D. 32. 1. 103. two Partners were to bear equal Parts as well in point of Loss as in point ³. D. 10. 2. 20. of Profit. For, if nothing be specify'd to the contrary, they are both to ⁵. have equal Parts of Loss and Gain, in Proportion to the Goods which they brought into the Stock: But, by a particular Covenant, one may have *two* Parts, and the other a *third*, as already related. If it be agreed, that one shall have all the Gain, and the other shall bear the Losses, it cannot be deemed Partnership ^h. For that would be such another Partnership as was ^h D. 17. 2. 29 2.

made by the Lion in the Fable, and to which the Ancients often alluded upon this Occasion. If one is to suffer such a Part of the Loss, he is to have his Share of the Gain of Course, though not express'd, according to the Nature of Partnership; and if one is to have such a Part of the Gain, he is, by a Parity of Reason, to undergo Losses proportionably i. If two Persons purchase an Estate in Common, and both are let into Possession of it, they hereby seem to have contracted Partnership, not only in respect of the Estate itself, but also in regard of supporting the Incumbrances laid upon such Estate; and all Payments and Pensions made by one of them may be recover'd from the other by an Action of Partnership k.

The Profits and Advantages arising from Partnership pass to the Heir, though it be such a Partnership as does not pass to the Heir l. As when Titius and Caius, as Partners, buy Salt together, and before they come to make a Dividend of the Profits Titius dies: In this case his Heir shall come in for a Share of the Profits. In Partnership, it matters not whether a Partner dies Testate or Intestate, because his Heir is obliged to observe all Covenants and Agreements m: For a personal Obligation follows every Heir or Executor, as our English Lawyers call him. If a Partner acquires any Thing on the Score of Partnership, by virtue of Money of the Common Stock, such Purchase or Acquisition is absolutely made on the Account of Partnership, and must come into the Joint Stock. And 'tis also the same Thing if he purchases it with his own Money on the Common or Joint Account; but then he shall only recover his Money of his Partner, if it be a great Sum; but if it be a small one, it is presumed to be a Gift between two Brothers that are Partners n. If a Partner, in a doubtful Case, makes a Purchase, he is presum'd to have done it on his own Account, and not on the Score of Partnership; and out of his own Money, and not of the Joint Stock: But this only holds good in respect of particular, and not universal Partnership. Partnership, enter'd into on the Account of any certain particular Business or Commerce, is of that Nature, that whatever a Partner acquires foreign to that Trade or Employment, is to his own Profit and Gain, and does not come into Partnership o. And as Profit and Gain out of particular Partnership does not come into Stock, but only belongs to the Person who makes it: So, in the like manner, do all Losses and Damages. Therefore, if such Partner has a Daughter to endow, he ought, without doubt, to do it out of his own Substance.

It has been said, That tacit Partnership is proved or presum'd from Facts or Things themselves: And therefore, if such Facts do not appear, as do necessarily infer Partnership, it is not presum'd. And herein the Act of both the Partners is requir'd: For it is not sufficient that one alone has acted, but both of them ought to have acted as Partners. Now the Communication of Profit and Gain is a necessary Inference of Partnership; and likewise a Participation of Loss and Damage, and other promiscuous Acts of Commerce. Thus a Payment made by one Partner, in the Name and Behoof of Partnership, is a tacit Proof of Partnership. Again, Partnership is inferr'd, if two Persons live together, and trade thus, and have their real and personal Estates in Common. In Partnership, one Person may find Money for the Common Cause or Stock, and another may do the Work or Business p; and if they do so, it is a sufficient Proof of Partnership.

Partnership is dissolved either by the Natural q or Civil Death of one of the Partners. I say by the Civil Death of one of the Partners, because this is dissolved by the *Maxima* and *Media Capitis Diminutio* r, but not by that which is stiled the *Minima* s. For Partnership cannot be contracted or made to descend to a Man's Heirs, even though it should be thus stipulated by the Articles of Agreement t, lest a Person should be compelled to enter into Partnership against his Will and Consent u. But this, I think, admits

ⁱ l. 3. 26. 3.

^k C. 4. 37. 2.

^l C. 4. 37. 3.

^m C. 4. 37. 4.

ⁿ Bald. Conf. lib. 5.

^o Rom. Conf. 168.

^p C. 4. 37. 1.

^q D. 17. 2. 65. 9.

^r D. 17. 2. 4.

^s D. 17. 2. 58. 2.

^t D. 17. 2. 59.

^u D. 17. 2. 56. 9.

admits of a Limitation. For in Partnership relating to Customs and Imposts of Goods, the Partnership remains with the Heirs even after the Death of the Partner: And the Importance of the Affair requires this, lest the State, by Farming out the Customs, should suffer hereby ^x. Again, Partnership is ended not only by mutual Dissent, which is common unto all ¹⁵. other Contracts that are founded on Consent ^y, but may also be dissolved by a Renunciation of one of the Partners ^z, whether such Renunciation be ² *tacit* or *express* ^a; nay, though it was first agreed that such Partnership should be perpetual. For, though in other Contracts one Person cannot recede from the Contract against the Will of the other ^b, yet it is otherwise here, lest Persons should be retain'd in Communion or Partnership against their Will, which would create much Discord and Mischief ^c. But a Person cannot renounce his Partnership at an unseasonable Time ^d, as when Danger threatens: Nor ought he to do it with a knavish or cunning Design, in order to obtain solely unto himself some Gain that offers or promises itself; for, in this Case, he does not disengage himself from his Partners, but disengages his Partners from himself. And therefore, he shall be obliged to communicate unto them the Profit received, and shall also share of the Loss, but shall not come in for his Share of the Profit which the others make ^e. An *express* Renunciation must be made in direct Terms in the Presence of the Parties: But a *tacit* Renunciation happens, when one of the Parties begins to trade apart by himself. If this Renunciation be fraudulently made, in order to buy a scarce Commodity alone, &c. on private Notice of some Advantage thereby, it ought not to be accepted, unless it be to the Prejudice of him that thus renounces ^f. So if a Renunciation be made by one when absent, the Profit that is made shall be put in common, till the rest of the Partners are made acquainted with it: But if he has suffer'd any Loss, he shall bear it himself ^g. *Thirdly*, Partnership ceases by an Accomplishment of the Business for which such Partnership was undertaken and enter'd into ^h; as for buying and selling of Slaves, and the like; or by the Determination of that Time for which it was agreed to trade in ⁱ. *Fourthly*, Partnership is dissolved by a *Cessio Bonorum*, viz. when one of the Partners delivers up all his Estate unto his Creditors for the Payment of Debts ^k, since then he has no Goods to put in Partnership; And this is what we mean, when we say that Partnership is dissolved by Poverty. But in this Case of *Cession*, if they still continue their Agreement in Partnership, a new Act of Partnership seems to begin thereby ^l. And, *lastly*, Partnership is at an end, by excluding one that is seized with Madness, whose Curator has Power to renounce in his Behalf ^m. Upon a Dissolution of Partnership, *Security* ought to be given on both Sides, to bear a Part in future Losses, and to divide all future Profits ⁿ. I have before observed, that the Heir is not obliged to continue private Partnership, though there was an express Agreement for it by the Testator or Intestate: Yet the Heir is obliged to settle Accounts with the Partnership; for he must share in the Profits and Losses of this Affair unaccounted for ^o. And if the surviving Partners undertake any new Adventure, (not knowing of the Death of their Partner,) the Heir shall take the Profits and Losses, according to his Share: But if his Death was known, the Society is dissolved.

From this Contract there arises an Action *pro Socio*, which accrues, for the most part, after the Partnership is ended ^p, unless it be in publick Partnership of Imposts and Customs: In which Case this Action has Place, even whilst the Partnership is existing. Therefore it is not expedient for either Party to recede from their Partnership on the Account of a Diversity of Contracts. This Action is also brought, and made use of in order to ascertain a Proportion of the Gain and Loss sustain'd in Matters of Commerce,

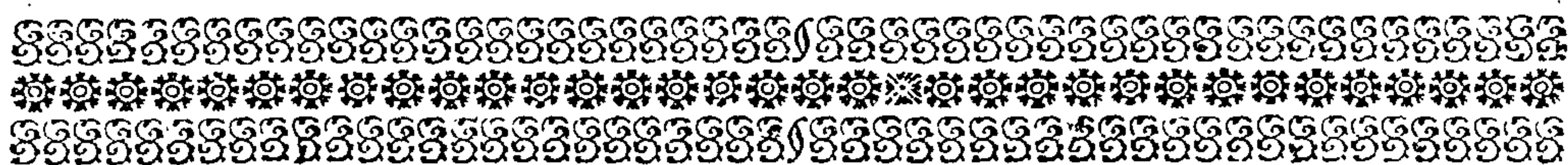
merce, according to the aforesaid Distinction, viz. That if there be a Partnership of all their Goods, then there ought to be a Contribution or Joint Stock of all their Effects: And the Imposts on the same ought to be paid according to an Average in respect of their Shares: But it is otherwise if their whole Stock be not bound. This Action is also given to a Partner and his Heirs, against a Partner and his Heirs ^q, and is a *direct* Action on both Sides ^r, that is to say, such an Action as is given both by Law and the *Prætor*: But this I shall explain more at large in another Place, under the Title *Of Actions*, in the Second Volume of this Work.

Partnership, in Matters of Commerce, is stiled a *Conventional Society*, because it has its Existence from the Convention and Agreement of the Parties, by Means of some Treaty had thereupon: And it differs from the *Communio Bonorum*; for that does not necessarily suppose the Contract of *Society* or Partnership ^s, because it may happen in *Fact* only, without Consent or Agreement; as when an Estate descends among *Cob heirs*, in the *English* Law called *Co-Parceners*. But here it meerly relates to Trade, and the like. And therefore, if a Partner has converted any of the Common Stock of Money unto his Use ^t, or has received a larger Dividend of the Profits than belongs to him ^u, the aforesaid Action will lie against him. Again, on the other hand, he may have this Action against his Partner, if he has sustain'd any Damage, on the Account of Partnership, from Highway-men, and the like, in going to Market ^x, or has laid out any Money on the Common Stock, or has improved the same ^y. And this Action lies for each Partner against each or all of them, since the Cause and Condition of each and all is equal ^z. And by this Action they may recover against an Heir, if the Testator has been guilty of any Fraud or Negligence in his Administration ^a. For all Damage done unto Partnership by the Fraud and Negligence of one of the Partners, ought to be made good by such Person unto the Society, or else by his Heirs: But yet it is sufficient for a Partner to apply the same Diligence in Partnership as he would do in his own separate Concerns ^b.

This Contract requires such Persons to be concerned therein as are qualify'd to oblige themselves; otherwise Partnership enter'd into with any one that is not thus capable, is not valid, though a Pupil may implead a Person in an Action *for Business done*, according to *Baldus* ^{*}. And a Pupil, without the Authority of his Guardian, cannot make a Contract of Partnership, which shall bind him, as *Alexander* observes [†]. The Nature of Partnership is, that it should be free from all Deceit and Guile, and be void of every Offence, Trespafs, or Crime. Equality ought also to be so far observed therein, that if a Person has promis'd his Pains and Labour by way of Capital, or has been at any Expence; he ought to come in for an equal Share with him who has laid down the Capital, after Expences are deducted and satisfy'd, unless it be otherwise covenanted. For Example, *Titius* becomes a Partner with *Sempronius* in Trade, and in the Place of Capital promises his Labour and Pains. *Sempronius* lays down the whole Capital. *Titius* is at some Expence in the Management. In this Case *Titius* shall have his Charges first allowed, and then come in for a Share of the Profit, as agreed on. But of this before. A Disparity of Partnership may be valid *Jure Pacti*, which is not valid by Right of Partnership, as in the Case of Unequal Gain and Loss.

^{*} Conf. 235. lib. 4.

[†] Conf. 49. lib. 1.



T I T. IX.

Of an Emphyteusis, or a Contract whereby Lands and Houses are given to be possessed for ever, on Condition that the Lands shall be improved, and a yearly Quit-rent be paid to the Proprietor: How distinguished from Hiring and Letting to Hire, &c.

AN *Emphyteusis*, or what our *English* Lawyers call a *Fee-farm*, is a Contract *Bonæ Fidei* founded upon Consent and the Law of Nations, whereby the Proprietor of a real or predial Estate grants the Use and Profits thereof unto another, either for Ever, or else for a considerable Length of Time, upon Condition that the Tenant or *Emphyteuta* pays a certain yearly Pension or Quit-rent, by way of acknowledging the *direct* Property to be still vested in the Lord or Proprietor of the Soil ^c; ^c I. 3. 25. 3. which Quit-rent or Pension is commonly in *Latin* termed a *Canon*, and sometimes call'd *Vestigal* ^d. Hence it is, that he who delivers unto *Caius* ^a D. 6. 3. 1. a predial Estate, sometimes call'd *Ager Vestigalis*, for twenty Years, for ^e C. 4. 66. 1. Example-take, with an *Onus* or Rent-charge of an hundred Pounds to be paid him, by way of Acknowledgment that he has the *direct* Property in it, may be said to have contracted an *Emphyteusis*. These Estates were first of all such as were barren Lands, and only granted unto the Tenant for manuring and improving the same, as it is now practised in the *West-India* Plantations: But in Process of Time rich and fertile Lands were granted in *Emphyteusin*, and even Houses themselves, on the Bottom of this Tenure ^e. And it is observable, that not only secular but even eccle- ^c D. 39. 2. 15. ^f 26. Nov. 120. ^g C. 1. ^h Nov. 55. c. 2. ⁱ Nov. 120. c. 1. ^j §. 2. ^k C. 4. 66. 1. ^l Arg. C. 2. 3. 20. ^m D. 6. 3. 1. ⁿ D. 43. 8. 2. ^o D. 13. 7. 31. ^p C. 11. 61. ^q C. 4. 66. 1. ^r I. 3. 25. 3. ^s C. 4. 66. 1. ^t I. 3. 25. 3. ^u C. 4. 66. 1. ^v I. 3. 25. 3. ^w C. 4. 66. 1. ^x I. 3. 25. 3. ^y C. 4. 66. 1. ^z I. 3. 25. 3. ^{aa} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{ab} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ac} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{ad} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ae} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{af} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ag} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{ah} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ai} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{aj} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ak} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{al} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{am} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{an} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ao} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{ap} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{aq} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{ar} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{as} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{at} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{au} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{av} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{aw} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{ax} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ay} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{az} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{ba} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bb} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{bc} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bd} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{be} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bf} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{bg} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bh} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{bi} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bj} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{bk} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bl} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{bm} C. 4. 66. 1. ^{bn} I. 3. 25. 3. ^{bo} 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this unto the Lord, and also the Price that others bid him : And hereupon the Lord, if he has a mind to purchase it, shall have the *Jus Protomesias*, or the Right of being the first Purchaser ; provided he declares his Mind within two Months ^q. For the *Jus Protomesias* was a Right and Privilege of being preferr'd unto any other Purchaser. An *Emphyteuta*, who has sold the Estate without asking the Lord's Leave for so doing, and has deliver'd the same, shall be deprived thereof : But it is otherwise, if he has not deliver'd it. Nor, consequently, shall an *Emphyteuta* be deprived thereof, who has only expos'd the Estate to Sale. An *Emphyteuta* cannot quit or renounce the Estate contrary to the Will of the Proprietor, in order to discharge himself from the Incumbrance : But such a Person has the Liberty to surrender or alienate the Estate unto the Proprietor himself, without the Assent of any other.

As the *Emphyteuta* receives the entire Profits of the Estate, it is but Equity that he should also sustain all Incumbrances incident or inherent thereunto. Hence also it is, that he is obliged to pay the yearly Taxes due to the Exchequer, and such-like Prestations ^r. Hence also it is, that though the Loss of the whole Estate belongs to the Lord ; yet a particular Damage appertains and falls to the Tenant to bear, even though some Calamity should swallow up the greater Part of the Estate ^s. For the same Reason it is, that he cannot sue for an Abatement or Remission of Quit-rent, on the Account of any Sterility, or Incurfion of Enemies ; though it be otherwise, where a Person is only a *Conductor* ^t. For the *Canon* or Quit-rent is not paid according to the Measure of the Fruits which are wont to be received from the Estate, as in Hiring and Letting to Hire, but only by way of Acknowledgment ^u. But if an *Emphyteuta*, by reason of a War, has not been able to receive any Profits from the Estate which he holds by this Tenure of an *Emphyteusis* under a yearly Quit-rent, he shall not be liable to any such Quit-rent, provided the same be of any considerable Value in Money, &c. But it is otherwise, if it consists only of a small Sum, and the like, which (according to *Baldus* ^x) is not to be remitted on the Account of a War. If there be no Fruits on the Estate one Year, and they abound another Year ; the Pension or Quit-rent for the Year there were none, shall be supply'd and made good out of the abundant Fruits. *Guido Papa* says ^y, That fortuitous Cases belong to the *Emphyteuta* to bear ; and that such Remission of the Quit-rent does not obtain, though the Estate held by *Emphyteusis* has been in the Enemy's Hands : For the Tenant (as aforesaid) pays his Quit-rent as an Acknowledgment of the Property, and not properly for the Fruits of the Estate ; and an *Emphyteusis*, generally speaking, is granted *in Perpetuum* ; the Loss of a few Years Profits, is compensated with the great Increase of the following Fruits. And this seems to me to be the best Opinion, among the various and several Opinions of the Doctors.

I have said, That an *Emphyteuta* has the *Utile Dominium* of the Estate, and may impose a Service thereon without the Consent of the *direct* Owner ^z ; and such Service shall continue as long as the Estate itself remains in the Hands of the *Emphyteuta*, but not afterwards ^a : For if the Estate reverts to the Lord, the Imposition of such Service shall cease, which cannot prejudice the *direct* Owner. If a Person that accepts of an *Emphyteusis*, or any Estate for himself and his Male Issue, for the Term of forty Years, and the like, shall die within ten Years without Children, such Estate shall not fall to the Lord of the Fee, but shall descend to the Heirs of such Tenant for the Residue of the said Term of forty Years ^b. By the Law of *England* it passes to the Executors as a Chattel. A Person is presumed to be a Tenant by *Emphyteusis*, if he has paid a Pension or Quit-rent unto any one for ten Years together, in such a manner that the

Lord

^q C. 4. 66. 3.

^r C. 4. 66. 2.

^s C. 4. 66. 1.

^t D. 19. 2. 25. 6.

^u C. 4. 66. 1. 3.

^x In L. 2. c. 4. 66.

^y Inc. 3. Nov. 7.

^z Gloss. in L. 2. D. 8. 1. ^a D. 8. 6. 11. fin.

^b Jac. in L. 29. D. 28. 2.

Lord now receiving, and he who has received such Pension, could not reject the same : For it is sufficient Proof, that he is such a Tenant from such Payment *c.* For the Payment of a Year's Quit-rent is an express Acknowledgment of the *direct* Property or Fee being in the Receiver ; since a Quit-rent is wont to be paid for no other Reason than on the Account of such Acknowledgment. As soon as the Term of Years, for which there is an *Emphyteufis*, expires, (if it be granted for a Term of Years) the Estate returns to the Proprietor, unless a new Grant be made thereof. Where an Estate is granted to several Persons by way of *Emphyteufis*, they cannot alienate the Estate among each other.

c. Jaf. in L. 28. C. 2. 3.

From this Contract an Obligation arises, which produces an Action, stiled *Actio Emphyteuticaria* : And this is a *direct* Action on both Sides, and it lies for the Tenant against the Lord to make good his Grant, according to the *Pacta Conventa*, or the Articles agreed on between them. And it lies for the Lord against the Tenant, to compel him to pay his *Canon* or Quit-rent *d.* and to do all other Things either according to Covenant, or according to the Nature thereof. But the Lord may often times make use of another more commodious Action. For if the Tenant does not pay his Quit-rent within

d. Arg. C. 4. 66. 1.

two Years in an ecclesiastical *Emphyteufis*, or within three Years in a secular *Emphyteufis*, or alienates or commits any Waste on the Estate, he forfeits his Right, and the Lord may claim the Estate by a real Action *e.* But though the Tenant forfeits his whole Right, generally speaking, by such a Non-payment of the Quit-rent, either in Part, or in the Whole ; yet if he be poor, and not able to do it, he shall not forfeit ; nor shall he do it, if he be a Creditor unto the Proprietor, and has a mind to quit Scores with him, by way of Compensation. For in these Cases he does not forego his Right by a Failure of Payment. Nor shall an *Emphyteuta* be ousted or turn'd out of the Estate on Account of any light Damage or Waste done thereon. An *Emphyteuta* may at the Beginning of the Grant pay all his Quit-rent for fifteen Years, and the like all at one Payment, if he pleases. In an *Emphyteufis* a Tenant cannot prescribe against his Lord for the Quit-rent ; because it is paid as a Token of Subjection, or as an Acknowledgment of Superiority : For though the Tenant has not paid his Quit-rent for an hundred Years together, nor any Demand made thereof by the Lord ; yet he shall not prescribe against the Lord for the Time to come, but only for the Time above twenty-nine Years last past. But if the Estate has reverted to the Lord, and the Tenant has interverted him in the Possession of it, by not admitting of the Lord, then a forty Years Prescription shall avail, unless a Law-suit has been commenced thereon for the Possession of it. If a Tenant by *Emphyteufis* grants such Estate unto another, he cannot make the Rent greater than it is ; because, if the Quit-rent should be increased, and afterwards the Estate should happen to be alienated, the Lord wou'd be injur'd in his *Laudimium* or Alienation *f.* This Contract of *Emphyteufis* can only be proved by Deeds or by Recognitions of Quit-rents paid for so many Years : For if Witnesses were admitted, the Tenants or their Heirs might easily, by their Perfidy, intervert the Possession, and deprive the Lord of his Property.

e. Nov. 7. c. 3. Nov. 120. c. 8.

f. Guid. Pap. Conf. 72.



T I T. X.

Of a Mandatum, in English stiled a Commission or Authority given : Of the Execution of it ; and by what Methods it is dissolved and revoked, viz. by the Death of either of the Parties, or by the Renunciation of the Mandatary, &c.

A Fifth Species of Contract, founded on Consent alone, is what we call an *Authority* or *Commission* given : And this is said to be perfected by Consent ; because herein a Delivery of the Thing contracted for, is not necessary ; nor are Words or Writing requir'd hereunto, in order to establish an Obligation from them, though they may sometimes be made use of. Now this Contract is in our Books stiled *Mandatum*, from the Verb *Mando*, which is derived à *Manu dandâ*, from giving the Hand ; because, in giving and receiving of Commissions, it was anciently usual for the Persons to give each other their Hands, as we now commonly see it observed in mutual Promises. Thus the Word *Mandare*, in a general Sense of it, signifies the committing of something to a Person, to be done and executed by him ; which is sometimes in a publick, and sometimes in a private manner. *Publick* Mandates, are properly said to be the Precepts of Magistrates, and the Instructions of Princes, which are of Necessity to be obey'd, (as I shall shew hereafter) : And in this Sense *Justinian* sometimes understands them g. But *private* Mandates are vulgarly stiled Commissions ; which as they are of a large Extent, so they comprehend several Things. Nor is it of any Import, of what Words such private Commission subsists ; for it may be made by the Word *Rogo*, *Supplico*, *Mando*, *Volo*, *Peto*, and by any other the like proper Words h.

This Contract, in the *Code* and *Digest*, is put first among such Contracts as are perfected by Consent alone ; because it is of a more excellent Nature than other Contracts, as being derived (according to *Baldus* i) from Friendship, &c. And these two Titles, *de Mandato* and *de Procuratoribus*, do well enough agree together, as placed in the *Code* and *Digest*, for that a Proctor cannot be without a Mandate or Proxy ; yet they differ in this, viz. because the Title *de Procuratoribus* speaks only of Proctors *ad Lites* ; and the Title *de Mandato* speaks only of Proctors *ad Negotia*. Again : The Title of *Proctors* speaks of the Proctors Office ; but the Title *de Mandato* principally treats of an Action *de Mandato*. We are said to give a Commission of Authority to him unto whom we do either judicially or extra-judicially, in a friendly manner, recommend something to be done in our Name *bonâ Fide*. For the Word *Commendare* is derived from the Verb *Mando* ; and so it is here taken in our Books. Hence a *Mandatary* is said to be a Proctor or Procurator, from the Words *Pro* and *Curo* ; for this Word *Pro* is not an idle Term, but used to denote a kind of Diligence, and the prudent Office of a Friend.

Wherefore, a *Mandatum* here treated of, may rightly be defined or described to be a *Nominate* Contract *bonæ Fidei*, founded on the Law of Nations k, and subsisting by Consent alone l, whereby the principal Person commits some Business or other to be done *bonâ Fide* m unto the Person that

g C. 1. 15.

h D. 17. 1. 1. ib. Gloss.

i In Rubr. D. 17. 1. D. 17. 1. 1.

k D. 2. 14. 7. l D. 17. 1. 1. m D. 17. 1. 1. pr. D. 44. 7. 2.

that undertakes the same; and this is to be managed without any Fee or Gratuity ⁿ: Or else, in other Words, it may be said to be a Contract, ⁿ D. 17. 1. 1. whereby a Person does either expressly or tacitly take on himself an honest Office or Employment, which is permitted by Law, to be executed by him for another in a gratuitous Manner ^o. I here, *first*, call it an *Office*, because this Contract is an Act of Benevolence, which one Friend renders to another: For it had its Rise from Friendship, and the good Offices which one Man owes another ^p. *Secondly*, I say *honest*, because a Mandate or Commission is not obligatory in Things dishonest or unreasonable, and which favour of Turpitude ^q: And hereunto I have subjoin'd the Words, ^q I. 3. 27. 7. *which is permitted by Law*: Because, how honest and reasonable soever a Commission may be; yet, if it be contrary to the Laws, it is not valid. As when a Person orders or commissions Money to be lent to *Filius-fam*, the Commission or Order is deemed ineffectual, as being repugnant to the *Senatusconsultum Macedonianum* ^r, which forbids it. And I have added ^r D. 14. 6. 1. the Words *in a gratuitous Manner*; because if a Stipend or *Merces* intervenes, it is not a *Mandatum*, but a Letting out of a Man's Work or Business unto Hire, called *Locatio Operæ*. And the Reason why it ought to be gratuitous, is, because this Contract has especial Place among Friends, as already hinted: For he violates the Laws of Friendship, who takes a Reward or Wages for an Office done. And I have used the Words *expressly or tacitly*, because this Contract is not only made by express Words; but if I suffer any one to do my Business in my Presence, I do hereby seem to commission him. If a Person does in another's Absence, of his own Accord, and without an Order, manage his Business, it will not be reckon'd a *Mandatum*, but a *Quasi* or improper Contract, for which an Action *for Business done* lies.

There is one Kind of *Mandatum* which is *voluntary*, and of which I am here discoursing; and another which is stiled *necessary*, *viz.* when we are enjoined to obey the Magistrate commanding something to be done ^s; of ^s D. 50. 17. which hereafter. Again, There is one Kind which is term'd *gratuitous*, ^t 167. 1. and this is properly a *Mandatum* ^t or Commission; and another which is ^t D. 17. 1. 36. term'd *mercenary*, as when some Honour intervenes by way of Remuneration or Recompence ^u, or if a Salary in general be promised *extra ordinem* ^x. There is one Kind of Commission which is *general*, and another ^x D. 17. 1. 7. which is *special*. A general Commission is that which extends itself to all Matters; and is either *simply* general, or with a full Power of Administration, like unto that which the principal Person himself has: But this last Distinction is rather approved of by the *Canon Law* and Modern Practice, than by the *Civil Law* ^y. A *special* Commission, is, when any particular ^y C. 2. 13. 16. Matter is committed to the Care and Management of another ^z. There is ^z D. 17. 1. 39. one Kind of Commission which is made for the Sake of him that grants it, and likewise on the Account of the Person to whom it is granted; another Kind which is granted on the Account of a Stranger, and another Kind which is granted on the Score of a Stranger and of the Person to whom it is granted; and lastly, there is another Kind, which is made on the Account of a Stranger and on the Score of the Person that grants it, and likewise on the Account of the Person to whom it is granted, called the *Mandatory*. A Commission is not rightly contracted on the Account of the Mandatory alone; because this is rather Advice and Counsel, than a Commission. In order to know for whose Sake a Commission or Authority is given, we ought to consider to whose Advantage that Thing accrues, which is order'd by such Commission or Authority. For if a Commission be granted for the Sake of the Person only unto whom it is made, it does not oblige the Person of him who makes it, in case of Damage. And the Reason is, because it is then rather Counsel and Advice than a Commission. And no

one is answerable for Counsel or Advice, unless it be fraudulently or maliciously given ^a, because Counsel and Advice does not compel a Person to follow the same. For every Person may and ought to consider, whether such Advice be expedient or not ^b.

A *Mandatum* is not introduced by Words *Commendatory*. As when a Person recommends *Titius* to me, and I, upon his Commendation, afterwards lend him Money, an Action *de Mandato* does not, in this Case, accrue to me against the Person recommending him ^c: For a *Commendatory* Epistle does not oblige the Person of the Writer, though an *Exhortatory* Letter induces his Consent. A *Mandatum* or Commission, consists in the Consent alone of the Parties contracting; and therefore, among absent Persons, it may be undertaken by the Direction of a Letter, or the Notice of a Messenger ^d. For, since Men cannot be always present and waiting on their own Affairs, or (at least) will not attend the same, it has been, therefore, thought good to introduce the Use of Commissions, that absent Persons may be assisted thereby, and their Rooms supply'd by the Office of other Men, whom we stile Proctors *ad Lites*, and Proctors *ad Negotia*, Actors, Syndicks, and the like; whose Business it is to execute their Commissions with Care, Diligence, Readiness, and Fidelity; and not to exceed the Bounds thereof. After a Person has undertaken a Commission, he ought to perfect the same, according to the Form prescribed; for the Form of a Commission ought to be diligently observed ^e. And it ought not only to be observed in point of Substance, but also in respect of Quality: For a Commission is not said to be executed, if the Qualities of it be not observed. The Person who gives a Commission to another to act for him, is not only liable to reimburse the *Mandatory* in Point of the Expences which he is at in executing the Commission, but is likewise answerable for all Damage that he shall sustain thereby ^f. For a *Mandatory* ought to be indemnify'd from all Damage that may happen on the Account of a Commission, if it be not occasioned through his Fault or Neglect ^g, since no one ought to suffer by any Office he undertakes. But it is not necessary that a Commission should be observed *ad unguem*, it being sufficient if it be observed by an Equivalent ^h: For a Man may pursue the probable Mind and Intention of the Person who grants such Commission.

It is a Matter of known Law, that a Commission may be granted to sell the Goods of the Person who grants it ⁱ; which is a common Practice among Merchants: And he who receives such a Special Commission, is obliged either to perfect the same, or else to renounce it *re integrâ*, viz. before he has done any Thing therein. A Person who receives a Commission to sell Mercantile Goods, does not fulfil the same by a Barter and Exchange of them for other Merchandizes, because there is not the same Reason for Permutation as for the Sale of Goods, the Merchant (perhaps) wanting Money: And therefore, he is liable to an Action of Damage, to make good what the Merchant shall suffer by his Neglect, to the utmost Farthing ^k. In a Commission sometimes the exactest Diligence is required, as in a Proctor *ad Lites*; and then he shall be liable for the smallest Neglect or Fault, because he asserts himself to be skilful in his Business relating to judicial Matters ^l. Sometimes only an exact Diligence is requir'd, as in the Payment of Money; and then the Person executing such Commission shall be answerable *de latâ & levi Culpâ* ^m. And sometimes a Commission is granted, which requires little or no Diligence, because every Person may speed such an Act, as to carry a Letter or Book from one Person to another; and then the Person is only liable for Fraud and gross Negligence, unless he has received a Reward for so doing, and then he shall be liable *de culpâ levi*, and also for a fortuitous Case, if he has undertaken the Hazard

zard ⁿ: Otherwise, regularly speaking, a *Mandatory* is not liable to a fortuitous Case ^o. ⁿ D. 47. 2. 14. fin.

All future Matters to be transacted, are the Subject of a Commission, provided they are lawful and honest, and not contrary to good Manners ^p: ^o C. 2. 13. 13. ^p D. 17. 1. 12. For if a Man gives a Commission or Authority unto another to do something that carries Dishonesty or Turpitude along with it, or what is contrary to good Manners, such Commission or Authority is not Obligatory ^q. ^q D. 17. 1. 22. 6. For those Things which are *contra bonos Mores*, are, in Law, deemed as Things impossible to be done ^r; and from Things impossible there arises no Obligation ^s. According to the *Canon* Law, those Things are said to be *contra bonos Mores*, when any Sin flows from the Practice and Observation of an Act: But the *Civil* Law reputes those Things to be contrary to good Manners, which are done contrary to a Prohibition of Law, though it may be done without Sin. A Commission granted, is proved by the Letters of such Commission, if there be any doubt thereof: And the Act of the Person to whom any Commission is granted, is said to be the Act of him who grants such Commission. A Ratification is equivalent unto a Commission or an Authority given. A Commission or an Authority may be revoked *re integrâ remanente*, that is to say, when nothing is done in the Matter: But it cannot be revoked, if any Thing be done therein. Which leads me next to speak of the Revocation of a Commission.

Now a Commission is, *first*, dissolved or revoked by the Will alone of the Person who granted it ^t, if the Matter remains entire and nothing be done therein ^u; and it is likewise dissolved by his Death upon the same Terms ^x. *Secondly*, The *Mandatory*, or Person to whom it is granted, may wave and renounce his Commission; provided nothing be done therein, and the Person who granted it does not suffer in his Right thereby: But if it be the Interest of the Person who granted it, that the *Mandatory* should not quit his Office, he shall be obliged to perfect the same, after he has once accepted of it ^y, unless he can shew just Cause for quitting the same ^z. ^t D. 17. 1. 40. 1. ^u I. 3. 27. 9. ^x D. 17. 1. 26. ^y D. 17. 1. 27. ^z D. 17. 1. 22. But a Commission is dissolved by the Death of the *Mandatory*, if he shall die, and nothing is done in the Execution of the Commission; for the Person is deemed to be chosen upon the Account of his Care, Industry, and Knowledge. Hence, if his Heir fulfils the Commission, he cannot have an Action *de Mandato*, but must have an Action *for Business done*. A just Cause for deserting a Commission, is an Indisposition of Health, capital Enmity, and the like. But a Commission is not dissolved by the Death of the Granter, if a Thing be order'd which ought to be perform'd after the Granter's Death, as the erecting of a Monument ^a, &c. ^a D. 17. 1. 12.

Though a Person should say, that he has the Prince's Commission to do such an Act; yet, if he does not shew the publick Instrument, Credit shall not be given to him: For a Commission ought to be proved, either by Letters, or else by an Instrument, or else by Witnesses. A general Mandate or Commission given by Law, is not sufficient, where a special Authority or Commission is requir'd ^b: But a general Commission to do a Thing, *whenever need shall require it*, is sufficient; but then (I think) the Reason of doing such Act ought to be express'd and set forth by the Agent, that a Judgment may be formed touching the Necessity of such Act. If a Person simply grants a Commission unto another to pay Debts, such a Commission has only a Respect unto such Debts as may be at present demanded, and not unto future Debts. But if I order you to pay *Titius* a Sum of Money, and afterwards I in your Presence forbid *Titius* to accept of it, it is a Revocation of such Commission. If I grant a simple Commission unto a Factor, and this Commission cannot take Effect till after my Death; it seems to be extinguished by the Death of me the Granter. And, generally speaking, a Commission is in every Case extinguished by the Death

★ Bart. in L. 2.
D. 17. 1.

of him that grants it, *re integrâ remanente*, that is to say, if nothing be done therein. And therefore, a Commission does not pass to an Heir; because, in a doubtful Case, the Granter seems to have an especial Regard to the Honesty and Industry of the Person to whom he grants it.* : But the Mandate of a Judge granted to an Apparitor or Servant of the Court, to do a Judicial Act, is not extinguish'd by the Death of the Judge, because that might be (perhaps) a Hinderance unto publick Justice. Yet a Commission granted unto a Judge, expires with the Death of the Granter, and all Things transacted by such Judge remain in *statu quo*.

If a Person in a publick Office shall grant an unlawful Commission, the Person unto whom it is granted is obliged unto Obedience, and the Person that grants it shall be punish'd for the Act committed: But if the Person unto whom it is granted knows it to be an unlawful Commission, as a Commission of Piracy is, and yet acts therein, he shall be punish'd for acting against his Knowledge of the publick Laws. But it is otherwise, if a private Man grants an unlawful Commission, and the Person acts under it; for then they shall be both punish'd alike: For a Person that acts in a private Commission is to take Care what he undertakes, and shall be answerable if he does amiss; and here the Offence of the Person acting, and of the Person that orders it, is deemed one and the same Offence. No Prince whatsoever may grant a Commission of Piracy, for such Commission is evidently known to be against the Law of Nations; but he may grant a Commission of Reprizals against the Subjects of this or that State, for Damage done to his own Subjects. If a Prince grants a Commission of Reprizals, and afterwards abdicates or quits his Kingdom, such Commission is thereby extinguish'd: And if the Persons having such Commission, shall (notwithstanding) act under it, it is Piracy in them, because they act without a lawful Authority. But if such a Prince shall be driven out of his Kingdom by Conquest or Force, it has been then a Question whether the same be Piracy. Herein we are to distinguish, whether such Force was the Act of his own Subjects, or of a foreign Enemy. If it was the Act of his own Subjects, he is no longer their Sovereign Prince; and, consequently, such Commission is Piratical: But if it was by the Force of a foreign Enemy waging an unjust War, such Commission does not cease by his Expulsion, but he may recover his Dominions again, if he can, by Arms.

Though a Commission be compared unto a Ratification in many Respects, especially if it be full, and no Ratification promis'd; yet, if a Ratification be therein promis'd, an Act done in Virtue of such previous Commission, has not its full Force and Vigour, until it be ratify'd; for such Commission is only presum'd to be granted to treat and prepare Matters for a good Event. A Commission granted unto one Person, may be fulfilled and executed by another, if such a Power be granted in such Commission. A Commission which may have a Respect to Things lawful and unlawful, is always restrained and interpreted in respect of Things lawful: For a Commission, how general soever it be, is never extended to any Matters of Turpitude. Thus a Commission to take Possession of an Estate, is not presumed to be granted to disseize a Man thereof by Violence; because this is not agreeable to Reason. A Commission granted, does not prove that the Thing was done which was commission'd, but only shews the Purpose of the Granter's Mind.



T I T. XI.

Of Things credited on a Loan, in Latin termed a Mutuum ; and therein of Debtor and Creditor ; of Things lent in a certain Sum or Quantity ; what is the Object of a Mutuum, and what is necessary thereunto, and the like ; and of an Action arising thereupon, what, &c.

UNDER this Title of *Things credited*, commonly called a *Mutuum* or Loan, I shall chiefly treat of a Debtor and Creditor, as the two Persons therein concerned ; and first shall show what I mean by a *Mutuum* or Loan, and what is the proper Object thereof. Now a *Mutuum* is a *nominate* and *real* Contract, *stricti Juris*, founded upon the Law of Nations, which is perfected by something done ; that is to say, by lending something upon condition, that he who borrows it should return the same again in the same Kind, though not in *Specie*^a : For the *Civilians* make ^aD. 12. 1. 3. a distinction between a *Mutuum* and a *Commodatum*, though with us they denote the same Thing. The Thing thus lent is called a *Mutuum*, as the Criticks observe, because *de meo fit tuum* : For in a *Mutuum*, the Thing lent or given becomes the Property of him who receives or borrows the same, which is otherwise in a *Commodatum*. The Lender is stiled the *Mutuant* or Creditor ; and the Borrower is termed the *Mutuary* or Debtor : the words *Debtor* and *Creditor* are taken in a larger Sense, as I shall hereafter note. A *Mutuum* depends on such Things as depend on Weight, Number, and Measure^b, as Wine, Oil, Corn, and the like ; that ^bD. 12. 1. 2. 1. is to say, in such as consist in Quantity, and are stiled fungible Things, and not in *Species*. Such Things as consist in Number, have a respect to Money paid, or in Tale ; such as consist in Measure, have a respect to Wine, Oil, Corn, &c. and such as consist in Weight, have a respect unto Gold, Silver, Brass, and the like. And it is the Nature of a *Mutuum*, as afore-said, that the very same Thing or Body should not be returned, but something *in eodem genere* ; as Money for Money, Oil for Oil, Wine for Wine, and the like. For it transfers the Property of the Thing to the Person that receives the same^c, though he be obliged to return an Equivalent *in* ^cD. 12. 1. 1. 2. *eodem genere*, which distinguishes it from a *Commodatum* that is returned in the same *Species*.

A *Mutuum* is threefold, *viz.* first, such as is *only natural*, as when a Payment of Money is made without a Stipulation *de solvendo*. The *second* is *civil only*, as when a Stipulation intervenes without any Money paid down or lent. And the third *Species* is *civil* and *natural* both, as when Numeration and Stipulation do both intervene^d ; that is to say, when a ^dD. 12. 1. 2. Man actually lends his Money, and stipulates with the Borrower for the Payment of it again. A *Mutuum* is said to be a Matter *stricti Juris*, because of its own nature it contains a strict Rule, whereby all Things are by an arithmetical Proportion demanded, according to the Equality of those Things which are lent^e : For a *Mutuum* is not contracted beyond ^eD. 13. 4. 6. what

^f D. 12.1.11. what is lent or given by way of a Loan, though more be promised^f. And
^g C. 4.30.9. though by the *Civil Law*^g something more than the Thing lent may be
^h X. 5.19.10. stipulated by way of lawful Interest; yet it is otherwise by the *Canon Law*^h,
 which forbids Usury. A Person who lends Money, cannot immediately
ⁱ D. 5.45.1. demand or recover the same againⁱ, because the very Act of Lending sup-
 poses, that it was lent for some time to do the Borrower a Service. A
 Person that borrows Money is presumed to do it for himself, and not for a
 Stranger: And, therefore, when a Person alleges, that he borrowed it for
 a Stranger, he ought to prove his Authority, and that he shewed his Orders
 unto the Lender. A Person that lends Money for the Repair of a Build-
 ing, has this Privilege, according to the *Civil Law*, that he shall be pre-
 ferred unto all other Creditors, even though they are before him in point
^k D. 12.1.28. of Time^k, if the Person borrows it expressly for this purpose, and the
 House be repaired out of the said Money; because the Building is tacitly
 impawned to him for the said Money: But it is otherwise, if the Money
 was simply borrowed, though the Debtor did repair the House out of that
 Money; for then the Creditor shall not have this Privilege. But this Pri-
 vilege, I think, does not obtain according to the Law of *England*. Again,
 if a Debtor shall borrow Money for the Building or Purchasing of a new
 House or Estate, the Creditor shall have this Privilege, but then the House
 or Estate must be expressly mortgaged to him, and not otherwise. And
 thus the Repair of an old House gives a greater Privilege than the Build-
 ing of a new one. A Person who lends Money to one Man, by the Order
^l C. 4.35.7. of another, has both the Persons bound to him^l. I say, that a Person
 who lends Money simply and indefinitely to buy or repair a House, or any
 Thing else, has not an Hypothèque or Mortgage therein, so as to be pre-
 ferred before other Creditors, but has only a personal Action, unless it be
^m Bald. in l. 17. C. 8. 14. otherwise expressly agreed upon between the Parties^m: And it is not enough
 for him to aver, that he lent the Money *eo nomine*, but he ought to prove it,
 and likewise to prove that the Money was laid out to that End and Pur-
 pose. If a Father in time of Scarcity borrows Money, it is presumed that
 he laid it out for the Maintenance of his Family.

Regularly speaking, he who lends a Thing ought to be the Proprietor
 thereof: And, therefore, by delivering the Thing, he transfers the Pro-
 perty of it, if it be his own; but if not, then he only transfers the Con-
 dition of *Usucapion* in respect thereof. Hence the Doctors have made
 lending to be twofold, *viz.* That which is *truly* and *properly* such; and
 this is perfected by a Delivery of the Thing, and by an Acceptance there-
 of: And the other they stile a *quasi*, or an *improper* Lending, which is
ⁿ D. 12. 1. 13. induced *ex post facto*ⁿ, as I shall note hereafter. If Corn be given or
 lent to a Person, that Wine should be returned in the Place of it, it can-
 not properly be called a *Mutuum*, but an *innominate* Contract; and some-
 times it is stiled a Sale: For a Person who borrows Corn, cannot make a
 Restitution in Money, unless it be in case where there is no Corn existing,
 since it would then be termed a Sale. Nor is it a *Mutuum*, if a Number
 of Sheep be given to have so many Sheep returned again. A fortuitous Case,
 whereby the Thing lent is lost, does not discharge the Borrower or Debtor
 from an Action on a Loan. For that which the *Romans* called a *Mutuum*,
 we properly call a Loan, without Interest or Usury going along with it:
^o Lib. 1. But that which they stiled *Fœnus* (as *Beroaldus*^o observes on *Apuleius*
 his golden Ass) is such a Loan as carries Interest and Usury along with it.
 And *Cicero* also in his Treatise of Friendship seems to make this distinction,
 saying, that to the end we may be deemed liberal and beneficent, we ought
 to give so as not to demand thanks, *neque beneficium fœneramur, sed na-*
turâ propensi sumus. But sometimes the word *Fœnerare* denotes the same
^p Plin. lib. 2. c. 6. as *mutuò dare*^p; as the Sun lends his Light to the Stars.

I say, that by the *Civil Law*, a *Mutuum* is a Contract without Reward, and admits of no recompence in its Nature, and if *Use* and Interest is agreed, it is foreign to the Contract; for that arises from a distinct particular Covenant³, or by the Custom of a Country. For this Contract was contrived^{1 D. 50. 16. 121.} to promote Trade and Charity to such as wanted, and if any one would make an advantage of the Property of any thing which he possesses, the way was to do it by buying and selling, or else by Exchange; and if he would make an advantage of *using* the Goods of which he was Master, he might do it by letting them to hire: For it is the Nature of these Contracts, and not of a *Mutuum*, to be founded on Price or Reward. And if one would alienate his Property without Price or Recompence, *Donation* is a proper way. But if for a *Mutuum*, a Reward or Interest be originally agreed to be paid, together with the Principal, by a particular Covenant, it seems contrary to natural Justice: For he that borrows Money, &c. must pay Interest for it, though he gains nothing by it, which is to give certain Profit to the Lender, whereas the Borrower himself may have nothing but certain Loss. And this is so far true in right reasoning, that it is contrary to Justice, that the Lender should have Interest, though the Borrower made Profit of the Money lent; for that was *accidental*, and the Borrower ran a Risk of losing all, when the Lender was in no danger of losing the least Part. All this is to be understood, if the Borrower pays within the Time appointed: For if he fails in his Promise, then it is fit the Creditor should be allowed his Damages after a Demand¹. But upon no account is Interest^{1 D. 22. 1. 32. 1 C. 4. 32. 28.} upon Interest to be endured¹, as I shall afterwards observe under the Title¹ of *Usury*. Letting to hire, and hiring for a Price, has Justice to support it; for if he that hires it is hindered from making use of the Thing by some inevitable Accident, or if the Thing hired is lost or perishes by chance, he that hires will be relieved from Payment, for the Price was intended as a Recompence for some real Advantage; whereas in lending of Money (if Interest be paid of necessity) the same Sum and Interest must be returned, though the Principal be lost at the same time without any Fraud or Neglect of the Borrower. Consider, therefore, that though you are not forced to lend Money any more than to give; yet if you once lend or give, (according to the Nature of several Acts) it must be without recompence, otherwise it is not lending or giving, but some other Contract which yet has not a certain Name.

Touching an Action *ex mutuo*, or upon the account of a Loan, it lies for a Person who has lent such Things as may be lent; and if there are several Persons concerned in the Loan, each of them may have his Action for his own Part, unless it be otherwise agreed upon¹. And it lies not^{1 C. 4. 2. 9.} only against him, who has borrowed in his own Name¹, but likewise his^{1 C. 4. 2. 13.} Sureties: And if there are several Persons that have simply borrowed, it lies against each of them, according to his Proportion, though the Payment be only made in the Name of all, unless they have all of them promised a Repayment *in solidum*¹. The Person convened by this Action is oblig'd^{1 C. 4. 2. 5.} to pay or restore the whole Thing credited, in the same Kind, good Quantity and Quality, though this be not expressly covenanted or provided for¹; and hence Animals cannot be restored for Animals, as Sheep for^{1 D. 12. 1. 1.} Sheep, &c. because the same Goodness and Quality cannot be well ascer-^{2. & 3.} tain'd and known in them. But a Debtor is not bound to restore Money lent in the same Form or Matter, (for we rather consider the Value of Money, than the Body itself credited¹), unless the Creditor shall receive^{1 Arg. D. 46.} some Damage from not having the same *Species* of Money¹. But the Deb-^{3. 94. 1. D. 46. 3. 99.} tor is bound to pay it at the same Value and Price it was lent at, though the Value thereof should afterwards be increased or diminished. See *Molina* touching Usury¹. But this is otherwise in respect of Bullion: For Bullion^{1 Quæst. 92.}
of

of the same Quantity, Quality, and Goodness may be paid for Bullion lent. If the Thing due cannot be had or made good in its Kind, by reason of the Scarcity of it, the Borrower may pay the Value thereof in Money, and it shall be held good ^a. This Action is perpetual, and not barr'd by any Limitation of a Year, &c. And may be commenced immediately if the Obligation be *pure* and unconditional; but if it be conditional, or *in diem*, we must wait for the Event of the Condition, and the Coming of the Day ^a. And thus far of borrowing or lending by way of *Mutuum* in general. I shall next treat of *Debtor* and *Creditor* in the full Extent and Signification of the Terms, and shew the Law relating thereunto: And first of *Creditors*.

Now under the Name of a *Creditor* we not only mean such a Person as has given Credit by lending of Money, but even all such Persons to whom any thing is due upon any account whatsoever ^b. For the words *Creditor* and *Creditum* are so called from the Verb *Credo*, to give Credit unto, or to have Faith and Confidence in the Honesty of another: And, therefore, these words *Creditor* and *Creditum* extend themselves to all Contracts whatsoever, as being generical Terms which comprehend the several *Species* of Contracts, as a *Mutuum*, *Commodatum*, *Depositum*, and the like. For in all Contracts, wherein any Thing is due to us, we are said to give Credit, and to have a Confidence in the Honesty of another Person; and this Confidence is stiled a *Credit*; and as a *Genus* is verify'd in each of its *Species*. Thus in the general Sense of the Term he is said to give Credit unto whom any Thing is due on any account whatsoever, even on the score of an Offence or Trespass, as well as on the account of a Contract; though the word *Credit*, in a strict Sense, is understood, when we assent unto any thing by following the Report and Faith of another Person. But this last is not the Sense of it as used among Lawyers: And, therefore, we ought rather to regard the Use of it as taken among them, than the Etymology of the Word. A *Credit* differs from a *Mutuum*, as a *Genus* differs from a *Species*. For that may be called a *Credit*, which does not consist in Weight, Number, and Measure: But a *Mutuum* consists only in Weight, Number, and Measure. A natural *Mutuum* cannot be without such a Thing lent, which consists in one of these three: But a *Credit* may sometimes be, though nothing at all goes out; as when a Man promises a Dowry on the score of Marriage, &c.

He is said to be a *Creditor* in Law, who has a proper Action to sue for a Thing, and cannot be barr'd of his Demand by any perpetual Exception ^c: For it is the same thing to have no Action at all, as to have an Action which may be set aside by an Exception ^d. *Accursius* thinks, that he ought not properly to be stiled a *Creditor*, who convenes another in a *real* Action: But I adhere to the Opinion of *Alciatus* ^e, because no one can deny, but that he who is in possession of my Estate, ought to restore it to me. Again, it has been a Query, whether a *Creditor sub conditione* may be properly stiled a *Creditor*? To which, I answer, That if it be certain that such Condition will have its Event, he may properly be so stiled: But 'tis otherwise if such Condition be uncertain in its Event, unless it be in a large Signification of the Word; and then whenever the Condition shall have its Event, he is strictly a *Creditor* ^f. As when a Person that is a *Debtor in diem*, is not a *Debtor*, properly speaking, because he only is truly such from whom a Demand may be made against his Will ^g: So consequently he cannot be truly called a *Creditor*, unto whom Money is only due *in diem* ^h; because he cannot bring his Action till the Day comes. Creditors have a twofold Remedy against their Debtors. The first is a *real* Action lying against their Debtors Estates, if the Debt be upon a Mortgage; and this is stiled *Remedium Hypothecarium*, or an Action upon a Mortgage: And the other

other is a *personal* Remedy, which only lies against the Person of the Debtor. A Creditor remitting a Debt seems to make a Donation thereof: For the very Remitting itself is a Donation; and, therefore, it is not valid between a Husband and a Wife.

A Creditor that has nothing to shew for the Acknowledgment of a Debt, but a Bill or Note under the Hand-writing of his Debtor for the Money, which he lent him, is in *Latin* stiled *Creditor Chirographarius*¹: And he who gives such a Note or Bill, is termed *Debitor Chirographarius*. And thus the Money thus lent without a Pawn or Mortgage, is stiled *Pecunia Chirographaria*, or Money due upon Bond or Bill of Hand-writing. Our common Lawyers call it Money due upon *Specialty*. For *Chirographum* is a private Writing subscribed by the Hand of any Person, which we sometimes call a Sign-Manual, Bill, Note, or Obligation, &c. And it differs from *Syngraphum*, because this last is subscribed by more Persons than one, and contains Pacts and Covenants, as a Lease does. *Syngraphus* is an indented Writing between Debtor and Creditor: In the Indentation of which was antiently wrote this Word in capital Letters, *viz.* *Syngraphus*. But a *Chirographus* is that which is only a Writing written or subscribed by the Hand of one Person, as the Debtor; and is lodged with the Creditor.

There are some Creditors that are such upon a real, and others that are so upon a personal Right. The first are called Creditors upon a Mortgage, or *Creditores Hypothecarii*; and the others are stiled simple Creditors, or Creditors upon a Note of Hand-writing, &c. And as these last have only the Persons of their Debtors bound to them for the Payment of the Debt, according to *Wesembeck*^k, they may be stiled *personal* Creditors, or Creditors upon *Specialty*. Under the Name of *hypothecarius* Creditors we may reckon such as are Creditors *sub pignore*, whether such Pawn be an express or tacit Pawn. There is also another distinction of Creditors, whom we call *privileged* Creditors, and such as are not so. For whenever the Goods and Estate of a Debtor come to be sold for the Payment of his Debts, all the Creditors have an equal Concurrence or Right of coming in for their Debts, unless there be some that are *privileged* Creditors, who are preferred unto all others. For in the case of Debts, the *Civil* Law gives a Precedency unto some Creditors, rather in respect of the Cause or Consideration of their Debts, than in respect of the Time when they were contracted: For he whose Cause is a *privileged* Cause, is preferred unto all other Creditors¹. Of these *privileged* Persons there are some that have a Privilege with an Hypotheque, and some that are privileged without an Hypotheque. In respect of the first we may reckon the Exchequer^m, a Pupilⁿ, and a Woman in respect of a Dower given: And in respect of the latter we may reckon the State or Commonwealth^o.

Among *privileged* Creditors, we may, *first*, reckon such as lay out Money on the Funeral of him whose Heir they sue, or on the Funeral of him whose Goods the Person sued has possessed himself of as Heir^p. *Secondly*, we may reckon a Woman in this number, who in the Recovery of her Dower has a Privilege of being preferred unto all other Creditors: And this Privilege is also extended to a Woman betrothed by Words *de futuro*, who has brought a Dower^q, though it be improperly so called; because it is not a Dower, unless Matrimony ensues thereupon. And the same Privilege is likewise extended to her, who could not be a Wife, though she was *de facto* marry'd; because she was under Age at that time: For if the Marriage be dissolved in the mean time, she shall recover her Dower, and be preferred unto all other Creditors, that she may by this means marry another Husband^r. And the same Privilege which a Pupil has against his Guardian, he has likewise against him who manages his Estate as a Curator, when he is no longer a Tutor^s: But though a Pupil has this Privilege,

¹ D. 42. 5. 2. 2.

^k In Pand. lib. 40. Tit. 5.

¹ D. 42. 5. 1.

^m D. 49. 1. 3.

ⁿ D. 42. 5. 4.

^o C. 11. 29. 2.

^p D. 42. 5. 1.

^q D. 42. 5. 2. 2.

^r D. 42. 5. 3.

^s D. 42. 5. 4. 1.

yet his Heir has it not. The like Privilege is granted to a Prodigal, and
^a D. 42. 5. 5. to a Person deaf and dumb against his Curator ^a: But it is not granted
 against a Curator designed to manage the Estate of an absent Person, or one
^c D. 42. 5. 6. taken Prisoner by the Enemy on the Return of such absent or captive Per-
 son ^c. Nor has a Pupil this Privilege against his Agent, or *negotiorum*
^u D. 42. 5. 7. *Gestor*, who manages his Estate on the score of Friendship ^u. In all these
 Cases of Debt, those Persons are first paid and satisfy'd their Debts out of
 the Money arising from the Sale of the Debtor's Goods, who have the bet-
 ter Right, according to the Cause of their Debts.

If several *privileged* Creditors interfere or clash with each other in a Suit,
 they have all an equal Right to the Debtor's Estate, and may equally divide
^v D. 49. 14. 28. the same betwixt them, unless one be before the other in point of Time,
 or be preferred by some special Law, as a Woman and the ^v Exchequer
 is. But in a doubtful Case a Woman is preferred unto the Exchequer, and
 the Exchequer unto a private Man. In other Cases, regularly speaking,
^w C. 8. 18. 12. a *privileged* Creditor ought not to urge and plead his Privilege against a
^x C. 7. 72. 6. *privileged* Creditor ^w, except those Persons above-mentioned, whose Privilege
 passes not to an extraneous Successor; all other Creditors coming in equally,
 without any regard had to the time of the Contract, according to the rated
^y D. 43. 8. 24. Sum of their Debt ^x. But if any Person has been so vigilant and careful
 of himself as to make his Debtor's Goods his own before they are possessed
 by other of the Creditors, they shall be taken out of his Hands and re-
^z C. 7. 72. 6. 1. cover'd against him ^y. But if all the Creditors come in or possess the
 Goods at the same time, all have an equal Right, and there is no room
 for Gratification ^z. He who knowingly contracts with a Debtor, after he
 has purposed to defraud his Creditors, is exempted from the number of
^a D. 42. 5. 6. *privileged* Creditors ^a. Though Creditors upon a Pawn or Mortgage are
 preferred before simple Creditors, or Creditors upon a Note of Hand-writing,
^b C. 8. 18. 3. 7. and the like, whether these last are *privileged* Creditors or not ^b; yet there
 is one Case alone, wherein a simple Creditor, or a Creditor upon a Note
^c D. 11. 7. 45. of Hand-writing, &c. is preferred unto a Creditor upon a Pawn or Mortgage,
 and that is, when any one expends Money upon a Funeral ^c. If there be
 a Concurrence of several *hypothecarious* Creditors, or Creditors upon a Pawn
 or Mortgage, we ought to distinguish in this manner, *viz.* They are either
^d D. 8. 18. 7. *hypothecarious* and *privileged* Creditors together, or else only *hypothecarious*
 Creditors. If they are only the last, then he that is first in point of Time,
^e D. 20. 4. 2. 11. is preferred in Law ^d: But if they are the first, then he that has the stronger
 or better Privilege is preferred unto all the rest in respect of Payment ^e:
^f C. 12. 2. As the *Fiscus* or Exchequer has always an Hypotheque and a Privilege
 together annexed to it ^f. And so likewise has a Woman, who brings an
^g C. 8. 18. 12. Action *ex stipulatu* for the Recovery of her Dower ^g; and also a Man who
 lays out Money on another's Funeral ^h. And among all these he shall
ⁱ D. 11. 7. 45. be preferred, who lays out Money on another's Funeral. A Creditor who
 has lent Money for the Repair of a House, and the like, has a Privilege of
 demanding such Sum of Money, which he has thus lent, before any other
^j D. 12. 6. 25. Creditor ⁱ.

Regularly speaking, (and herein the Doctors are agreed) a Creditor
 cannot be compelled against his Will and Inclination, to receive a particular
 Sum in part of Payment; because a Payment made after this manner by
^k D. 10. 2. 3. Parcels would oftentimes be very inconvenient to the Creditor ^k. And it
 is the same thing, if the Debtor would make Satisfaction unto his Creditor
 by a Payment partly made in Money, and partly in Goods, as Corn, Oil,
 and the like: provided the Obligation unto Payment be founded on one
 Consideration alone, as a Loan of Money, a Sale, and the like. For if
 Obligations of Payment have their Rise from sundry Causes or Considera-
 tions, it would be otherwise; because as one Consideration has no respect
 unto

unto another, it would not seem just and reasonable, that all those Obligations should be discharged and taken away by the same Payment or Kind of discharge¹. But if the Creditor be willing that this should be done,^{1 D. 20.6.15.} doubtless he may receive a particular Sum in part of Payment. But tho' a Creditor cannot be compelled to receive part of a Sum in Payment, where the whole Debt is liquid; yet where only a part of it is confessed or liquid, he shall be obliged to receive the same, and he may litigate about the disputed Part, if he pleases. And the same thing *vice versâ* may also be said of a Debtor, who shall be obliged to pay the whole Debt, if it be liquid, under pain of being in delay: But if only part of a Debt be liquid or confessed, he may pay that part, and litigate for the other. As for instance, a Creditor who has a hundred Pounds owed him upon one and the same account, as upon Bond, and the like, is obliged to sue for the whole Debt together, and not ten Pounds at one time, and twenty Pounds at another, and so of the rest, *nè causæ continentia dividatur*^m. In an Action^{m C. 3. 1. 10.} of Debt against *Cole*, upon an Obligation for sixteen Pounds, for the Payment of eight Pounds ten Shillings on the 11th of *November* 1600, the Defendant pleaded, that at the Plaintiff's Instance, before the said Day, he paid him five Pounds ten Shillings in satisfaction of the whole. And it was resolved by all the Court, That the Payment of a lesser Sum in satisfaction of a greater, cannot possibly satisfy a greater, or the whole. But the Gift of a Horse, Cow, Robe, &c. in satisfaction, is goodⁿ. But in this case of *Cole* it was resolved, that the Payment of a Parcel, and the Acceptance thereof before the Day of Payment, in satisfaction of the whole, is a good Satisfaction in respect of the Circumstance of Time: For, peradventure, parcel of that Sum before the Day of Payment may be more beneficial to the Creditor, than the whole of the Money at the Day limited; and the Value of the Satisfaction is not material. For if I am bound to pay ten Pounds at *Westminster*, and you request me to pay you five Pounds at *Tork*, and you will accept of it in full Satisfaction of the ten Pounds, this is a good Satisfaction in respect of the Place. But in this case the Plaintiff had Judgment for the insufficient Pleading of the Defendant. For he did not plead the Payment of the ten Pounds in full Satisfaction (as the Law requires) but pleaded the Payment of Part *generally*; and always the Manner, Payment, and Tender shall be directed by him that tenders, and not by him that accepts.

Creditors may upon several accounts be let into possession of all the Goods of a Debtor for the sake of securing the Debt or Money due to them. As *first*, when a Person that is summoned into a Court of Law, refuses to appear or plead, or does in a fraudulent manner abscond and hide himself^o: For it is not enough for a Man to abscond and hide himself,^{o D. 42.5.7.1.} but it must be done with an Intent of defrauding his Creditors^p. *Secondly*,^{p D. 42.5.7.2.} A Person that is ordered to put in Bail or Caution (*de Juri sistendo*) by Surerries, if he does not comply with the Order of the Court, but absconds, shall have his Creditors put into the Possession of his Goods^q: But a Person^{q D. 42.5.15} does not seem to hide himself, who does not exhibit his Presence through fear of Enemies, domestick Seditions, a Tyrant, &c^r. For a Person may^{r D. 42.5.7.4.} abscond and conceal himself upon a reasonable account. Wherefore the Judge ought to consider, with what Intent the Person absconds. If any Person shall prohibit or hinder a Creditor, that is by the Judge's Order admitted into the Possession of his Debtor's Goods or Estate, from making an Entry thereon, an Action of Damage lies against him, and the Plaintiff shall recover a *quantum valet*, according to an Estimation made of the Debt and Damage thereupon^s. A Creditor *sub conditione*, regularly speak-^{s D. 42.4.14.} ing, is not admitted into the Possession of the Goods and Estate of his^p Debtor; because he is only thus admitted, who can sell the Goods^t: But^{t D. 42.4.14.2.} this

this must be understood by virtue of a second degree; for a conditional Debtor may be put into possession of his Debtor's Goods by way of Sequestration, for the sake of securing his Debt, if such Debtor absconds or absents himself through Contumacy, &c. though the said Creditor cannot sell the said Goods¹. It is to be noted, that he who does any Act, whereby his Adversary should not come at him, does not seem to exhibit his Presence or Appearance. Moreover, it is to be observed, that a Person may be in the same City or Town, and yet abscond and hide himself, and be in another City or Town and yet not abscond: For he who is in another City, and shews himself in publick there, does not seem to abscond, unless he flies thither for the sake of avoiding to meet his Creditors in his own City²; and whenever a Debtor is latitant, his Creditor may be put into possession of his Goods. But of this more hereafter in the second Volume of this Work, touching a first and second Decree.

Having thus far declared and shewn for what reason Creditors may be let into the Possession of another Person's Goods and Estate, I shall next proceed to shew how the Goods of a Person deceased may be separated from the Goods of the Heir, for the Benefit of Creditors. Now it must be observed, that the Deceased sometimes leaves many Creditors behind him, and his Heir himself is also so harrassed and incumbered with Creditors of his own, that not only the Goods of the Deceased are sold for the Payment of the Heir's Debts, but even the Goods of the Heir himself are sold for the Payment of the Debts of the Deceased. Wherefore, for taking care of Creditors as well as of the Heir, the Remedy of Separation of Goods was invented and granted by the *Prætor*, to the end that the Creditors of the Deceased might separate his Goods from the Goods of the Heir: And this was chiefly done, that the Creditors of the Deceased should be upon one bottom, and the Creditors of the Heir upon another. And thus the Creditors of a Person deceased may pray the Benefit of a Separation of Goods against the Creditors of the Heir, to the end that after such a Separation is made, they may in respect of the Goods of the Deceased be preferred unto the Creditors of the Heir, unless despising this Provision of Law, they have a mind to trust to the Heir's Honesty³. Thus if I have contracted with *Titius*, and he becoming my Debtor in the Sum of ten Pounds, or the like, dies, leaving *Seius* his appointed Heir, I may in this case convene *Seius*: And if he has any Creditors in his own Person, I may pray to have a Separation of the Goods of *Seius* made from the Goods of *Titius* deceased. But if I have stipulated with the Heir *animo novandi*, touching the Debt which *Titius* owed me, I cannot pray to have this Separation made⁴. But though the Creditors of a Debtor deceased may by Suit obtain a Separation of his Goods from the Goods of the Heir; yet the Heir cannot do the same. The power of praying a Separation of Goods is therefore granted unto the Creditors of a Person deceased, when they apprehend the Heir to be insolvent, or will embezzle or confound the Goods of the Deceased with his own: But on the contrary, it is not granted unto the Creditors of the Heir. The hereditary Creditors, that is to say, the Creditors of the Deceased, after they have obtained this Separation, which is granted them by the Decree of the Judge, are preferred to all the Creditors of the Heir, though the Heir has mortgaged his hereditary Estate unto some Person: nay, they are preferred even unto the Exchequer, tho' the Exchequer was a Creditor unto the Heir. If the Heir shall take the Heirship on himself, which is incumbered with Debts, with a fraudulent Purpose of cheating his own Creditors, the Creditors of the Heir may in this case pray to have the Goods of the Heir separated from the hereditary Goods of the Person deceased. The Heir may likewise pray to have a Separation of his own Goods made from the hereditary Goods of the Person deceased,

deceased, if he be suspected, to the end that he may avoid the Suspicion of dishonesty, and may only satisfy the hereditary Creditors out of the Goods of the Person deceased, and not out of his own Stock. This Separation of Goods may be obtained in eight Cases mentioned in the Law here quoted^x. The^x D. 42. 6. 1. Hereditary Creditors may pray this Separation, whether the Deceased be only a Debtor *sub conditzone*, or a Debtor *in diem*^y: And after them Legataries may within five Years from the time that the Heir accepts of the Heirship^z, pray to have the Goods of the Deceased separated from the proper Goods of the Heir; and this is done by the Judge's Decree. But if there are some Creditors, that desire a Separation, and others that do not, those who do not shall be reckoned with the Creditors of the Heir^a.^a D. 42. 6. 1. 86. And it belongs to the Cognizance of the Judge, to consider whether a Separation shall be admitted or not^b. It has been said, that the Creditors^b D. 42. 6. 1. 14. of a Person deceased may pray and obtain a Separation of the Goods of the Deceased, from the Goods of the Heir, unless they have given the Heir credit, or taken his Word: Because he who has given the Heir credit, or taken his Word, contracts with the Heir; and, therefore, is a Creditor unto the Heir^c.^c C. 7. 72. 2.

If a Person dies, and has no one that will be his Heir, his Creditors are let into the Possession of his Goods, and the Goods shall be sold for the Payment of Creditors, according to the proportion of their Debts^d: And Creditors upon a Pawn or Mortgage shall be preferred herein before Creditors upon Bills or Notes of Hand-writing^e, as aforesaid. A Creditor let into the Possession of an Estate by a Sequestration, after Payment of the Debt, ought to restore and account for the Fruits of such Estate unto the Debtor himself demanding the same^f; for the Possession of the Estate is only a Security for the Payment of the Debt. A Creditor let into the Possession of an Estate, is obliged to abide by a Lease or Demise made by the Debtor. Creditors may convene him unto whom the Inheritance is given, namely, the Heir appointed to declare whether he will accept of the Heirship, or not: And this is good and daily Practice so to do.

As a Prescription or Limitation of Time does not run against Creditors, if an Imparance or Delay in Law be depending^g: so neither shall a Creditor plead Prescription to a Pawn or Pledge by length of Time; nor shall he demand or retain the same as a Pledge, unless he proves the Obligation whereby the same was engaged to him, and the Default whereby the same was forfeited: And the former of these, *viz.* the Obligation, ought to be well proved, when the Debtor denies the Debt. A Creditor who accepts of an insufficient Pawn or Mortgage, may demand the Surplusage of what is due to him beyond the Value of the Pawn or Mortgage accepted of by him^h. *Titius* mortgaged an Estate of a hundred Pounds *per annum* Rent, unto *Seius*, and thereupon borrowed three thousand Pounds. This Estate, when it came to be sold would not yield above two thousand Pounds. Whereupon it was adjudged, that *Seius* should pay the Surplusage of a thousand Pounds by an Action of Debt. See hereafter Title touching *Mortgages*. A Creditor by way of Pawn or Mortgage is liable to answer not only for any Fraud committed, but even for a *lata culpa*: But a Curator let into the Possession of Goods, is only liable on the account of Fraud and Cozenageⁱ. And the reason of this distinction between a Creditor and a Curator is, because a Creditor in possession of a Pawn is deemed to possess the same for the advantage of his Debtor. If a Creditor has restored a Pawn, hoping suddenly to receive his Debt, for which such Pawn was given or laid down, and yet does not receive the same: In this case such Creditor is not deemed and reputed to have remitted his Right to such Pawn.

Though a Creditor may transfer his Right unto another by the way of *Cession* or Assignment, contrary to the Will of the Debtor ; yet the Debtor cannot transfer the Right of Obligation, whereby he stands bound to another Person against the Will of the Creditor. If a Person avers himself to be a Creditor, when really he is not such, and does this with a Design of defrauding other Creditors : or says, that he is a prior Creditor, when he is not, he may be punished *pœnâ falsi*. A Creditor cannot be compelled to receive Payment in any other Place than the Place appointed for Payment, unless Interest be also tendred unto him : And this is mutual in respect of a Debtor. Nor is a Creditor bound to give a general Discharge or Acquittance unto his Debtor, because this is captious. If a Creditor gives unto his Debtor the Specialty or Instrument of a Credit, called a Bond, or the like, he is hereby understood to have remitted the Debt. And a Creditor, after his Debt is paid or satisfy'd, is bound to deliver unto the Debtor his Bond or Note of Hand-writing : For after Payment of the Debt, the Specialty may be recovered by a Condition *sine causâ*^k. If a Creditor succeeds to the Estate or Inheritance of his Debtor, the Creditor's Action is thereby extinguished ; for he may pay himself, and cannot have an Action against himself. Though, generally speaking, a Creditor ought not to sue for a Debt by Parcels, as before related ; yet by demanding or suing for a lesser Sum out of a greater, he is not prejudiced thereby : For in some Cases, by such Demand or Suit, he shall not be barred from suing for the Residue, though the Debtor has paid off the lesser Sum demanded of him or sued for. For, as I have observed, the Creditor does not prejudice himself by demanding less, when more is due, unless in the demand of such lesser Sum he shall make use of the taxative word *Tantum*, or shall demand such Sum as the Residue of a greater Sum : For, mention being made of the *Residue*, or any such taxative Term, it induces a Discharge or Release of the whole Debt.

^k C. 4. 9. 2.

It has been said, that a *Creditor*, taken in a large Sense of the Word, is said to be that Person who has the Property of a Thing, or a Claim thereunto ; and he that has the Possession is called the *Debtor* : But, strictly, Creditors are those Persons to whom any Thing is due or owing on the account of any *real* or *personal* Action whatsoever, whether it be a Debt absolute, or at a Day certain, or under some Condition ; but then there ought not to be any bar by a perpetual Exception : For if the Action or Prosecution may be abated by such Exception, or if it be an *Honorary*, either ordinary or extraordinary, the Person to whom such Payment ought to be made, cannot be called a *Creditor*. Nor is he properly stiled a *Creditor*, to whom a Thing is only *naturally* due, though if the Thing be paid, it cannot be retrieved or recovered again from the Receiver. And as a Person to whom a thing is only *naturally* due, cannot properly be stiled a *Creditor* : So he is improperly called a *Debtor*, who owes a thing only *naturally* ; and that which is thus due is as improperly termed a *Debt*. But Persons may be called *Creditors*, though no Money be lent by them : For every Contract that intervenes between them and others, makes them Creditors, as already remembred. For not only those who have lent and credited Money, are comprized under the Name of *Creditors*, but even all Persons to whom any thing is due on any account whatsoever, whether on the score of a Thing hired, bought, lent, or any other Contract ; nay, even on the score of a Trespass or Offence. Those are said to be *conditional* Creditors, to whom an Action does not yet accrue, but will arise hereafter as it is expected ; for a *conditional* Creditor is truly a Creditor, though not properly so. Nor is he, to whom a Legacy is left under a Condition (pending such Condition) properly a Creditor *cum effectu* ; but yet he is truly such, if the Condition may be fulfilled.

If a Creditor proves his Debt, the Judge ought to compel the Debtor to pay the same, though the Bond or other Specialty of the Debt be lost: For the Loss of such Specialty does not affect the Creditor, if the Debt may be proved by Witnesses, or by any other legal means¹. A Creditor^{1 C. 4. 21. 2.} who has by Covenant a Power given him of entering into the Possession of his Debtor's Goods or Estate, if he afterwards desires leave of the Judge of entering thereinto, and it be denied him, cannot after by his own Authority enter thereinto. Whenever a Day is said to be added in favour of a Creditor, it is necessary, that express mention should be made thereof, or else that it should appear by evident Arguments: And all Persons agree, that a Debtor may be repelled, if he pays before the Day appointed; because it is (perhaps) the Creditor's Interest to expect the Day of Payment. Hence, if Money be lent upon Interest, and a certain Day be appointed for the Payment of the Principal, the Day is deemed to be added in favour of the Creditor, for the advantage of Interest: And, therefore, a Debtor paying before the Day must pay Interest for the same Time. But in a doubtful Case, a Day added for Payment is deemed to be added in favour of a Debtor. If a Creditor dies, and leaves several Heirs, a personal Action is divided among them by a Law of the twelve Tables^m: But a Pawn^{m C. 3. 36. 6. C. 2. 3. 26.} or Pledge is gaged to each of them *in solidum*. And, on the other hand, if the Debtor dies, leaving behind him several Heirs, the personal Action which bound him is divided among them. But in an *hypothecary* Action each of the Heirs is convened, not according to the Measure of each Person's Interest in the Estate, but *in solidum* to compel them to pay the whole, or to give up that which they detain in their Custodyⁿ. But he^{n C. 4. 16. 2. D. 10. 2. 25. 6.} who has acquired or purchased an Estate that was mortgaged from the Creditor, has no Action at all against the Estate, if he be not inducted into the Possession of it upon a Vacancy^o.^{o C. 8. 28. 13.}

By a Law of the twelve Tables, it was lawful for Creditors to divide and cut their Debtors into pieces, if they were insolvent, and to distribute their Members among them, according to the proportion of each Creditor's respective Debt: yet it was not lawful for one Creditor alone to do that, which was lawful for many to do jointly; because one Creditor alone could not take away the Liberty and Life of his Debtor. I say, he could not take away his Life, because Debtors were first to be made Prisoners to their several Creditors, and to work for them: Nor could he take away his Liberty, because Debtors were to be made Prisoners only at the Suit of several Creditors. Now if we would reason closely on the score of Liberty, since a Debtor must be imprisoned and lose his Liberty, before he could lose his Life to his Creditors, (for that he must do, if he be cut to pieces) we shall find as little reason for a Debtor to lose his Liberty to many, as to one Creditor alone. For as to the Debtor, the loss of Liberty is the same thing, whether it be by the means of one or more Creditors: And, therefore, on this Principle alone this Law is as irrational, as it is cruel. But in the Infant-State of *Rome* it was ordained to occasion Thrift and Parsimony. And thus having discoursed of a Creditor in a more particular manner, I shall next proceed to speak of a Debtor in the same way.

Now the word *Debtor*, as before rehearsed, imports a Person from whom we may demand something against his Will. And a Person may be said to be a Debtor three several ways: For a Debt is threefold in a large Acceptation of it. The first is styled a *natural* Debt; the second is termed a *natural* and *civil* Debt; and the third is called a *civil* Debt only; and some have added a fourth *Species*, viz. a *Prætorian* Debt. A *natural* Debt is that which is *naturally* due by reason of some Consent, but is not assisted by the Law; for the Law leaves it to the good Conscience of the Party to discharge it. Thus an Obligation between Father and Son is a *natural* Debt: For by the *Roman* Law these Persons are not *civilly*, but only

only *naturally* bound by their Contracts. And a Debt between Brothers, under the power of a Family, is the same : For by borrowing and contracting, they are only *naturally*, and not *civilly* bound unto each other². And Legacies are said to be *naturally* due on the score of the Testator's Will, even though such be not a solemn Testament³. A *natural* and *civil* Debt consists in every just and perfect Obligation, as it is established by Law and Consent : And touching such a Debt, no one can make any Dispute or Question in a Court of Law. A Debt *only civil*, is, when a Man gives a Bond or Note of Hand-writing for Money borrowed at any time, and acknowledged before the Money is lent to the Borrower ; provided such Bill or Bond does not extend beyond two Years, before such Payment to the Borrower was made : And they who bind themselves for Money received, which they have not actually received, but only acknowledge to have been received, and give Notes of Hand-writing for the same, are said to be *civilly* bound. But though the *Civil* Law obliges them to the Payment thereof, yet they are not *naturally* bound, because they have received nothing. Thus in the like manner, if you are *naturally* and *civilly* bound to me in the Sum of ten Pounds by a just and lawful Obligation, and I covenant with you *de non petendo*, viz. not to demand or sue for the same : In this case, though you are *naturally* discharged by my Consent, yet you are *civilly* bound, because the civil Obligation is not hereby taken away.

The *Civil* Law also makes another distinction of Debtors, viz. Debtors in respect of *Quantity* ; Debtors in respect of a *Genus* or Body deposited ; and Debtors in respect of a *Species*. The first Kind of Debtors are not discharged by the Loss of the Thing due, whether they are in Delay, or not. Wherefore, if I lend you ten Pounds, and that ten Pounds be lost before you pay me, you are (notwithstanding) liable to me, though you have contracted no delay in Payment, because the Money cannot perish, as a *Species* may : yea, though the State or City should be stripped of all its Money (which is almost impossible,) yet you shall be liable in the pecuniary Debt. For Fire, though it be a fortuitous Case, discharges not a Debtor from his Debt. Again, he who is bound to me in ten Marks of Silver, shall not be discharged, though all the Silver of the whole Province should be lost ; because Silver and Money symbolize, and Gold or Brass Money may be paid for Silver. But if any one be bound to me in Money, as a Lump or Body, as when I deliver you a Bag or Chest with Money therein inclosed, this is not called a Sum or Quantity, but a Body or *Genus*, and if the same be lost in the Chest or Bag, the Debtor is discharged ; provided it be not through his Fraud or Negligence. A Debtor in respect of a *Species*, is, when a Person owes any thing in special, as his Bondman *Stichus*, or his Horse *Bucephalus*, and the like, which are the *Species* of Things ; and such a Debtor is discharged *ipso jure*, if such Bondman or Horse dies, provided he be not in delay of Payment⁴.

But notwithstanding what has been said before, it is not equitable, that a Debtor should be liable on the score of Money lost, who would not be obliged if the Creditor would have accepted of the Money⁵, or in other Terms, if a Thing be lost after a Tender made : As when a Debtor tenders ready Money, and lays it down on the Table, saying, *Take what I owe you*, and the Creditor by not accepting thereof, the Money is lost, the Debtor is discharged (at least) by the help of an Exception, because if the Creditor should afterwards demand the Money, an Exception will lie against him, viz. That he acts deceitfully who does not accept of ready Money tendred him. For example sake, I will put a Case, *Titius* owed unto *Caius* ten Pounds upon some account or other, and once he came and tendred this Money unto *Caius* : But *Caius* being a morose and surly Fellow, did not regard

² D. 12. 6. 38.

³ Gloss. in l. 1. D. 12. 6.

⁴ C. 4. 49. 6.

⁵ D. 46. 3. 72. pr.

regard him, in such a manner as to receive the same. *Titius* went away with his Money, and after some time lost the same. *Caius* sued *Titius* for his Debt, who by way of Answer said to him, *Quid petis? nodum in scyrpo quæris*. I have lost the Money which I tendered you the other day. If you had accepted of it, I had been now discharged: And, therefore, impute it to yourself, that the Money is lost. I will not pay you any other Money, therefore, rise and be gone. And this was adjudged to be a good Exception.

A Person that is a Debtor to a Creditor in divers Sums, and upon sundry Considerations, may, when he pays one Sum, chuse which Consideration he pleases to discharge: And if he does do this, and the Creditor be silent, he shall be deemed to discharge that Debt, which he has a mind to discharge. But if his Creditor would chuse which Debt he would have to be discharged, he shall have his choice, provided he makes his Election immediately. But if no mention be made of which Debt is paid, such Payment shall then be understood of that Debt whose Day of Payment or Condition is not at hand. *Titius* owed a hundred Pounds on the account of an Estate sold him. He likewise owed me another hundred Pounds on the score of Money lent him upon Interest. *Titius* paying a hundred Pounds says, that he would have deducted a hundred Pounds, or this Debt, which he paid from that, which he owes on the Estate sold him. But I being to receive Interest for my Money, refuse to do it, and make the Money paid for the Estate which I sold him, and which carries no Interest. If I neglect to declare which Debt I would have discharged, *Titius* shall have his choice: But if I immediately declare which of these two Debts I would have discharged, the Choice shall then be mine.

If the Goods and Estate of a Debtor are to be sold for the Payment of Debts, the Statues that are erected in honour of such Debtor, or as an Ornament to the State and Commonwealth, shall not be sold. As for example, a certain Citizen or Subject of *Florence* did an eminent piece of Service to the Commonwealth, for which certain Statues were erected to him in Memory thereof; as heretofore the *Athenians* did for King *Demetrius*. This Citizen or Subject afterwards broke, and became a Bankrupt: Whereupon his Creditors would sell his Goods. *Quære*, Whether his Statues of this kind may be sold? And it was resolved, that they might not, because his Honour would hereby be attempted and suffer. And such Statues are an Ornament to the State, to the end that it may be publicly seen that such worthy Citizens or Subjects once lived and flourished in the Commonwealth. When the Goods of a Debtor are to be sold for the Payment of his Debts, and there is a Parity of bidding for them between an extraneous Person who is a Creditor, and a Creditor who is of kin to the Debtor, the Debtor's Kinsman shall be preferred to such extraneous Creditor: And among other Creditors, he shall be preferred, who has the greater Sum of Money due to him. Touching the Goods of a Debtor, which are to be sold by Creditors, some of them were willing to sell them, and others were not, and these Creditors were equal in Number, Dignity, and in Bulk of their Debts: Now in this case, a regard shall be had to the Voice of those Creditors that are of kin to the Debtor, rather than to the Voice of extraneous Persons, or Persons not related to him. By the Law of *England*, these Distinctions are not observed or followed.

A Sentence of Debt pronounced against the principal Debtor himself, makes full Proof of the Debt against his Surety, and every other Person engaged for such Debt; and after such Sentence, there may be an Execution demanded for that Debt on or against the Goods of the Debtor, if any such Goods or Estate can be found: When the Debtor has nothing in Goods or Estate, and only alledges Poverty, or is in a total Contumacy for non-

appearing,

appearing, then no Sentence is necessary, but it may be proceeded simply to an Enquiry touching his Goods and Estate, *viz.* touching what Goods and Estate he has. And the same Method shall be observed touching his Goods and Estate, if he be convened and summoned to appear. In which Cases, the Judge may compel the Debtor as well as his Surety, by their proper Oaths, manifestly to declare their Goods and Estate; and if they shall be contumacious herein, he may mulct and fine them: yea, he may compel the Wife, and Children, and their Domesticks, who have a probable Knowledge of their Goods and Estate, to discover the same. And the Judge may, moreover, inform himself touching their Effects, by the means of the Neighbours and near Kinsfolk, not only as to the Truth, but likewise as to the Fame and common Opinion of their Riches or Poverty: And if they shall depose, that there is a Fame and common Opinion of their Riches or Poverty, or of their Poverty alone, it is sufficient. A Creditor may demand part of a Debt of the principal Party, and the other part of the said Debt of the Surety, and may sue for the same.

If a Debtor, who borrows and takes up Money upon Interest for a Year, be willing to pay the said Money before the Year is expired, the Creditor is obliged to receive it with Use or Interest only for the Time past, unless the Debtor will pay it with Use and Interest for the whole Year. Usury or Interest does not run against a Debtor, if the Creditor be in delay of receiving the Principal: nor is a Debtor liable to an Action, if the Creditor be unwilling to receive the Debt, though the Debt be entirely lost. If a Debtor has at sundry times given several Cautions or Securities to a Creditor for the Payment of one and the same Debt, such Creditor cannot sue and implead that Debtor upon all those Securities; because such Debtor is presumed to have given those several Securities, which are subsequent to the first, with an Intent only of renewing the Security already given by him. By the *Canon* Law, if a Man be a Debtor to an Heretick, he is discharged by Law: nor is a Person by that Law bound to pay a Debt to an excommunicated Person, though the Day of Payment be at hand, because he cannot sue for the same. A fugitive or suspected Debtor may be arrested without the previous Solemnity of a Citation, which otherwise would be necessarily required: And such fugitive or suspected Debtor may be arrested on a Sunday, or any Holiday whatsoever; but the Proof of such Flight, or Suspicion of Flight, ought to be made to the Judge upon Oath, before he decrees an Arrest; for a Debtor in a doubtful Case is not presumed to be a Fugitive. A vagabond Debtor, that is, a Debtor who has no fixt and certain Habitation, may be convened and arrested in any Place where he is found.

In a doubtful Case, the Law favours a Debtor more than it does a Creditor. Thus when a Time is added and appointed in a Last Will and Testament for the Payment of a Legacy, (for a Legacy is a kind of a Debt) it is supposed to be added in favour of the Heir or Executor; because in the Payment of Legacies, and the Execution of Trusts, the Heir represents the Person of a Debtor. Hence a great Advantage belongs to the Heir, since he hereby gains the same Profits received before the Day of Payment comes: And it is in the Power and Discretion of the Heir, whether he will pay the Legacy before the Day appointed, or not. And as the Right of a Creditor ought not to be changed by the Act and Deed of the Debtor; so neither can a Creditor take from his Debtor the advantage of Place, when the same is assigned for the Payment of a Debt. I say, the Right of a Creditor ought not to be changed by the Act of the Debtor: For though a Debtor has delegated or remitted a Debt, which is due to himself, unto his Creditor; yet if this Money or Debt be lost by any Accident or fortuitous Case, such Debtor is not thereby discharged. As
when

when *Titius* is a Debtor unto *Sempronius*, and *Sempronius* a Debtor unto *Caius*, *Sempronius* is not released by remitting the Debt of *Titius* unto *Caius*, if the Money be lost.

A Debt *sub conditione* paid through Error and Mistake, pending the Condition, may be recovered against the Receiver; because there is nothing due whilst such Condition is depending. *Titius*, being indebted unto *Sempronius* in the Sum of a hundred Pounds, under a Condition, paid the Money before the Event of such Condition. And, upon a Question, whether *Titius* could recover the same again, it was resolved that he might: But if the Condition had had its Event, and was no longer existing, he could not recover it. But if Money be due at an uncertain Day, as when Marriage shall ensue or happen, and the like, and the Money be paid *adveniente die*, he shall not recover it, though the Debtor could not be sued for it before the Day happened: But it is otherwise in a Legacy left *sub incerto die*, since an uncertain Day, in respect of a Legacy, is looked upon as a Condition^t. Though a Debtor cannot be said to be in delay (pend-^{t D. 35. 1. 75.} ing the Day or the Condition of the Debt) by any demand whatsoever made; yet he may be in delay by his own Act and Deed: as when he promises to pay before the Day comes, or if the Condition has its Event.

A Person remitting a Debt, seems to make a Donation thereof: For the very Remitter itself is a Donation; and, therefore, it is not valid between Husband and Wife. And though a Debt does not seem to be remitted or waved by a Surrender or Delivery made of the Specialty to the Debtor, if nothing else happens; yet if the Will and Mind of a Person, who renounced the Debt, appears by any Conjectures or Signs, doubtless the Debt is thereby remitted, and it is so presumed to be according to the Opinion of all the Doctors. A Composition made with a living Debtor by the greater part of his Creditors, does not prejudice other Creditors who have not compounded or consented to remit any Part of their respective Debts. A Debtor may demand of the Creditor the Specialty or Instrument, which he gave or caused to be given for proof of the Debt, after Payment of the Money due; and if the Creditor refuses to surrender and give up the same, he may be compelled thereunto.

In all Actions of Debt, the Cause of the Debt ought to be assigned and expressed in the Libel or Declaration, else such Libel or Declaration is vicious and good for nought: For it is not enough for the Plaintiff to say generally, &c. That the Defendant was indebted to him in a Sum of Money. If an Action of Debt be brought upon a Specialty for part of the Sum mentioned in such Specialty, the Plaintiff must shew in his Libel how the other part was discharged. And as a Creditor, who demands Money to be paid him, is bound to prove his Debt, whether the Debtor denies the same to be due, or only doubts thereof: So, on the other hand, is the Debtor, who avers Payment of the Debt, obliged to prove the same, whether his Creditor denies the Payment of it, or only demurs touching the "same."^{u C. 4. 18. 1.} And the reason is, because he who affirms, ought to prove the same^v. A^{v D. 22. 3. 2.} Debtor bringing an Action for the Relaxation of Goods pawned, ought to prove the Payment of the Debt, and the Nature and Quality of the Principal, if the principal Debt be satisfy'd arising from such a Pawn; and he ought also to prove the Nature and Quality of the Profits arising from such Pawn. A Creditor accepting of a Pawn in lieu of Payment, in a doubtful case, seems to accept of it for the whole Debt. The Insolvency of a Debtor, who is not able to pay a Debt, does not hinder but that the Judge may condemn him; but this Insolvency prevents the Execution of such a Condemnation, unless the Debtor has Goods and Lands. For he is said to be an insolvent Person, *quoad hoc*, or not to have the Power of paying his Debts, who has not Money at hand, though he has many Estates and Possessions

Possessions in Land, &c. And no one is reckoned solvent, unless he can pay his whole Debt; for if a Person be solvent for part, and not for the whole, he is esteemed as a Person insolvent in many Cases. Tho' an insolvent Debtor cannot alienate any Thing to the Prejudice of his Creditors; yet he may wave an Heirship, or renounce a Legacy conferred on him by a Testator.

A personal Action still lies against a Debtor, though his Creditor has made choice of a Pawn or Mortgage for his Security: For if the Value of the Pawn or Mortgage be not enough to satisfy the Debt, the Creditor may convene his Debtor in a personal Action for the Residue of the Debt that is due^w. The Person that borrows Money is bound to the Person that lends the same, and not the Person to whose hands the Money comes on the account of Traffick^x: As for instance, if you lend me ten Pounds, and I buy Clothes with this Money, the Action lies against me, and not against the Seller of the Clothes. There must be a personal Contract, or a Contract implied in Law, in order to support and maintain an Action of Debt. And though it be most natural for the Debtor to perform and pay for himself; yet the Creditor ought to acquiesce, if any other Man discharges the Debt for him. A Pact, that a Creditor may arrest and detain his Debtor for a Debt, is not valid: nor at this day is it lawful for a private Creditor, without the Authority of the Judge, to arrest his Debtor running away from him, unless he does upon the very Act of Flight immediately bring him before the Judge: See *Groenvegen de ll. Abrogatis*^y; though antiently he might have done it. If a Debtor *in diem* or *sub conditione* be suspected of Flight, &c. Execution may be awarded and had against him in the *Interim*. If a Debtor tenders Money which was demanded, and the Creditor without sufficient Cause refuses to accept the same, he shall not afterwards have an Action^z. If a Debtor pays part of a Debt, and his Creditor makes a general Pact *de non petendo*, such Pact only extends to that part of the Debt which is paid, and the Creditor may demand the Residue. If the principal Debtor be obliged to pay or give a Thing *in Specie*, his Surety is not discharged by paying the Value or Price of that Thing.

A Debt ought not to be demanded *armatâ manu*, but by a civil Action in a judicial manner^a: For we ought rather to make use of the Law, than open Force and Violence. Thus if *Titius* has lent any Sum of Money unto *Seius*, and *Seius* denies that he owes him any thing, *Titius* ought not to compel *Seius* to the Payment of it *armatâ manu*, but ought to sue for the same before some Judge. If a *necessary* Debtor leaves any Thing by his Will unto his Creditor, he is deemed to leave it as a Compensation of his Debt, unless it be otherwise expressed in the Will; but a *voluntary* Debtor (for such distinction the Civil Law makes) does not seem to bequeath it *animo compensandi*, but with a Design of exercising Liberality. A *necessary* Debtor is said to be him, who contracts a Debt by a necessary Cause, as by a proper or an improper Contract, or by the Law, and not by the Act and Will of the Debtor; but if it be by the Debtor alone, as in the Case of a Promise, he is said to be a *voluntary* Debtor.



T I T. XII.

Of a Demand, judicial and extrajudicial, and the Force and Consequences thereof; how a Day appointed for Payment is a Demand in Law, &c. Of a Delay in Payment, and what attends the same.

SINCE no Delay of Payment can rightly be alledged, before some legal Demand has been made ^b, it will be proper in this Title first to treat ^b D. 50. 17. 88. of a Demand. Now a Demand is the calling upon a Debtor, and putting of him in mind of that which is due unto his Creditor, by requesting him to pay or discharge the same: For it is proper for a Creditor, who expects his Dues to be paid him, to admonish and put his Debtors in mind thereof, especially if they are in delay of Payment. For there are some Debts which need not be paid before the Debtor is actually requested thereunto: And again there are others, wherein the Day of Payment itself is a sufficient Demand in Law; and in such a case where the Day of Payment is elapsed, the Law says, *dies interpellat pro homine*, the Day makes a Demand in the Place of a Man. So that a Person seems to be in delay in such a case, if he shall not then of his own accord tender the Debt on the Day of Payment.

A Demand, according to *Bartolus* ^c, may be either judicial or extra- ^c In l. 8. judicial. The first is, when a Demand is made in Court by some Suit or ^d D. 39. 1. 6. Action commenced: And the second is made out of Court, either by the Creditor himself, or some Agent in his behalf. If a legal Demand be made on a Debtor, though it be extrajudicially, yet he shall (nevertheless) be said to be in delay of paying the Debt, if he does not immediately satisfy the same upon a Demand made; and the Thing lent or borrowed does in the *Interim* become of less Value by the Loss or Disappointment he sustains: Wherefore, the Creditor or Lender may pray to have the Debtor or Borrower to be condemned both in Principal and Interest to him, from the time of such delay made; a due regard being had to the Value of the Thing lent, by rating the same. But if no Demand has been previously made to a judicial Process or Action, and it is probable that the Price or Value of the Thing lent will vary, pending such Process, the Plaintiff may in such a case pray to have the Principal and Interest taxed by the Office of the Judge, to see how much it will come to during the whole time of the Suit ^d; ^d D. 21. 1. 25. 8. and if the Defendant be cast in the Cause, he shall be condemned in the whole ^e. Thus a Demand is an Act in Law, having a legal Effect; and, ^e D. 12. 1. 22. it being made on a Debtor, it makes such Debtor to be in delay of Payment, if the Debt be not satisfy'd ^f; and it likewise perpetuates the Obliga- ^f Bart. & dd. tion, if it be made from time to time, in such a manner that no Prescription can ^{in l. 5. D. 12. 1.} be pleaded against the Payment of a Debt. And it matters not, whether I make this Demand in my own Person, or in the Person of a Friend. *Bolognius* says, that though a Demand be made on a Debtor; yet it does not immediately cause him to be in delay, but some small Interval of

Time ought to be allowed him to provide Money for Payment of the Debt^e; and this is the received Opinion of most of the Doctors.

^e Bald. in l. 38. D. 4. 4. A Person is sometimes deemed to make a Demand by a Protestation alone: For a Protestation *de non posse interpellari*, that he cannot make a personal Demand, is looked upon as a good Demand^h. He who makes a Demand in order to put his Debtor in delay, ought to appear at the Time and Place, otherwise his Demand vanishes, and he himself, according to *Alexander*ⁱ, suffers. Wherever an extrajudicial Demand is sufficient, a judicial Demand is sufficient, tho' it be made before an incompetent Judge; because it has the Force of an extrajudicial Demand at least^k. And such a Demand makes a Man to be in delay, whenever an extrajudicial Demand suffices, though such Demand be founded on an illegal Citation, or a Process which is null and void: And it is the same thing, when a judicial Demand is required; because it has still an Operation in Law, though the Process or Citation be null and void. See ^l *Arétine* here cited. If Letters sent to a Debtor do only contain, that the Creditor wants his Money, such is a lawful Demand if proved; because such Demand alone is a Demand in Law: and this is the common Opinion, according to *Jason*^m. If a Thing cannot be performed or paid before such a Day or Time, according to the Nature of the Thing, it cannot be demanded to be paid or performed before that Time: And when a Time of Payment is added to an Obligation, a Demand cannot be made till such Time is past and goneⁿ. If a Demand be made by a Man, it is convenient it should be made in the Presence of Witnesses, lest the Debtor should deny the same, and the Creditor not be able to prove it^o.

A Person may be said to demand more than his due four several ways. *First*, in respect of the Thing itself, which is demanded or sued for: As when a Person demands or sues for a hundred Pounds, when in truth only fifty Pounds are due to him^p. *Secondly*, in respect of the Time of such Suit or Demand: As when a Man demands or sues for a Debt before the Day or Condition of Payment is expired; because he then robs the Debtor of the advantage of Time which is due to him. *Thirdly*, in respect of the Place where the Debt is to be paid: As when a Man has promised to pay Money in a certain Place, and the Creditor demands it elsewhere. And *fourthly*, in respect of the Cause itself of such Debt; and this happens in an alternative Cause, which gives the Person impleaded, his Election or Choice: As when I promise unto *Titius* a hundred Pounds, or to give him such a House, and *Titius* only sues for the House; or else in a general Promise, and *Titius* only demands one *Species*^q. But when I say, that a Man demands or sues for more than his due in respect of the Thing itself, it is to be understood of the principal Debt, when that is increased by his Demand: But it is otherwise in respect of Accessories, as when a Man demands the Thing itself, with the Fruit and Interest thereof.

I have before said, *before the Day*, whether the Day be fixt by the Agreement of the Parties, as *I promise to pay you on the Calends of January*; or whether a Delay be inherent thereunto from the Nature of the Thing itself, it matters not: For a Person suing for the Fruits of an Estate, before they are ripe, or for the Young of Cattle before they are fallen or produced, may be said to demand the Thing *before* the Day of Payment comes, and shall not avoid the Censure of the Law^r, which punishes rash and hasty Litigants. Thus the Heirs of the Deceased have the Term of a Year, within which Time they ought to restore the Dower of a moveable Chattel: Wherefore, a Person that sues for such a Dower before that Time, incurs the Penalty of the Law, which is the Loss of his Action^s. In a conditional Debt, a Person ought not to make his Demand before the Event of the Condition, under which the Thing is premised: For if he does, and thereupon commences a Suit, he may be said to demand more than

than his due^s: for pending the Condition there is nothing due, and consequently no Obligation of Payment^t; and if there be no Obligation of Payment till the Condition is compleated, a Demand is vain and fruitless. But^{213.} if a Debtor runs away, or be suspected of Flight, he may be arrested *ante diem*, or before the Event of the Condition^u, as a Creditor may sell a^u Pledge even before the Time, if his Debtor runs away. ^{D. 4. 6. 33. D. 50. 16. D. 20. 1. 14.}

A Creditor ought to make a Demand either on the Person of his Debtor himself, or else at his House^v, and it may be made by any Words^v which denote the same. When a Demand is made on a Guardian, it ought to be made in the Name of the Guardian, and not in the Name of the Pupil, according to *Bartolus*^w. If a Person be a Debtor by his own Act, a simple Demand, without any other Proof of the Debt, is then sufficient to render him guilty of a delay: But if he be a Debtor by the Act of another, a simple Demand is not enough. A Person cannot be said to be guilty of Delay, in a case wherein a Demand was never made^x: For a Demand is necessary to introduce a Delay, whenever a Day certain is not annexed to the Obligation. But neither a judicial, nor an extrajudicial Demand is sufficient, when the Debtor is said to be ignorant of the Debt, as because it is antient, intricate, and the like; but the Creditor ought in the first place to exhibit some Proof of the Debt^y. ^{Bart. in l. D. 13. 5. In l. 5. D. 12. 1. n. 12. D. 50. 17. 88. Jaf. in l. 5. D. 12. 1.}

A Delay is that Neglect or Contempt which the Debtor shews to the Notice or Admonition given him by his Creditor, &c. in neglecting Payment^z, whether the Demand be made by Man, or by the Law itself. And, to render a Debtor guilty of Delay, these three Things ought to concur, *viz.* *First*, a Demand, as aforesaid. *Secondly*, he ought to have an Ability of paying the Thing which is due. And *Thirdly*, he ought to know himself to be a Debtor^a. A Debtor is said to have an Ability of paying, when the Thing due is *in rerum natura*: So that the real Ability or Difficulty of the Person is not considered, but the Power of Nature. For a Difficulty which proceeds from the Act of the Party, does not prevent a Delay, but it must be such a Difficulty as proceeds from Nature. We ought (I think) to consider, whether this Difficulty appeared at the time when the Obligation was contracted: if so, the Person must then impute the Consequence of it to himself, and it is no excuse for a Delay in Payment; but if it happened through some supervening Accident *ex post facto* without his Fault, it tolls the Guilt of a Delay. ^{D. 5. 1. 23. C. 8. 32. 12.}

A Debtor is said to be in delay in paying a Debt, when he knows, or may know, that such Debt is due or payable: And this Knowledge he may acquire several ways. As *first*, when a Demand is made in a fit Place, and at a proper Time: And such a Demand may be made by Man either by Word of Mouth, or by any other means (as already hinted) whereby the Debtor may be admonish'd and know, that he ought to pay the Debt. And this may be done either by a Bill or Petition exhibited in Court^b, or else in an extrajudicial manner^c, or by a Messenger or Letters (as already related) for the Will of the Writer is known by them, provided it be proved that the Debtor received such Letters, and not otherwise^d. But the Person on whom such Demand is made, ought to be capable of such Intimation; for otherwise such Demand would be vain and fruitless: As when a Demand is made on a Pupil or Minor^e; for such a Person is not capable of making Payment^f. ^{D. 12. 1. 5. D. 45. 1. D. 45. 1. 82. D. 38. 31. 47. D. 50. 17. 88. D. 46. 3. 14. fin.}

The Plaintiff may be said to be in Delay two several ways. *First*, when it is incumbent on him to do or perform something, in order to preserve his own Right. And *Secondly*, when it is incumbent on him to give or do something in order to acquire a Right and an Action *de novo*, and not to preserve an Action already acquired. In the first Case, he who is bound to give or do something in order to preserve an Action already acquired, may purge his Delay within a moderate time, if the Debtor has not an Interest

Interest to the contrary. A Creditor may also be said to be in delay, when he neglects or refuses to receive a Debt lawfully tendred to him^e; and in this sense a Delay may be predicated of a Creditor as well as of a Debtor. But then in both these Cases, the Fault of the Party ought to intervene: For a Delay cannot be without the Fault of the Party that makes such Delay. The Law sometimes admonishes and urges a Debtor without the Act of Man: And, therefore, if a Thing be not done or performed as the Law requires, the Person neglecting incurs a Delay, and shall make good the Damage, if a Time of Payment, or doing the Thing, has been settledⁿ.

^{2.} An Heir is not said to be in delay of paying a Legacy, when he tenders and offers to pay Legacies on this Condition, *viz.* that the *Falcidian* Portion be deducted: And if he be not in delay, he shall not be obliged to restore the Fruits which he has or might have received within the time of his Administration, or Judgment had against him. For if no Delay was previous to the Judgment, the Defendant shall not be liable to refund the Fruits received, or to be received by him, within the Time which is given to Persons adjudged, *viz.* four Months: But it is otherwise, if a Delay was previous to the Judgment. A Person, who delays to pay that which he owes at a Day certain, is not only liable to pay the Principal, but also Interest, which consists in Damageⁱ. A Delay is contracted, when a Person can pay, and does not, (as before hinted,) or if it happens by his Fault or Fraud that he is not solvent; or lastly, if a just Cause intervenes, whereby the Person understands himself to be bound. And a just Cause is said to be, when a Debtor is dunn'd or requested in a proper Place, and at a convenient Time, and such a Debtor has no Plea whereby he may excuse himself.

A Delay is the Procrastination or deferring of the Time that is appointed either by Law or Man, for the Payment of a Debt, or the Receiving thereof^k, and this Procrastination ought to be founded on some Fault, otherwise it cannot be called a Delay, as here intended^l. These Words in the Definition, *viz.* for the Payment of a Debt, or the Receiving thereof, point out the Divisions of Delay; *namely*, that there is one kind of Delay which respects the Debtor, and another which relates to the Creditor^m. The Matter or Object of a Delay is the Debt itself: But herein we ought to consider by whom a Delay is committed, the Demand made, the Cause of such Delay, and the Methods of making a Demand in order to punish a Delay. Now a Debtor is said to commit a Delay in not paying a just Debtⁿ; and a Creditor commits a Delay in not receiving a Debt, when lawfully tendred^o. A Debtor commits a Delay, if he does not pay a Debt, or perform an Act immediately, as soon as he knows himself, or may know himself to be a Debtor, and to owe a Thing which has an Existence^p. I say, *which has an Existence*; because if the Thing which a Man has promised, perishes before any Delay, he is not liable to make it good, for the Obligation ceases, as being impossible to be performed^q: And, therefore, as a Performance or Payment cannot be made, so no Delay can be said to happen. The Business of Delay is very near of kin unto Damage, Deceit, and a Fault, and frequently comes upon the Carpet to be discussed in the Payment of Debts, and other Performances.

I shall in the last place consider when a Delay may be purged and done away, as well on the part of the Plaintiff, as Defendant, and when not. A Delay is admitted or allowed of on the Plaintiff's Part, within a moderate time, in order to conserve an Action, when a Day and Penalty is added^r. A Delay is purged and done away in all arbitrary Actions; and sometimes it is admitted in a fortuitous Case. It is also purged and removed in a Legacy, and an Annuity, when there is a sufficient Reason for it; and likewise

^e D. 15. 1. 51.
^{C.} 3. 8. 16.

ⁿ D. 5. 12. 31.
^{2.}

ⁱ D. 46. 3. 101.

^k D. 15. 1. 51.

^l D. 5. 2. 16.

^m D. 18. 7. 17.

ⁿ D. 12. 1. 5.

^o D. 45. 1. 23.

^p D. 22. 1. 7.

^q D. 12. 1. 5.

^r D. 45. 1. 23.

^s D. 45. 1. 69.

^r Bart. in l. 120.
^{D.} 45. 1.

likewise in all legal Penalties which are incurred on the account of some Offence or Trespass done, even after a Sentence, according to *Bartolus*^r:^r In l. 84. And a Delay is purged even after a Sentence, when the whole is paid^{D. 45. 1.} which is due. A Purgation of Delay is admitted within a few Days after it is incurred, if the Plaintiff's Right be not prejudiced thereby. But it is not admitted, when there is a Day certain, and a Penalty annexed, nor after the Event of a Day, when a Day is put for the sake of deferring Payment, nor after an Execution made by Man, or the Law, on a Debtor, nor when Interest with Principal may be demanded.



T I T. XIII.

Of Bankers, and the Exchange of Money; how many kinds of Exchange there are; and of Bills of Exchange; and of receiving and protesting the same, &c.

BANKERS, sometimes in the Laws stiled *Argentarii*, were anciently *Roman* Citizens who exercised the Trade and the Business of negotiating Money as well at *Rome*, as in the Provinces: And from hence they were called *Nummularii* and *Mensarii*^s. They stood in the *Forum*^s *D. 2. 14. 47. or Market, and there had Shops and Tables placed, and Persons that lent^r out their Money upon Interest lodged the same in their Hands, and took Bills and other Proofs in writing for it^r. Money was lodged with them^r *D. 2. 13. 4.* upon a two-fold account, *viz.* either without Interest upon the score of publick Credit, as in a safer Place than in private Houses^u; (for it was laid^{10.} up in the Temple of *Castor*) or else it was lodged there for the sake of receiving Interest^{2.}. The Office of Bankers was heretofore a publick Office, and hence it was their principal Care and Business to keep Account-Books of all they did, and to publish the same at the Request of any Person^v:^r *C. 2. 1. 6.* But at this Day it is become a private and voluntary Office; and, therefore, by the Custom of *Holland*, nothing hinders but that Women may now keep a Banker's Shop, since they may be Merchants and Traders. And as by the *Civil* Law, all Persons who keep Books of Account in virtue of a publick Office, as Bankers, Money-Changers, &c. are obliged to publish the same at the Request of such as have an Interest therein^w; so are Notaries at this Day bound to publish a Deed or Instrument, at the Request of those in whose Names they have wrote it. But private Persons are not bound to denude and lay open their Accounts^x, unless it be on the score of Equity, as in respect of such Merchants as exercise several kinds of Merchandize, and keep their Accounts after the manner of publick Accounts^y.^r *Bart. in l. 9. D. 2. 13. pr.* If a Banker, Cashier, or Money-Exchanger be required to exhibit and publish his Account-Books, and if he shall publish them in a knavish and fraudulent manner, he shall be punished for the same: But a Fault herein is not criminal, unless it borders upon Deceit or Knavery. The Design of publishing these Books was to prevent fraudulent Mortgages of Estates, &c.*

^z D. 2. 13. 4. 6.
9. & 10.

^a C. 4. 2. 16.

^b C. 4. 18. 2. 2.

^c D. 17. 2. 52.

For all Contracts touching Mortgages and the Sale of Estates, were solemnized in their presence, and registred in their Books, which they stiled *Calendars*: And hence it was, that they were obliged to shew and lay open the same to all Persons that demanded it^z; their Office being of a publick Nature, like unto Notaries at this day, in speeding of all Contracts out of Court. They have several Names given them by the Law, as *Collectarii*^a, *Argenti Distractores*^b, &c. and they were a Society or Company, as the Law observes^c.

These Persons the Vulgar now call *Campsores*, or Money-Changers in *English*, from the *Latin* Verb *Cambio*, signifying almost the same as the Verb *Permuto*, according to *Plautus*, *Apuleius*, *Priscian*, *Ennius*, and others. For there are two ancient elegant Verbs in the *Latin* Tongue, *viz.* *Cambio* and *Laudo*, from whence the *Civilians* have formed these Words of a barbarous Signification, *viz.* *Cambium* and *Laudum*, the first denoting the Exchange, and the other the Award of an Arbiter. Sometimes all kind of *Permutation* is comprehended under the Name of *Exchange*, called *Cambium*: But by the word *Exchange*, I shall only here point out that kind of Contract, whereby Money is exchanged and barter'd for Money, in order to distinguish it from *Permutation* properly so called, and from other kinds of Contracts. For in *Permutation* properly so called, one thing of a different Nature and Essence is delivered for another, as a Garment for a Horse, and the like. In a *Sale*, the Thing sold is delivered for Money given. And in a *Mutuum* present or ready Money is delivered, with a Time assigned for the Repayment of it, (for the intrinsic Granting of this Time is mutual :) which does not happen in *Exchange*, as here to be considered, as appears *de Cambio Minuto*, wherein one kind of Money is paid or delivered for the present Payment or Delivery of another. Wherefore, in *Exchange*, Money is barter'd or exchange'd for Money; and the Changers or Bankers are by the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* stiled *Argenti Venditores*. By the word *Campsor*, derived from *Cambium*, we mean him who pays or delivers out Money by Bills for *Exchange*; and by the word *Campsarius*, him who receives the Money by way of *Exchange*: that is to say, the *Drawer* and *Presenter*, as I shall note by and by.

Now this kind of *Exchange* here to be treated of is twofold: The one is termed *dry* Exchange; and the other *true* or *real* Exchange. That I call *real* Exchange, whereby one *Species* of Money is *really* and *truly* exchanged for another. But *dry* Exchange is not a *true*, but a *feigned* Exchange, and is a Loan or *Mutuum* under the Shew and Image of *real* Exchange: As it happens, when the *Campsor* delivers Money to the *Campsarius* to be paid in the same Place where delivered, by feigned Letters or Bills, to a distant Place, to which Place these Bills are not really sent; or if they are sent, they have no more Operation or Effect than if they were not sent, because the *Campsor* knows the *Campsarius* to have no Money there where the Bills are sent, either *actually* or *potentially*; and, therefore, this is nothing else but downright Usury. But 'tis otherwise when the *Campsarius* is credited to pay Money in the Place, for which he has received it by *Exchange*, whether it be by Money received for the Sale of mercantile Goods, or by way of Loan, or by any other Contract of *Exchange*. For this is called *real*, and not *dry* Exchange; because Money is barter'd for Money. 'Tis called *dry* Exchange, according to *Navarrus*; because it wants Moisture, or a just Title of receiving any Gain thereby: Money being stiled *Saliva Mercurialis* by the Poets, and others.

Real Exchange is subdivided in a twofold manner, *viz.* into *minute* and *local* Exchange, or Exchange by way of Bills and Letters. *Minute* Exchange is a Contract, whereby lesser Coins or Pieces of Money are exchanged for greater, or greater for lesser Pieces: As when Gold or Silver Money

Money is exchanged for Copper Half-Pence or Farthings, and the like; and so *vice versâ*. *Local Exchange*, or Exchange by Bills and Letters, is that, whereby Money lent in one Place, that it may be paid in another, as at *London*, to be paid at *Genoa*: And is said to be by Letters, because Letters or Bills are usually sent to the Place, where the Money is to be paid or received. Now *local Exchange*, or Exchange by Bills, may be made three several ways, *viz.* *First*, when the *Campsarius* or Presenter first pays Money here at *London*, that he may receive it at *Genoa*, or elsewhere. *Secondly*, when the *Campsor* or Banker here at *London* pays to the *Campsarius*, that he the Banker may receive it at *Genoa*, or elsewhere. And *thirdly*, when the *Campsor* pays Money here at *London*, which he shall afterwards receive by a Post Re-exchange. For example, *Titius* receives of *Seius* the Banker Money here at *London*, to be paid at *Leghorne*, and he pays this Money at *Leghorne* by *Caius* unto *Seius*, or to his Agent or Proctor: But *Caius*, who is made *Titius's* Creditor on the account of this Payment made at *Leghorne* unto *Seius*, on the part of *Titius*, transmits his Credit, and re-exchanges it at *London* by Bills of Exchange sent unto *Seius* the former Banker or *Campsor* at *London*, or to any other Person who may demand of *Titius* so many pieces of Money, as *Caius* has paid for *Titius* at *Leghorne*. And this is in *Latin* called *Cambium cum Recambio*.

From the Premises five Difficulties occur here to be considered: The first is touching *dry Exchange*, which is nothing else but unlawful Usury. The second is touching *real minute Exchange*. The third concerns *local Exchange*, where the *Campsor* pays Money here to be paid elsewhere; and this is called *Exchange* by Letters given or received. But Bills or Letters, I think, are not necessary; because it may be effected by a third Person, or immediately on the Faith and Credit of the Presenter or *Campsarius*. And *fifthly*, touching *Exchange cum Recambio*, wherein the *Campsor* pays Money here, which he shall hereafter receive again. *Dry Exchange*, whereby a Person makes a Gain unto himself by lending of Money, is forbidden by a Bull of *Pius* the Vth, as usurious and unlawful: For the *Campsor* or Person lending receives a Consideration for the time of his Forbearance alone; which the rigid *Canonists* do not allow of. Nor does the *Civil Law* much countenance *dry Exchange*, though it does not strictly prohibit it; because it is a Type or Shadow of *Usury* taken in the worst Sense for a Person to make a Gain of a Loan or *Mutuum*. But this Papal Bull, or Part of the *Canon Law*, is little regarded among Bankers in Countries where Trade flourishes, and Money may be got by Banking. But yet the *Canonists* themselves do not condemn *real minute Exchange* as usurious or unlawful; because Gain here is not taken for a Loan or *Mutuum*, since several Reasons may be urged why it is lawful to accept of something on the score of *minute Exchange*, as for a Person's Labour, Charges, &c. Hence he who exchanges Gold-Money for Silver, or for Money of any other Metal, may demand something above the Value of such Gold-Money for his Labour, &c. As when a Gold Coin is rated at twenty Shillings, the Banker may demand an Advance for the Exchange thereof. For the Banker keeps his Office or Shop not for his own Interest alone, but also for the sake of him who has need of his help: And this is not only true in *minute*, but even in all other *real Exchanges*. And it does not only hold good in a publick Banker, but also in every Person who executes this Office without the Prince's Authority, and who exchanges Money upon another's Account. Wherefore, a private Person may make a Gain by Banking, according to the Stile or Custom of a Country, called *the Course of Exchange*. Yet his Gain ought to be moderate, lest it should be an Inlet to Frauds, and his Neighbour unjustly aggrieved thereby. But some hold, that a private ought not to take so much as a publick Banker, (for a publick Banker has
several

several more Titles to take larger Sums for banking of Money, than a private Banker :) But this distinction is not regarded with us. Another Reason why a Banker may make a Profit of his Money in exchange, is, because a *Lucrum Cessans* is occasioned by keeping of Money: For if the Banker had not apply'd his Money to *exchange*, he might have made an advantage of it in Trade, and buying of Goods to sell again. And thus a Banker may receive Money at *London* with a certain Gain, to pay it at *Milan*, or elsewhere: As when he receives a hundred and five Pounds at *London*, to pay unto me a hundred Pounds at *Milan* or *Genoa*; and this shall not be called *Usury*, if it be not above the Course of Exchange.

This way of remitting Money by Bills was invented and introduced by the Law of Nations for many wise Reasons, *viz.* not only for the sake of keeping the *Species* within the Territory of every State, but likewise to prevent Robberies, and to ease People in carrying Money from one Place to another, which might prove an Inconvenience. Trade is greatly promoted by a *local* Exchange; and therefore every prudent State encourages the same under certain Restrictions. *Local* Exchange is not only lawful, if it be made to Places at a great distance, but even though it be made to Places of the same Kingdom or Province, if such Exchange be not specially prohibited. But the greater the Distance is, the greater is the Stipend or Course of Exchange, generally speaking, though the Bankers of the present Age do not much regard the distance of Places, but are chiefly governed herein by Trade.

In Bills of Exchange there are three Persons principally concerned, *viz.* the *Writer*, the *Presenter*, and the *Acceptor*. The *Writer* is he who draws or remits the Money. The *Presenter* is he for whose Use and Service the Bill is drawn, or to whom the Money is paid. And the *Acceptor* is he who pays the Money, on whom the Bill is drawn. When Bills of Exchange are accepted, the Risque and Danger of the Money belongs to him to whom the Money ought to be paid^a; because when Bills of Exchange are delivered and accepted *brevi manu*, the Money seems to be paid, as the *Presenter* takes the *Acceptor* for his Pay-master, and only delays the Receiving of the Money (perhaps) for his own Convenience. And another Reason is, because if this were otherwise, the *Presenter* by his Negligence in receiving the Money might suffer the *Acceptor* to become a Bankrupt, and consequently defraud the Drawer. But this is otherwise, if the Person on whom the Bill is drawn does not accept thereof *brevi manu*, or upon sight, or if the Bill be drawn so many Days after to be paid, and the like: For then if the *Acceptor* becomes insolvent before the Day of Payment happens, the Presenter may remand the Bill to the *Drawer*. If Bills of Exchange are lost, before a Demand is made of the Money, the Person who should present the same, may recover the Money on the first Banker or Drawer thereof, upon Proof made that they are *bonâ fide* lost, or upon Security given that no future Demand shall be made in virtue of such Bills: And this Proof or Caution ought to be given, lest the Person should fraudulently pretend to have lost them, whereas in truth he has not. Bills of Exchange are Proof against the Writer, not only in favour of him to whom they are directed, but also in favour of a third Person: But they are not proof against him to whom they are directed; nor do they produce any Obligation, unless they are accepted: for if the Person^c accepts of them, he remains obliged. If Bills of Exchange are given out, they cannot be recalled, before that is paid for which they were drawn.

A Debtor who has drawn a Bill of Exchange on a Person, is not thereby discharged on the Acceptance of such Bill made by him on whose Account it was drawn: But if the Person on whom it was drawn, and who

is obliged to pay and fulfil the same, accepts thereof by making a Promise of Payment, the Debtor or Drawer is discharged, according to *Salycetus*^f: For^f In l. 16. a Person accepting of a Debtor that is insolvent, must impute it to himself. D. 14. 6.

Ex. gr. *Titius* pays Money into a Banker's Hands, and desires Bills of Exchange on a Merchant at *Leghorne*. The Banker is not discharged by *Titius's* Acceptance of his Bills: But if the Merchant accepts thereof, with a Promise of Payment, the Banker is then discharged, because *Titius* accepts of another Debtor, and must blame himself if he be not paid. But others hold, that if a Person who accepts of a Bill of Exchange, does not pay and answer the same, the Creditor may have recourse to the Writer or Drawer: For the *Presenter* here (say they) after Acceptance has a double Remedy, *viz.* either against the *Writer* or the *Acceptor*; and (I think) this is the most received Opinion. A Person that accepts of a Bill of Exchange cannot pay the *Drawer* or principal Person, after it has been presented to him to be paid; because the Matter is then begun, and is *Res integra*, and the *Presenter* acquires an Action, an undoubted Action against the *Acceptor*: For he may either sue the *Acceptor* or *Drawer*, (as he thinks fit) according to what I just now hinted, because the Debtor by accepting makes himself liable.

According to the Style and Custom among Merchants, any third Person may pay Bills of Exchange in honour of the Writer of such Bills, and by paying them, he acquires an Action against the Drawer, and has the Writer bound to him: And he unto whom such Bills are directed, may do the same, *viz.* by accepting of them upon a Protest, saying, *I will not accept of this Order or Commission, but in honour of the Writer I am ready to pay such Bill, and will have the Writer bound to me.* Because though the Bill be directed to a Person, who does not accept of it; yet this does not take away the power of paying it upon a Protest. I say, a third Person that pays Bills of Exchange not directed to him, or drawn on him, acquires an Action: For he who pays Money for another, discharges that other Person, and he shall have an Action *for Business done* against him^e, because the^e D. 3. 5. 39. Debtor is so bound to him. And 'tis the same thing, by a Parity of Reason, in respect of him who pays them with a Protest, though directed to him. If the Bill be protested, the *Presenter* ought to give speedy notice thereof to the *Writer*, lest the Person to whom such Bill is directed should in the *Interim* become a Bankrupt or Insolvent. And thus a Person also who receives a Bill of Exchange, and pays it on a Protest in honour of such Bill, ought to give notice of the Protest to the Writer as soon as possible. A Protest made at the time of accepting of Bills of Exchange, ought, according to the Style and Custom among Merchants, to be repeated at the time of Payment, otherwise the *Acceptor* shall be said to have accepted the said Bills *freely*, and without Reserve. The Writer of Bills of Exchange that are returned with a Protest, is obliged to the Payment of the Sum or Sums contained therein with Interest, and they are Evidence for the Benefit of him, at whose Instance they were made or drawn. The time for paying Bills of Exchange is ten Days more or less, according to the Custom of the Place, and the Course of the Exchange.



T I T. XIV.

Of Cession of Goods, or of the Debtor's delivering up his Effects unto his Creditor, to keep himself from Imprisonment; and of the Methods to be pursued in doing of it, &c.

IF a Creditor knows that his Debtor is poor, and being worth nothing, cannot expect to have any thing from him besides his Body, he shall not by the *Civil Law* be admitted to arrest his Debtor's Body, if such Arrest can be of no advantage to him: For though it be a Rule in criminal Causes, that he who has not *in ere, debet luere in Pelle*^h, or (as the *Canonists* say) *qui non habet, non potest dare*ⁱ; yet in all civil Causes the Poverty of the Debtor excludes and bars an Action^k. But the Cruelty of our Times is such in many Places, that we either imprison our Debtors, or else strip them to the very Skin of all their Substance, leaving them not wherewithal to live on. Now to the end that a Creditor may be the better assured, whether his Debtor be poor or not, it is necessary that such Debtor should make a Surrender of all his Goods^l: For otherwise he ought either to pay the Debt, or else to suffer himself to be cast into Prison^m, without any distinction to be had between Man and Woman. See *Cujacius*ⁿ and *Petkius de jure sistendi*; and a Woman that is ennobled may be imprisoned for Debt, as has been adjudged by the Senate of *Holland*^o. But the *Civil Law* out of its great Tenderneſs to Man's Liberty and Condition has found out means, whereby a Person may easily avoid the Ignominy and Dureſs of Imprisonment, *viz.* either by Letters of longer Forbearance for the Payment of his Debts (which we call Letters of *Licence* or *Delay*) obtained from the Court in foreign Countries; or if he cannot purchase such Letters of *Delay*, because (perhaps) he cannot find proper and sufficient Sureties (for these Letters are not to be obtained without the Debtor's giving Caution for the Payment of his Debts^p;) he may do it by the Benefit of *Cession*^q, or a Surrender made of his Goods unto his Creditors. For,

^h D. 2. 1. 7. 3.
ⁱ D. 2. 4. 25.
^k D. 48. 19. 1. 2.
^l VI. 5. 13.
^m D. 4. 3. 6.
ⁿ D. 50. 17. 54.

^r D. 42. 3. 4. 1.
^m C. 7. 71. 1.
ⁿ Lib. 9. Obf. 37.
^o Neostad. Decif. 57.

^p C. 1. 18. 4.
^q Bertich. Decif. 233.

^r D. 46. 1. 17. & 36.

The *Latin* word *Cessio* signifies a transferring or assigning over of some Right or Action unto another: For Rights and Actions are transferred unto him, to whom such *Cession* is made: Because as in Bargain and Sale, or in any other Title of Alienation, it is necessary to make a Delivery of a corporal Thing, in order to transfer the Property thereof; so in order to transfer an incorporeal Thing, as a Right and Action is, we make use of *Cession*, which is deemed to be in the place of Delivery. Hence there is a two-fold kind of *Cession* mentioned in our Law: The first being stiled *Beneficium Cedendarum Actionum*, or the Benefit of assigning over Actions; and the other called *Beneficium Cessionis Bonorum*, or the Benefit of delivering up a Man's Goods unto his Creditors. The first is, when there are several Sureties, and one of them is sued for the whole Debt, to force the Creditor by an Exception to assign over his Actions against the rest of the Sureties, or else he shall not oblige him to pay the Debt^r. But of this hereafter under the Title of *Sureties*. The second is an Act in Law, whereby

whereby Creditors are put into possession of their Debtor's Goods and Estates, if they, being overwhelmed with their Debts, do of their own accord deliver up their Goods and Effects unto their Creditors. And this last Benefit of *Cession* was introduced by the *Julian* Law in favour of Debtors, that by yielding up their Estates they might be free from the Injuries of Bonds and Imprisonment, wherewith Debtors were heretofore aggrieved ^f.

This Benefit of *Cession*, which is a Protection to a Debtor against all his Creditors, was granted to all Debtors, both to Fathers, and Children in the Father's Power, and likewise to Women as well as Men^s, though they had^s no Estate at present; provided they might have Estates at some time or other. But no one shall have the Benefit of the *Cessio Bonorum*, unless he either first makes a judicial Confession of the Debt^t, or be condemned^t therein: For to prevent Fraud, a Debtor cannot have this advantage, unless the Debt be first made liquid; and, therefore, in *France* an extra-judicial Confession will not avail, though (perhaps) it may serve well enough according to the *Civil* Law. And the Debtor, who desires to have the Benefit of *Cession*, ought in this Case to make a full and faithful Inventory of all his Goods under an Oath, and to tender the same to the Court, or to his Creditors (at least) and ought not fraudulently to suppress or conceal any thing from the Knowledge of his Creditors, under the pain of perpetual Imprisonment. See *Gudelinus de jure novissimo*^u, and *Groenvegen de*^u *Legibus Abrogatis* on the *Code*^v. But the Law does not grant this Benefit or Indulgence unto all Persons indistinctly, but only to such as are decay'd in their Fortunes by some fortuitous Case^w. For if Men fall into Poverty by their own Profusion, or riotous Course of Life, or have fraudulently contracted Debts, when they know themselves to be insolvent, they shall not have the Benefit of *Cession*, but may be arrested and imprisoned^x. The Law also excludes such Persons as have already obtained the *quinquennial* Letters of *Licence* or *Delay*^y: And thus it has been adjudged at *Paris*, *A. D.* 1611. See *Bourich. de Officio Advocat.* c. 38. and *Groenvegen*, as above-cited. Bankrupts and declared Prodigals are likewise excluded^z; and so also are such Persons as abscond, &c. to avoid the Payment of their Debts; and such as are Debtors unto the^z Exchequer. *Mornacius*^b assures us, that this Benefit is not granted unto Foreigners against the *French* in *France*: But it is otherwise in the *Netherlands*, who do not deny this Benefit unto Strangers, unless it be to such as deny it to them^c. Again, it is not easily granted in the Case of a *Depositum*, wherein *quinquennial* Letters of *Licence* or *Delay* are not granted^d. And lastly, as this Benefit is only admitted on the account of civil Debts, it is not allowed of on the score of any Mulct or Fine arising from a Crime committed; nor on the account of personal Duties, and the like^e.

I have before hinted, that a *Cession* of Goods may be made as well out of Court, as in Court, according to the *Civil* Law, and that a simple Declaration of the Will of the Debtor is sufficient hereunto^f, though such a Declaration be made by a Letter or by a Messenger^g. But the Debtor was not entirely discharged from the Debt by such a *Cession* of his Goods, unless the Creditor thereby received the full Sum of his Debt, but this was only a Suspension of a further Payment thereof for a time^h; and the Debtor could not in the mean while be molested by his Creditor, nor cast into Prisonⁱ. For if he ever afterwards succeeded to a better Fortune, he was obliged to pay the whole as far as he was able^k. After such *Cession* was made, the Creditors were to sell the Debtor's Goods to the best Bidder, and not to divide them among themselves by their own proper Authority^l, lest they should undervalue them, and injure the Debtor thereby. But before Auction or Sale is made, the Person who thus surrenders and delivers up

^f Aul. Gell. lib. 20. c. 1.

^s C. 7. 71. 7.

^t D. 42. 3. 8.

^u Lib. 4.

^v Groenv. in L. 6. C. 7. 71.

^w Bertich. Decis. 236.

^x D. 42. 1. 16.

^y C. 7. 71. 2. dd. ib.

^z Arg. C. 7. 71. 8.

^z Mornac. in L. 11. C. 2. 12.

^a C. 10. 19. 2.

^b In l. 28.

^c D. 4. 6.

^c Groenv. in L. 4. C. 7. 71.

^d Morn. in L. 10. C. 4. 34.

^e D. 50. 4. 4.

^f C. 7. 71. 5.

^g C. 7. 71. 6.

^h D. 42. 3. 9.

ⁱ C. 7. 71. 1.

^j D. 42. 3. 1.

^k L. 4. 1.

^l D. 42. 3. 4. 6.

^l C. 7. 71. 4.

up his Goods unto his Creditors on the score of his Debts, may redeem them if he pleases: For he is not hereby understood to make an entire Dereliction of them, but may repent and recall the Act before his Goods are set to sale, if he be ready to pay his Debts, or satisfy his Creditors^m.
^m D. 42. 3. 3. & 5.
ⁿ C. 7. 71. 2. And thus a *Cession* of Goods is not an obligatory Contract, but only a Refuge for unfortunate and miserable Men: For if it were an obligatory Contract, there would be no room for Repentance or drawing back, since a Contract which is ever made by mutual Consent, must always be dissolved by mutual Consent or Dissent, and not otherwise. The Person who thus makes a Surrender of his Goods, is said to be the Proprietor of them *habitually*, though not so *actually*; because he has not lost the Property of them *ipso jure*: And if a *Cession* of Goods be made, the Creditors cannot *jure Domini* detain or divide them by their own Authority, as just now remarked, but the same must be sold, if they are the proper Goods of the Debtorⁿ. The States of *Holland* have by a *Placaert* of theirs added to the Wisdom of the *Civil Law* in respect to the *Cession* of Goods, ordaining, That a Curator shall in the *Interim*, before the Goods are sold, be set over them for the Care and Administration of them, who shall find Sureties for the faithful Discharge of his Office.

It has been noted in the Premises, that before a Debt is liquidated, the Person who is willing to give up his Goods shall not be heard as to his advantage herein. *Titius* convened his Debtor into Court, and his Debtor thereupon immediately said, *Domine Judex*, I am unwilling to litigate the Debt, but am ready to deliver and yield up my Goods. His Creditor, on the contrary, said, that he ought not to be heard, though he was willing to give up his Goods; because there was no *Constat* of the Debt, saying, that he had Letters or Witnesses which he could produce to liquidate the Debt, which Witnesses (perhaps) he could have hereafter; and if there be no *Constat* of the Debt, and the Debtor should afterwards come to a better Estate, how should he the Creditor prove his Debt? Hereupon it was resolved, that the Debtor who was willing to yield up his Goods, should not be heard without first acknowledging the whole Debt, either by a judicial or an extrajudicial Confession, or by a Sentence on hearing of the Witnesses. But if a Creditor consents, a *Cession* may be made without liquidating of the Debt. A Debt, as to the present Case, is liquidated three several ways^o, *viz.* either extrajudicially in the presence of the adverse Party; and such a Confession makes a Debt liquid, according to the Rules of the *Civil Law*^p. Secondly, if the Debtor confesses it in Court after Contestation of Suit. And *thirdly*, it is liquidated by a Sentence pronounced thereon. And thus a Person, who would enjoy the Benefit of *Cession*, in such a manner that he may not be molested by Creditors^q, ought not only to make a voluntary Profession of giving up his Goods, but likewise *bonâ fide* acknowledge his Debts, and by irrefragable Proofs shew that he really is a Debtor, lest by this means he should defraud his Creditors by a clandestine Surrender of them^r.
^o D. 42. 3. pen.
^p C. 7. 71. 6.
^q C. 7. 71. 1. & 7.
^r D. 42. 3. 8. 5.
^s C. 7. 71. 6.

A *Cession* is likewise to be made in such a manner, that the Debtor cannot retain the least Penny to himself, but his whole Estate must be excused (as we say) *usque ad Baculum & Peram*; for if he with-holds or retains any thing from his Creditors, such *Cession* is not valid, according to *Baldus*^s: yet this is to be understood with a Limitation. For the Person who delivers up his Goods unto Creditors, has his daily wearing Apparel, which he had by him at the time of such *Cession*, secured to him, as a Person that is condemned to die, has^t: And this is the common Opinion, as ^t *Cynus* testifies; because a Man's wearing Apparel does not come into a general Obligation of his Goods^u. For if a Debtor shall be imprisoned, he shall have his wearing Apparel, because it is not decent for him to go^v naked.
^s In l. 9. D. 42. 3.
^t In l. 1. D. 48. 40. 6.
^u In l. 1. C. 7. 71.
^v D. 20. 1. 6.
^w D. 12. 51. 13.

Thus

Thus though all the Debtor's Goods are taken from him, which he had at the time of the *Cession* made; yet in respect of those, which he acquires afterwards, he has this Benefit from *Cession*, viz. that being convened, he is only liable to Creditors so far as these Goods do extend, saving to himself the Necessaries of Life ^w. But this Benefit of *Cession* does not hinder ^w D. 42. 3. 6. future Creditors from molesting him, if such Person giving up his Goods shall become a Debtor to them. In a *Cession* of Goods, the Debtor may retain such Effects as are left him by a Last Will and Testament, under a Prohibition of Alienation: But not otherwise. He may likewise retain all *Fiefs* or *Feudal* Estates, though he cannot retain the Usufruct thereof, according to *Baldus* ^{*}; because an Usufruct, during the Life-time of the Usufructuary, ^{*} In l. 1. may be transferr'd to another Person ^v. If a Father makes a *Cession* of his ^{C. 7. 71.} Goods, the Goods of his Children are not included therein ^z, tho' the *Civil* ^v D. 7. 1. 17. ^z C. 7. 71. 3. Law gave the Father great power over the Goods of his Children.

This Benefit of *Cession*, which accrues to Debtors according to the *Civil* Law, belongs only to such Debtors as deliver up their Substance unto their Creditors, and is of no advantage unto their Sureties ^a: For whenever the ^a l. 1. 14. 4. principal Debtor is in such a manner discharged by his Creditor, that the ^{D. 46. 1. 21.} Debt in its own nature still remains unpaid, the Surety is still liable, and ^{3. Bart. ib.} may be judicially convened ^b. Thus we read in the *Code*, that a Debtor ^b D. 46. 1. 61. being condemned before the Emperors *Verus* and *Antoninus*, and a third part of his Goods being confiscated, the Creditor could only bring his Action against him for two parts of the Debt, but might convene his Surety *in solidum* ^c. Moreover it is to be noted, that by a *Cession* of Goods, ^c C. 8. 41. 1. more open and ready way is made for the Creditor against Sureties, the principal Debtor by such *Cession* being sufficiently excused; so that by this means an immediate Action lies against the Sureties. The Person who surrenders his Goods ought to do it of his own accord, and to persevere in the same Mind, if he will have the Benefit of *Cession*; for he who says, that he will do it, may repent ^d. It has been a Question among some, ^d C. 7. 71. 2. whether a Debtor ought to be imprisoned till such time as it is determined, whether on a Dispute he shall have the Benefit of *Cession* allowed him, or not? And it is held in the Negative, viz. that he shall not; since in doubtful Cases *Benignius præferendum est*.

Touching the *Cession* of Goods, we meet with two *Species* of it in our Law-Books. The first is, when a Person looks upon his Goods as a *Derelict*, and quits them with a Design of no longer retaining the Property of them ^e: And under this *Species* of *Cession* we may reckon the Assignment ^e D. 41. 2. 17. 1. of Actions, viz. when we transfer our Right unto another ^f. The other ^f C. 4. 35. 23. *Species* of *Cession* is what we have been here treating of under this Title; ^g 24. and is, when a Debtor, decay'd in his Circumstances, and oppressed with Debts, delivers up his whole Substance unto his Creditors, pressing hard upon him for the Payment of his Debts. And though this be stiled a Benefit according to the Sense of the common Law; yet, according to the Manners and Customs of divers Countries, it is branded with some kind of Infamy, since the Person who thus surrenders up his Effects, is really stigmatized in the Opinion of the World ^g. Indeed, he is not branded with ^g Nov. 135. an Infamy of Law; because there is no Law which makes such an unfortunate Wretch infamous ^h, though such *Cession* casts a Stain on his Credit ^h C. 2. 12. 11. among Men. At *Rome*, the Person thus submitting to a Surrender of his Goods, was to mount and set astride a marble Lion, which was placed on a Step to the Capitol, and there say in a loud Voice, *That he surrenders up all his Goods*, to the end that all Persons might see and hear him: which at *Paris* he does on a Stone in some Market-Place. Nor do the *French* think this enough, that he be thus distinguished and marked out, but he must ever after, till he has paid all his Debts, wear a green or

¹ Mornac. in
L.8. C. 7. 7¹.

^k Chop. de
Mor. Par. Lib.
3. Tit. 2.

¹ A. D. 1594.

yellow Cap on his Head¹. See *Choppinus de Moribus Paris*, lib. 3. In many Places, he stands in some publick Place naked to his Shirt or inner Garment for a whole Hour together, to be viewed by the People, as *Peckius* relates in his Treatise *de jure Sistendi*. Hence, though *Cession* be stiled a Benefit, I think it more adviseable to procure Letters of *Licence*, if possible, than to enjoy this Benefit of *Cession*. But as the Benefit of *Cession* is only admitted on a just Account; so likewise *quinquennial* Letters of *Delay* ought only to be granted for weighty Reasons. And a just Reason for granting these Letters is, if a Man's Estate or Lands suffer Devastation by the Fervor of Wars^k, &c. In which Case, a Demand of Rent, and the like, ought to be deferred, but cannot be entirely taken away or prohibited. Hence *Theodorick* gave the People of *Sipontum* a Term of two Years for the Payment of their Dues, being much harrassed with an Army. In *Naples*, Letters of *Licence* were granted to the People¹, on the score of a Ravage committed on their Estates by the *French*.

By a Law of the twelve Tables, it was enacted, that insolvent Debtors, and such as refused to pay their just Debts, should be imprisoned, and put into Bonds upon the Execution of a Sentence, if their Estates were not sufficient to satisfy their Creditors. This was *in terrorem* to all Debtors of dissolute Lives: For the *Prætor* was to judge, whether they deserved this Punishment or not, by dissipating their Substance. But Bonds and Imprisonment were sometimes not regarded, Debtors living easy and plentiful Lives in a Goal, either by the Support of Friends, or else concealing their Estates, a Law was afterwards established by *Cornel. Scipio Asiaticus*, enacting, That such Debtors should be whipped and set to work for the Benefit of their Creditors, besides the pain of Imprisonment. And if we may believe *Aulus Gellius*, he tells us, that it was lawful for Creditors to put their obstinate Debtors to death, and to divide their Bodies between them if they pleased (for such as concealed their Estates were punished with Death:) which Law in time grew into disuse by publick Consent, as being thought too cruel, and the Punishment of Death was converted into a Mark of publick Shame and Infamy by a Proscription of their Goods, with the Continuance of Imprisonment. But, in abatement of this Rigour of Bonds and Imprisonment, a Law was afterwards made, according to *Livy*, that no one should serve his Creditors either by work, or Bonds for Money borrowed, unless they were fraudulent and obstinate Debtors. Then in *Sylla's* Dictatorship, an Ordinance of the People was made at the Instance of *Caius Popilius*, that if a Debtor delivered up all his Goods unto his Creditor, he should be free from all Bondage or Service to him. But this Law being almost abolished by a Disuser, it was revived by the *Julian* Law, which introduced the Benefit of the *Cessio Bonorum*, which is a voluntary delivering of a Man's Estate unto his Creditors, as aforesaid, that he may escape the Infamy and Hardship of Imprisonment for his Debts.



T I T. XV.

Of Bankrupts, and how many sorts of them; which of them favoured in Law, and which of them odious and punishable; and what Punishment they underwent by the Roman Law.

A *Bankrupt*, as described by *Angelus* in his *Consilia Juris*^m, is one, ^m Conf. 61. who, being oppressed with Debts, and labouring under Poverty, refuses to pay what he owes, and either runs away, or conceals himself from his Creditors. But *Stracca* defines a Bankrupt to be him, who either through his Fault, or through some Misfortune in Trade, becomes insolvent, and delivers up his Goods to his Creditors; or else to be such a Person, as thus becomes so either partly by his own Fault, and partly by Misfortunes in Trade. And he is said to be a Bankrupt by Misfortunes in Trade, who loses his Goods by Stress of Weather, or a Storm at Sea, or else by the Ravage of Pyrates, and the like. And he is said to be a Bankrupt by his own fault, who wastes his Estate by riotous Expences, and a profligate way of Life. The *Civil Law* has a great Compassion for the one, who is thus reduced to Poverty, and little or none for the other; for these last are the worst of Men, and not the Object of Pity. By the *Roscian Law* there was a certain Place appointed for such Bankrupts as dissipated their Estates by a dissolute way of Life, that they might stand there in the lower Ground, and be pointed at by the People.

Baldus inveighs against Bankrupts as common Cheats, and with him they are not only infamous Persons, but the most infamous of all Men; and ought, according to the antient Law of the twelve Tables, to be delivered up to their Creditors to be torn to pieces. For by reason of their Fraud they do not seem to have the Benefit of *Cession*, which is a Refuge only to the Unfortunate, and ought not to be a Protection to Knaves and Cheatsⁿ. But, I think, *Baldus* has treated them with greater Severity than ⁿ D. 42. S. 25. the Nature of the Thing (perhaps) requires. According to *Justinian*, such Debtors as deliver up their Goods, though they are not sold upon this account, are yet not deemed infamous. For it ought to be considered, whether such Person became a Bankrupt by the Unkindness of Fortune, and then such Person is not reputed infamous: But if he became a Bankrupt by his own Vice and Folly, as by losing his Substance through the means of Gaming, or by the Allurements of Harlots, or by sumptuous Tables or Entertainments, he shall be adjudged infamous. And 'tis the same thing if it be partly by the Jilts of Fortune, and partly by his own Vice and Folly.

It is a common way among Bankrupts to alienate all their Substance in Trust, or (at least) the greatest part of it, with a design of cheating their Creditors; and hence we have an excellent Title in the *Digests*^o against ^o D. 42. S. these private Robbers. For if such Alienation was made on a sudden, and not long before the Act of Bankruptcy, it is a strong Presumption that it was done with a knavish Purpose, and then such Alienation is not ^p valid. ^p D. 42. S. 10. Again,

Again, it also was an usual way with Bankrupts, some few days before their Bankruptcy, to enter themselves Debtors in their Books to such a Person in the Sum of a thousand Pounds, and to such a one in the Sum of five Pounds, and the like for Goods supposed to be bought, whereas in truth there is no such Money due. But who can reckon up all the Frauds of Bankrupts, since they are almost innumerable? But there are two Actions given by the *Prætor*, which come to the same thing, whereby the Frauds of Bankrupts, and such as are privy thereunto, are restrained and punished. The first is called *Actio Pauliana* from *Paulus* the *Prætor* who first introduced it; and the other is stiled *Actio Calvisiana* from *Calvisius* the *Prætor*, who made an Edict touching this matter. The first is a *real* Action, whereby Creditors may reclaim the Effects of their Debtors, that are alienated in Fraud of them, by rescinding the Delivery thereof, as if they had never been deliver'd^a. This Action accrues to Creditors and their Successors^b, and also to Curators of Goods, if any thing be done or alienated by any Contract whatsoever, in order to defraud them^c. It likewise lies against those, who knowing a Debtor to be insolvent, do covenant and transact any thing with him, in order to conceal or convey away his Estate from his Creditors, as being Partakers of the Fraud^d: But it does not lie against a Person that is ignorant of such Fraud, unless he enriches himself thereby^e, nor against a third Person that is a Possessor of the Bankrupt's Goods by fair and honest means^f. But it lies entirely against Debtors themselves, that alienate their Substance in fraud of their Creditors, so far as they are able to answer, and likewise against their Heirs for what comes to their Hands of the Goods of the Deceased^g. Moreover, this Action not only lies to recover all Goods that have been alienated in fraud of Creditors, but to restore Matters to their former State, in which they were before such Alienation made^h, together with the Fruits that were growing on the Land at the time of such Alienation, and which were received after a Suit commenced, but not for the mesne Profits. If a Person has wittingly paid any thing to such a Bankrupt or Cheat, he shall not recover the same again either in part, or in the whole, if he knew him to be a Bankrupt, but the same shall go to the Bankrupt's Creditorsⁱ. This Action has a Retrospect to the Day of the Alienation made, but it ought to be brought *infra annum utilem*, from the time of his Bankruptcy^j. And it is given *in solidum*; and, according to the Usage in some Places, it may be commenced at any time within thirty Years. By it all Persons suspected to be concerned in such Fraud either by Concealment or otherwise, may be examined upon Oath: And it extends not only to Bankrupts, but to all other fraudulent insolvent Debtors, and their Accomplices.

If Creditors have remitted part of a Debt unto Bankrupts, in order to obtain the Residue, they may recover what they have so remitted by a *Condictio* or *personal* Action *ob turpem causam*^k, if such Bankrupts afterwards come into better Circumstances. For as Bankrupts are, for the most part, an ill sort of Men, and do commonly extort such a Pact of Discharge from their Creditors, that which is given *ob turpem causam*, upon a dishonest account, is not fully remitted, but may be recovered when their Debtors come to a better Fortune. Wherefore, we ought to consider, whether a Bankrupt has refused to pay or do any thing, unless his Creditors come into Terms with him to remit a Part, in order to obtain the Residue, or whether the Creditors did this out of meer Will and Choice, and whether the Bankrupt refused to pay what he was able to perform: For if the Bankrupt did not make a Refusal, and the Creditor did out of meer Will and Choice remit a part to obtain the Residue, the Creditor shall recover no further. For there is a manifest difference between a *gratuitous* Pact, and a Pact extorted by foul means. *Paulus de Castro* observes^l, there is a Law

^a I. 4. 6. 6.
^b D. 42. 8. 10.
^c 1. 8. 2.
^d D. 42. 8. 1. 2.

^e D. 42. 8. 1. 2.
^f D. 42. 8. 10. pr.
^g D. 42. 8. 6. 8.

^h D. 42. 8. 9.

ⁱ D. 42. 8. 10.
 fin.

^j D. 42. 8. 10.
 22.

^k D. 42. 8. 7.

^l D. 42. 8. 6.
 D. 42. 8. 10. pr.

^m Conf. 179.

Law among Merchants, That if a Creditor by Pact discharges a Bankrupt Debtor from his whole Debt upon Payment of part of it alone, he cannot afterwards molest him for such a part of his Estate as remains with him after such Agreement and Payment made, and which the Debtor had at the time of the Agreement; because in respect of those Goods which the Creditor then had, he seems to be contented and satisfy'd that the Residue should remain in his Debtor's Hands: Wherefore, if he would afterwards trouble him for more than the Sum agreed on, he ought to prove that such Debtor afterwards bettered his Fortune, otherwise he shall not be heard. And this, I think, is true, when a Bankrupt has not refused Payment of what he is able, and the Pact of Discharge was not extorted by unjust means, but made by way of Gratification.

Whenever any Debtor becomes a Bankrupt, as he does by absconding with a Design of cheating his Creditors, the Creditors ought to apply themselves to the Judge, and upon Oath to suggest that such a Person being their Debtor absconds himself in such a manner, that he cannot be effectually summoned into Court for the Payment of his Debts. Whereupon the Judge declares him a Bankrupt, and by Decree issues out a Proclamation, commanding all Persons that have any of the Bankrupt's Goods or Effects in their hands, to come in and discover the same under a severe Penalty mentioned in the said Proclamation. And a Reward is likewise offered in the said Proclamation unto any Person, who shall discover any of the Bankrupt's Goods concealed from his Creditors. Then the Judge, after he has by Proclamation summoned the Bankrupt to appear, decrees an Inventory to be made of all the Bankrupt's Goods, Debts, and Credits; and orders his Cash-Books, and all other Writings, to be seized to the Use of his Creditors. This Inventory ought to be granted and made in the first place^b; and likewise an Appraisement of the said Goods by law-^b D. 48. 17. 51 ful Men. The Bankrupt, if he appears, ought to be examined upon Oath^{Pr.} touching the Concealment of his Goods, and ought to declare whether the Inventory shewn to him be a full and perfect Inventory of all his Substance, and so may any other Person whatsoever, who is suspected of concealing the Bankrupt's Estate. The *Civil Law* says, they may be put to the Rack, if the Suspicion be strong, in order to induce a Discovery: But this Severity is now out of use in many Places.

If a Merchant became a Bankrupt by his own Vice and Folly, he was cast out of the College of Merchants, and never suffered to trade again: But if it happened by real Misfortunes, he only delivered up all his Effects unto his Creditors, and had the further Payment of his Debts postponed, till such time as he arrived at better Fortune by his future Industry, but was never entirely discharged from them. The riotous Bankrupt was set to hard Labour for his Creditors, if no one relieved him from his Debts; and if he was found to have knavishly alienated his Estate, he was put to death as a common Cheat, no longer to be endured in the Land of the Living. And so was he, who borrowed Money, and then immediately broke thereupon *animo fraudandi*. A Bankrupt is in pure *Latin* called *Decoctor*, from the Verb *Decoquo*, to waste away and consume by degrees, as Liquors do by boiling: Therefore, by a Metaphor taken from those things, which being for some time placed near the Fire, are usually reduced to nothing, it signifies to waste or consume one's Substance, and to become a Bankrupt as we stile him. Hence these Persons antiently were called *Decoctores*, *Conturbatores*, and *Bonorum Consumptores*; but now by the modern Language are termed *Fallito's* and *Cessantes*. And, therefore, some say, that *Accursius* is mistaken *toto cælo* in his Exposition of this Term: There being some Lawyers, who say, that the Verb *Decoquo* has the same Signification among the Ancients as *Bonis cedo & derelinquo Creditoribus*,
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with whom I cannot agree. Hence the *Latin* word *Decoëtio* in the *English* Language signifies Bankruptcy; and in modern barbarous *Latin* the word *Fallimentum* imports the same thing, because Bankrupts are wont to deceive their Creditors.

Having recited thus much of the *Civil* Law touching Bankrupts, I shall next enquire what our Law ordains in relation to them: For the *Civil* Law makes all Persons to be Bankrupts, who become insolvent, and fraudulently absent or conceal themselves from their Creditors; but by the Law of *England* no one can be deemed a Bankrupt, who does not exercise some Trade or other. And touching Bankrupts, we have several Statutes: As the 13th of *Eliz.* cap. 7. the 1st of *Jac.* I. cap. 15. the 21st of *Jac.* I. cap. 19. the 13th of *Car.* II. cap. 24. some of which I shall here briefly consider, tho' all these Statutes seem to be ineffectual to prevent the Frauds arising from Bankrupts. By the Statute of *Eliz.* if any Person (Subject or Denizen) exercising Trade departs the Realm, conceals himself, or suffers himself to be arrested, outlaw'd, or imprison'd without just Cause, with an Intent to defraud Creditors being also Subjects born, he shall be deemed a Bankrupt. And the Lord-Chancellor or Keeper upon a Complaint in writing against such Bankrupt, may appoint honest and discreet Persons to take such Order with the Body of such Bankrupt, wheresoever found, and also with the Lands (as well Copyhold as Free,) Hereditaments, Annuities, Offices, Writings, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, wheresoever known, which the Bankrupt has in his own Right, with his Wife, Child or Children, or by way of Trust to any secret Use; and to cause the said Premises to be searched, rented, or appraised, and sold for the Payment of the Creditors rateably, according to their Debts, as in the Discretion of such Commissioners (or the most part of them) shall be thought fit. The Vendees of Copyhold-Lands shall compound with the Lord for their Fines, and then shall be admitted, and make Fealty according to the Custom of the Manor. Such of the Commissioners as execute the Commission, shall (upon the Bankrupt's Request) render him an Account, and also the Overplus (if any be) to him, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns. And the Commissioners have power to convene before them any Person accused or suspected to have any of the Bankrupt's Goods, Debts, or Chattels to be indebted to him, and for a Discovery thereof to examine them upon Oath, or otherwise, as they (or the most part of them) shall think fit. The Person demanding or detaining any of the Bankrupt's Goods, Lands, Debts, Chattels, &c. (not justly due) shall forfeit double the Value to be levy'd, recover'd, and employ'd by the Commissioners. And the Person refusing in that behalf to disclose or swear, shall forfeit double the Value of the Goods, Debts, &c. so concealed, to be ordered or employed by the Commissioners, or the greater part of them. If after all the Creditors are paid out of the Bankrupt's Estate, and the Forfeitures, any Surplusage shall remain, it shall be by the Commissioners divided betwixt the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, and the Poor of the Place where such Bankrupt happens to be. And if any Person indebted absents himself from his usual Place of Abode, upon Complaint, the Commissioners (or the most part of them) shall award five Proclamations to be made upon five sundry Market-days near the said Place, commanding him to render himself to the Commissioners, or one of them; which if he does not within a convenient time, he shall be adjudged out of the Queen's Protection: And the Party wittingly concealing or receiving him shall (upon Information of the Commissioners, or the most part of them) suffer such Imprisonment, and pay such Fine, as the Lord-Chancellor or Keeper shall think fit. The Creditor not fully satisfy'd by this means, may (notwithstanding this Act) take his Course at Law against the Bankrupt, for the Residue of his Debt. The Estate which comes to the Bankrupt
by

by Purchase or Descent after he becomes a Bankrupt, shall also be extendable by the Commissioners, or the major part them. This Act shall not extend to annual Estates of Land (Free or Copy) by him convey'd before he became a Bankrupt, provided they were so convey'd *bonâ fide*, and not to such as were privy to his fraudulent Purpose.

The next Statute touching Bankrupts is that of the 1st of *Jac. I.*^c which^c Cap. 15. is an Improvement of that of *Eliz.* by adding some things thereunto. For by this Statute every Subject born, or Denizen, who using Trade shall keep House or absent himself, or suffer himself to be arrested for Debt not justly grown due, or fraudulently suffer his Goods to be attached, or make any fraudulent Grant of Lands or Goods, with an Intent to deceive his Creditors being Subjects born, or being arrested shall lie in Prison six Months or more, shall be adjudged a Bankrupt. For to avoid the former Act of Bankruptcy, Persons would procure their Goods to be attached, and make fraudulent Grants of their Lands and Goods, and after an Arrest (perhaps) procured by themselves, be content to lie in a Goal during Life, in order to defraud their Creditors. Hence this Description of a Bankrupt was further added to that in the foregoing Statute. And by this Statute any Creditor shall be admitted to take his part, if he comes in within four Months after the Commission sued out, and pay his part of the Charge, otherwise the Commissioners may proceed to Distributions; which was not provided in the former Statute. If a Bankrupt grants his Lands or Goods, or transfers his Debts into other Mens Names, except to his Children upon Marriage, (they being of Age to consent) or upon valuable Consideration, the Commissioners may (notwithstanding) sell them, and such Sale shall be good. If upon Warning in writing left three times at the most usual Place where he dwelt, within one Year before he became a Bankrupt, he appears not before the Commissioners, they may cause him to be proclaimed at some publick Place or Places: And if upon five such Proclamations, he yields not himself, they shall by warrant cause him to be brought before them to be examined concerning his Estate, &c. If the Bankrupt shall refuse to be examined, the Commissioners shall commit him till he conforms: or if being examined, he commits Perjury in prejudice of the Creditors to the Value of ten Pounds or more, he shall be indicted for the same, and after Conviction stand upon the Pillory, and have one of his Ears nailed thereunto, and cut off. This is since made Death by the Statute of Queen *Anne*. If any Person be known or suspected to detain any of the Bankrupt's Estate, and does not appear or send some lawful Excuse at the next Meeting after warning given him, or appearing, refuses to be examined upon Oath, the Commissioners by Warrant shall cause him to be arrested; and if he still refuses, shall commit him till he submits. The Witnesses shall have convenient Charges allowed them rateably by the Creditors; and such of them as shall be perjured, and their Procurers, shall be indicted on the Statute of the 5th of *Eliz.*^d No Debtor shall be prejudiced by Payment of his^d Cap. 9. Debt to the Bankrupt, before he has notice that he is a Bankrupt.



T I T. XVI.

Of a Commodatum, or a Loan made to a certain Use, and for a certain Time, &c. What Things may be thus lent ; and in what manner they ought to be restored at the end of the Term ; and what Actions lie on this Contract, &c.

A Second kind of Contract, which is made by something done, the Romans called a *Commodatum*. And it is a Grant of something made in a gratuitous manner for some certain Use^c, and for a certain Term of Time^f, either expressed or implied, to the end that the same *Species* should be returned or restored again to us, and not another *Species* of the same Kind or Nature, and this in as good a Plight as it was first deliver'd. It is stiled a *Commodatum*, either because it is lent or granted *commodo utentis*, viz. for the Benefit of the Person that uses it ; or else because it is lent *cum modo*, that is to say, for a certain End prescribed^e. We have no one Word in the *English* Tongue to express it by. It was first introduced by the Law of Nations, and not by the *Civil* Law, tho' confirmed by it ; and is a real Contract *bonæ fidei*. It must be of such Things as do not perish, nor are consumed in the using ; because the very same Thing is to be returned^h, and not a Thing of the same Quantity or Quality, as in a *Mutuum*.

In this Definition I *first* call it a Grant of *something*, because this Contract has no Being, unless there be something done or intervening : For this is of the very Substance of the Contract. *Secondly*, I say for some *certain Use*, and a *certain Term of Time*, in order to distinguish it from a *Precarium*, which is granted indefinitely without the Determination of any certain Use or 'Time'ⁱ : And, therefore, a *Precarium* may be revoked, whenever the Granter pleases ; and herein only Deceit or gross Negligence renders the Person accountable, as I shall hereafter observe again under the Title of a *Precarium*. But in a *Commodatum* there is a certain and determined Use of the Thing lent, which if any one exceeds or transgresses by making any other use of it than that for which it was lent, he commits a Theft^k : And, therefore, ought to be punished with Damages ; but the *Commodant*, or Person thus lending, cannot revoke the Thing so lent till such time as the Use thereof be ended and accomplished ; nor shall the *Commodatary* be obliged to restore it till then^l. *Thirdly*, the word *Use* apply'd in this Definition excludes a Pawn and a *Depositum* ; because if a Creditor makes use of a Pawn, or a Depository of a *Depositum*, he commits Theft, according to the *Civil* Law. *Fourthly*, I have added the Words in a *gratuitous manner*, in order to distinguish a *Commodatum* from letting to hire : For whenever any Reward or Present is made for the Use of a Thing, or any Recompence intervenes, it then passes into another *Species* of a Contract, and becomes an *innominate* Contract, or a letting

to hire ^m; for a *Commodatum* of its own Nature ought to be *gratuitous*, ^{m I. 3. 15. 2.} and without Fee or Reward ⁿ. *Fifthly*, I have rather chose to make use ^{n Glanv. lib. 10. c. 13. Flet. lib. 2. c. 56.} of the word *Grant* than *Transfer*; because the *Commodant* still retains the Property of the Thing thus lent by way of *Commodatum*. And lastly, I have subjoined these Words, *viz.* That *the same Species be returned again* to distinguish it from a *Mutuum*, wherein the same *Species* is not returned, but only a Thing of the same Nature in Quantity or Quality, as aforesaid. A *Mutuum* and a *Commodatum* have different Names in *Latin*, though not in *English*.

A *Commodatum* consists in Things moveable and immoveable ^{o D. 13. 6. 1. 1.}, as of a House or Land; and may also be of Things incorporeal, as of Rights, &c. yet a *Commodatum* does not consist in those Things which are consumed by use, unless such a *Commodatum* be made for Shew and Ostentation, as when a Person borrows Silver-Plate, and the like, that he may appear like a rich Man ^p. It may also be made of that which belongs to another Person ^q. And every Person may lend and borrow a Thing by way of *Commodatum*, unto whom it is permitted to make any other Contract. The *Commodatary*, or Person to whom the Thing is lent, is not obliged to answer for any uncontrollable Force, or for the Loss or Damage of the Thing which happens by any fortuitous Cause ^r; provided such Accident does not intervene through his Fault or Neglect. But if he be ^{r D. 13. 6. 5. 2. & 4. D. 13. 6. 10. 18. & 20.} guilty of any Fraud or gross Negligence, he shall make the Loss and Damage good: For it is necessary that he should take the same Care of the Thing, as every prudent Man would do of his own Goods; since this Contract is entered into for his sake (perhaps ^s.) But if it be made for the sake of the *Commodant*, as sometimes it is, then he shall only be accountable for his Fraud and Knavery ^t. If it be entered into for the sake of each Party, he shall then be answerable for Fraud and Negligence, but not for the bare ^{u D. 13. 6. 5. 10.} Custody of the Thing ^v. This Contract is of frequent use, and of absolute necessity in Society, for no one would buy or hire every day those ^{v D. 13. 6. 18. fin.} Things which he had occasion to use but for a little time; and therefore by Agreement Men will often supply each other upon Urgencies.

A *Commodatary* by impawning or alienating the Thing lent him, does not, according to the *Civil Law*, prejudice the Proprietor thereof ^w, but is ^{w D. 17. 1. 22.} himself by that Law deemed to be guilty of Theft ^x; and consequently the Thing thus alienated or impawned does not become the Property of him who receives it ^y. For lest any one should be deceived by the Fault or ^{y I. 4. 1. 12.} Negligence of him, who has delivered his Goods to a bad Man to be kept ^z, the *Civil Law* is thus severe against him who alienates or impawns a Thing lent or committed to his Trust, if he sells, or any wise alienates the same, without a formal Commission had from the Proprietor. But by the Custom and Usage of *Holland*, the Proprietor has not an Action against him who receives a Thing fairly alienated, or transferred to him by a just Title: or if the Thing be not alienated, but only impawned, he cannot claim it, unless he redeems the Pawn; and thus it has been adjudged in their dernier Resort, according to *Groenvege de ll. Abr.* ^{z I. 4. 1. 16.} By the *Saxon Law*, the Property and Possession is transferred on the *Commodatary*: And, therefore, this Paragraph of the *Institutes* being abolished with them, if the *Commodatary* shall lose a Thing by Theft, the Person lending it cannot have an Action against the Thief. See *Zobellus* on the *Saxon Law* ^{aa Lib. 2. Art. 60.}. But this Disposition of the *Saxon Law*, I think, is not observed in practice; and, therefore, their Practice is agreeable to that of *Holland*.

From this Contract of a *Commodatum*, two Actions do arise, *viz.* the one a *direct* Action *ex Commodato*; and the other a *contrary* Action. The first is given to the *Commodant* and his Heirs, against the *Commodatary* and his Heirs ^{aa C. 4. 23. 3.}, whereby the *Commodant* demands and sues for a Restitution of

- ^a D. 13. 6. 3. 1. the Thing lent ^b. And the second is granted to the *Commodatary* and his Heirs, against the *Commodant* and his Heirs. *First*, to oblige him or
- ^c D. 13. 6. 17. them not to hinder the *Commodatary* from using the Thing lent ^c. *Secondly*,
3. to recover the great Expences the *Commodatary* has laid out on the Thing
- ^d D. 13. 6. 18. lent ^d. And, moreover, if there be any one that has lent another faulty
2. Vessels, wherein Wine or Oil being put, is spoiled and corrupted, he is liable
- ^e D. 13. 6. 18. to this Action, provided he did it knowingly ^e, and shall recover Damages.
3. But if a Person shall lend another a Bondman, Horse, or any other Animal, the *Commodatary* shall not be allowed for the Sustainance of such Bondman, &c. nor for any moderate Expences, which, according to the Rules of right
- ^f D. 13. 6. 18. Reason, the Person that uses the Thing is wont to wear ^f. The *Commodant*
2. shall not only recover the Thing lent *in Specie*, as a Horse, and the like, but also all Fruits and other Accessaries thereunto, as the Young of Cattle, whensoever they fall or grow due ^g. By the *Civil Law*, the *Commodatary*
- ^g D. 13. 6. 5. cannot retain a Thing lent him, under any pretext of a Debt, unless such Debt be liquid, or he has laid out great Expences on the Thing lent, and the Lender refuses to pay him his Charges ^h. In *Holland*, if the Borrower
- ^h Gloss. in l. un. C. 4. 23. has the Thing in his House, he may stop it by a judicial Arrest for any Debt, till such time as the Debt is paid, or Security given for the same: But he cannot do it by his own private Authority.



T I T. XVII.

Of a Depositum, or a Thing lodged with another to be safely kept without a Reward. How it differs from a Mutuum and a Commodatum; how many kinds of it, and what; unto what the Depositary is obliged, &c.

AS Things are not only wont to be delivered to a Person for his use, but are sometimes committed to him only for the safe Custody thereof, I will therefore here say something of a *Depositum*, and of the Action that arises thereupon. A *Depositum*, as taken for the Thing deposited, is that which is delivered unto any one to be safely kept by him in a *gratuitous* manner; that is to say, without any Fee or Reward for the Custody of it, and to be restored unto the Person that thus lodges it in the same

ⁱ D. 16. 3. 1. pr. *Species*, whenever he shall be pleased to require it ⁱ. For the Person,
^{1. 3. 15. 3.} who deposits a Thing, may demand it at any time, and the Depositary

^k D. 16. 3. 5. fin. upon yielding up the same shall be discharged from his Office ^k. The *Depositary* is the Person in whose hands the Thing is placed and lodged, for the safe keeping and preserving the same. And though, generally speaking, it denotes him, with whom the *Depositum* is left and entrusted; yet sometimes it is taken for him who leaves a Thing in Trust or Custody with another. The Preposition (*de*) here increases the Force of the word *Positum*: So that it is not deemed to be simply placed and lodged there, or put into the Hands of the Person with whom it is lodged, but that it is also committed to the Trust and Honesty of him who receives the same. I say, *only for the safe Custody of a Thing*; because in a *Depositum* as such, the Dominion and Property is not transferred and alienated;
nor

nor is the Usufruct of it given to the Depositary, but the Depositary has only the Custody and Keeping of the Thing committed to him.

And upon this account a *Depositum* is *first* distinguished from a *Mutuum*, or Thing lent not to be returned in the same kind, but in another Thing of the same Quantity, Nature, and Value, as Money for Goods¹, &c. because in a *Mutuum*, the Dominion and Property of the Thing borrowed is transferred to the *Mutuary*; and the *Mutuum* cannot be recovered or re-demanded, unless it be after a certain time: But a *Depositum* may be recovered at any time^m, as aforesaid. *Secondly*, a *Depositum* differs from a *Commodatum*, or a Thing lent *gratis* to be returned after a certain Time, &c. because a *Commodatum* is granted for a certain Time and Useⁿ: And only on this score it differs from a *Precarium*, which may be made use of, though recalled at any time when the Grantor pleases. But a *Depositum* is only delivered for the safe keeping of the Thing deposited, unless there be some other Contract mingled with it, and added thereunto. And hence I infer, that the Depositary cannot use the *Depositum*; yea, he commits Theft by using it^o: For he meddles with that which belongs to another Person, without or against the Will and Consent of the Proprietor; which meddling the *Civilians* call *contrectatio rei*, and is a Trespass according to their Law. And the *Depositum* being delivered to him not for Use, but for Custody only, an Action of *Theft* lies, according to the *Civil Law*, if it be used any otherwise, than to the end for which it was committed in Trust. Some say, that a Depositary making use of a *Depositum*, which carries an Usufruct along with it, as a Garment, Horse, and the like, contrary to the Will of the Owner, is bound to make Restitution of the Use and Profit to the Owner, whenever the Use of a Thing may be rated and valued at a Price, (for the Price of that is a kind of Fruits and Profits:) And it is a common saying, namely, *Res Domino fructificat*, meaning, that the Thing yields Fruits and Profits to the Owner thereof. For which Reason, if the Depositary makes use of the Horse or Garment deposited with him, he is obliged to restore the Value of such Use unto the Proprietor; provided he believes the Owner of the *Depositum* would have it restored and paid him, or if it does not appear that he has remitted it to him, or (at least) if there be no reasonable Presumption of Forgiveness from some Act of the Proprietor thereof. But in some certain Cases, the Depositary may use the Thing deposited with him.

As *first*, when he really believes, that this will not displease the Person of the Owner, though he should afterwards find himself deceived, and the Owner should be displeased thereat: For fair and honest Dealing, here called *bona fides*, excuses such an Act. *Secondly*, when the Owner does either expressly or tacitly grant the Use of the *Depositum* to him: In which case it changes the Nature of a *Depositum*, and it becomes a *Mutuum*, at least, when the Depositary first began to make use of it. And this is in respect of such Things as he consumes or alienates, but not in respect of other Things, whose Property still remains with the *Deponent*. And these, I think, are the only Cases wherein the Depositary may make use of the Thing lodged with him.

But some divide a *Depositum* into a *Depositum* strictly or especially so called, and a *Sequestration*. A *Depositum in Specie* is, when a moveable Thing that is not become *litigious* is lodged by one or more Persons, to the end aforesaid^p, and is, for the most part, a voluntary Act, unless it be in these three Cases, *viz.* in that of Fire, Ruin, and Shipwreck, when it is accounted necessary^q. But a *Sequestration* is, when a Thing, touching which there is a Law-Suit depending, or some other Dispute, is lodged in the Hands of a *Sequestrator*, to be there kept till the Suit or Dispute is ended, and then to be restored to him that gets the better in the Cause^r. And

¹ I. 3. 15. p.^m D. 16. 3. 2.ⁿ I. 3. 15. 2.^o D. 16. 3. 29.^p D. 16. 3. 1.^q 22. 25. 27. &^{43.} D. 16. 3. 1.^r 1. 2. 3.^r D. 16. 3. 5.^{1. & 2.}

And such a *Sequestration* may be either *voluntary*, as agreed on by the Parties, which is always just ; or else *necessary*, as commanded by the Judge or Magistrate, which is not permitted, unless it be in certain Cases, (hereafter to be remembred in the second Volume of this Work) because it is not a kind of Execution, but also because it deprives the Possessor of his Possession before the time ^f. And thus a *Depositum*, strictly so called, differs from a *Sequestrum* or Sequestration ; because the Depositary is in the first Case precisely obliged to restore the *Depositum*, or Thing lodged in his Hands, unto the *Depositor* : But in the other Case, he is not strictly obliged to restore the Thing sequestred to either of the Litigants, but indeter-
^{g C. 4. 4. lun.} terminately to him who shall get the Victory in the Suit ^g. Again, these two Things differ in the Form, Matter, and Consequence, since only Things that are moveable are the proper Object or Subject of a *Depositum* : But Things immoveable may be the Object of a Sequestration, as Lands, Houses, and the like, as well as Things moveable, as a Man, Horse, Money, &c. The *Sequestrator* is a middle Person between the Litigants, on whom the Possession of the Thing in dispute is transferred, (being taken away from the Litigants,) till such time as the Controversy is determined, or the Sequestration is relaxed : which Thing does not happen in a *Depositum*, strictly so called ; because he, who deposits a Thing, has both the Property and Possession whenever he pleases, if the Property belongs to him.

A *Depositum*, as already intimated, sometimes passes into a *Mutuum* : As when the Depositary on his Request is permitted to make use of the Thing deposited. And a *Depositum* made for the sake of a *Mutuum* to follow thereupon, assumes the Nature of a *Mutuum*, in such a manner that if the Thing deposited be lost or perishes, the Depositary shall stand to the Loss thereof : But then, according to *Azo*, this must happen by the
^{h C. 4. 26. 6.} Fault of the Depositary, otherwise it would be hard (says the Law ^h) to make him, since the Proprietor himself ought rather to bear the Loss there-
^{i C. 4. 24. 9.} of ⁱ. And though the *Depositum* be made for the sake of the Depositary ; yet it only assumes the Nature of a *Commodatum*, and we ought to form the same Judgment of it. If a Depositary shall refuse to re-deliver a *De-positum* on a Demand made, he is said to commit Theft ; and being condemned therein, he is rendred infamous. By the Law of Nature, or of Nations, a *Depositum* ought to be returned to him, who has lodged it with a Person : But by the *Civil* Law it is not to be restored to such Person, if he be condemned of a capital Crime, and his Goods are confiscated ; for
^{j D. 16. 3. 31. pr.} in this Case the *Depositum* is to be given to the Publick ^j. Thus the Debtors of a Person condemned, whose Effects are confiscated, ought to pay what they owe him unto the Exchequer, and not to a private Hand.

If I deposit a Bag of Money, or the like, with another Person, which Bag is sealed up, and the Person with whom this *Depositum* is lodged shall purloin or embezzle the same, or meddle with any part thereof against my Will, I may have both an Action of *Theft*, and an Action *ex*
^{k D. 16. 3. 29. pr.} *Deposito* against him ^k, but not both together. But if the Person, with whom the Money is lodged, shall by my Permission make use of the Money thus deposited, he shall only be compelled to pay the Interest upon
^{l D. 16. 3. 29.} that account, as in other Pleas *bonæ fidei* ^l ; this being a Contract *bonæ fidei*. If Money sealed up in a Bag be deposited, and one of the Persons that made this *Depositum* shall come and claim the same, the Seal is to be taken off of the Bag in the presence of the Judge, or in the sight of other honest Men ; and the Money being told out in their presence, the Heir shall be paid his Share or Proportion, and then the Residue shall be sealed up again, and lodged with the Depositary, if he pleases to have it so ; or else it shall be deposited in the publick Bank or Treasury. The Seals in this case ought to be put on again by the Judge, or by those

Persons

Persons before whom they were taken off. And if the *Depositum* be of such Things as cannot be divided, the Depositary shall deliver the whole upon taking proper Caution or Security of the Person that made such Demand, to refund what is above his Part or Proportion. But if the Person cannot give such Security, it shall be lodged in the publick Bank or Treasury, and the Depositary shall be released from any Action^v. 7D.16.3.1.36.

He that has made a *Depositum*, or committed any Thing to the Custody of another, may reclaim it whenever he pleases (as before hinted,) even before the Time settled and agreed on for restoring the same; and it ought to be restored him on his Demand^u. For as the Business of a *Depositum* 2D.16.3.1.46. entirely depends on the Advantage of the Person that makes it; so surely it ought to be governed and directed by his Will and Pleasure, which he may change without any Inconvenience to the Depositary; and thus he may recover the Thing deposited before the time determined. Nor ought the Depositary to shuffle or delay in returning of the *Depositum*, or object any thing by way of Exception to an Action *ex Deposito*, on the account of Stoppage or Compensation for Damages, or on the account of any Suit between him and the Depositor, as Debtor and Creditor, touching what is due to each other^a. But if the Depositary has been at any Charge or C. 4.31.14. 1.4.6.30. Expence on the Thing which he has received as a *Depositum*, he may recover the same by a contrary Action, whereby he may sue the Person who made such a *Depositum*, in order to indemnify himself as to the said Charge^b. D. 16.3.5. But what if the Depositary has expended Money on the Thing deposited with him, may he retain the *Depositum* on this account, till he has had a Refusion of his Expences made him? And in this case, it is to be observed, That if he has made such Expences as are for his own Advantage, he shall not retain it, since it does not belong to the Office of a Depositary to be at any Expences of this kind: nor can he, in my humble Opinion, sue for such Expences by a cross or contrary Action. But if he shall be at any necessary Expence, *viz.* at such Expences, which unless they had been made, the Thing must either have perished, or have been rendred in a worse Condition: In such a Case (I say) the Depositary may retain the Thing deposited on the account of such Expences^c. See *Cynus, Baldus*, C. 4. 34.11. and *Castrensis* on the Law here quoted. Thus a Depositary, for the Expences he has been at in keeping of a Horse, or any other brute Animal, has the Right of retaining the same in respect of such Beast deposited with him, till Satisfaction has been made him for the Charges he has been at in keeping the same. And a Taylor may also retain a Garment, if he be not paid for his Workmanship thereon; and a Farrier may retain a Horse which he has cured of a Distemper, for want of being paid for the same: And thus of Things of the like sort. For a Host may retain the Goods of his Guest, till Satisfaction be paid or made for entertaining him. But a Goaler cannot retain a Prisoner for the Charges of Maintenance, though the contrary is often practised; and the Reason is, because he is a Freeman: But it is otherwise in respect of Goods, as before related. For a tacit Hypothecque lies for feeding another's Horse, or when a Man sells Hay, or lets out Pasture for this end; and the Person feeding may retain and sell such Horses, if he be not paid. But Retention, generally speaking, is condemned and prohibited by the Law: And, therefore, one Thing cannot be retained for another^d. For the Doctors hold it as a Rule in Law, that a C. 8.15.5. C.4.23.1.ult. Creditor cannot retain in his power the Creditor of his Debtor, in such a manner as to make him his own Debtor. Nor can Advocates and Proctors retain in their hands the Writings and Instruments of their Clients, till Satisfaction be made them for their Salary or Wages due, according to *Jason* on the Law here cited^e: For that would be to right themselves by their own D. 12.6.16. proper Authority, and to judge in their own Cause, which the Law does +

not suffer ^f. And, therefore, if a Person finds another's Cattle doing him damage on his own Estate, he cannot retain them till amends be made him; but he may retain them till he knows whose Cattle they are, in order to have an Action against him for the Damage ^s. The way in *England* is by impounding them, and the Owner may replevy them if he pleases; and so the Law goes on. But if a Person has fed another's Cattle (as aforesaid,) he may retain them, till he has been re-imburfed his Charges, and paid for feeding them; but cannot retain them for Damage done him. According to *Alciatus* ^h, a Thing may always be retained for Expences disbursed thereon; because otherwise Things might perish, which Humanity does not permit. Thus, regularly speaking, Execution cannot be served on a Scholar's Books ⁱ: But if a Person spends Money on a Scholar's Funeral, the Person may retain his Books, or any Thing for such Expences. See *Jason, ut supra*.

All Persons whatever may make a *Depositum*, whether they are Bond or Freeman, Fathers, and Children in the power of the Father ^k, nay even Thieves and Robbers ^l: But if the true Proprietor of the Goods comes and demands them, they shall be restored to him on proof that he is the Owner, and he shall be preferred herein unto such Thieves and Robbers ^m. If there be several Persons, or more than one that deposit a Thing, they shall have their Action only for their respective Shares, unless it be otherwise agreed ⁿ. And all Things may be the Object of a *Depositum*, which are subject to the Custody of another; and it matters not, whether they are a Man's own proper Goods, or the Effects of another Person, though these last are deposited to a vain Purpose, because the Proprietor may claim them ^o. If the Depositor shall die and leave two Heirs, who are at variance about the Heirship; the one saying, that he is sole Heir, and therefore demands the *Depositum*: It shall in this case be restored to him who is ready to defend the Depositary against the Action of the other Heir.

A Depositary ought only to be liable to an Action on the score of Fraud ^p and gross Negligence ^q, and not for a light or the lightest Fault; and this Law has place when the *Depositum* is made and lodged in Custody for the sake of the Depositor: But if it be lodged for the sake of the Depositary, or if the Depositary receives any Gain or Reward, or Money stipulated for the keeping thereof, then he is not only liable on the account of Deceit and gross Negligence, but also on the score of a light Fault ^r. The Depositary is also obliged and answerable for a light Fault, if he of his own accord offered himself ready to receive the *Depositum*; for then he has thereby bound himself to make good the Loss and Danger that shall happen thereunto: So that he ought not only to be answerable for Fraud and supine Negligence, but for any Negligence that shall happen in the keeping thereof, and for the Custody itself ^s. But he is not bound to make good fortuitous Cases, unless some Fault of his was previous thereunto; or it be expressly covenanted touching the same ^t. If a Depositary becomes insolvent, then the Loss of the Thing deposited belongs to the Depositor himself. When a Creditor on a just account refuses to receive the Thing deposited, he is not liable, because it is not then in the Depositor's Power to recover the *Depositum* which was not accepted of by the Creditor: But if the Creditor had without just Cause refused to accept of this *Depositum*, the Creditor then himself incurs the hazard, if it be at length lost and destroyed. For it would not be Equity, that the Depositary should be obliged to make good the Money lost; because he would not have been liable, if the Creditor had been willing to have received the same. Wherefore, that ought to be accounted *pro soluto*, if the Creditor has been tardy, or made any delay in the Receipt thereof. But if there be any just Cause for such Refusal, no Delay seems to be contracted thereby. Yet 'tis to be

be noted, that he who chuses an ill Depositary, must blame himself and incur the Danger of the Thing deposited: But if he chuses a Banker for his Depositary, being such as all Persons in general make choice of, he is excused.

Though a Depositary ought not to make use of the *Depositum* under the Guilt of Theft, as aforesaid; yet if he shall in Money pay any Thing by way of recompence for the Custody of the *Depositum*, he shall not be charged with Theft for using the same: For he is only then liable to an Action of Theft, when the Thing is lodged with him in a *gratuitous* manner. If a Depositary shall receive Use or Interest from a *Depositum*, or shall make use of the Thing deposited, he shall pay Interest for the same^t. It is otherwise by the Law of *England*, especially in a^t D. 16.3.28. Banker. If the Heirs of a Depositary deceased shall divide a Sum of Money among themselves, which has been deposited, they shall all of them be liable, according to their respective Parts or Shares: But if they have not divided it, but have melted it down in Bullion, and the like, they shall be liable *in solidum*^u; because if it be an entire Body, as a Wedge of^u D. 16.3.22. Gold, &c. it cannot be divided. If a Depositary be in delay of restoring the Thing deposited with him, he shall not only be liable to answer for the lightest Fault^v, but he shall also be obliged to pay Use and Interest for the^v D. 16.3.12. same^w; because he is from such Delay presumed to have made Profit^{fin.} D. 16.3.24. thereby: But a Person who receives Interest from thence, seems to have waved the Privileges of a *Depositum*^x.^x D. 16.3.7.2.

From this Contract of a *Depositum*, there are two Actions arising, *viz.* a *direct* and a *contrary* Action. The first lies for the Depositor, even though he be a Thief and a Robber^y, and passes to the Heirs of the De-^y D. 16.3.1.29. positor, and the Possessors of his Goods: And if there are several Heirs, each Person may have it according to his hereditary Share, if the *Depositum* may be conveniently divided^z; and it also lies for a third Per-^z D. 16.3.1.36. son in Equity, if it has been agreed that the Thing deposited should be restored to him^a. It is granted against the Depositary and his Heirs,^a D. 16.3.26. whether they have the power of restoring it, or by Fraud have ceased to have this power. It is given either to recover the Thing deposited, or the Value of it, if it be perempted by the Fraud or gross Negligence of the Depositary, or be made worse in his Hands. It lies only *in simplum*, unless the Thing be deposited on the account of Fire, Shipwreck, Tumult, &c. or unless the Depositary be convicted of a Lye; in which Cases he is condemned in two-fold^b. A *contrary* Action is^b D. 16.3.1.1. granted to the Depositary and his Heirs, against the Depositor and his^{& 2. & 1. 18.} Heirs, to recover such Expences as have been laid out on the *Depositum*^c, and sometimes also for Damages, as when a Man knowingly de-^c D. 16.3.23. posits stolen Goods, and the Depositary is troubled thereupon.



TIT. XVIII.

Of Pawns and Mortgages, commonly termed Hypothèques; how they are contracted, and how many kinds there be of Pawns; what Things are not subject unto Pawns; and in what case a Pawn or Hypothèque is tacitly contracted. What Persons are preferred unto others in a Pawn or Mortgage, and of those that succeed in the Place of former Creditors; and lastly, of the Sale of Pawns and Mortgages, &c.

AS an Entrance to the ensuing Title on Pledges, I think it not amiss to observe, that unto all Contracts which are grounded upon Credit, as a *Loan* of Money is, there are sometimes Things, even foreign to the Contracts themselves, which are wont to be added, not only as Proof and Evidence thereof (among which we may reckon Deeds and Witnesses) but by way of collateral Security, in order to oblige Men unto the Performance of their Promises; as *Pawns* and *Hypothèques* are by the *Civil Law*, in order to compel Debtors, who borrow Money upon Credit, either to satisfy their Creditors, or else to forego the Goods which they have impawned as such Security.

Now these two Words or Terms of Law, as to the general Signification of them, only differ in point of sound ^a, and a Pledge may be comprehended under each of them: But strictly taken a *Pawn* is said of a Thing, which is delivered to the Person to whom it is made; and an *Hypothèque* or Mortgage is predicated of a Thing not yet delivered, but in the possession of the Person that makes it ^c. And from hence, according to *Hostiensis* (a good Writer on the Laws) an *Hypothèque* is properly said to be of a Thing immoveable, as a House or Land; and a Pawn is of a Thing moveable, because it may be delivered by the Hand, and is therefore in the Text of the Law ^f, and in *Latin* called *Pignus*, from the word *Pignus*, a Hand. Wherefore, the Criticks say, that a Pawn cannot be apply'd unto Lands and Tenements ^g. But this Difference, as it rather depends upon Sound alone, and not on the Nature of the Obligation itself, I shall here chuse to wave, and use the two Words indistinctly, as the Doctors or Interpreters of the Law

* Though we here in *England* vulgarly distinguish between *Pawns* and *Mortgages*, as the *Roman Law* does between *Pignus* and *Hypotheca* in the strict Sense of the Words; yet we have been obliged to borrow these two Terms from foreign Languages, so little was the Practice of Impawning anciently known among us. *Mortgage*, from the *French* words *Mort* and *Gage*, a dead Pledge or Obligation; and the word *Pawn* of *German* Extraction, viz. a moveable Chattel bound as a Security for a Debt. In Law, the word *Mortgage* is a Pawn of Lands and Tenements laid or bound for Money borrowed, to be the Creditor's for ever, if the Money be not paid at the Day agreed upon: And the Creditor holding Lands or Tenement upon this Agreement, is called *Tenant in Mortgage*. Of this we read in the *grand Coutumier of Normandy* ⁸, which see. *Glanvil* likewise defines it thus, viz. *Mortuum vadum dicitur illud, cujus fructus vel redditus interim percepti in nullo se acquiescant* ^h. So that he seems to have borrowed the Notion of it from the *Roman Law*, and calls it a *dead Pledge* or *Gage*, because whatever Profit it yields, yet it redeems not itself by yielding such Profit, except the whole Sum borrowed be paid on the Day. See *Skene de Verb. Sign. v. Mortgage*. He that pledges this *Gage* is called the *Mortgagor*, and he that takes it, the *Mortgagee*. The word *Pledge* or *Plegius* anciently did not denote a Thing, but a Person being Surety for another, from the *French* word *Pleiger*, and so it is used by *Glanvil* ⁱ. The Reader may make his Inferences from what I have said.

^a Cap. 113.

^c *Glanv. lib. 10. cap. 6.*

^f *Lib. 10. c. 5.*

Law have done before me: For in other respects, especially in the Obligation, they are almost the same. For the general Word (*Hypothèque*) appertains to all Things that are subject to an Obligation, by way of Caution or Security: *Hypotheca* in *Latin*, being derived from the *Greek* word *ὑποθεῖναι*, to subject or put under. And thus in *Greek* we use the word *Hypotheca* for every thing, which is subject and liable to an Obligation; wherefore we may define a Pawn or Hypothèque to be a Thing, which is bound or subject to an Obligation by way of *Security* for the Payment of a Debt^k. And the Contract itself, which gives the Creditor^k D. 20. 1. 34. his Right unto the Pawn, and whereby the same is bound to him, is also in the Books of the *Civil Law* termed by the Name of a *Pignus*^l, as^l D. 20. 3. t. t. well as the Thing itself, which is impawned^m. A *Pawn*, strictly so called,^m D. 20. 5. t. t. is not contracted by a Nude Pact, or a bare Promise, but by something doneⁿ; ⁿD. 44. 7. 1. 6. but an *Hypothèque* may be contracted by a Nude Pact, or an Assurance of^{D. 20. 1. 4.} the Thing to be delivered hereafter; though (I think) this distinction is now taken away entirely, by what I shall observe by and by: And each of these ways of Pledging may be contracted either *purely* or *conditionally*, or else *in diem*^o.

^oD. 20. 1. 135.

As a Pledge or Pawn has both a general and a particular Acceptation (of which in the foregoing Paragraphs) so in the general Sense thereof, it includes what the *Civil Law* calls an *Antichresis*, or a mutual Use: As when a Man borrows one thing, and leaves another in Pawn for the Lender to make use of, till such time as he restores the Thing borrowed. And thus a Creditor may make use of the Land mortgaged, or in lieu of Interest for Money lent, may live in the House of his Debtor, which is mortgaged to him, till such time as the Money borrowed be paid or satisfy'd to the Creditor^p; whereas otherwise the Fruits and Profits of the Pawn or^p D. 20. 1. 1. 1. Mortgage are reckoned into the Principal, and computed as part thereof.^{1.} And, in this sense, an *Antichresis* is a *Fiduciary* Possession, or a Possession in Trust: which kind of Possession is not perfect and absolute, but (as it were) a depositary Thing, out of which an Account must afterwards be given touching the Fruits and Profits thereof received; and the *Fiduciary*, or Person in Trust, may be compelled to render this Account.

Note, This *Fiduciary* Possession is in *France* called a *Re-credence*, and a Possession granted *sub manu Regis*, by the King, viz. on a Person's plighting his Faith for the Restitution of the Thing impawned or mortgaged to him, whenever it shall be lawfully demanded of him. See *Imbert's Enchiridion Juris*.

And thus, from what has been before offered, an *Antichresis* may be defined to be the Possession of a Thing, which is impawned to the Creditor to be made use of by him, for the Use of Money due to him: And the Pact or Covenant, whereby this Assurance or Possession is convey'd to him, is by the *Civilians* stiled *Pactum Antichresens*^q. But more of this^q D. 20. 1. 11. 2. is in the Sequel of this Discourse. Only thus much I have thought fit to^{1.} premise, for the better understanding of the Reader: That having a thorough Knowledge of the Terms of a *Pawn* and *Hypothèque*, from the Books themselves, as well as from the Etymologies of the Words, he may be the better able to go through with this Essay on Pawns and Mortgages with ease and pleasure.

And, therefore, I shall next consider how many kinds of Pledges there be, according to the *Roman Law*, and after what manner they are distinguished into *Conventional*, *Prætorian*, and *Judicial* Pledges. And then I shall enquire what is the Object of a Pledge, what Persons may make the same, and what kind of Contract this is. And, after this I shall examine into the antient and present Method of letting of Pledges, and shew what Persons have a precedent or better Right therein, and what Action arise hereupon. And, *lastly*, I shall speak

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of the Remission of Pledges, and how the *Civil* Law is changed at this day, by the Laws and modern Practice of most Trading Countries. These Considerations and Enquiries shall be the main drift of the Detail in the following Sheets; with some few general Remarks on the whole.

And, *First*, it has been observed, that a Pawn or Pledge is distinguished in a threefold manner, according to the *Roman* Law, *viz.* into a *Conventional*, *Prætorian*, and *Judicial* Pawn. The *first* is that which is contracted by the Consent and Convention of the Parties themselves^r, and is most common in practice among trading and necessitous People; and under such a Pawn or Pledge, both a *general* Hypotheque of all a Man's Goods and Estate, and a *special* Hypotheque of one particular Thing alone, may be included: and it matters not by what Form of Words such a Pledge is made; nay, it may, according to the *Civil* Law, be made without writing, provided it may be proved, that the Parties made such an Agreement. But in *Holland*, *France*, &c. Mortgages are now made in writing always before Notaries or publick Officers, according to *Groenwegen de Legibus Abrogatis* on the *Justinian* Institutions^s. And in *England* by writing, when Lands are mortgaged^t, (for that is the distinction among us at present between Pawns and Mortgages) but not of Necessity to be registred or engrossed, unless it be a Conveyance of the Freehold^u, or in some particular Counties, according to some Acts of Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, which the Reader may see.

Besides the Pact or Covenant itself, whereby a Mortgage or Hypotheque is established, other Pacts may be added therunto, as a *Pactum Antichreseus*^v before mentioned, and the like. But a *Pactum legis Commissoriae*, or a commissory Pact, cannot be added therunto, since such a Pact is more cruel and oppressive in the Eye of the *Civil* Law unto the poor Debtor, than any Usury almost can be^w. Now a *commissory* Pact is, when it is agreed between Debtor and Creditor, that if the Debt be not paid within a certain time, the Pledge shall be absolutely forfeited without any Equity of Redemption; and it was called in the *Roman* Law a *commissory* Pact, because the word *Committere* sometimes denotes the same, as to forfeit by an Offence committed. This Agreement (I say) was forbidden, that cruel Creditors should not take the advantage of indigent Debtors.

A *Prætorian* Pawn is that, which the Judge or *Prætor* establishes by decreeing a Person to be let into the Possession of another's Goods or Estate: And this is, when the Judge, without any previous definitive Sentence, proceeds against the Defendant (perhaps) on the score of Contumacy, and the like; and, according to an ancient Edict of the *Prætor* in the *Digests*, does by his first Decree put the Plaintiff into the possession of the Debtor's Goods^x, as aforesaid: and this he may do in some Cases besides Contumacy, according to the Books of the *Civil* Law, as upon suspicion of Flight, &c. In a *Prætorian* Pawn it is sufficient, if there be no Deceit or Fraud in the Case either on the Debtor or Creditor's Part. But touching the difference between this and a *Conventional* Pawn, I shall speak by and by in the next Paragraph saving one; for there is a manifold distinction to be seen between them.

A third kind of Pledge or Pawn is called a *Judicial* Pawn, which is induced when the Judge has pronounced a definitive Sentence, and in Execution of such Sentence puts the Creditor into possession of the Debtor's Goods after a Condemnation of him, if the Person condemned does not appear, but remains contumacious in refusing to satisfy the Judgment^y: And herein the Authority of the Judge has the same Operation in Law in settling a *Judicial* Pawn, as the Consent of the Parties contracting has in ascertaining a *Conventional* Pawn. Nor ought it to be thought strange that a Judge should have the power of appointing a *Judicial* Pawn, since every Person

Person may in his Last Will and Testament order a Pledge to be given for the fulfilling thereof; and ascertain the same. Though a *Judicial* Pawn is sometimes by the Law stiled a *Prætorian*, because both of them are sped by the Office of the Judge: yet there is a remarkable difference between these sorts of Pawns; one being after a definitive Sentence given, and the other before, as already noted.

A *Conventional* Pledge differs from a *Prætorian* in many particulars. For, according to the *Civil* Law, a *Conventional* Pledge may be contracted by consent alone without any Delivery thereof. And thus it *first* differs in the way and manner of constituting the same; because a *Prætorian* Pledge is only contracted by Possession and Delivery of the Goods, according to a Decree of the Judge, as before intimated: And this, when the Pledge is in the hands of the Court, or a third Person, may be termed a *Sequestration*. *Secondly*, a *Prætorian* Pawn may be contracted on the Goods of a Minor, as well as of a Major, or Person of full Age; which is otherwise in a *Conventional* Pawn. For a Minor cannot impawn or mortgage an immoveable Estate without the Decree of the Judge². They^a D. 4.4. t. 1. also differ in the Effect of Acquisition in respect to the Creditor. For in a *Conventional* Pawn the Possession passes to the Creditor by a Delivery made; but it is otherwise in a *Prætorian* Pawn^a, for the Reason just now assigned,^a D. 4.1.2.3. viz. because it is in the hands of the Court, or a third Person. And from²³ hence another difference arises or follows; *namely*, that in a *Conventional* Pledge the Creditor receives the Profits by his Possession thereof, called the *Utile Possessorium*: But it is otherwise in a *Prætorian* Pledge^b; for there^b D. 4.3.17.3. the Court or Sequestrator receives the Profits, and is accountable for them,⁸ when the possession is delivered to the Creditor, or again restored to the Debtor. Yet they both agree in this, viz. that every Creditor has an *Hypothecarius* Action. See what this Action is afterwards.

But it is not my Design or Business here to treat of *Prætorian* and *Judicial* Pledges, because they more properly come under the several Titles of a *first Decree* or *Sequestration*, and of the Execution of a definitive Sentence, which I shall soon publish. Only thus much I shall further observe, touching the difference of these two kinds of Pledges, stiled *Conventional* and *Prætorian*, viz. that in the former, he that is first in point of Time is preferred in respect of Right, unless there be a privileged Creditor: But it is not so in a *Prætorian* Pledge. From henceforward I shall confine myself to a *Conventional* Pledge, as being the main Business in hand.

As to the Object of Pawns, all Things which may be bought and sold, that is to say, which consist in Commerce, may become subject unto a Pledge or Hypothèque^c: As Lands, Houses, moveable Goods; and also^c D. 20.1.9. Things of an incorporeal Nature, as Debts, Actions, and other Rights. But it is otherwise by the Laws of *England*; for a *Chose in Action* (as our common Lawyers call it) cannot be transferred. The Tools of Husbandry and other mechanical Implements heretofore were not subject to an Hypo-^a C. 8.17.8. theque^d: But at this day it is otherwise, as I shall hereafter remark.

In respect of moveable Goods pawned, the Inconvenience is so great of having them out of the possession of the Creditor, (as formerly they might be) that in *France*, and other foreign Countries, at this day, they are no longer a Pledge than they remain in the Custody of the Creditor, and his power. See *Groenwegen de ll. Abrog.* on the *Code*^e. But we have some^e C. 4.10.14. Things which cannot be impawned or mortgaged, either because they do not admit of an Obligation in their own nature; or because they are not plighted by proper Persons, and the like. Now all those Things, which are extra-commercial^f, or which the Law forbids to be alienated^g, are^f D. 20.1.1.2. not the proper Object of a Gage or Pawn, as Things sacred, &c. And^g D. 20.1.1. fin. hence

hence *Feudal* Estates, according to the *Feudal* Law, are not subject to a Mortgage against the Will of the Lord, or the Consent of the Kindred by the Father's Side^h, though the Fruits of such Estates may well enough be impawned. There are some Persons who cannot make a Mortgage, though their Estates may be otherwise engaged: As a Pupil without the Consent of his Guardian, and the Decree of the Judge; a Son, heretofore under the power of the Father, without his Father's leave, in respect of those Goods which he acquired for his Father's Use; and a Bondman without the Will of his Masterⁱ. But the power of the Father, so peculiar to the *Romans*, and the Obligation of Bondage is now at an end. He who was redeemed or ransomed from the Hands of the Enemy, was formerly in the place of a Pawn, till such time as he paid off the Price of his Redemption by his Labour, or otherwise^k.

A *Conventional* Pledge, according to the more general Division of it, is two-fold, *viz. express* and *tacit*. The first is that which is either established by an express Agreement of the Parties^l; and then it is called a *voluntary* Pawn or Hypothèque: or else it may be without such Agreement, *viz. by* the Authority of the Magistrate^m, and then it is stiled a *Sequestration* or *Prætorian* Pledge, of which before. A *voluntary* Pledge was often performed without writing, in the presence of three honest Witnessesⁿ, and without being acknowledged before a publick Officer: So that Debtors from hence often took occasion to antedate Mortgages unto later Creditors. To cure this Fraud or evil Practice, it is now in most Countries ordered, that all Mortgages shall be made in writing before Notaries or publick Officers, as before related.

Tacit Pledges, or such as are made by Implication of Law, are in our Books called *Pignora legitima*. By a Decree of the Senate, a *tacit* Pledge is given to him who has lent Money for the Repairing of Houses, on those Houses on which the Money is lent and appropriated^o. And in the same way a Pupil has a *tacit* Hypothèque or Mortgage on the Estate and Goods of his Guardian, to answer all Accounts and Damages^p; and a Wife on the *Allodial*, but not on the *Feudal* Goods of her Husband; which kind of Hypothèque is not only understood to be contracted on the account of her Dowry, according to the Gloss and Doctors on the Law here cited^q, but likewise on the score of Alimony and her *Paraphernalia*, as *Jason* observes^r. And the same *tacit* Security has a Landlord on the Goods of his Tenant (brought into the House, or upon the Farm) for his Rent^s: But not on the Goods of an Under-Tenant^t; because there is no Contract between him and the Proprietor.

In *England* the Goods upon the Estate are liable to a Distress for Arrears of Rent, whether they belong to the Tenant or not, which some think to be hard.

In short, the Commonwealth has such Security in the Estates of all Men for publick Taxes^u, and the like; and the Exchequer has such a Pledge in the Estate of all such as are Officers accountable to it^v, as Farmers and Collectors of the Revenue, &c. But Cities and Corporations have not a *tacit* Hypothèque in the Goods of the Citizens, unless it be of such Persons as have the Direction and Management of their Affairs; or unless they have this Privilege from the Grant of the Prince^w: Because they are in the Place of private Men^x.

There is, moreover, this difference between an *express* and a *tacit* Pledge, namely, that Things *expressly* impawned cannot be alienated, unless it be with the Incumbrance charged on them^y: As a Pension or Annuity issuing out of such an Estate; for the Estate itself is a Security for the Payment of such Pension or Annuity. But Things *tacitly* pledged may be freely alienated, before they are arrested, or an Equity of Redemption passes against

against them^v: For a *tacit* Pledge is a general Thing, and comprehends^v D. 20. 2. 9. all Things; yet the extant Fruits of a Thing impawned or mortgaged, are, by a Covenant, implied and understood, deemed to be incident to the Pledge, and to go along with it. As an *express*² Pawn is not destroyed or taken² C. 8. 15. 3. away by a *tacit* Pledge; so, on the other hand, neither is a *tacit* Pledge by an *express* one².

^a Dd. in l. 11.

C. 5. 14.

^b D. 20. 1. 17.

^c D. 20. 5. t. t.

^d D. 20. 4. 8.

^e 10.

C. 8. 18. 2. & 7.

From the Obligation of a Pledge or Pawn, the Creditor has not only the power of retaining^b, but also the power of alienating and selling the same^c, if payment be not made of the principal Debt within a certain time. But because the same thing is sometimes plighted and engaged unto several Persons, it often happens that Controversies arise about the Prosecution and selling of Pledges; one of the Parties claiming a Preference of Right unto the other. In which case this general Rule is to be observed, *viz.* that he shall be preferred in point of Right, unto whom the Pledge was first engaged^d: And it matters not, whether it be a *Conventional*, *Prætorian*, or *Judicial* Pledge; or whether it be a *general* or a *special* Pawn. Hence arose the distinction between *simple* and *privileged* Pledges; so that here may be an Exception to the general Rule.

Privileged Pledges are, where one Creditor has preference before other Creditors: As when one lends Money to build a House, or to repair it (which is afterwards mortgaged) the Lender shall first of all be paid his Money, and the House shall stand Security for it^e. It is to be noted, that we meet with three sort of Creditors in our Law-Books, *viz.* *First*, Creditors upon *Promise*, (in writing or without writing) and these have no concern in the Priority of an Obligation. *Secondly*, Creditors upon a *simple* Mortgage, amongst whom priority of Time regularly gives the Right. And *thirdly*, Creditors that are *privileged* Creditors. A *privileged* Creditor may have preference over the whole Estate before other Creditors (but not before Creditors upon Mortgage^f) though prior in respect of Time. Such is a Debt for Funeral Charges^g, which ought to be allowed according to the Character and Condition of the Person deceased^h; because it is an Expence of Necessity, and for the Honour of a Nation. Also the Costs of administering the Estate of the deceased; for that Expence is for the sake and benefit of all the Creditors. Or this Preference of Debt may regard *one* particular Thing only, as when Money is lent to repair Houses; for it concerns the State to encourage beautiful Buildings. Architects and Workmen enjoy this Privilege upon the same Foundation, *viz.* on the score of their Materials and Workmanship. The Cause of the Debt here ought to be considered, not the Time of the Contract entered into. This distinction, I think, is unknown unto the Laws of *England*. Proprietors also of a House or Land have this Preference over the Goods of their Tenants lying upon the Estate for their Rent: But those which are brought upon an Estate onlyⁱ for some time, by way of Trading, are not subject to such a Seizure.

^e D. 20. 2. 1.

^f C. 8. 18. 9.

^g D. 11. 7. 45.

^h D. 35. 2. 72.

ⁱ D. 20. 1. 32.

The Exchequer has no Privilege of a Mortgage among Creditors^k, but only claims in point of order, unless it be in Goods or an Estate acquired by the Debtor or Officer of the Exchequer after the Obligation was entered into^l. Where there is no Mortgage, but only a simple Debt, the Exchequer is always to be preferred, for that has always a *tacit* Hypotheque^m, as before hinted. But tho' the Exchequer be preferred in respect of simple Debts, yet not on the account of pecuniary Fines and Mulcts. In *Florence*, he that has a Pledge or Mortgage is not preferred before other Creditors by writing. See *Anfardus de Anfardis* touching Commerceⁿ. A Pupil, tho' a latter Creditor, is sometimes in favour of his Person preferred unto prior Creditors^o; and so is a Woman in favour of her Dower^p. A Person that has lent Money for the Conservation of the Thing impawned, is also deemed a

^k C. 7. 73. 2.

^l D. 49. 14. 28.

^m D. 42. 5. 36.

ⁿ Discurs. 13.

^o D. 20. 4. 7.

^p Nov. 97. c. 3.

privileged Creditor, and shall have the Preference, because he has saved the whole Pawn^a.

^a D. 20. 4. 5.
& 6.

Among *conventional* Pledges, there is one kind likewise, which is *general*; and another, which is *special* or *particular*. This last only affects certain Goods, and is confined to them: But the first extends itself to all the Goods, except those which probably a Person would not specially engage to his Creditors, either through Affection; as a Man's Hand-maid being his Concubine, or natural Children; or else on the score of his daily Use, as his Household-stuff, wearing Apparel, &c. which ought to be entirely left to the Debtor^b. For it is a loss to the Publick if any one be rendered useless by Beggary. Not only Goods in present possession, but

^b D. 20. 1. 6. 7.
& 8.

even Goods in reversion are comprehended under a general Pawn or Hypothèque; as Corn in the Ground, and antiently (before the Law was altered) the Young in the Body of a Man's Cattle^c, &c. Bonds, Debts, and Actions are also by the *Civil* Law included under a general Pledge.

^c C. 8. 25. 1. 1.

And the Essence of such a Pledge consists in the generality of the Words, which includes all Things, not before excepted: But it is otherwise if the Words of the Pledge do not lie in the generality^d. And a Pledge of all Goods shall thus extend to all future Acquisitions, though not mentioned

^d D. 50. 17.
147.

by any distinct Agreement^e. Yet if one engages his Goods for Money which he shall borrow *hereafter*, the Obligation is void, as I shall note more largely by and by; for the Pledge is accessory to the Obligation. And if such Bargains were allowed of, it would be easy to defraud Creditors by an Agreement of this nature^f.

^e C. 8. 17. 9.

^f D. 20. 3. 4.

If a *particular* Thing be pledged, every Thing that is the Product or Part of it is under the same Obligation, if it continues in the same State, and is of the same Nature^g. But if Wood be mortgaged, and the Debtor

^g D. 20. 1. 13.

builds a Ship with the Timber of it, the Ship is not part of the Pledge^h; for the Ship is one Thing, and the Timber is different from it: But a Clause may be inserted to comprehend it. And though Corn in the Ground, and the Profits of the Land mortgaged, (as already remembred) are part of the Pledge or Mortgage; yet *other* Lands purchased with the Money arising from those Profits, are not under that Obligation: for those Lands

^h D. 13. 7. 18.
3.

are not part of the Thing in Mortgageⁱ.

ⁱ C. 8. 15. 3.

The end of a Pawn or Hypothèque is to secure Creditors on the account of the Thing credited, as appears from the Definition itself: it being for the advantage of Creditors to have something besides the Person of their Debtors to depend on. I say, *besides the Person of a Debtor*; for his Person is not discharged by a Pledge given, if it does not answer the Debt. Hence it is, that a Debtor by delivering up the Pawn, according

^j C. 8. 14. 1.

to the old way of holding it, to his Creditor, is not fully discharged^j; because a Release does not ensue but by the Payment of what is due, *Cession* not being in the Place of Payment; no, though a Man should deliver up all his Effects. Moreover, it may happen, that when a Pawn is delivered up for a Debt, such Pawn does not amount to the Value of the Debt, as just now hinted: therefore, such Creditor is not forbidden to sue for the Remainder, or what is due, since one Thing cannot be given in

^k D. 12. 1. 2. 1.

Payment for another, against the Will of the Creditor^k. A Debtor that gives a Pledge or Pawn to his Creditor as a Security, cannot be imprisoned, though he should be suspected of Flight as a fugitive Debtor, unless the Creditor be immediately prepar'd to prove, that such Pledge or Pawn is not sufficient to answer his Debt. See *Peck, de Jure Sistendi*. Which leads me to speak of the Effect of a Pledge.

Now the Effect of a Pawn or Mortgage is, that the same should become the Goods of the Creditor, even without a Delivery, after the Term of the Pledge is expired; and the Creditor may have an *Hypothecarious* Action^l,

^l C. 8. 14. 18.

which

which is a *real* Action for a Recovery of the Thing itself, if he does not think fit to take possession thereof, by his own private Authority. For the Action does not arise from the Obligation, but from a Right of the Pledge vested in the Creditor, as the Pawn or Mortgage is covenanted between the Parties: which Right is so annexed to the Thing pledged, that the Debtor cannot oust the Creditor of it by any Alienation, nor by any future Obligation unto another^b. Where a Dispute arises about the Property of a Thing impawned with a third Person, an Action or a Plea of *Defence* does in the first place belong to the Debtor: For as the Property of that Thing belongs to him; so likewise does the Risque and Hazard thereof. And, therefore, if the Thing be evicted, he shall be personally liable to the Creditor for Damages^c, and the Creditor may have a *Pignoratitious* Action against the Debtor for the Value of the Pledge, since he cannot recover the Pledge itself. And hence it is reasonable, that the Debtor should have a Plea of *Defence*. C. 8. 14. 15. D. 12. 1. 28.

A *Pignoratitious* Action is a *Personal* Action, arising from the Contract itself, and upon a Delivery of the Thing pledged; and as such it is usually given to the Debtor, either for the Thing plighted after Payment of the Debt, or else for Damages against the Creditor^d. But in some Cases it may lie for the Creditor, as just now mentioned. But an *Hypothecarious* Action is a *real* Action accruing to the Creditor, whereby he may obtain the Right and Possession of the Pledge against any Possessor whatsoever: But this as a *real* Action does not give Damage, but only recovers the Thing itself. They are both Actions *bonæ fidei*, and not *stricti juris*. But of these Actions hereafter. D. 13. 7. 9. 11. D. 50. 16. 23 & 24.

A Creditor that receives a *Conventional* Pledge, is obliged not only to answer for every kind of Fraud, but even for gross and light Negligence^e, but not for the lightest Fault. Wherefore, he who takes Books in Pawn ought not to make use of them without the Consent of the Debtor, and (according to the *Civil* Law) it is no less than Theft so to do; because they were not delivered to him for the sake of *Use*, but on the score of *Security*. And so of other things of the like Nature: Because when a Pawn is delivered into the hands of the Creditor, he shall be obliged to make it good, if he loses or endamages the same. But if it was not thus deliver'd to him, as sometimes it happen'd by the *Roman* way of holding Pawns, he was not liable, if the Pawn miscarry'd. But though a Creditor, being in possession of a Pawn, must not only answer for all Losses and Damages, but even for those Things which happen by his neglect, as just now declared; yet he is not bound to answer for any inevitable Accident^f, as Fire, Inundation of Water, Robbers, &c. unless occasioned by his means. But this will be again remembred under the Paragraph of Actions. D. 50. 17. 23. I. 3. 15. 4.

Upon Payment of the Debt, the Creditor and his Heirs are under a perpetual Obligation to restore the Pledge, for the Creditor cannot acquire a Title by an *ordinary* Prescription or Limitation of Time^g. But though an *ordinary* Prescription cannot be objected to extinguish the Property of a Pledge^h: Yet by length of Time, a Prescription may be pleaded in bar of an *Hypothecarious* Action. In an extraneous Possessor this Prescription is extended to thirty Yearsⁱ; and in the Debtor and his Successors the Prescription is founded upon a forty Years *Usucaption*^k. The Law introduced this Limitation of Time in abatement of the afore said Action, in order to avoid remote and distant Law-Suits, not only in respect of an extraneous Possessor, who might perhaps come fairly and honestly by the Thing pledged, tho' not the lawful Owner thereof, but likewise in favour of Successors who otherwise would never be safe in their Administrations. C. 4. 24. 10. & 12. D. 44. 3. 12. C. 7. 39. 4. C. 7. 39. 9.

As the Creditor must render an Account of the Profits received on one hand; so must the Debtor, on the other, make an Allowance unto the Creditor

Creditor for necessary Expences laid out upon the Mortgage, provided they are moderate, as for the Repairs of the House, though afterwards burnt down by Accident ^l. But as for the Expences made on the Improvement of an Estate, it depends much upon the Circumstances of it; whether the Debtor ought to allow them. *Improvements* are said to be those things, which render an Estate the better for them, and are so fixed to the Estate, that they cannot be separated. Among these ^m Meliorations there are some owing to Nature, others to Industry, and others that are stiled *civil* Improvements. There are some that are *necessary*, and if these are not made, the Estate will either come to nothing, or grow worse; as not to repair an old Building, and the like: and here the Mortgagee or Creditor shall have his Expences allowed him. But Repairs generally come not under the Notion of Improvements. There are some Improvements stiled *useful* and *convenient*, but not *necessary*; and these are such as make the Estate the better for Sale. And if the Estate mortgaged yields a greater Price upon Sale, the Mortgagee shall also here be allowed for such Improvements, but then the Expences must not be immoderate. And there are Improvements made for delight and pleasure only, and as they are only for Ornament, they do not (perhaps) increase the Value of the Estate. For these the Creditor shall not be allowed.

If a Debtor upon a Pledge does not pay the Debt within the time limited, or be suspected of Flight, and the like ⁿ; the Creditor may by virtue of this Contract, *which* is a Contract *bonæ fidei*, by an *Hypothecarius* Action prosecute the Pledge, and obtain the Possession thereof, if he has it not already; and after he has obtained such Possession, if the Debtor boggles or delays Payment, he may in this Case, (and not before) sell the Pledge ^o, and satisfy himself out of the Price thereof. And though there be no such Covenant expressed between the Parties for selling the same; yet such Covenant is here implied ^p, as arising from the Nature of the Contract itself. Therefore, if a Covenant be expressly added, the Creditor may by virtue of such Convention sell it as from the Will of the Debtor ^q, after he has given the Debtor notice of his design. For if he shall not give this Notice, he shall be liable to a *Pignoratitious* Action ^r. But if there be no Intervention of a Covenant, the Creditor shall before Witnesses give the Debtor thrice notice of his Intention of selling the Pawn ^s, unless Payment be made of the Debt; and then by a Law of *Justinian*, which is now out of use in some respect, the Creditor ought to wait two Years before he may sell it ^t. The time for selling a Pawn at this day, by the Judge, is generally speaking six Months after notice given. See *Bugnion de ll. Abrog. on the Code* ^u.

After a Sale is rightly made, the Creditor transfers that Right, which the Debtor had who gave the Pawn unto the Purchaser, in such a manner that the Debtor, or any other Person, cannot recall the Thing out of the hands of the Purchaser ^v; for regularly a Pawn or Pledge is not of its own Nature a litigious Thing, and a Claim cannot be made on the account of a bad Title ^w. The Judge transfers this Right by the very Act of selling the Pledge; for the Credit or Title of the Court cannot be shaken. If a Creditor has obtained his Debt from the Fruits and Profits of the Pledge, he cannot sell it ^x; and in some cases Interest shall be allowed him, though not contracted for, as where the Creditor is a Sufferer by the Loan: For there must be either a Cessation of Gain, or emergent Damage to the Creditor thereby, since the *Romans* did not permit a *lucrative* Interest of Money ^y. If a Creditor sold a Pledge *malâ fide*; yet if the Buyer did not participate of the Fraud, such Sale could not be rescinded, because he had no share in the Fraud: For in this Case the Creditor, and not the Buyer, shall be conveyed and impleaded in an Action of *Deceit*. A Pledge

Pledge may be sold, though it be of less Value than the Money due, and that too without any prejudice to the Creditor. And also though it be agreed that it should not be sold; yet it may be sold after thrice notice given thereof^a; for it is given in satisfaction of the Creditor. Though a^a D.13.7.18. Creditor may in the Right of a Creditor sell a Pledge, and transfer the Right of Ownership or Property to such Pledge; yet a Creditor who sells a Pledge, is obliged and may be compelled to restore the Surplusage of the Price thereof to the Debtor, after his Debt is satisfied^a. If the Fruits and^a C.8.28.6. Profits of a Pledge received shall be co-equal unto the Principal and Interest of a Debt, such Pledge shall not be sold for the Satisfaction of the Creditor, the Pledge being *ipso Jure* discharged thereby from the Obligation it lay under^a: But if a Pact intervenes, that the Creditor shall have the^a C.8.28. Profits in lieu of Interest, it is otherwise. A Tender of the Residue of a Debt hinders the Sale of a Pledge; and if there be any dispute about the Sum of such Residue, the Judge shall determine the matter^b. And the^b C.8.28.5. whole Pawn must answer for such Residue, because a Pledge is an individual thing^c. So that a Creditor may sell a Pawn, though he has received^c D.21.2.65. the greater part of his Debt. Yet in some Countries the Judge arbitrates this matter; and that he may do, I think, according to the *Civil* Law, in point of Equity, if there are several *Species* of Goods impawned for the same Debt^d. If the Price of a Pledge when sold, be not sufficient to an-^d Arg.D.27.9. swer the Debt, the Creditor may petition for the Residue of his Debt to be made good by some other means. Things *specially* impawned are to be sold in the first place, that it may appear whether the Debt may be satisfied out of the Price of such special Pawn; and after them Things *generally* pledged may be sold^e.
^e C.8.28.9.

I do not remember to have any where read of this Distinction between a *general* and a *special* Pledge in the Laws of *England* (at least) in respect to the Sale of a Pledge; nor is it much regarded now in other Countries.

Though a bare Tender of Money, which is made in a Court of Judicature, is sufficient to inhibit the Sale of a Pledge, so that it cannot be sold: Yet this Tender ought to be previous to the Sale thereof; for a Tender subsequent to such a Sale does not dissolve a Sale once made^f. But in a^f C.8.28.8. judicial Tender the Debtor must deposit and lay down the Money on the Board, and tell it out to the Creditor^g. So that if, upon such a judicial^g C.4.32.19. Tender of the whole Debt unto the Creditor, the Creditor shall afterwards presume to sell the Pledge, the Debtor may either recover Damages for the same by a *Pignoratitious* Action against the Creditor^h, or the Person^h D.13.7.20.2. in possession may be convened in a *real* Action to recover the Thing itself. But this Law in respect of Actions to be thus brought against the Creditor and Possessor, is now out of use in Countries where the Judge sells the Pledge.

A Pledge, which cannot be sold to another, is an ineffectual Pledge; and such Pledges are sometimes made: As when Lands and Houses are mortgaged, where the Mortgagor is only Tenant for his own Life, and the Reversion afterwards passes to another. But even in this case the Fruits and Profits thereof may be pledged during the Tenant's Life. And it is the same thing in a Feme-Covert, that by collusion impawns her Husband's Goods, which may be sold with the Connivance or Dissimulation of the Husbandⁱ.
ⁱ C.8.28.11. A Debtor cannot purchase a Pledge or Pawn, which he has given unto his Creditor, though he may redeem the same, because a Man cannot purchase what is his own already; and if he should do it, such Purchase is null and void. *Titius* mortgaged an Estate unto *Seius* for a hundred Pounds: And afterwards *Titius* purchased the same. This Purchase, I say, is vain and fruitless; because *Titius* purchased what was his own. But if an Equity

of Redemption be once expired, and the Estate be set to publick Sale, he may do it; lest the Estate should be under-sold, and himself become a Sufferer thereby. A Person that has purchased of a Creditor a predial Estate mortgaged to him, ought to be inducted into the Possession of it; that is to say, he ought to have Livery and Seisin, otherwise he shall not have a *real* Action^k; for the Property is not transferred by Sale, but by the Delivery of Possession. A Creditor upon a simple Note of Hand-writing cannot sell a Pledge in prejudice of a Creditor upon a Mortgage.

The Last Will and Testament of a Debtor does not infringe the Right of a Creditor in point of selling a Pledge: For a Debtor cannot in his Will hinder a Creditor from selling an Estate which is mortgaged to him, if such Sale be made according to Law^l. *Titius* mortgaged an Estate unto me, and he not paying the Money according to the Day appointed by him, I was willing to sell the Estate thus mortgaged; but his Heir forbade me selling the same, shewing me *Titius's* Will, whereby it was provided, that such Estate should not be exposed to sale, for that he had devised it to another. And it was adjudged that I might sell it, notwithstanding the Testator's Prohibition. Nor can a Debtor hinder a Creditor from selling a Pledge by any Protestation whatsoever, unless he pays or tenders the whole Debt: For unless he does this, the Creditor may sell the Pledge, though but a small Sum be in Arrears of Payment, as before shewn; because the Protestation of the Debtor does not infringe the Right of the Creditor^m. *Serius* mortgaged the Usufruct of an Estate unto *Sempronius*. *Sempronius* mortgaged the Estate unto *Titius*, who sold the said Estate. And in this case it was held not to be valid. For a nude Usufructuary of a Pledge, that has only the Usufruct, and not the Property of it, cannot plight or alienate the Property thereof, but can only engage or alienate the Usufructⁿ. And thus the Usufruct of a Thing may be impawned.

If a Creditor sells a Pledge *malâ fide*, or contrary to Law, such Creditor is liable to a *Pignoratitious* Action for Damages, and not the Buyer to restore the Possession of it, unless two Things concur, *viz.* that the Creditor is insolvent, and the Buyer participates of the Fraud: For then the Debtor on a Tender of the Price with Interest, though after Sale, shall recover the Thing pawned^o. A Debtor may sell a Pledge against the Will of the Creditor, with a *salvo Jure Creditoris*: For the Sale of an Estate made by a Debtor, shall not prejudice the Creditor or Mortgagee in his Mortgage^p. If a Thing be pledged for a Debt, and such Debt be only discharged in part of the whole, this does not release or dissolve the Pledge, but that the Whole of the Pawn may be sold for the Remainder of the Sum due or promised; because the Right of a Pawn is an individual Thing, as before intimated. *Titius* owed me a hundred Pounds under the Obligation of a Pledge, whereof he paid ninety-nine Pounds, so that only one Pound remained due: And the *Quære* was, whether I might sell the Pledge for the Non-payment of that one Pound? And it was resolved that I might^q. But if there are several Things or Effects pawned to him, and the Creditor would sell a Thing of a very great Value for the satisfying of a very small Debt, when he might obtain his Debt by selling a Thing of lesser Value, he does not seem to act the part of an honest Man, and may therefore be prohibited^r.

Heretofore, by the *Civil* Law, Creditors could not by way of Purchase acquire to themselves such Goods as were impawned or mortgaged to them, lest they should by this means oppress and injure their poor Debtors^s. And hence it sometimes happened, that when their Debtor's Goods were set up to Sale or Auction, they remained a long time *sub hasta*, and could not find a Purchaser. But to remedy this Inconvenience, they at this day are publickly and in a solemn manner exposed to Sale, not by the Creditor himself

himself in virtue of his own Right, and by his own private Authority as formerly ^z, but by a Decree of the Judge, by the means of an Apparitor, ^{o C.8.28.4.} or some other publick Officer of the Court. And, therefore, now Persons cannot be relieved against Sales, as Minors antiently might against all private kinds of Sales, as well as against other Sales, if they were greatly injured thereby ^t. By the ancient Custom of *England*, we read, that a ^{u D.4.4. t.1.} Creditor could not sell a Pledge by his own private Authority, either without the Consent of the Party; or the Decree of the Judge, which was commonly had in the inferior Courts, as the Sheriffs-Turn, the Hundred-Court, and sometimes in Court-Baron. And so it is now in *France*, according to *Domat*, in his Treatise of the *Civil Law*, as practised there ^{v Tom. 2. lib. 3. Tit. 1. & 3.}. By the Usage of *Holland, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Rome*, a *conventional* Pledge is sold with the same Solemnity as a *Pretorian* Pawn is, and by the Authority of the Judge is sold *sub hasta*; namely, by Cant or Auction. Therefore, this Law of the *Code* ^{w C.8.28.4.}, which gives Relief unto Minors against private Sales of Pledges, does not now obtain in those Places. For, the private Sale of a Pawn being out of use, it must be sold by the Authority of the Judge, and the Sale can only be rescinded by an Appeal ^w, since the Credit of the fiscal Spear is of great Authority. ^{w Groen. dell. Abrog.}

By the *Civil Law* also, if a Creditor could not find a Person to purchase the Pledge on its being exposed to Sale, he might upon Application made to the Prince, obtain a Grant of the Property of it, paying the Debtor the Surplusage in value, if any due ^x. But this Method is now out of ^{x C.8.34.3.} use, as I shall farther observe hereafter. The Creditor and Debtor may agree, that if the Money be not paid at a certain time limited, the Creditor shall possess the Thing pawned by way of Sale, at a just and certain Price ^y; ^{y C.8.34.3.1.} and this shall not come under the odious Name of a *commissory* Pact. When the Estate is to be sold, and the other Creditors have notice of the Sale (as they ought to have) and being present do not make their Claims upon the Overplus, they seem to have lost their Right of Mortgage upon it ^z. If a Thing pledged be evicted by a third Person in respect of the ^{z C.8.26.6.} Right of Property, the Creditor who sold it is not liable on the score of such Eviction: For he did not sell it on his own Assurance of the Title, but on the Faith, Credit, and Honesty of the Debtor; and, therefore, let the Purchaser look to himself.

If a Creditor avers, that he has lent Money on the Settlement of a Pawn or Mortgage assured to him, he ought to prove the actual Payment of the Money lent on the score of such Pledge, if he would have an *Hypothecarius* Action, or an Action on the Pledge against the Debtor, that is in possession of such Pawn or Mortgage: because though the Debtor be *civilly* obliged according to the Form and Tenor of such Mortgage; yet an Exception *de non numeratâ Pecuniâ* lies. For a Creditor is not in this case presumed to have actually paid the Money pretended to be lent, unless he proves the same, whether he be convened in a *Pignoratitious*, or any other Action ^a. And the reason of this is, to prevent Fraud in such Persons ^{a C.4.30.1.} as might otherwise pretend a Pawn or Mortgage to cover the Debtor's Goods against other Creditors, whereas in truth there was no real Pawn or Mortgage made. For a Pawn or Mortgage was sometimes wont to be made (in Fraud of Creditors) for Money to be paid hereafter; and the Law which gives this Exception, was made to obviate this Cheat. But if the Creditor be in possession of the Pawn or Mortgage, then this Exception *pecuniæ non numeratæ* does not lie, unless some Fraud be proved between the Mortgagee and Mortgagor in order to deceive and cozen Creditors: For it is a strong Presumption in Law, that the Debtor would not part with the Thing pawned or mortgaged, out of his possession, without having the Money first paid down to him.

But

But Money received on the account of a Pledge or Pawn, whether it be *really*, or only by a Fiction of Law received by the Creditor, discharges the Debtor, unless the Sale of such Pledge be rescinded ^b. *Titius* lent five hundred Pounds, for which I mortgaged an Estate to him, and covenanted with him, that if I did not pay the Money by the time agreed on, he might sell the Estate. The Term came, and the Money was not paid; whereupon my Creditor sold the Estate, and received the Purchase-Money. In this case I am discharged, if the Sale be not rescinded for a just Cause. Such Estates mortgaged with us are wont to be sold by a Decree of the Court of *Chancery*, and by a Master of that Court.

A Thing purchased with another's Money, which is borrowed of him, is not liable as a Pawn or Security unto the Person who lends the Money, unless this be either generally or specially agreed upon by or between the Persons ^c: As when *Titius* buys an Estate with the Money which I lent him. Such Estate, I say, is not subject as a Mortgage for the Money which I lent him, unless it was thus covenanted between us. If a Creditor purchases a Pawn, it ceases to be a Pawn, unless the Purchase be what the *Civilians* stile *emptio simulata*, or a Purchase in Disguise, by some called a *Sham-Purchase*: But there ought to be a *Constat* of such Disguise by some sure and certain Presumptions or Conjectures. If a prior Creditor shall sell a Pledge that is impawned or mortgaged to himself in the first place, and afterwards to me, which we call a *riding* Mortgage, the second Creditor cannot have an *Hypothecarious* Action against the Purchaser: But if the Debtor shall by way of Payment give it to the first Creditor, that Right of a Pawn or Mortgage still remains with me the second Creditor; and thus I may sue for the Thing pawned, if I will pay off the first Creditor his Debt ^d.

The Tye or Obligation of a Pledge is dissolved several ways. As *first* by an actual Payment of that which is due ^e; for every Obligation may be dissolved after the same manner, or by the same means it was established. *Secondly*, by a feigned or imaginary Payment: As when the Creditor makes a Cession unto the Debtor of that which is due to him ^f, (for here a Payment is made without Money) or when the Creditor covenants with the Debtor not to demand or sue for the Pledge ^g; or else transfers the first Obligation of a Pledge into a new or another kind of Obligation, by the *Civil Law* called a *Novation* ^h. A Pledge is also released or dissolved, either by the *express* or *tacit* Will of the Creditor. By the *tacit* Will of the Creditor, when he consents to an Alienation ⁱ, or to a new Obligation of the Pledge ^k. For though a first Creditor does not lose his Right unto a Pawn or Mortgage, though the same be bound to another by his Sufferance, if it be not done with his express Consent and Knowledge ^l; yet if the Creditor has given his full and express Consent, he seems to have remitted such Pawn or Mortgage. And it is the same thing if the Creditor be privy thereunto by any Act of his ^m; for this is a kind of Alienation in him. But if he only so far consents to such Alienation, that the Cause or Reason of the Pledge should still be preserved to him, or gives leave for the Sale thereof that he may be satisfied out of the Purchase-Money, the Incumbrance still remains on such Pledge, and he retains the Right thereof, if payment of his Debt does not follow on such Sale ⁿ. *Note*, a Creditor is not understood to have consented to the Sale of a Pawn, though he has Knowledge of such Sale, unless it appears that he granted leave thereunto, either by express Words, or by subscribing himself to the Contract, or gives up the Specialty or Mortgage-Deed ^o.

Again, a Pledge is determined, if the whole Substance of the Thing impawned perishes or be destroyed, as Land by an Inundation of the Sea, a House by Fire, &c. But if only a part of the Thing perishes, it is otherwise;

otherwise; for if a House be burnt down, yet the Ground-Plot still remains engaged to the Mortgagee, and whatsoever is afterwards built thereon^p. For when the Quality of the Thing is only changed, the Hypothec or Mortgage still continues^q. A Pledge is also extinguished either by the Sentence of the Judge, or by the Oath of the Party, viz. when it is adjudged or sworn, that nothing is due, or that such Pledge is not engaged^r. For if the Party swears to either of these Things, it is incumbent on the Creditor to prove his Right. Lastly, a Pledge is also extinguished by a change of the Person of the Debtor^s; and likewise sometimes by a change of the Thing itself passing *in materiaturum*, as a golden Cup into an Ingot of Gold: And it is always merged, whenever the Thing impawned becomes the Property of the Creditor. If a Creditor has restored a Pawn with an Expectation, or on a Promise of suddenly receiving the Money for which such Pawn was given or laid down, and yet fails in the Receipt of it, he is not in this case thereby deemed or reputed to have remitted his Right to such Pawn, but may have an *Hypothecarious Action* to recover the same again. As a Pawn is presumed to be contracted by a nude Pact, or without writing^t; so it may also be released in that same manner before a competent Number of Witnesses.

Though the Fruits and Profits, which are received from a Pawn or Mortgage by the Creditor, do *ipso jure* extenuate the Debt, and are reckoned as Principal^u; yet they do not lessen or compensate the Debt, if they are spent or consumed on the Premises, as in the Repair of Buildings, &c. The Fruits and Profits being in such a case impawned or mortgaged as the Estate is^v. The first Money that is paid to a Creditor shall be interpreted in discharge of *Use* and *Interest* for the Money lent; for it is reasonable, that the Creditor should be first paid his Damages for delay of Payment: And, therefore, the last Money paid is in discharge of the Principal only, and not of Interest^w. This Interest among the ancient *Romans* was Twelve *per Cent.* which was called *lawful Interest*; and for more than this none could stipulate, unless it was in the Case of maritime Usury: for such was the Standard of lawful Interest, according to the *Gabinian Law*, as *Cicero* assures us in an Epistle to *Atticus*^x. But when Trade increased, and had brought into the State a greater Plenty of Money, the Measure of Interest was for the Benefit of Commerce, gradually reduced at several times, till at length it came to four *per Cent.* in *Justinian's* Time, (as I shall more fully evince in my Work hereafter, under the Title of *Interest*;) and no Banker or Usurer could take more than this Sum upon any pretence whatsoever, unless on the account of *Bottomry* or nautick Interest.

If a Creditor shall do any damage to a Thing pawned or mortgaged, such Damage shall be reckoned into the Principal, as I shall note hereafter: But the Creditor shall recover all necessary Charges, which he has disbursed on the same, and likewise such moderate Expences as he has been at for proper Improvements thereof^y, as before related. But though the Creditor is liable, if the Pledge be made worse in his hands by Dissipation or Waste^z, yet it has been a Question, whether he be bound to preserve the Fruits, and to sell them in some Time of Scarcity? To which I answer, that there are some Fruits which ought to be sold out of hand, because they are immediately spoiled, or grow worse by keeping; and these ought not to be preserved. A Creditor is not liable on the account of a Pawn lost, if it be lost without his fault or means. Fortuitous Cases which cannot be foreseen by human Prudence, are within the Verge of Contracts both *stricti juris* and *bonæ fidei*: And, therefore, a Creditor is not liable on the score of a fortuitous Case happening to a Pledge, unless it be so covenanted, viz. That if a Thing be lost by such a Case or otherwise, the Debtor shall not be obliged to pay the Debt^{aa}. And the

being robbed by Highwaymen, and the like, is deemed a fortuitous Case.

^a C. 8. 16. 2. A Thing, which belongs to another Person, may be pawned or mortgaged by the Consent of the Proprietor, and not otherwise ^a, unless it be as hereafter excepted; nor is such a Pledge valid, though the Property of the Pledge should afterwards by Accident supervene unto the Debtor: Because he had no present Right, or Right in Reversion thereunto. But if a Thing be given as a Pledge without the Privity of the Owner, and the Proprietor shall afterwards ratify the Act of the Debtor, such Pledge shall be valid: And thus that which was invalid *ab initio* is afterwards confirmed and made good; for such Ratification declares the Will and Consent of the Proprietor ^b. A Person who knows the Thing pawned to belong to another, is not deceived by the Debtor, but deceives himself; and, therefore, he shall not have an *Hypothecarious* Action, according to *Bartolus* ^c. Those Things which may be expressly sold and alienated, may also be impawn'd and mortgag'd ^d, as before hinted: And, on the contrary, those Things which cannot consist in Commerce, as Things sacred, religious, the Right to an Hospital, Things subject to Restitution, a *Feudal* Estate without the Lord's Consent, the Goods of Minors without the Decree of the Judge, Things *litigious*, Castles, publick Theatres, the Sea, publick Rivers, and the like, these Things (I say) cannot be impawned ^e.

If an Estate be mortgaged, and afterwards such Estate shall be enlarged or increased by Alluvion, the whole Estate shall be bound by such Mortgage ^f. If a Thing mortgag'd or impawned shall afterwards be changed into another *Species*, as when a House is pulled down, and laid into a Garden, &c. an *Hypothecarious* Action accrues in the same manner, as if it had been a House still ^g: And, therefore, a Pledge is not always extinguished by a change of the Thing itself into another Form, though sometimes it is, as before intimated, but still continues a Pledge. Thus if Corn or Pasture-Land be converted into a Vineyard, the Obligation of a Pledge still remains to the Creditor.

In the Claim of a Pledge, the Question sometimes is, whether the Person with whom the Controversy is, be in possession of the Thing in Controversy? For if he be not in possession of it, nor has not quitted the Possession by any fraudulent Declaration of Trust, in order to deceive the Creditor, he ought to be acquitted; for a Creditor may claim the Pledge. But if he be in possession of it, and will either pay the Money lent thereupon, or restore the Thing pledged, he shall equally be acquitted: But if he will do neither of these Things, he shall be condemned by the Judge's Sentence to give up his Possession to the Creditor ^h. And the Possessor shall, according to the Award of the Judge, be obliged to restore all the Fruits of the Pledge received after Contestation of Suit, or Issue joined in the Cause, if the Estate be of lesser Value than the Debt due to the Creditor: But if greater, he shall be obliged to restore the Fruits or Issues received before Contestation of Suit, unless they are extant, and the Thing impawn'd be not sufficient to satisfy the Creditor in his just Debt ⁱ.

^j C. 8. 15. 3. Though, properly speaking, a Thing already pledged cannot be impawned by the Creditor unto another ^k, because the Creditor has not the full and absolute Property thereof, yet it may be pledged, either under an express or tacit Condition, *viz.* That if the first Debtor shall redeem it, it shall be released. *Mævius* gave a Pledge unto *Titius* for a hundred Pounds; *Titius* afterwards impawned the same Pledge unto *Caius*. *Mævius* may in this case discharge the Pledge which he gave unto *Titius*, by a hundred Pounds paid unto *Caius*, by the Consent of *Titius*; and if *Titius* will not give his Consent, the Court will compel him hereunto. Which brings me to speak of the *Subrogation* of Pledges. For,

In Pawns and Mortgages we have such a Thing as *Subrogation* or Cession of Right, which is the putting of another Person in the Place and Right of the Creditor. It may be done either *gratis*, or for Money. And the *Cessionary* or Assignee shall succeed in the room of the Creditor, and exercise all manner of Right in relation to the Mortgage, or the Privilege of the Mortgage¹. Thus a Debtor may borrow Money to pay the Creditor¹ D.18.4.6. or Mortgagee, and by consent that the Creditor should assign over the Mortgage, as a Security for Money borrow'd, unto the Lender^m; reciting that^m D.20.3.3. the Money was paid by him. This is no prejudice to the other Creditors, for their Condition is neither worse nor better by means of such a Change and Assignment. These Assignments and Subrogations may also be made by the Authority of the Judgeⁿ, without the Consent of the Creditor. If the Creditor consents that his Pledge shall be assigned to another, he has re-ⁿ C.8.22.1. mitted his Right^o: But bare Notice and Silence cannot amount unto a Con-^o D.20.6.12. sent, as before declared; as when he knows that his Debtor is selling Land that was mortgaged to him, and says nothing to the contrary, or against the Sale^p. For this Consent ought to appear by some external Act, as^p D.20.6.8.15. when one mortgages Land a second time, and declares that it is free from all Incumbrances, and the first Mortgagee or Creditor signs the Deed, either as a Party, or as a Witness^q: Here he is an Accomplice in the Fraud, and^q D.20.6.9.1. the Circumstances are so gross, that it must be esteemed to be done with his Consent.

Where a special Pledge was not deliver'd to the Creditor, to prevent second Mortgages, and other Frauds and Abuses committed by Debtors, the *Romans* introduced a general Hypotheque of all the Debtor's Goods to answer for any Fraud committed by him, and such general Hypotheque was registred before the President of the Province, or some other proper Magistrate, that all Persons might apply and see in what Condition the Debtor stood: But this way of coming at the Truth of the Debtor's Circumstances having been since either found inconvenient, or (at least) insufficient, this Method is now alter'd in many Countries, and the Goods, if moveable, must either be put into the Creditor's Hands, or else into some publick Lumber-House, and enter'd there in the Debtor's and Creditor's Names, and kept distinct from other Goods. If the Pledge consists in Immoveables, and not deliver'd, then a bare Register before a proper Officer for that purpose is sufficient. By the *English* Law, if the Debtor does not give notice in writing of the first Mortgage, to the second Mortgagee or Creditor, he shall have no Equity of Redemption against the second Mortgage, but shall lose the whole^r. But this Law has not been found sufficient to hinder frau-^r 4 & 5 W.&c. dulent Mortgages with us; which nothing will prevent but a general Mort-^{M. cap. 16.}gage or Register, as it is fear'd; or a sanguinary Punishment, which some may think carries too much Cruelty with it. By the *Civil* Law, if a Man pawns a Thing, which is already impawn'd to another, or which belongs to the State, and the like, he is guilty of *Stellionate*, or of a high Crime and Misdemeanor; and may be punish'd arbitrarily for such Fraud, according to the Discretion of the Court: But if he does not know it to belong to another, his Ignorance shall in this case excuse him from the Guilt and Punishment of his Crime^s.^s D.13.7.16.1.

Suppose I pawn or mortgage a House to you for a hundred Pounds, and cease to pay Interest for the said Sum of Money for so long a time, that the Debt comes to more than the House is really worth: *Quære*, whether I am discharged of the Debt by a Surrender made to you of the said House? And it is held, that I am not; because *Cession* is not a full Satisfaction of the Debt, as before related.

A Creditor may retain a Pledge, not only on the account of Expences laid out thereon, but likewise on the score of any future imminent Danger
of

^a D. 13.7.8.1. of having such Pledge evicted in his hands ^a. He that has a Pledge assigned to him by way of satisfying a Judgment, is in the Place of a Purchaser : And, therefore, if such Pledge be evicted against the Debtor, the Party shall not recover it by a *Pignoratitious* Action, but by an Action *ex empto*, founded upon Equity ^c. Nor does a Creditor lose an *Hypothecarious* Action, even though he has a Judgment against his Debtor : For a Creditor does not seem to be satisfy'd in point of his Debt, though

^a D. 20.1.13. he has such a Judgment, unless he receives his Money by virtue thereof ^a.

⁴ If a Pledge be in the Hands of a Creditor, and it be agreed between him and the Debtor, that the same should not be sold, and the Debtor is in perpetual Delay of paying the Sum lent thereon, the Creditor ought in this case to give notice before Witnesses unto the Debtor, that he designs to sell the Pledge at such a time ; and then if the Debtor be guilty of delay in Payment, it may be sold by the Order of the Judge ^v : Otherwise this notice is not precisely requir'd, (as some think, though without any Foundation of Law.) He, that accepts of a Pledge, is not only obliged to restore the same to the Debtor, but even to the Debtor's Heirs, in case of his Decease, even though no mention be made thereof in the Deed of Pledge ;

^v D. 26.7.17. fin.

for that is understood to be a tacit Agreement between Debtor and Creditor, on payment of the Debt ^w ; for if the Creditor receives his Debt, he loses the Right of a Pledge. A Debtor does not make the Cause of the Creditor the worse, either by the Sale, Donation, or Bequest of a Pledge ; for

^w I. 3.15.4. the Creditor may follow and recover it, to whomsoever it passes ^x ; and this he may do by an Action at Law. And this almost necessarily obliges

^x C. 8.15.15. me to say something of such Actions, as relate to Pledges.

I have before observed, that an Action which lies for the Recovery of a Pledge out of the Hands of the Creditor, is called a *Pignoratitious*, and not an *Hypothecarious* Action : Because it does not lie to recover a Pledge in the Possession of the Debtor, as an *Hypothecarious* Action does, but to re-possess a Pawn, which is in the Hands of the Creditor ^y. There are some Actions given during the time that the Contract has a Continuance or Subsistence : And others, after a Dissolution of the Contract. During the Time of its Subsistence we have an Action in *Latin* stiled *Serviana*, and *quasi Serviana* ; meaning, an *Hypothecarious* Action, whereby the Creditor claims and sues to have the possession of the Pledge delivered to him : And after a Dissolution of the Contract, a *direct Pignoratitious* Action lies for the Debtor ; and a contrary *Pignoratitious* Action lies for the Creditor. I shall discourse of these Actions in the two following Paragraphs.

^y D. 50.16.

^{238.}

D. 13.7.9.1.

^z C. 8.28.20. Now a *direct Pignoratitious* Action is a civil personal ^a Action, whereby the Debtor who has pawn'd or mortgag'd a Thing, though it be another's

^a D. 13.7.9.4. Goods ^a, on payment of the Debt may implead the Creditor, and compel him to re-deliver the Pledge ; and likewise oblige him to repair the

^b D. 13.7.9.3. Damage, if any has happen'd to it through his Fault or Knavery ^b : and this is a *dividual*, as an *Hypothecarious* is an *individual* Action. Though

^{C. 4.24.7.}

a Person cannot rightly have this Action before payment of the Debt ; yet if he makes a lawful Tender thereof in Court, he shall have it (as already

^c D. 13.7.9.5. shewn,) and recover the Thing itself, or Damages ^c. And if the Creditor should (perchance) injure the Pledge by using it, the Debtor shall also

^d D. 13.7.9. recover Damages ^d ; because he used it contrary to his Trust. And it is the same thing if he hinders the Debtor from making use of his own Right

^{fin.}

^e D. 13.7.43. therein ^e. Not only the Person with whom the Contract is made, but even he who has a Right of possessing the Pledge, may have this Action against

^f D. 3.5.32. the Creditor ^f, and also against his Heir (for it is a transitory Action) but not against any other Possessor of the Thing pledged according to the *Civil*

^g D. 13.7.27. Law ^g : But by the *Canon* Law it lies against a third Possessor. See *Gregory's* Decretals ^h, and *Innocentius* thereon. The Suit in this Action is for

^h Cap. cum confes.

Restitution

Restitution of the Thing pledged, together with the Fruits and Profits thereof, (which the Creditor does not make his own, unless it be in an *Antichresis*, as aforesaid, but shall be compelled to restore them, if the Debtor pleases, or to convert them into Principal ⁱ; and likewise to make good the Damage done by the Fraud and Negligence of the Creditor unto the Thing pledged ^k. For a Creditor ought not only to avoid Fraud and Deceit, but ought to shew the Care of a prudent Master of a Family, because a Pledge is chiefly given for his Sake and Security ^l. But he shall not be liable to an uncontrollable Force, or a fortuitous Case; because no Care or Custody is a sufficient Defence against such Accidents ^m. Therefore, the Owner of the Thing pledged must run the Risk of it, unless he can prove that it perish'd through the Fault of the Creditor ⁿ. But if a Pledge be sold (as it may be on the Debtor's Non-payment of the Money borrowed thereon) an Action will lie for the Overplus of the Price, which the Creditor shall be obliged to refund ^o.

A *contrary Pignoratitious* Action is given to the Creditor against the Debtor ^p to indemnify him in case he should (peradventure) suffer any Damage by the means of such Pledge given ^q; or if he has been cheated therein, as (for instance) in receiving Brass for Gold, &c. or if he has been at any necessary Expence on the Pledge ^r; or even if he has been at any Charge for the Improvement thereof ^s; or if the Debtor has regained the Pledge out of his hands by a false View of being paid his Money ^t, and so in the like Cases: Wherein it is reasonable, that the Creditor should be indemnify'd ^u. A *contrary Pignoratitious* Action founded on Equity is also given to the Creditor against the Debtor's Heir, in order to compel him to suffer the Thing pledged to continue as a Pledge, in as much as the Heir of the Deceased is bound to ratify and make good the Debtor's Act ^v.

A Creditor that brings an *Hypothecarious* Action, or an Action on a Mortgage, is bound to prove the Mortgager to be the Proprietor of that Estate, touching which he seeks Relief in virtue of such Mortgage: And it is enough for him to prove, that the said Estate was the Estate of the said Mortgager at the time of the Obligation made. See *Accursius* on the Institutes ^w. But because it is a difficult matter to prove another to be the true Proprietor of a Thing, or such an Estate; it is therefore adjudg'd sufficient Evidence, if it be proved that the Estate mortgaged was then in the Mortgager's Possession, and that he received the Profits of it, when the Debt and Mortgage were contracted; because those Things seem to be in a Man's Property, according to the Gloss ^x, which he has possession of, &c. And the Creditor may likewise subjoin, that the Debtor was the reputed Proprietor thereof. An Action of Theft accrues to a Creditor on the account of a Pawn stolen, or privily taken away from him ^y; for by the *Civil Law*, Theft was not a capital Offence or Felony, as with us; but a civil Action might be commenced for Damages ^z, or a criminal Action to punish the Offender by a pecuniary Mulct or Fine to the Exchequer. And thus much of Actions for Pawns and Mortgages; wherein I have been obliged to mention some Things before hinted at, because the Business would otherwise have been obscure to the Reader. But I cannot take my leave of this Title on Pledges, without making some few general Remarks on the whole, touching the present State of Pledges in all trading Countries almost.

For there are several Laws which were in force among the *Romans*, and well enough adapted then to the State of Things as they stood at that time, which are since grown obsolete or abolished by the subsequent municipal Laws of divers Nations. As for instance, a Wife can neither borrow Money, nor impawn her Effects, as she might have done by the *Roman Law* ^a: For the Husband, and the Heir of the Wife, is not obliged

upon Oath, or to give the Oath back to the Debtor. But this Exception *Pecunia non numerata* is observed in *Friesland*, according to the Form of the *Civil Law* ¹. By the Law of *England* (I think) the Debtor may have Relief in a Court of Equity, though not of Law. A Plaintiff or Exception *Pecunia non numerata* ought no more to be made in writing at this day than other Exceptions, in Imitation of which it is drawn, as the Law is practised in *Holland*: But in *England* it must be framed in writing. Again, by the *Roman Law*, a second or latter Creditor could not sell a Pledge, unless he paid or tendred the Debt unto a former Creditor ^m. But now ⁿ C. 8. 18. 8. he may, by saving the Right of a third Person, because it is sold by the Authority of the Judge; and therefore these Tenders of a Debt are at this day grown into disuse ⁿ.

¹ Groenv. de
ll. Ab. C. 4. 30.

ⁿ Autum. in
l. 1. C. 8. 18.

The last principal difference between the *Civil Law* and the Practice of modern Times, which I shall here mention in relation to Pledges, tho' there be others of less Consequence, is, That in case no one will purchase the same, the Creditor need not now apply himself to the Prince for the Right of Property therein: For if there be no Bidder or Purchaser to be found, the Judge may ascertain the Price thereof to the Creditor, and by paying the just Value of it (as settled by the Court) unto the Debtor, he shall acquire the full Property. See *Faber's* Definition on the *Justinian Code* ^o. What I farther add hereunto is, that when the same Debtor has several Creditors, each Possessor convened in an *Hypothecarious* Action, may tender his Debt, and by a lawful Tender or Payment of the Thing hypothecated, it may be retained, and bar the Creditor from selling the Pledge: Provided always that he tenders the whole Debt, because a Tender in part can be of no advantage to the Possessor against the Creditor. And this Power of Tendering accrues not only to the Possessor of a Pledge, but to every Creditor of the same Debtor. ^o C. 8. Tit. 22. defn. 1.



T I T. XIX.

Of Permutation, or the Exchange and Barter of Goods, how it differs from buying and selling; whether it be an innominate Contract, and whether it differs from the Contract stiled Do ut des; and whether it be Permutation if a Thing be delivered, and a Price paid for it.

THE most antient of all commercial Contracts between one Man and another, seems to be that of *Permutation*, or the exchanging of Goods for Goods. For till such time as Money was found out, and the Service thereof made use of for the more convenient carrying on of Trade, there could be no other way of supplying of the Necessities of one with the Abundance of another Person: And, therefore, one certain *Species* of Goods being given *gratis* for another, as an Ox for a Horse, &c. it was called *Permutation* ^p, or the bartering of Goods for Goods. If a *Genus* be exchanged for a *Genus*, as a Garment for Cloth, or for a *Species*, it is not, properly speaking, stiled *Permutation*, but rather an innominate Contract, as

^p I. 3. 24. 2.
D. 19. 4. 1.

- ^a D. 19.4.1. as *do ut des*^a. For though the word *Permutation* may well enough be extended to all Contracts, wherein Goods are exchanged even for Money; yet this is not in the strict Acceptation of the Word, as I shall use it here: For then it becomes a Contract of Bargain and Sale, unto which this Contract of *Permutation* is like in many respects^r. And thus the word *Permutation* in a general Signification of it is a Term of a large extent, containing all Contracts, as well nominate as innominate. For Contracts are nothing else but a mutual Commerce of Things had between Men by changing one Thing for another by the Intervention of Consent. And, therefore, tho' *Permutation* has a Name, yet it is a Name *sui generis*, and not a particular Name.
- ^r C. 4.64.2. *Permutation*, as here used, is a Contract *bonæ fidei*^t, and it was founded on the Law of Nations^s, as all such Contracts are. It was antecedent to Bargain and Sale; because this last was introduced on the Use of Money, and not before: And though *Permutation* be like unto Bargain and Sale in many respects, as afore said, and is governed almost by the same Rules in Law; yet it differs from it in some Particulars. For in Bargain and Sale there must be a certain Price paid in Money by the Buyer, and there must be a Thing delivered on the Part of the Seller: But in *Permutation* something is delivered on both sides without the help of Money^t, as when a Man delivers me so much Lead for so much Cloth. Bargain and Sale is perfected by Consent alone: But *Permutation* is not perfected without the Intervention of something delivered or done^u. In Bargain and Sale the Vender may sell that which is another Man's Property: But in *Permutation* the Barterer can only exchange that which is his own^v. In Exchange or *Permutation* you cannot discern who is the Seller or the Buyer, or what is the Price, and which is the Merchandize that is bought or sold^w.
- ^w D. 19.4.1. D. 18.1.1. The constituent Parts of *Permutation* or Exchange of Goods are the *Species* of Things, the Consent of the Parties, and the Delivery of the Goods exchanged, and sometimes Stipulation and Warranty intervene^x.
- ^x C. 4.64.3. For Eviction lies on *Permutation*, as it does on Bargain and Sale^y. And if Animals or living Creatures are exchanged for each other, they ought to be sound Wind and Limb^z; for if the Creature or Beast has any Fault, it may be returned on the Owner's Hands that exchanged it^a, and he shall be obliged to receive the same again, and to restore the Counter-part. If a Thing bartered be evicted, an Action *præscriptis verbis*, or on the Case, lies against the Person to restore the Value of it in Damages. In exchange of Goods, if a Person has delivered a *Species*, he may recover the same again out of the hands of the adverse Party, if he does not accept of the same by a Delivery of Goods on his part also^b: But it is otherwise in Bargain and Sale; for there the Action lies to compel the Person to fulfil the Contract. *Permutation* does not produce an Action for Damage on the Goods before the Thing be delivered^c: But it is otherwise in a Contract of Bargain and Sale, which is perfected by Consent alone. Yet in *Permutation* a Person may have an Action to compel the Person to perform his Promise^d, or to answer Damages for his Non-compliance therewith^e. *Tacitus* somewhere observes, speaking of the Manners of the *Germans*, that heretofore *Permutation* was peculiar to that People, who at that time knew no other way of Trading: And *Virgil* himself in his *Georgicks*^f gives a Hint of this way of dealing without Money among the old *Romans*;

Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.

But as this Way or Method of Traffick is now almost grown into disuse among Men, I shall here ask leave to close this Title, and say no more of it.



T I T. XX.

Of a Precarium, or Contract whereby one Person grants the Use of something unto another, with a Power of revoking such Grant whenever he pleases, &c. How it differs from other Contracts, and what are the Conditions of a Precarium; and how a Precarium is determined, &c.

A *Precarium* is a Contract founded on the Law of Nations, whereby one Person at the Instance of another, grants something to be made use of by him, till such time as the Grantor shall think fit to recall the said Grant ^g. As when I grant unto *Titius* the Use of a Book at his Request, or grant unto *Seius* a Way or Power of passing through my Ground, ^{pr} with a Pact, reserving unto myself the Power of revoking, or of redemanding my Book whenever I think fit. A *Precarium* is a *Species* or Kind of Liberality ^h, in as much as it is like unto a *Donation*, though ^hD.43.26.1.1; it differs from it in some respects; because he who gives a Thing, gives it in such a manner as not to receive the same again: But he who grants a Thing as a *Precarium*, so gives it as to receive the same again, whenever he pleases ⁱ. As a *Precarium* is a kind of Liberality, it is suitable to natural Equity, that you should only have the Use of it during my pleasure, and that I may recall it whenever I change my Will: Wherefore not only an *Interdict* of Restitution lies, but also an Action on the Case for the Recovery of it ^k. It is called a *Precarium, à Precibus, viz.* because it is made ^hD.43.26.2.2; at the Request of him for whose advantage it is granted.

A *Precarium* may be granted not only in respect of Things corporeal, but also in regard to Things immoveable, and of an incorporeal Nature, as Rights, Services, and the like ^l. It does not transfer the Property, but ^l D.43.26.1.1; only the Use of the Thing granted, nor is it given for a certain Use, or for ^{2.3. & 4.} a certain Time ^m, in such a manner that it cannot be revoked before the Determination of that Time. Hence a *Precarium* differs from other Contracts. ^mD.43.26.25.1. For, *first*, it differs from a *Mutuum*, because in a *Mutuum* the Property of the Thing is transferr'd and alter'd; but it is not so in a *Precarium*. By this it also differs from a *Sale*, as a *Sale* is an *onerous* Contract, but a *Precarium* is not such: And in a *Sale* the Property is transferred and alienated in respect of the Thing sold, which does not happen in a *Precarium*. *Thirdly*, it differs from a *Depositum*; because a *Depositum* is usually made in favour of the Person that deposits the Thing: But a *Precarium* is made in favour of the Person, that accepts and receives the same. Besides, a *Precarium* is granted, to the end that it may be made use of by the Person receiving; but a *Depositum* is granted for the sake of Custody alone: Though both a *Depositum* and a *Precarium* agree in this, *viz.* That they may be demanded and recovered at the pleasure of the Grantor. *Fourthly*, a *Precarium* differs from a *Commodatum*, because a *Commodatum* cannot be revoked whenever the *Commodant* pleases, but remains with the *Commodatary* till such time as he has enjoyed the stated Use of it:

But a *Precarium* may be revoked at the Will of the Proprietor, even before any use has been made thereof; for a *Commodatum* is usually granted for a certain Time and Use, though it may be granted without a Time prefixt for returning it, as when a Man borrows a Horse to go such a Journey. Yet a *Precarium* cannot in Equity be immediately revoked, unless it be upon some reasonable account supervening: For a light and sudden Revocation carries along with it a Presumption of Fraud and Deceit. *Fifthly*, a *Precarium* differs from letting to hire, letting to hire being used for the advantage of both the Parties contracting: But a *Precarium* is only for the Benefit of the Party that accepts of it. A *Precarium* includes the Obligation itself, as well as the Thing granted.

To this Contract of a *Precarium* there are three Conditions required. *First*, The mutual Consent of the Grantor and Receiver is necessary. *Secondly*, A Delivery of the Thing lent is required: For this kind of Contract is perfected by a Delivery of the Thing granted. And the Things which are grantable by way of a *Precarium*, are both Things moveable and immoveable^a, as aforesaid, and also Services^b. Yet a Person cannot by this Contract obtain that which is his own already. Wherefore, he that grants unto another Person what is a Man's own, and afterwards desires, that that same thing may be given him by the Creditor on a *Precarium*, is not said to receive that Thing by a *Precarium* in respect of the Property thereof, but only in respect of the Possession: For he himself is Lord of the Property, and only asks that Possession to be given him, which the Creditor had. *Thirdly*, He who delivers a *Precarium* may recover the same whenever he pleases, unless Charity will have it otherwise: As it happens, when the Grantor cannot revoke a *Precarium* without very great Detriment to him, who received the same. Hence it follows, that in a *Precarium* a Pact or Covenant cannot be made and entred into, *viz.* that he who delivered the *Precarium* should not re-demand the same: For such a Pact is contrary to the Nature of a *Precarium*, and consequently invalid.

A *Precarium* is determined *first*, and comes to an end by the Will of him who granted it. *Secondly*, it is at an end if the Proprietor sells the *Precarium*. And *thirdly*, it is at an end by the Death of him who received the same: For a *Precarium* does not descend to the Heirs of the Person, though the Person that received it should die before the Term be elapsed. For a Grant of this Nature is a personal Thing, and consequently at an end with the Death of the Grantee, without passing to his Heirs. But a *Precarium* is not determined by the Death of the Grantor that delivered it; because it is granted under this Condition, *viz.* till such time as the Proprietor shall revoke the same. And the Person who delivers it is not adjudged to revoke it by his Death, but to continue in the same Will or Mind, as before. Wherefore, the Receiver may use it after the Death of the Grantor, without incurring any Damage, till it be revoked by the Heirs of the Deceased. But if it be granted under this Form, *viz.* *so long as my Will and Pleasure is*, and the like, it appears from what I have said of Privileges, that such a *Precarium* expires with the Grantor; because *Voluntas & Bene-placitum Personæ* ceases with the Death of the Person.

As a *Precarium*, properly speaking, is not a civil Contract; that is to say, a Contract founded on the *Civil* Law, but on the Law of Nations^c, as already remembred, it does not produce a civil Action, but only what the *Civilians* call an *Interdict*, or Injunction of Restitution^d: But yet an Action in Equity lies hereupon, which we stile an Action *præscriptis verbis*, or in other Terms, an Action *on the Case*^e: which is a subsidiary Action, as being given in Equity on a Defect of other Actions^f. And it is so called, because the Plaintiff does in a *prescribed* Form of Words deduced by himself, and not by Law, set forth the simple Matter transacted

or done. But more of this Action hereafter : Title, *Actions* ^c. By this ^t Vol. II. Injunction the Judge orders him, who has received a Thing as a *Precarium* from another, or has fraudulently quitted the Possession thereof, to restore the same to him again ^u. And if the Receiver of a *Precarium* shall be ^u D.43.26.2. found guilty of any Fraud or gross Negligence in preserving the same, ^{Pr} he shall be liable to this Action, but not for a light or the lightest Fault : But if he shall, after such Injunction is served on him, be in delay of restoring the *Precarium*, he shall be obliged to make good all Damage to the Grantor and his Heirs ^v. This Action in Equity is a perpetual Action, ^v D.43.26.8. not barred by the Limitation of a Year ^w; and it accrues to the Grantor, ^{3. & 6.} whether he be the Proprietor of the *Precarium*, or not, and to his Heirs ^x. ^w D.43.26.8. It lies against him who has the *Precarium*, and not precisely against him ^{7.} at whose Intreaty it was granted ^y, and against the Heirs of such Possessor ^z. ^x D.43.26.21. ^y D.43.26.4. It is granted in respect of Restitution, and if Restitution cannot be made of ^{2.} the *Precarium*, it will give the Plaintiff Damages by a Condemnation of ^z D.43.26.21. the Defendant therein ; and after Contestation of Suit, he shall from that time restore all the Fruits and Emoluments of the *Precarium* to the Plaintiff ^a. A Thing may be so sold, that it may remain with the Buyer by way ^a D.43.26.8. of a *Precarium* only, until such time as the whole Purchase-Money be ^{3. 4 & 6.} paid, and if it be by the Buyer's Means that it is not paid, the Seller may recover the same ^b. ^b D.43.26.20.



T I T. XXI.

Of Improper or Quasi Contracts, what they are, and the several Species thereof ; as a Contract de Negotiis gestis, or for Business done, touching the Administration of Guardianship, the Communio Bonorum, a Judicium finium regundorum, the Aditio Hæreditatis, or Accepting of the Heirship, Solutio Indebiti, Contracts by Accident, and Contracts by Fraud : of all which in their respective Order.

HAVING hitherto treated of such Obligations as arise from a proper Contract ; I shall, in the next place, discourse of those which arise from an *Improper* or a *Quasi* Contract : which is so called, because it is not a Contract, properly speaking ; the word *Quasi* here denoting an Impropriety of Speech ^c. For in other Contracts, a Man is of his own accord ^c D.41.3.14. obliged by his own proper Act, and the Consent of both the contracting ^{fin.} Powers, is held necessary, though sometimes even something more than Consent is required : As in Contracts which are celebrated by something done, styled *real* Contracts, the Intervention of a Thing is necessary to establish the same. So likewise in verbal Obligations, the Presence of the Parties, and a Solemnity of Words in some of them is accounted necessary. But in *improper* Contracts, a Person is bound even without his own Privity, and sometimes

sometimes in his Absence, and against his Will. For though the express Consent of both the Parties does not intervene; yet the Law does in the *Interim* consent for one of them: Presuming that no one is so weak and foolish, but that he is willing to better his own Condition even in his Absence, and without his own Privity. The Emperor *Justinian* reckons up six of these *improper* Contracts, which I shall here handle under this Title.

Now the first *Species* of an *improper* Contract is what we call a Contract for *Business done*, or *Negotiorum Gestio*. The *Romans* so thoroughly saw the Necessity that lay upon Men to perform mutual Offices and Kindnesses for each other, that to encourage them the more to pay these reciprocal Duties, so necessary to each other's common Being, the Scope of their Laws tended to secure all Men from sustaining any prejudice by being officious or active for the Benefit of other Men. If therefore I expend Money in my Friend's Absence, or contract a Debt on myself to accommodate or improve his Interest, though I did it without his Knowledge or Privity, yet the *Civil* Law will see that what I have thus laid out shall be restored me, and I may compel him to save me harmless, where I either have, or can possibly suffer any Detriment for his sake. For as it is but fitting, when I undertake to act in another Man's Business, I should give an account of what I do, and answer for any thing I have done amiss therein, and render unto him such Profits as his Affairs and Goods have yielded: So, on the other hand, it is but just, where I have served him with Success and Advantage, that there he should re-imburse me all that I have usefully expended, and free me from all present and future Damages whatsoever ^d. Hence it is, that if I pay another Man's Debt with my own Money; or free from Captivity another's Son or near Kinsman, whom Nature would oblige to redeem him; or if being a Physician I attend and prosecute the Cure and Recovery of another's Servant, that is sick or wounded; the Law will not suffer me in any of these Cases to be a Loser in any measure; for what Cost I have been at, or whatever I have disbursed, shall be allowed me. It is unreasonable, says *Gaius* ^e, that a Man for his Courtesy and Goodness should reap a prejudice. Upon the Equity hereof is that Proceeding in the Court of Admiralty clearly justify'd, whereby, if a Ship being assaulted by Pyrates or Enemies, shall be rescued by another's Ship seasonably coming in to her Deliverance, it charges the Ship that is thus redeemed, with Salvage-Money to the other, that so endanger'd herself, in order to preserve her: That Recompence being but in lieu of all Damages thereby sustained, and for future Encouragement to others to fight in defence of those that they see assailed hereafter. Upon the same Equity it is, that when a Ship is in danger of being cast away through a raging Tempest, if, to lighten the Ship, some of the heaviest Goods belonging to others be thrown over-board, and thereby the Ship and the rest of the Goods come safe home, in this case the Loss is made common and reparable by the whole. For it is most equitable, that their Wares should contribute to make up that loss, which was the only means whereby they were preserved ^f.

In the like manner, though Goods taken at Sea by Pyrates from the true Owners, may be challenged and regained from any hands, wherever they shall be found and met with, (though 'tis otherwise in Goods taken by an Enemy in a just and open War;) yet if a Man shall expend his own Money in redeeming them out of the Pyrates Hands, not for his own Use, or to make a good Bargain for himself, but with an intent of bringing them home to the true Owner: In this Case, if the Owner will have them, he must first lay down the Purchase-Money, and then he shall receive his Goods ^g. Nay, sometimes the Law will enjoin a Man to pay for that which

^d D. 3. 5. 1.

^e D. 29. 3. 7.

^f D. 14. 2. 2.

^g D. 49. 15. 6.
D. 14. 2. 2. 3.

which he had got before. For if three be taken Prisoners in War, and one of them be suffered to go home to procure Money in order to pay the Ransoming of them all, and a Condition added, That if he that is let go does not return, the two that are left behind shall stand engaged for his Ransom as well as for their own: In this case what Money soever they lay down for him, he is bound to repay them, though he had gotten his Liberty before^h. For the Law will not suffer a Man to be damnify'd by any Act, which is usefully done in Contemplation of another. And herein the Law does not so much look upon the Success or Sequel, as on the Good-will and probable Undertaking. And, therefore, if I should fence or cast a Wall about another Man's Island to keep it from overflowing, and an Inundation happens notwithstanding; or if I bestow Pains and Cost to cure another Man's Child or Servant, and he dies; yet the Law will see me satisfied: For it is sufficient, that I did what was proper to be done, tho' the intended Effect did not ensueⁱ.

^h D. 3. 5. 21.

ⁱ D. 3. 5. 19.

But here some Caution and Wariness must be used. For he that thus acts for another, must be sure that he does no more than he that acts for himself would have done for himself: Neither must he expend any more than is profitable and necessary, and he can bear^k. Again, he must not act after any Countermand be once sent him, or that he be once bidden to desist^l. For in neither of these Cases will the Law help him. Farther, if a Person be a Father, or a very near Relation, that deals for the Benefit, or in the Concerns of such a one, as the Law may possibly presume he rather does it to testify his natural Affection towards him, than to demand any thing for the same: I say, if there be any such Proximity or Relation, and yet an Eye had to future Satisfaction, he must protest and declare, that it is done with that Intent, and not out of a Mind to bestow it freely, but to be allowed for the same, otherwise the Law will strike it out on the score of Affection and natural Obligation^m. And so *Alexander Severus* declared to *Herennia*, who, when she had fed and maintained her Children at her Table, and laid out Money besides for their other Uses, demanded Satisfaction of all of them, when they came of Age: But being denied, she complained to the Emperor, who made her this Answer, *viz.* "Thou hast no just Reason to demand Payment for that Alimony and Sustainance which thou affordest to thy Children, for natural Piety or Affection required it of thee. But if thou hast usefully, and with a probable View of improving their Fortunes, expended Money also about their Business; if thou canst make it appear, that thou didst it not out of a free Mind, nor meerly as a Mother, but with an Expectation of being re-imburfed thereof by thy Children, the Law will compel them to repay it againⁿ." If a Husband through a marital Affection be at an Expence for the Cure of his Wife, he cannot recover such Expences from his Wife's Father, nor shall they be reckoned into the Wife's Dower^o. Thus, in the same manner, (according to *Bartolus*^p) a Master is obliged to pay for the Cure of his menial Servant, if the Expences are small and moderate. Lastly, it is to be observed, that he who will voluntarily, and of his own accord, being not commissioned, act in another's Business, if he intends to ground any Demand thereon, must be sure not only to intend a Benefit and Advantage to him whom he is about to serve, but it must be really such. For let him think it never so beneficial, and wish it never so much; yet if it be not so indeed, the Loss will be his; and he can demand no Satisfaction for what he does or expends. For though, says *Ulpian*^q, we value not the Success; yet it is requisite that it should be evidently useful or necessary, when it is first undertaken. And a Business is said to be *utiliter gestum*, managed for another's Advantage, when the Person transacting takes the same Care in the Business, as the principal

^k D. 3. 5. 10. 1.

^l C. 2. 19. 24.

^m D. 3. 5. 34.

ⁿ C. 2. 19. 15.

^o C. 2. 19. 11.

^p C. 2. 19. 13.

^q Dd. *ibid.*

^r In l. 22.

^s D. 24. 3. 8.

^t D. 3. 5. 10. 1.

Party would do himself. But it is otherwise, if he does not take the same care, but rather leaves it undone through Negligence, or not being equal to the Expence of it: For if he undertakes it without Fear or Wit, he shall not recover his Expences^r. From what has been said, an Action *for Business done* arises unto the Person transacting^s, viz. when any one does of his own accord, and without a Commission from another, transact and manage another's Business to his advantage: For if a Mandate or Commission intervenes, and the Person does another's Business at his Request, then this Action does not lie, but an Action *ex Mandato*^s. And it is the same thing, if a Person manages another's Business in the presence of the principal Party: For then he seems to do it *ex Mandato*^s, viz. by his Order and Authority. Therefore, whenever a Person does another's Business in his Absence without an Order and Commission from him, in such a manner that no Action will lie which has a special Name given it, so often may the Agent or Person have an Action *Negotiorum Gestorum*, according to *Azo*^u, though the Concern or Business relates but to one single Act. See the Gloss on the Law here quoted^v. And thus Words pronounced by the Law in the plural Number are verified in one Act alone, because the plural Number (according to *Porcius* on the Institutes^w) *geminat suas singularitates*, as may be seen in a Statute that punishes a Producer of false Witnesses, which has place in respect of a Person producing but one false Witness.

From this Contract, therefore, we have two Actions, viz. a *direct* and a *contrary* Action. See the Title of *Actions* in the second Volume. But to the end that the Person transacting should have an Action *for Business done*, it is necessary that such Business should be done for the advantage of the other Party, or (at least) thus entred upon, as aforesaid, tho' (perhaps) it has not its desired Effect. As when a Physician cures the Son of an absent Person, or (at least) undertakes the Cure, and the Son (notwithstanding) dies; yet the Physician shall have an Action against the Father for Business done^x: For it is not always in the Physician's power to cure his Patient. But a Person that forbids another to do his Business for him shall not have this Action^y, unless the Person pays Money for him against his Will to preserve his Life: For then the Agent may (notwithstanding such Prohibition) recover the Money thus disbursed, because it is the Interest of the State that Mens Lives should be preserved^z.

Business in *Latin* stiled *Negotium, quasi negans otium*, according to *Baldus*^a, is, properly speaking, when a Person is employ'd in the Concerns of another Man, though sometimes the Word is apply'd to a Man that transacts his own Business, as to a Merchant who negotiates and buys a Thing to sell again in gross, or by wholesale: But it is otherwise if he works it up, or casts it into another Form; or if he sells Wine, Grain, Oil, or the Fruits which he collects from his own Estate. A Man may be said to do *Business* two several ways, viz. either when he really does it in his own Person; or else when another does it, and he has the Care and Inspection over it. Yea, according to some of the Lawyers, Business may be said to belong to us four several ways. As *first*, by the Necessity of some Obligation we put ourselves under; as when it belongs to us *ipso gestu*, as the Lawyers phrase it. *Secondly*, through a Necessity of the Thing itself, as when the Business really concerns ourselves. *Thirdly*, through a Necessity of some Office we bear, wherein we have only the Care and Inspection of it, and do not act ourselves. And *fourthly*, Business may be said to be done through the Will and Choice of the Person that undertakes it; as when you have redeemed my Goods from the Enemy without any Order of mine. In the first Case, a Person is not liable to an Action, if the Business be not done, as it should be: nor is the Person that employs him, unless it be done in Contemplation of himself; and, therefore, the Plaintiff

Plaintiff ought to prove this. In the second Case, when the Business really belongs to a Man himself; and then he is liable, if he either ordered or knew thereof; for the Business is done in Contemplation of him, and for his Advantage. *Thirdly*, when the Business belongs to a Man, as being the Person that is to ratify and confirm the Matter by virtue of his Office, it is clear that he is liable. But in the fourth Case he is not liable, because it is a Matter of Will and Choice meerly in him, that he thus acted.

A Person deputed to transact and manage Business, is not only under an Obligation to him that deputed him, but, on the contrary, even unto others whose Business it was that he did, though they did not depute him, if the other Persons had really a Concern and Interest in the Business, even though the Person deputed and employ'd knew nothing of it. But it is otherwise, if they who did not depute him have only the Ratification of such Business; because then if the Person thus deputed was ignorant thereof, he is not liable or obliged to those others. It has been said, that a *Negotiorum Gestor* is he that has the Management of another's Business without an Order or Proxy from his Principal. And hence it is, say some, that such an Agent acquires the Property of the Thing purchased unto himself, if he buys it in another's Name, until the Person for whom it was bought ratifies the Purchase: For the Property, according to them, is not in suspense or hanging in the Air. But yet some will have it to be in the latter, till such Ratification ensues; which (I think) is the most received Opinion.

It is a Rule in Law, that he who has the Management of Business, which is in common to many, has only an Action *ex mandato* against the Person that commissioned him as being deputed by one alone: But he is liable to an Action *for Business done* in respect to a third Person, if he knew the Business did belong to a third Person, or ought to have known it. But only the Person who commissions a Man to do Business is liable to an Action *ex mandato*, and not the others whose Business is done. Of which hereafter, under the Title of *Actions*, in our second Volume. And thus I have done with the first *Species* of an *improper* Contract.

The second *Species* of an *improper* Contract concerns Tutelage or Guardianship, where to the end that a Pupil and a Guardian should be mutually obliged to each other touching the Administration of Guardianship, the Pupil's Consent is not required, since a Guardian may be assigned unto a Pupil without his Privity, and against his Inclination^b. Wherefore, they^b D.26.5.6. are said to make an *improper* Contract, who thus oblige themselves: And from hence there arises both a *direct* and a *contrary* Action of Tutelage. The first was heretofore given to the Pupil, after a Determination of Guardianship against his Tutor, in order to compel him to render an account of his Administration, and to restore those Things which did belong to the Pupil, and which were in the Guardian's Hands^c. By a Constitution of^c C.5.51. Charles the Vth, Emperor of Germany, it is enacted, That a Guardian should every Year render this Account during the Time of his Guardianship. But a *contrary* Action lies for the Guardian against the Pupil to recover the Expences he has disbursed and been at in the Management of his Pupil's Concerns. But of these Actions I shall more largely treat hereafter, under the Title of *Actions*. It has been objected indeed, that since a Pupil cannot be obliged by his express Consent in a *proper* Contract, he cannot *à fortiori* be obliged by an improper or *quasi* Contract which arises from the Law. But to this it is answered, That though a Pupil cannot be obliged by his express Consent, yet he may by a *quasi* Consent, which^d D.27.4.1. arises from the Law^d, because the Law has a compulsive Force. Both^{pr} these Actions are founded upon Equity, by reason of the Care which is taken of the Pupil's Affairs^e: And this Action in Equity is not only given^e D.26.5.20. to D.27.4.1.2.

^f D. 27. 4. 1. 1.
2. 3. &c.

to a Tutor, but also to a Pro-tutor and a Curator against a Pupil and a Minor, when the Office of a Guardianship expires, to recover all the Expences they have been at in their Trust^f. It is given to Heirs and against Heirs, and is not barr'd by the Limitation of a Year, but may be brought at any time.

^g I. 4. 6. 20.

^h D. 10. 3. 2.

ⁱ I. 4. 6. 2.

^k I. 4. 17. 4.
& 5.

^l C. 3. 37. 1.

^m D. 10. 2. 2. 2.
3.

ⁿ C. 3. 36. 14.

^p D. 10. 2. 4.
5. & 6.

^q I. 3. 28. 3.
& 4.

A third *Species* of an *improper* Contract is what we call a *Communio Bonorum*; that is to say, when two or more Persons have an Estate or Thing between them, not by way of Partnership which is founded on an express Consent, and is a *proper* Contract, but by Accident, without the Purpose or View of either of the Tenants in common: So that here there is nothing done or covenanted between them. As when the same thing is given or bequeathed unto *Titius* and *Mævius* jointly, and *Titius* alone (perhaps) collects the Fruits of that Thing or Estate, or *Mævius* alone is at all the necessary Expences touching the said Thing or Estate. In this case Equity declares, that *Titius* is bound unto *Mævius* either to divide the Estate or Thing which is in common, or else to divide the Fruits received from thence, and likewise to make a Refusion of Expences according to his Share and Proportion in the said Estate. And hence an Action arises, called *Communi dividundo*^g, which lies when this *Communio Bonorum* is *particular*, as between Legataries and others: For if it be *universal*, as between Heirs, then an Action *Familiæ erciscundæ* lies, as I shall shew by and by. An Action *Communi dividundo* is an Action of a mixt Nature lying against the Estate and Person of a Man; and it is given to those that either by Partnership, or by any other Title, have Things in common^h, in order to compel them to divide such Estates, or else to divide the Profits thereofⁱ. By this Action each of these Tenants in common (as our *English* Laws stile them) shall be obliged to divide Share and Share alike, and to make Allowances for extraordinary Costs or Recompence for Damages: or when each of us buy separately from two Persons two different Shares of the same Thing, and have different Titles, they are also stiled Tenants in common. If the Thing cannot be conveniently divided, the whole may be adjudged to one, and the same Person ordered to pay a Sum of Money to his Companion for his proportion^k. But if they cannot agree upon the Division, or upon the Price, it ought to be exposed to Sale^l. Or if a Division may be made (as of Lands, &c.) the greater Share may be charged with a *Service* to the other^m; as with a Passage to fetch Water from it, and the like. However, every Share must stand as a Warranty to the Title of the other Shares of course, without any special Agreementⁿ; and if the Title of any Part is *evicted* or recovered, they must come to a new Division, or make Recompence for the Loss.

As to the *Evidences* and Titles belonging to an Estate in *common*, the Judge may order them to be left with him that has the best Part of the Estate^o, and that the others shall have authentick Copies thereof, and a Covenant from him to produce the Original, whenever there is occasion for it. If all have equal Interest in the Estate, and they cannot agree who shall have the Custody of the Writings, the Controversy may be decided by Lot, or a Friend may be chosen by the Majority of Votes, or nominated by the Judge to have the keeping of them^p, or else they may by a general Consent lodge them in the Publick Archives or Muniment-House.

A *Communio Bonorum* does not necessarily imply a Contract of *Society* or Partnership^q, because it may happen to be so in *fact* only, without Consent or Agreement: As when an Estate descends among *Cobeirs*, in the Laws of *England* called *Co-Parceners*. Here each will be bound to the other without any express Consent or Contract, by an Action *Familiæ erciscundæ*, to divide the whole Inheritance, and to settle the Accounts which relate to it: or as when one particular Thing is given to two Persons by

by Legacy or otherwise; and these Persons our *English* Law stiles *Joint-Tenants*. In which Case an *Action Communi dividundo* will also lie for the Purposes aforesaid.

Now an *Action Familiae erciscundae* is an *Action bonae fidei*^r, of a *mixt*^r C. 3.36.9. and universal Nature, whereby Coheirs may implead each other touching the Distribution or Division of the whole Inheritance, whether it devolves to them from the Father or the Mother^r. This Action had its Rise from a Law of the twelve Tables. For it seemed necessary to establish and give some Action unto such Coheirs as were willing to depart from a Tenancy in common, whereby they might divide the Effects of the Inheritance among them, lest such a Community of Goods should beget Strife and Discord. It is called an *universal* Action, because it extends itself to the whole Inheritance. The word *Familia* in this place signifies an Inheritance^u; and the old Verb *ercisco* denotes the same as to divide. But for the better Understanding hereof, it is to be observed;

That as often as two Persons or more do become Heirs to any one, either by virtue of a Last Will and Testament, or by an intestate Succession, they do *ipso jure* by making themselves Heirs, or (as we phrase it) by making themselves Executors or Administrators, become Proprietors and Owners of all the hereditary Goods and Estate, according to that part, whereby they are respectively Heirs or Coheirs; and therefore a Community of the whole Estate is vested in them, and they are Tenants or Heirs in *common*: and of such Inheritance they become individual Proprietors till such time as they make a Division by this Action *Familiae erciscundae*. For by the Aid of this Action one of them may sue out a Division, though all the others should dissent thereunto^v, because no one can be compelled to be a Possessor or Tenant in *common*^w, for the Reason already alledged. Yet such a Division shall not prejudice Persons that are absent and ignorant thereof^x: And, therefore, this Action has the Nature of a *real* Action, since each Person sues for his own Part in the Estate severally. But as it is in another respect directed against the Person of the Heir, who by taking the Heirship on himself, is obliged to his Coheir, it may be called a *mixt* Action from a *quasi* or an *improper* Contract^y. Whence it appears, that this Action does not accrue to any others than the Coheirs^z, and to them only to whom the *Petitio Hæreditatis* accrues, as to the Children of the Man or Woman deceased: For it matters not, whether they succeed the Father or Mother, nor whether they are Males; nor does it import, whether they succeed by Last Will and Testament, or by intestate Succession.

This Action either lies against, or else it may be brought between the Persons unto whom it accrues: and as the judicial Process is two-fold, each of the Heirs sustains the Parts both of a Plaintiff and Defendant; meaning, he represents both Parties, because each of them demands his Share of the other. Yet for the sake of regulating the judicial Process, he is deemed to be Plaintiff, who first calls the other into Court: But if both Persons summon each other, the Matter is wont to be determined by Lot or Ballotting. Therefore, this Action lies for this end, *viz.* for the Division of the Inheritance, both moveable and immoveable, and also for the Division of other Mens Goods and Estate, which the Person deceased was *bonâ fide* possessed of at the time of his Death by way of Pledge or Pawn, &c. and likewise for the Division of such Things, whereof he had only the Usufruct or *Utile Dominium*, as Estates lett upon Ground-Rents, and Estates charged with Pensions. This Action also lies for the Division of an Estate or Thing conditionally bequeathed, pending the Condition, if the Estate becomes part of the Inheritance; and likewise for the Division of a Thing which is in the Possession and Hands of the Enemy, if there be any Prospect of a *Postliminy*, or its returning back into the Hands of its Owner^a. But this Action does not accrue until such time as the Person has accepted of the Heirship^b; and it only lasts for thirty Years, it being barred by

^c C. 7. 40. 1. such a Limitation of Time ^c. It can only once be brought or commenced, because it is an universal Action: And, therefore, if any Things shall remain undivided, the Persons shall be driven to an Action *Communi dividundo* ^d. A Division may be reversed or rescinded, if it be made with a putative Heir ^e; or if an Injury intervenes beyond a Moiety of the just Value of the Estate ^f.

^d D. 10. 2. 20. ^e D. 10. 2. 36. ^f C. 3. 38. 3. An Action *finium regundorum* will also create an Obligation without the Consent of the Parties, where several Proprietors have their Estates so joined and situated, that each Person is forced to keep within his own Bounds. For great Care ought to be taken of the Boundaries in open Fields and Lands ^g. For in Buildings there is either a Wall belonging to one Neighbour only, or else common to both, which makes a visible distinction. But touching this Action *finium regundorum*, or of dividing and settling the Boundaries of Lands, I shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter under that Title.

^g D. 10. 1. 4. 10. A fourth *Species* of *improper* Contracts is the *Aditio Hereditatis*, by which the Heir accepting of the Inheritance, is some way obliged to the Legataries by Will, though he never made any Contract with them ^h. But as to his Obligation to the Creditors of the Deceased, that is by the Contract of the Deceased transferred upon him. And this is also true in respect of the Administrators of the Deceased. And thus it is by our *English* Law, that the Heir is bound by the Obligation of his Ancestor, if he be named in such Obligation or Specialty, and he has a sufficient Estate descended to him from his Ancestor to discharge such Obligation: But if the personal Estate be sufficient to pay the Debt, and Executors are named in the Specialty, the Heir is exempted ⁱ. From this *Species* of an *improper* Contract, a Legatary has a personal Action by virtue of the Will against the Heir, to recover his Legacy or Legacies.

^h I. 3. 28. 5. ⁱ Fitch. n. Br. fol. 120. A fifth *Species* of an *improper* Contract is payment of that which is not due through Error and Mistake, though the Person rather does it with a Design of dissolving an Obligation, unto which he thinks himself subject, than with any purpose of obliging the other Party to whom he pays it ^k: But because he is said to do something who receives it, he is bound to make Restitution of it, because he has received that which is unduly paid; and hence arises an Action, which the *Civilians* call a *Condictio Indebiti*, of which I shall speak immediately. A Thing may be said to be an *Indebitum*, or not due, four several ways. *First*, it may be *civilly* a Thing not due, or an *Indebitum*, but *naturally* a Debt, as an Obligation between Father and Son in respect of paternal and filial Duty, which is not a civil Debt, and yet it is a natural one. *Secondly*, we have another kind of Obligation, which is *civilly* a Debt, but *naturally* not so. *Thirdly*, there is another kind of Obligation, which is *civilly* and *naturally* a Debt; and the Reverse is not so. And *fourthly*, there is one kind of *Indebitum* which becomes so by the Help of an Exception ^l, as when a Man lends Money with a Pact or Covenant *de non petendo*, &c.

^k I. 3. 28. 6. ^l D. 12. 6. 26. 3. Here the Person receiving what is not due to him, is bound to Restitution, not from any real Contract or Agreement, but by a supposed or implied Contract, and as much as if he had actually borrowed the Money. For it has a great Affinity with a *Mutuum*, or the Semblance thereof. Two Things are required to create this Obligation. *First*, the Money paid must not be due. And, *Secondly*, the Money paid must be paid through a mistake, either of the Fact, or of the Law; for Ignorance of either is sufficient in this Case. If Money not due be knowingly paid, it amounts to a Gift. If it was paid under doubt, it may be recalled; since Doubt and Error do admit of equal favour ^m. This may be extended to all Cases where one Man has the Goods of another without a Title to them; as when the Goods of another are

are lost and found, the Finder is obliged to return them to the true Owner. So that this Obligation may happen where the Goods come to a Man's Possession by chance, as well as when they are taken from him by some voluntary Act. Where a Payment is unlawful, it may be unlawful only on the account of the Person *paying*, or on the Part of the *Receiver*, or on the part of the Person paying, and the Receiver ⁿ. If the Fact is unlawful only on the part of him that *pays*, he that receives shall not regularly be forced to return it; as when one makes a Present to a vertuous Woman with a Design to debauch her ^o. If on the part of the *Receiver*, ^{• D. 12.5.1.1. 2. 3. & l. 4.} though the Gift or Payment is made, it may be recalled; as when Money is gotten by Threats or Extortion. If the Unlawfulness of it was on the part of the Person paying, and the Receiver, it ought not to be returned; as when a Woman bargains with a Man, that for a Sum of Money he shall have the Enjoyment of her Body, or when a Judge is bribed ^p. It ^{p D. 12.5.3.} matters not, whether the Condition be executed or no, for the Payment cannot be recovered.

It has been already hinted, that a Person who pays a Thing which is not due, may recover the same again by a personal Action called *Condictio indebiti*, if he did this ignorantly and through mistake. Hence if a Surety pays a Debt, which is not due, the Debtor has an Action to recover the same again, if the Payment be made on his account: And so likewise may the Surety have an Action, if he has paid Money in his own proper Name ^q. If a Man by mistake pays that which is not due, he shall recover the Thing itself, if it be extant or a *Species*: But if it be a Quantity or Sum of Money; that is to say, if it consists in a *Mutuum*, then so much in Quantity or Value shall be recovered: For this *Condictio* is like unto a *Mutuum*. If two Persons pay one and the same Debt, a *Condictio indebiti* lies for the last Person paying the same to recover his Money again. *Titius* having many Creditors (among whom was *Seius*) did privately by Bargain and Sale convey all his Goods unto *Mævius* to satisfy his Creditors. But *Mævius* paid a Sum unto *Seius* which had been paid before by *Titius*; and the Acquittance was afterwards found in the Possession of *Titius*. And it was resolved, that *Mævius* should recover his Money. ^{q D. 12.6.20.}

It became a Question, whether *Caius* appointed *Titius* to be his Proctor *ad Negotia*; who, out of *Caius's* Substance, and in his Name, paid a certain Sum of Money which was not due, and as *Caius* did not ratify the said Payment, his Proctor might thus recover the Money: But if he had paid a Sum of Money which was really due, he could not then recover the same. Nor was it necessary that *Titius* should wait for *Caius's* Ratification in this Case, because *eo ipso* that he constituted *Titius* to be his general Proctor by giving him the full Power and Administration of his Goods, *Caius* seems to have commissioned *Titius* to pay his Creditors. If a putative Heir or Possessor of Goods shall pay a Sum of Money unto an hereditary Creditor, he may recall the same. And it is the same Thing, if the true Heir shall pay more unto such a Creditor than the Amount of the whole Inheritance; for in this Case he shall recover the Overplus ^r. If a Man shall pay Money pending the Condition of an Obligation, he may recall the same; but then he must do this before the Condition exists, or has force ^s. But ^{r D. 12.6.31. s D. 12.6.16.} if he shall pay that which is due *sub incerto die*, he shall not recover the same, if the Days exist ^t. For if I shall promise to pay Money at the Day of my Death, and pay it before, I may not recover the same again as not due ^t. ^{t D. 12.6.16.1. u D. 12.6.17.}

If a Man shall in his Accounts omit a Deduction of those Expences, which he has laid out on another's House, or the like, he may recover the same by this Action, as if he had paid more than was due ^v; and so may an Heir recover that which he might have retained in his Hands, if ^{v D. 12.6.40.} he

he has paid the same. If an Heir shall sell an Inheritance, and has not retained in his Hands a Debt which is due to him from the Deceased (though it be only naturally due,) yet he may recover the same from the

^v D.12.6.45. Purchaser, because he has delivered to him more than is due ^v. But he who pays Legacies in the Name of an Heir, out of his Money as an Heir, when they are not due, cannot recall the same, because he cannot be

^w D.12.6.46. presumed to be ignorant of paying the same out of his own Money ^w; and, therefore, in this Case he must prove his Ignorance of the whole Matter. If an alternative Debtor shall pay and satisfy each of the Alternatives, and one of the Alternatives shall perish in the Hands of the Receiver, he shall not recover that which remains as not being due: For that which shall perish, shall perish at the Cost of the Person paying it, and that which remains shall go to the Receiver, because it was in his Election to pay

^x D.12.6.32. either of the Alternatives, and needed not to have paid both ^x. If I shall build a House upon your Land, and you get possession of it, this Action will not lie for the Recovery of it, or for the Money laid out thereon;

^y D.12.6.33. because there was no Contract of Business between us ^y. For though I *bonâ fide* lay out Money, and am at Expences on another Man's Business without his Orders; yet I have no other Remedy to recover the same but that of Retention, unless it be (perchance) in Equity, as *Jason* observes. If a Judge erroneously acquits a Debtor by his Sentence, and the Person thus acquitted does of his own accord pay a Sum of Money as due, he cannot

^z D.12.6.28. recover the same again ^z. Sometimes the Person of a Man gives room for the recalling of a Payment; as when a Pupil pays Money without the Authority of his Tutor, or a Madman, or a Prodigal, without the Consent of their Curator. And in this Case, if the Money be extant and forthcoming, it shall be recovered by a real Action; but if it be spent, a personal Action lies ^a.

^a D.12.6.29. *Mævius* made *Titius* his general Proctor *ad Negotia*, who paid a Sum of Money which was not due out of *Mævius's* Cash, and in his Name. In this Case, if *Mævius* does not ratify such Payment, his Proctor may recover it again: but if such Proctor shall pay a just Debt, he cannot recover it, and it is not necessary to expect the Ratification of *Mævius*; because as *Mævius* made him his general Proctor, and gave him a full Power of acting, he seems to have ordered him to pay his Creditors ^b. If a Sum of Money be paid to a Proctor that has not a Mandate or Proxy to receive the same, such Sum must be recovered from the Proctor himself, and not from his Principal or Client ^c.

^d D.12.6.66. As this *Condictio* or personal Action is founded upon natural Equity ^d, so the Fruits, and other natural Accessions of the Thing unduly paid, shall be recovered by it ^e. But to the end that this Action should lie, it is necessary that there should be some Business transacted between the Parties; because *Condictio* is a personal Action which pre-supposes some Obligation between the Parties. It is a civil Action *stricti juris*, though it be founded upon Equity; and it descends and passes to the Heir ^f. As this *Condictio* is founded upon Equity, the Person that recovers the Thing and the Fruits thereof, ought to allow for the Expences of preserving it ^g. I shall next proceed to speak of such *improper* Contracts as are founded upon *Accidents*. For,

Obligations may arise by *Accidents* without Consent or Agreement of Parties. And this holds true, according to our *English* Laws, in respect of a Husband, whose Wife has contracted Debts before Marriage; for the Husband shall in this Case be liable to pay such Debts ^h: And, on the other hand, the Husband has all his Wife's Goods bound unto him. But this is otherwise by the *Civil* Law, because by that Law the Husband and Wife have separate Estates. Fortuitous Cases do sometimes come within the Verge of *improper* Contracts by *Accident*. And these sometimes happen by

^h Fitch. n.Br. 121. C.

by the Fact of one Party only, as by Thieves and Robbers ; sometimes by the ordinary Course of Nature, where no Party is concerned, as from Lightnings, Inundations, Tempests, or from an Event partly from the Order of Nature, and partly from the Fact of Man, as from Fire kindled by Negligence. The Fact of Man being considered more generally, it includes those Events which not only happen by the Fraud or Guilt of Man, (which are to be described hereafter) but those Events which come to pass *without* his Assistance : For *that* only is the Subject of this Place. For he that finds any Thing which is lost, is bound as it were by Contract to enquire out the Owner, and to return it to himⁱ. And this is a Command in Holy Scripture, as we may read in *Exodus*^k and *Deuteronomy*,^k cap. 22. v. 1, 2, and 3. I do not reckon hidden Treasures (which are discovered) amongst the Things which are lost and found.

If Goods are thrown over-board in a Storm to lighten a Ship, he that was the Owner of the Goods must be recompenced by a general Contribution of those that are left^l ; for he threw them out for the general Safety. So if Provisions fail in a Voyage, if any one has a private Reserve, he ought to bring it into common^m. If a Ship is redeemed from Pyrates, all that are concerned in the Cargo, must contribute to the Price of itⁿ. But if the Pyrates had boarded the Ship, and plundered only some part of the Lading, the Owner of those Goods must bear the Loss, and cannot sue for a Contribution of that which is left. All that is saved from a Ship by unloading the Vessel must be estimated according to the *Value* of it, not according to its *Weight* or Burden ; so Jewels, Pearls, Rings, and the Clothes on each Man's Back must be reckoned according to their Value, and the Proprietors must contribute a fourth, fifth, &c. in proportion with the rest of the Crew, who had more weighty Goods^o. For it is the Value and not the Weight that creates Care and Concern. If the Main-mast is cut down to save the Ship in danger, there ought to be a Reparation from the Goods with which she was laden^p. But if the Ship be lost, each Man may retain what he can save, and there ought not to be any Contribution for Goods lost, or any Division of those Goods which are preserved in that manner^q. No, not if there are some Goods preserved in the Long-Boat ; for a Contribution is for those Goods that are thrown over-board, and which saved the Ship itself^r. If the Goods of one Merchant are cast over to ease the Ship's Burden, and afterwards the Ship is cast away in another Place, and some of the Goods are recovered by the Divers, those must be divided to make amends for the Goods thrown over-board^s ; for the casting of them away conduced to the Recovery of those Goods, because by that means they were brought to such a Place where they might be recovered.

Frauds may also create Obligations where there is no direct Agreement. For if Debtors pass away their Goods or Estates to defraud Creditors, he that receives them shall be forced to return them to the Creditors. And all Gifts, feigned Bargains and Sales, fraudulent Acquittances, and all Acts tending to that purpose, shall be void^t. But what a Father gives in Portion with a Daughter is to be excepted, if the Husband was ignorant of the Fraud^u ; because he received what he ought to receive. For if a Payment be made to one Creditor of his whole Debt, who knew the low Condition of his Debtor, and there remains nothing to pay others, this is not fraudulent ; for the rest of the Creditors may blame themselves for not being more vigilant^v. But if the Goods of the Debtor are seized by the Creditors by virtue of a judicial Process, a Payment to one Creditor is void^w ; or if the Payment is made after the Debtor absconds, it shall be returned and divided equally amongst the rest of the Creditors, for the Debtor seems by absconding to have left his Estate equally amongst them.

^v I. 3. 16.

^w D. 20. 1. 4.

^x 29 Car. 2.

c. 3.

[These Frauds were very common amongst the *Romans*, because they often contracted without writing^v, and even a Mortgage could be made by a verbal Agreement^w. In *France*, all Agreements and Bargains which exceed a hundred Livres, ought to be in writing, and Mortgages are not valid unless passed before a Notary, or before a Judge, which makes Forgery almost impracticable. So by the Laws of *England*, an Alienation of Lands must be in writing, unless Copyhold or customary Estates, and all Contracts for the Sale of Goods, at ten Pounds and upwards, must be by Note in writing, except the Buyer receives part of them, or gives something in earnest^x.]



T I T. XXII.

Of Pacts and Covenants, and how many kinds of them ; how the Words Pactum, Pactio, and Conventio differ : Who may make Pacts or Covenants, and who do not prejudice others by making of them. The Effect of Pacts, and why an Action does not arise from a nude Pact. A Pact of Addictio in diem two-fold, and the Force thereof : Of the Pactum legis Commissoriæ in Bargain and Sale, and why disallowed of in Pawns, &c.

^y D. 2. 14. 1. 1.

^z D. ut supr.

^a D. 2. 14. 1. 2.

^b D. 2. 14. 7. pr.
1. & 2.

^c D. 2. 14. 7. 4.

^d D. 2. 14. 16.
D. 13. 2. 1.

A Pact or Covenant, in *Latin* stiled *Pactum* and *Conventio*, are Terms of a general Signification, which have a respect unto all Matters, that are transacted and contracted between Persons who do Business with each other, whereby their Consent is shewn and made binding to them^y. A *Convention* or *Covenant* is so called from the *Latin* Verb *convenio*, to come together : Because as Men often come together from different Places, into one and the same Place ; so do Persons covenanting from different Inclinations of Mind hereby come together, and consent unto one Thing by falling into the same Opinion^z. Hence a Pact or Covenant may be defined to be the Consent of two or more Persons to the same Act or Deed^a : And it is either a nude Pact or a *simple* Promise ; or else a Contract, in *Latin* called *Pactum vestitum*, viz. when it is founded upon a Consideration^b. A nude Pact is a Covenant which consists (as we say) *in nudis placiti finibus*, viz. when there is not *quid pro quo*, or any Consideration : And hence, according to the *Roman* Law, generally speaking, no Action arises from thence^c, unless it be specially confirmed by some Law, in which Case a personal Action founded on such particular Law arises from thence^d. Or, *Secondly*, unless such nude Pact be incontinently added to some Business that carries an Equity along with it : In which Case the Pact added gives a competent Action from the Contract *bonæ fidei* unto which it is added.

^e D. 2. 14. 1. 1.

^f D. 2. 14. 7. 1

^g D. 2. 14. 7.

^h D. 2. 14. 7. 2.

ⁱ D. 19. 5. 1.
& 2.

Now there is no Contract or Obligation, whether it be real or verbal, but what includes a Covenant : For even a Stipulation, which is a verbal or parol Agreement, includes a Covenant, and without Consent of Parties, is null and void^e. A Contract is a Covenant, which has some certain Name or Consideration annexed to it, and from its own Nature it produces an Obligation effectual to found an Action thereon^f : And it is either a *nominate* or an *innominate* Contract. A *nominate* Contract (as already related) is that which has a certain Name fix'd to it ; and this Name is the Badge or Distinction of some certain Form and Action^g, as a Contract *ex empto*, *vendito*, *locato*, *conducto*, &c. An *innominate* has no certain Name given it, and therefore has no certain Form or Action ; but yet, on the account of the Fact itself, it produces an effectual Obligation, from whence a general Action *præscriptis verbis* arises^h, which lies from all *innominate* Contractsⁱ. The Lawyers make a *Pact* and a *Covenant* to signify the self-same

self-same thing in a large Acceptation of the Words : But in a strict and proper Sense of the Word, a *Pact* is a *Species* of a *Covenant* or *Convention*, and (according to the Criticks) derived from the word *Pax*, because Peace is hereby made between two or more Persons, a *Pact* being an Act of Peace and Concord. But the *Digests* will have the word *Pactum* to be derived from *Pactio*, and the word *Pax* to be taken from thence^k: For ^{k D.2.14.1.pr.} the word *Pactio* denotes the Consent and Agreement of two or more Persons to one and the same thing. And hereby a *Pact* or *Covenant* differs from a *Pollicitation*, as a *Pollicitation* is the Promise of him only that offers to do a thing : And, therefore, it is not valid but in certain Cases^l. But a Pro- ^{l D.50.12.3.} mise has a respect unto a *Pollicitation*, and likewise to a *nude Pact*, and to a *Pact* made on a Consideration^m, called *Pactum vestitum*, as aforesaid. ^{m D.2.1.1.19.}

Having thus defined and shewn what a *Pact* is, I shall next lay down ^{1.} the several Divisions thereof, and in the Sequel of this Title explain the Validity of *Pacts*; and *lastly*, discourse of the Effect and Operation of them. Now *Pacts* admit of several Divisions: For some are stiled *express*, and others are called *tacit* *Pacts*ⁿ. Of the first I shall not here principally treat, but ^{n D.2.14.2.} of the latter. Those are called *tacit* *Pacts*, which happen from the Nature of the Thing itself, and from a tacit Consent, and such as we may collect from the Preamble of the Convention: As he who hires a House and furnishes it, is deemed to have made a *tacit* *Pact* with the Landlord, that the Furniture should stand bound for the Rent^o. And 'tis the same thing, if ^{o D.2.14.4.} a Creditor delivers to his Debtor the Bond or Specialty of his Debt: For he is then presumed to have made a *tacit* *Pact de non petendo*, or else the Debtor is deemed to be discharged from the Debt, unless it evidently appears by strong Conjectures, that he gave him up the Specialty on some other account than on the score of a Release. As when the Debtor has such Specialty lent him in order to defend himself against a third Person, or to exemplify the same. Wherefore, when a Merchant cancels or crosses his Account-Books, because he has made such Book *de novo*, he does not by such Act of cancelling discharge his Debtor, according to this Rule of Law, which says, *That whenever any other Conjecture appears than that of a Gift or Discharge, a Release is never presumed*. There are some *Pacts* or *Covenants*, that may be made even by absent Persons either by Letter or Messenger, provided this be afterwards ratify'd and confirmed by the principal Party; and such is called an *express* *Pact* or *Covenant*^p. But a *tacit* ^{p D.2.14.2.} *Covenant* must be made in the Parties, or (at least) in the presence of one of them tacitly consenting, or doing something that implies a tacit Consent: As when a Man brings Goods in the House which he rents of me, the Goods are *tacitly* impawn'd or mortgag'd for the Payment of the Rent^q, as already hinted. ^{q D.2.14.4.}

There are three *Species* of *Covenants* or *Conventions*. The first are those that are made on the account of the Publick: As when they are made between sovereign Princes or States, or when any Thing is agreed between the Generals of an Army, and then it is called a publick Treaty or League. *Secondly*, there are others which are of a private Nature, as being such which concern the Affairs of private Men; and these either depend on *natural* or *civil* Equity. Hence there are some that are founded on the Law of Nations: And others that are founded on the civil Law of this or that State^r. All publick *Pacts* ^{r D.2.14.5.} and *Conventions* have their Rise, Force, and Effect from Equity, and the common Usage of all civilized Nations^s: But private *Conventions* borrow ^{s D.2.14.7.} their Power of obliging from municipal Laws, and are confirm'd thereby^t, as ^{t D.2.14.6.} a *Pact* of Dower, Mortgage, and the like. There are a third sort of *Pacts* and *Conventions*, which the Lawyers stile *Sponsiones*, and these are often of a publick Nature, but they differ from Leagues and Alliances, because Leagues and Alliances are only made *jure imperii*, and by a Commission from the sovereign Power; whereas a *Sponsio* is, when those Persons that have not a Commission from the Sovereign, do promise any thing, which properly concerns the sove-
reign

reign Power. A *Sponsio* was made by the Interposition of a Stipulation of a Penalty in a certain Sum of Money, which the Person who promised any thing lost, if he did not perform his Engagement[†]: It was so called, because *Sponte fit ab eo, qui promittit*.

Leagues and Alliances are *equal* and *unequal*. The first are those which are obligatory on both sides after the same manner. *Unequal* Leagues are those wherein unequal Engagements are stipulated, either from the more worthy and honourable, or the less worthy and honourable Person. Leagues are made either for the sake of Confederacy, Commerce, or the like. And such may be entered into not only with those of the true Religion, but even with those of a false Religion, since neither the Law of God, nor the Law of Nature, forbids the same. If two Persons are engaged in a War, and a Prince be in League or Alliance with each side, he ought to give his Assistance (if required) unto that side which has a just Cause. But if neither side have a just Cause, he is then to remain neuter in the Quarrel. If one Party shall violate a League, the Party may depart from it, because every Head or Article of it has the Force of a Condition.

^u Liv. Hist. Lib. 34.

According to *Livy*^u, and *Cicero* in his first Book *de Oratore*, there are three sorts of Leagues and Alliances, whereby States and Princes do by Covenant contract Friendship and Amity with each other. The first is, when the Conqueror gives Laws and Conditions of Peace unto Persons vanquished in War: For as all Things are by Right of Conquest given to him that is most powerful in War; so he may mulct and impose what Laws he thinks fit on the vanquish'd Party. The second kind of Treaty or Alliance is, when Persons that are upon an equal Foot in War do make Peace, and contract Friendship with each other upon equal Forms of Alliance: For all Things then taken in War are restored and recovered by Conventions, and if either of the Parties have been molested or put out of possession, Matters are usually adjusted either according to the Rules of the ancient Law, or else as the advantage of each Party can be settled and agreed on. The third kind of Alliance is, when Persons that have never been at Enmity with each other, or (at least) are not Enemies at present, do by a social League, or an Alliance of Confederacy, enter into mutual Friendship to defend and support themselves against others; and this is called a *defensive* Alliance: And these Persons do neither prescribe nor accept of any other Law, than the Terms which respect an Act of social Friendship: For to grant and accept of Terms of Accommodation, properly belongs to the Conqueror, and not the Conquer'd. See *Gothofred's Notes*^v. But I shall speak more particularly here of Pacts and Conventions of a private Nature, having reserved a special Title for the other, in the second Volume of this Work.

^v In 1. 7. D. 49. 15.

^w D. 2. 14. 2.

^x D. 2. 14. 57.

It has been said, that Pacts are either *express* or *tacit*. The first are such as are made by Consent expressed by Words or in Writing^w. And *tacit* Pacts are those which we infer from the Presumptive meaning of the Parties contracting^x. Some of the Lawyers think, that an express Consent is necessary in a Pact: But I rather chuse to follow the distinction of *Baldus*, and others, in this Matter, saying, That if there be any precedent Tokens or Indications of Consent, besides the presence of the Party, added thereunto, it is a Pact, and the Gift or Grant is good and valid. But if there be no preceding Indications added thereunto, it is otherwise: For Presence alone is not an Argument of tacit Consent, since a silent Man seems to deliberate with himself in the *Interim* of his Silence, rather with some kind of Modesty, than fully to give a Consent.

^y D. 2. 14. 7. 8.

^z D. 2. 14. 27. 4.

^a D. 2. 14. 25. 1.

Pacts are also *real* and *personal*^y. A personal Pact is that which only extends to a Man's Person, with whom it is made, and dies with him^z: which happens when a Pact is made, that such a Thing should not be demanded of *Titius*; and such a Pact does not descend and pass to another Person^a. A real Pact is that which is made *generally*, and it extends unto all

all Persons: As *let it be demanded or sued for*, and the like. Here the Demand is not confined to the Person of *Titius*, but extends to his Heirs and Successors. There are other extrajudicial Pacts which do not produce an Action: And some judicial Pacts made in Judgment; and these are valid and effectual to produce an Action. But all Acts, generally speaking, are either such as induce an Obligation, and are stiled *obligatory*; and others that are made in discharge of an Obligation, in our Books called *Pacta Liberatoria*^b. *Obligatory* Pacts are not perfected, unless they are accepted^b D.2.14.17.1. of by each Party: But Pacts made in discharge of an Obligation, or Pacts of *Release*, are valid, tho' not made in the presence of the Party, provided the other Person in his Name accepts thereof. And in all Things that are for a Man's Advantage, a Person absent and silent is presumed to accept^c. ^c D.2.14.4.

Pacts are introduced by the Consent of the Persons contracting; but then the Law must approve of such Pacts. Wherefore, it is to be observed, that a Pact or Contract made about doing an unlawful Thing ought to be rescinded: For such a Pact or Contract induces no Obligation, because every Man by the Law of Nature is obliged to refrain from the doing of an unlawful Thing or Act. But if the Pact or Contract to do an unlawful Act did induce an Obligation in respect of doing such unlawful Action, the Party contracting would not be obliged from doing an unlawful Action, since such a Contract implies an Obligation to something that is base and unwarrantable, from which a Man ought to abstain. But when a Promise is partly about a Thing that is lawful, and partly about a Thing that is unlawful, the Person promising is bound to fulfil that part which is lawful, though in no wise bound to fulfil the other. Thus a Person promising an Impossibility, though he be not obliged to fulfil his Promise, since no one is obliged to an Impossibility; yet when the Promise is partly about a Thing possible, and partly about a Thing impossible, he is obliged to perform the Thing, because *utile per inutile non vitiatur*.

A Thing *possible* is generally said to be that which may be done, and yet is not done: *Impossible* is that which is not, nor can it be done. *Metaphysicks* divide Impossibility into three *Species*. *First*, into that which they call an *absolute* Impossibility. *Secondly*, into what they stile an Impossibility in *some certain respect*. And *thirdly*, into an Impossibility *ex Hypothesi*, or upon a Supposition. We call that an *absolute* Impossibility which carries along with it a full Contradiction, as a square Circle, a Thing to be, and not to be at the same time, &c. A Thing is said to be impossible in *some certain respect*, which does not contain a perfect Contradiction, but such a Thing as cannot be done by human Power, as to extinguish the Sun, to bring the Earth nearer to, or to remove it further from the Sun, and the like. That is said to be impossible *ex Hypothesi*, which (we know) may be effected of its own Nature; but, adding a certain Condition to it, it cannot obtain its Event. In the *Civil* Law, there are four kinds of Impossibilities. The first we call a *natural* Impossibility, or an Impossibility according to Nature, being such which cannot happen through the Nature of Things; as for a Man to touch the Heavens with his Finger, or that a Man should bring forth a Child: and if there are any of the like kind, they are *natural* Impossibilities. *Secondly*, there is a *legal* Impossibility, *viz.* whatever is contrary to Good Manners, or has a Stain of Turpitude in it, or whatever departs from the known Rules of Honesty, or whatever is done in opposition to some Law, or contrary to some Statute: And this is called an Impossibility *of Law*, because the Law makes it impossible, especially if it be contrary to Honesty and Good Manners^d. The third is stiled an Impossibility *ratione perplexi*, which truly in^d D.18.7.15. its own Nature is a Thing possible, but a Perplexity makes it impossible; as when you promise me such an Estate, if you do not give it to *Titius*, or do not give it to *Sempronius*. This is an Impossibility through a Perplexity of

Words. The fourth is an Impossibility of *Fact*: As when a Man promises to give a golden Mountain, and the like. But to return to *Pacts*.

A *temporary* *Pact* is, when it is agreed between the Parties, that if the Vendor or his Heirs shall, within a certain time, make a Tender of the Price given by the Buyer unto him, the Thing sold shall be returned again by a *Jus Retractus*: In which Case, if the Vendor shall make a Tender, and deposit the Money, he shall recover the Thing of the Buyer even against his Will^e.
^{*D.19.5.12.} If a Man covenants or promises to pay a Debt for another, he binds himself and his Successors, and this is not a *temporary*, but a *perpetual* *Pact*; and an Action
^{†C.4.18.1.} *Constitutæ pecuniæ* lies not only against him, but also against his Heirs^f. For a *Pact* made by the Deceased is extended to his Heirs, and he that has stipulated for such a Person is presumed to put in Caution for his Heirs also, because the Heir is presumed to be one and the same with the Person deceased. But a personal *Pact*, Privilege, or Usufruct is not extended to Heirs, because all Things are coherent to the Person: nor do such personal *Pacts* belong to the Heirs of the Person making them. A *Pact* limited by Time does not extend its Force beyond that Time. *Sempronius* made *Titius* his Heir, on the Disinheritance of his Son, who on his Father's Death threatened to sue a *Querela inofficiosi Testamenti*. The Heir compounded the Matter with him, and was to pay the Son ten Pounds during Life. After the Son's Death his Heir demanded the ten Pounds, pretending that the Obligation was perpetual, and did not expire with the Son's Life. And hereupon it was resolved, that though the Obligation be good in point of Law, yet the *Pact* which is temporal ought to be observed beyond its Time.

All Persons may make *Pacts* and Covenants, that are not forbidden by the Laws: For this is generally permitted. But Persons under the Age of Puberty cannot do it, because they are liable to be circumvented; and, therefore, thro' the Weakness of their Understanding they have no such thing as Consent to oblige themselves by any *Pact* or Covenant, if they suffer thereby^g; but they may by *Pacts* make their Condition better without the Authority of their Guardians^h. And upon the same foot are Prodigals and Minors that have a Curator. There are some Persons that are forbidden by Nature to make *Pacts*, because they cannot give a Consent, as Madmen, Ideots, Infants, Persons deaf and dumb by *Nature*ⁱ: But Persons deaf and dumb by *Accident* may do it by a Nod, Subscription, and the like^k. A Son under the Power of his Father might make a *Pact* with Strangers, but not to the Detriment of his Father^l: Nor can a Bondman make a *Pact* to the prejudice of his Master. But by the *Civil* Law those Persons could not contract an Obligation with such, in whose power they are, as with a Father or Master^m: But this part of the Law is grown obsolete.
^{*D.4.4.1.} Though every one that is not forbidden to make *Pacts*, may covenant for himself, and his Heirs; yet he cannot bind another by his *Pact* or Covenant, unless he has a special Commission so to do, and the Covenant be made in the other
^{†D.2.14.28.} Person's Nameⁿ. *Pacts* may be made touching all Things, which either exist in Commerce at present, or may have such an Existence hereafter^o, provided
^{‡D.44.7.1.} they concern the Property of such Persons as enter into them: For tho' another
^{§D.2.14.4.} Person's Goods may be sold or lett to hire^p, yet another Man's Right or Goods
^{||D.44.7.48.} cannot lawfully be deduced into a *Pact*, especially a nude *Pact*; because an
^{¶D.2.14.23.} Action does not lie thereupon. It is not lawful to make *Pacts* touching Things belonging to the Publick, unless it be done according to publick Authority, and in pursuance of the Laws which warrant the same: For those Things, which are
^{‡D.18.1.2.} of a publick Right and Nature, cannot be changed by the *Pacts* of private Men^q.
^{§D.2.14.38.} Touching the Effect of *Pacts*, it is, moreover, to be remarked, that a *Pact* or
^{||D.50.17.27.} Covenant, made contrary to the Substance of a Contract, is of no Validity. As for example, I lend you a Book by way of a *Precarium*, and covenant with you that you shall have the Possession thereof till the Calends of *July*. I may in this Case demand the Book sooner if I please, and such Covenant is of no
^{¶D.43.26.12.} force, because it is contrary to the Nature of a *Precarium*^r, and would other-

wife destroy the same. For a *Precarium* is that which is granted at the Request of the Person that makes use of it, to be retained as long as the Person that granted it, shall think fit^f. A Pact or Stipulation, whereby a Person promises to make such a one his Heir, and in consequence hereof binds himself in a penal Sum to pay so much^g, in case he shall not make the said Person his Heir, is not valid; because that which is *purely* and *absolutely* forbidden is never permitted to be done upon any Condition whatsoever^h. By the *Civil* Law, it is lawful to make Pacts touching Thefts and Injuriesⁱ, because they are by that Law Crimes of a private Nature, tho' otherwise by the Laws of *England*, and most other States, in respect of Thefts at present.

Pacts do not consist in any Order or Form of Words, but meerly depend on the Equity of the Convention: For if there be such a Form of Words which induces a Stipulation, it seems rather to be a Stipulation contracted, than a Pact. Enunciative Words, as, *I acknowledge you are not bound*, are valid to discharge a Person^j, but not to oblige him who has not expressly consented^k. In Pacts and Conventions, general Words have a general Operation in Law, if the Matter will bear it; but if not, then they operate specially. An *obscure* Pact or Covenant is that, which cannot be understood by any means; but an *ambiguous* Pact is that which may be understood in two or three Senses: For a Thing which is ambiguous, is one thing; and a Thing which is obscure, is another. In a Matter that is ambiguous, we ought to consider, whether the Thing be said or not: But in an obscure Thing we ought to consider what is said. So that tho' whatever is ambiguous, may also be said to be obscure; yet this does not hold *vice versa*. Obscure or ambiguous Words always bind him, who might have declared himself more clearly.

If a Creditor does thro' Error or Mistake make a Pact with his Debtor *de non petendo*, not to sue him, such Debtor cannot afterwards repel his Creditor on an Action brought by him, by means of an Exception grounded on such Pact or Covenant^l. For an Exception of this kind cannot accrue, unless it be to him unto whom any Thing is knowingly remitted, and with whom a Person may have an Action: For an Exception is the barring of an Action. Therefore to the end that an Exception should lie upon a Pact, it is necessary that something should be remitted by Pact, either in a gratuitous manner, or else on the account of some impulsive Cause or Motive, and that this Remission shall bar an Action. If that is paid, which is remitted by a Pact, a personal Action lies to recover the same as being unduly paid^m.

The Pact of a Proctor or Agent belongs to his Principalⁿ, of a Tutor or Guardian unto his Ward or Pupil^o, of a Magistrate or the Master of a College, to the Corporation of the City, or the Body Politick of a College^p, of the principal Debtor unto his Surety^q, if it be of any advantage unto these Persons; but not always when it is to their prejudice^r. Pacts entred into by Fraud or Fear^s, and such as are repugnant unto Law, have no Operation in Law. General Pacts even appertain unto those Things which are not specially comprehended, or which were unknown, when it appears that there was something in general designed touching these Matters, and probably transacted touching the same^t. Otherwise Pacts and Transactions, especially such as are special, are not extended beyond their *Species*, touching which they are transacted^u.

If the Substance of a Pact be not observed, whatever is done is rescinded. And the Substance of a Pact is that whereon the Contract is founded, or which gives occasion thereunto by inducing the same. For if that be not performed for which an Estate has been sold, the Vendor may demand such Estate to be restored to him, with the Fruits thereof received^v. All Pacts ought to be strictly observed, unless they are taken away by a contrary Pact^w: For former Pacts may be annihilated by contrary Agreements subsequent thereunto^x. Pacts and Covenants in general were a Contrivance of the Law of Nations, and invented in order to oblige one Man to perform and give something unto another, or else not to do and perform such a Thing; and they are Matters of strict Law

¹ D. 2. 14. 7. 5. Law in the Nature of them¹, unless they are apply'd to such Contracts as are
Gloss. ib. Contracts *bonæ fidei*, or founded on Equity: But because a Thing may be tacitly
implied in a Pact, therefore even those Things are understood to be agreed on (as
^m D. 45. 1. 134. in other Matters of a strict Nature^m) which are probably intended to be done.

¹ D. 45. 1.
^{126. pen.} Pacts have their force, if not fulfilled, either by an Action or an Exception,
which do both of them arise from the four-fold Nature of Pacts and Covenants.
For these Acts do either perempt or abate, or else do inform and produce Ac-
tions or Exceptions. They perempt an Action, when a Stop or Opposition is
given to some precedent Covenant by the means of a just Exception: As when
it is covenanted, that what is due in virtue of an Obligation, should not be
sued for, according to what has been already hinted. For if it be sued for *in*
Specie, wherein it is covenanted, the Action may be abated by an Exception
Pacti Conventi; because it has only this Exception. Thus to abate an Ac-
tion is not immediately to take it away by a Pact which respects the Fact, but
by repelling the same to render it ineffectual. But Pacts perempt precedent
Actions, when they do by their own force and *ipso jure* destroy precedent Ob-
ligations: whereas by a Pact *de non petendo* the Obligation still remains.

But tho' Pacts in general are founded on the Law of Nations, yet we have
some Pacts that are wholly built on the Civil Law; as that of *Addictio in*
diem, the Pact called *Pactum Legis Commissoriae*, and the like. The first is an
Agreement entred into between Buyer and Seller, when a Thing is sold on this
Condition, *viz.* That the Seller may contract with any other Person, who will
give a better Price for the Thing exposed to Sale, before such a Day, as shall
be agreed on between them; that is to say, unless another Person shall within
ⁿ D. 18. 2. 1. a certain time appointed make a better Conditionⁿ. For example, when *Titius*
says unto *Sempronius*, *I will sell such an Estate for a thousand Pounds*; or
Sempronius says to *Titius*, *I will give a thousand Pounds for an Estate, unless*
another Person shall before the Calends of July next give more for it: and this
Offer or Agreement being accepted by both Parties, the Estate hereby passes
from *Titius* the Proprietor of it, and devolves to *Sempronius*, if no one bids
more within that time. This is called *Addictio in diem* from the Law that
warrants this kind of Sale, beginning with these Words, *viz. In diem addic-*
^o D. 18. 2. 1. *tio, &c.*^o. This Condition may be made two ways, *namely*, That either the
Purchaser shall forego his Purchase, if better Terms are offered, it being thus
a *conditional* Purchase; or else it may be made, that the Purchase shall be
good and complete, unless a greater Price be offered, and then it is a *pure* and
absolute Purchase, which is resolved into a Condition. The Advantage of this
distinction consists herein, *viz.* when the Sale is *pure* and *absolute*, it hinders
not the transferring of the Property on the Purchaser himself, to whom the
^p D. 18. 2. 1. 2. Fruits and other Accessions after that time do belong^p, and so does the Hazard
& 4. and Loss thereof, if the Thing perishes or decays. Better Terms are said to be
offered, either if any Addition be made to the Price, or if the Payment thereof
^q D. 18. 2. 4. shall be quicker, and the like^q. This Pact is in every fiscal Sale, tho' not
fin. & l. 5. expressed, so that the Exchequer may within a certain time offer better Terms,
and take away the Thing from the former Buyer, unless he be ready to pay
^r D. 49. 14. 4. as much^r. The Purchaser may have an Interdict or Injunction, *quod clam-*
ant vi, if no better Terms are offered within the Time prefix'd, for that the
whole Profit and Loss belong to him, even before the Sale is transferred
and made good. But the Sale is conditional, because it is imperfect till the
Condition is fulfilled, and it hinders the Purchaser from having the Fruits
thereof: nor can he claim them by a *real* Action, nor acquire them by *Usu-*
capon, as being not in possession of the Thing; for Possession is necessary unto
^c D. 41. 3. 25. *Usucapion*^c. But tho' Better Terms seem to be offered, if any other Purchaser
adds to the Price; yet it is not so, if such Purchaser be not in earnest, but
bids fraudulently, or in jest; because a better Condition is not deemed to be
offered, unless there be a true and real Purchaser existing, and not a sham
Bargain made.



T I T. XXIII.

Of Obligations arising from Words ; as verbal Promises, Stipulations, &c. what they are, and how they are fulfilled : And of Obligations arising from Writing.

AN *Obligation* is not only contracted by something done, and by Consent alone, but it may also be contracted by Words alone, and also by Writing. Wherefore, having already, in several of the foregoing Titles, treated of Obligations founded upon Consent alone, and on something done ; I shall here discourse of Obligations collected from bare Words, and from Writing. Obligations arising from bare Words, are in our Books sometimes call'd *Stipulations*, and sometimes *naked Promises*. But before I proceed to speak of a *Stipulation*, it will not be amiss to enquire into the Etymology of the Word, and into the Definition and Division of a *Stipulation* : Wherefore, I shall *First* consider from whence the Term had its Rise and Derivation ; what a *Stipulation* is ; and how many fold it may be said to be. *Secondly*, I shall shew after what Manner and in what Things it is contracted. And, *Lastly*, I shall consider in what Things a *Stipulation* cannot be contracted, and when it is null and ineffectual. And this last is best known *ex Contrario*, viz. by knowing what *Stipulations* are firm and valid.

Now a *Stipulation* is so call'd from the *Latin* Word *Stipulum* among the Antients, importing the same as *Firmum*, as being derived (perhaps) from the Word *Stips* ^a. Wherefore, a *Stipulation* is, as it were, a firm ^a I. 3. 16. pr. and valid Obligation. And from hence the Word *Stipulari* signifies the same as *Stipem*, or *Pecuniam Obligare* ; that is to say, to bind a Thing under an Obligation of such a Sum of Money, as we are frequently wont to do in *Stipulations*. And though a *Stipulation* was at first said to be made by the Means of Money ; yet it was afterwards, by a Metaphor, made use of to signify all verbal Obligations solemnly made. The *Gloss*, on the Word *Firmum*, denotes, that it was usual to give something in *Stipulation* as a Sign or Token of an Obligation contracted ; as, among us, we commonly give each other our Hand, in Confirmation of some Agreement among us, or (as we vulgarly say) *to bind the Bargain*. And thus much for the Curious : For I only use this Etymology to shew the Meaning of the Word, and to point out the Strength of the *Roman* Language.

A *Stipulation* is defined to be a *Nominate Contract* conceived in a solemn Form of Words, whereby a Person, being asked the Question, Whether he will grant or do such a Thing ; answers, That he will grant or do it. It was an Invention of the *Civil Law* ^b, it being entirely unknown to the ^b I. 3. 16. r. Law of Nations ; and in this Sense alone it is used in that Law, as a Creature of it : But now, in common Acceptation, it imports any Engagement or Promise made, whether by a solemn Form of Words, or not, by Writing, or without Writing. By the *Civil Law*, Interest or Usury cannot accrue, unless a *Stipulation* intervenes. Moreover, this *Stipulation* is necessary on the score of Sureties : For it is not sufficient for Sureties to oblige themselves by a Contract founded on the Law of Nations ; and therefore a *Stipulation* is necessary, to the End that such Sureties should

^c C. 4. 32. 1.
C. 8. 41. 12.
C. 1. 3. 33.

bind themselves by a solemn Promise ^c, as every ancient Stipulation was. Persons often made Pacts and Agreements by Words; one Person asking the Question, and the other giving an Answer thereunto: But this was not immediately deemed a Stipulation, but only a kind of *nude* Promise. For a Stipulation was only then said to be contracted, when the Words of the Question and Answer thereunto were apply'd *Animo Stipulandi*: And hence it was, that an Obligation arose. And the Words must be such as do not only import a Consent, as such as are used to strengthen and constitute an Obligation arising from a Stipulation. Wherefore, this was one Reason of introducing a Stipulation, *viz.* That it might be discerned, whether the Promise was conceived and made on mature Advice, or not: For a Stipulation conceived in the old Form and Manner was not perfected without due Deliberation; and it is distinguished from a *nude* Pact, wherein a Man's Consent is often lightly interposed and had. Wherefore, though it be very just and fit that Pacts should be observed; yet the *Civil* Law has (notwithstanding) forbidden any Action to be granted on a *nude* Pact ^d, lest Men should be too easily caught and circumvented by Words unadvisedly utter'd and spoken ^e.

^a C. 8. 38. 5.

^c D. 2. 14. 7. 1.

Heretofore, in a Contract of Stipulation, the Answer was to be given in the very same Words in which the Person was asked: As when the Stipulator said thus, *viz. Do you promise?* and the Promiser answers, *I do promise*. But if the Stipulator shall say, *Promittis?* and the Promiser shall answer *Spondeo*; the Stipulation is not valid. Wherefore, it ought to be made in the like manner as this, according to the old Law, *viz. Spondes? Spondeo; Promittis? Promitto; Fide-jubes? Fide-jubeo*; and the like. But it matter'd not in what Language the Stipulation was conceived, whether it was in *Greek, Latin*, or any other Tongue ^f, provided the Language was understood by both the Parties stipulating. Nor was it necessary that both the Parties should express themselves in the same Language, but it was enough to make a suitable Answer to the Question proposed ^g. But this solemn Form of Words, anciently made use of, was afterwards taken away by a Constitution of the Emperor *Leo* ^h; and any Words of this kind were sufficient, provided they express'd the Sense and Meaning of the Parties. The *Stipulator* was he who put the Question, or to whom the Promise was made; and the Person who gave the Answer, or made the Promise, was stiled the *Promiser*. But it is to be noted by the By, That though the Observation of this solemn Form among the Antients be now taken away; yet was it not vain and fruitless, because it cut off all Occasion of Dispute about Words, and touching the Minds of the Parties stipulating: And now we find, that Judges spend several Years in the Cognizance of Stipulations, *viz.* in deciding whether any Thing was promised, or not: So that it were to be wish'd that this ancient Solemnity were restored again.

^f D. 45. 1. 1. fin.

^g I. 3. 16. 3.

^h C. 1. 3. 50.

It has been observed, in our Definition of a *Stipulation*, That it was a *conceived Form of Words*; because this Contract had its Rise from a solemn Intervention of Words: And I have added the Words, *that he will give or do what is asked of him*; because a Stipulation is properly contracted by Words of the future Tense, (as before hinted). For if it be contracted by Words of the present Tense, regularly speaking, (according to some Mens Opinion) it is not valid: But I think this is an Error in the Main, even from the Words of the Text itself ⁱ. Some will have it, that the Answer ought immediately to follow the Question put, *viz.* without any Act foreign thereunto intervening: For in this Contract (as already said) a Question ought to precede, and an Answer ensue thereupon; otherwise it was no Stipulation, by the old Law. And this was the chief Difference, that distinguish'd a Stipulation from other Contracts: It being the Nature

of

ⁱ I. 3. 16. 1.

of other Contracts, that no Obligation can arise from them, unless either some Thing be done, some Writing made, or some Consent had.

A Stipulation was heretofore necessary on *Acceptilation*, or a Civil Release, and is so still in some measure: For when we wou'd discharge a Debtor from any Contract, it was necessary to convert the Cause or Consideration of the preceding Obligation into an *Aquilian* Stipulation. Hence it was, that if any one was Debtor to me by Virtue of a Contract of Bargain, of Hiring and Letting to Hire, and the like, I ought to convert the Cause of the foregoing Contract into a Stipulation, if I would discharge the Debtor by *Acceptilation*, or a Civil Release. In a Word, a Stipulation was invented, for the Conveniency of human Dealing: For the Causes or Consideration of an Obligation are more renew'd by Stipulation, than by any other Contracts ^k. Moreover, every Contract to which a Stipulation ^l I. 3. 30. 3. is added, is more firm, solid and binding, and has more Strength and Weight in it, by reason of the Stipulation; which is a great and signal Advantage to it. And though a Stipulation added thereunto does not extend the Contract, yet it makes it intense. To *extend* a Contract, is to explain and stretch it even to other Matters: For Things are said to be extended, when they include more than otherwise would be included, in case they were not extended. As when a Bow is bent, it is stronger and firmer than otherwise it would be.

Stipulations are either *pure* and *absolute*, or else *conditional*, or else *in diem* ¹. A Stipulation is said to be *purely* made, when the Question is, ¹ I. 3. 16. 2. *Do you promise to pay me ten Pounds?* and an Answer is instantly made, (for nothing ought to intervene) *I will pay you ten Pounds*: I say, this is call'd a *pure* Stipulation; and therefore, that which is stipulated, may be demanded and sued for immediately ^m. But yet this Word *immediately*, ^m I. 3. 16. 2. ought not to be so strictly taken, as that the Person should come forthwith, prepared with a Bag or a Purse, to receive the same ⁿ. ⁿ D. 46. 3. 105.

A *conditional* Stipulation is made, when the Obligation is deferr'd, and respects some future Event: As, *If Titius shall be made Consul, do you promise ten Pounds?* Now if *Titius* be made Consul, the Stipulation has its Effect. In a *conditional* Stipulation, Hope and Prospect is in the Place of the Debt, 'till the Event happens; and this *Hope* we may transmit to our Heirs, if we chance to die before the Event happens ^o. Conditions, ^o I. 3. 16. 4. which respect the Time present or past, do either immediately toll an Obligation, or else do not defer it at all: As, *Do you promise to pay the ten Pounds, if Titius has been Consul, or, if Mævius be now living?* For if these Things are not so, the Stipulation is worth nothing; but if the Things are so, the Stipulation is immediately valid. For those Things which are certain, through the Nature of Things, do not retard an Obligation, though they are uncertain in respect of us ^p. Places are also wont ^p I. 3. 16. 6. to be inserted in a Stipulation: As, *Do you promise to pay me at Carthage?* where a sufficient Time must be allowed for the Journey ^q. This Stipula- ^q I. 3. 16. 5. tion, though it seems to be *pure* and *absolute*, has yet really a Time added, which the Promiser may make use of, to pay the Money at *Carthage*. And therefore, if a Person at *Rome* stipulates in this manner, *viz. Do you promise to pay me this Day at Carthage?* the Stipulation is invalid and ineffectual; because it is impossible for the Promiser to perform his Promise ^r. ^r I. 3. 16. 5. The Forfeiture of such Stipulation is left to the Discretion of an upright Judge, who ought to consider in what Time it is possible for the Promiser to comply with his Word ^s. ^s D. 45. 1. 137. 2.

A Stipulation *in Diem*, is when the Stipulator says, *Do you promise to pay me ten Pounds on the Calends of June?* and the Promiser answers, *I do promise it*: This is a Stipulation *in Diem*; and though that which is promised be immediately due as soon as the Stipulation is made, yet it cannot be

be demanded or sued for before such a Day shall come. And though such Day shall come, and be still subsisting; yet the Thing promised, cannot be demanded and sued for, unless the whole Day be past and gone ^t; because we cannot *incommutably* say, that he has not paid it at his Day, or at the Day prefix'd and appointed, 'till the whole Day be elapsed; for that the whole Day ought to be at the Disposal of him that pays it, whether he will pay it then, or not. For it is not certain that he will not pay it on the Day on which he promis'd it, until he has passed that Day by ^u. For *Ulpian* says, that the adding of a Day is in favour of the Promiser, and not for the sake of the Stipulator ^x. But if a Stipulation be made in this manner, *viz. Do you promise to pay me ten Pounds per Ann. during Life?* this is understood to be a *pure* Obligation; because, in Virtue of such Stipulation, it may be demanded the first Year, and the Obligation is perpetuated ^y. If the Answer in a Stipulation be not adapted to the Question, it produces no Stipulation ^z: As when a Person stipulates, that you shall pay him ten Pounds, and you promise five; or *vice versâ*: or if a Person stipulates *purely*, and you promise *conditionally*; or *è contra*.

Secondly, Stipulations are divided into *voluntary* or *conventional*, and into *necessary* Stipulations. The first are those that are founded on the *Voluntary* Covenants or Conventions of the Parties ^a: And the second are either *Judicial*, *Pretorian*, or *Common* ^b. *Judicial*, are such as proceed from the meer Office of the Judge, even a *Judex Pedaneus*, or an inferior Judge ^c. But by the *Novels* (the Custom of assigning a *Judex Pedaneus* being taken away) they interpose a Contestation of Suit: As Caution *de Dolo* in a real Action, or *Quod metûs causâ*, lest a Thing should become worse; or Caution *de persequendo servo*, who is run away; or for restoring the Value of a Thing, if (perchance) it perishes ^d. *Pretorian* Stipulations, are those that flow from the meer Office of the *Prætor* ^e. But, by the *Novels*, those are order'd to be made before Contestation of Suit: As Caution *de damno infecto*, whereby the Proprietor of ruinous Houses is to give Security to his Neighbour, to make good any future Damage not yet happen'd ^f. There is also another kind of *Pretorian* Stipulation, call'd *Cautio Legatorum*: For if any one shall, at the Time of his Death, appoint an Heir, and leave a Legacy to me on Condition, *viz. If Cæsar shall come into Germany, &c.* Because I have no Action against you as Heir, pending the Condition, and I have a vehement Suspicion that you will in the mean Time be reduced to Poverty, by spending your Substance, and by that Means you will render the Testator's Benefit to me vain and fruitless; the *Pretor* commands you the Heir to re-promise such Legacy, and, before the Event of the Condition, to give Caution by Sureties, that you will pay the Legacy when the Condition shall have its Event: And if you the Heir will not do this, I may have an Action to be admitted into Possession of the Thing bequeathed, or even into the Possession of the whole Inheritance. There is a Third kind of *Pretorian* Stipulation, call'd *Stipulatio Ædilitia*: As when the Seller ought not only to give Notice beforehand, if there be any Fault in the Thing sold, but ought likewise to give Caution on this Account ^g. For Example: When I sell a Bondman, and promise to the Buyer, that if any secret Fault shall be found in such Bondman sold, I will repay two-fold; or if I sell a Horse, and give Caution *de Vitio*, *viz. That he does not kick, or run away, and the like.*

If a Person promises any Thing which concerns the Fact of another Man, he does nothing at all: For the Law says, that a Man can only promise in respect of himself; because, in respect of the Person promising, it is impossible for him to make good the Act and Deed of another Man. Nor is *Raphael's* Argument of any Weight with me, who says, that if this was so, a Penalty subject to a Stipulation for another is not valid: Which, I think,

is false. For hereunto I answer, That if the principal Obligation was, generally speaking, impossible, then a penal Obligation cannot be supported thereby. For another Person's Act and Deed is only impossible in respect of the Person promising; but it is not so in a general Sense; for that other Person may, if he pleases, do that which is promised in his Name. Hence, in such a Case, at least, the Penalty is valid, wherein the Act of the Person promising is put *dispositively*; but the Act of another is put *conditionally*.

When the Law says, there are some Stipulations which consist in *doing something*, and others in *giving*, it plainly intends hereby to speak of the Substance of such Stipulations; because the Verb *consist*, here, has no relation to the naked Figure of Words, but to the Substance of them. And therefore, the Opinion of the old Lawyers seems not true, who thought this to be an imperfect Distinction: For the Law says, there are some Stipulations of a mix'd Nature ^h; and of these we have an Instance in a ^h C. 8. 38. 13. Stipulation *reddendarum Rationum* ⁱ, viz. of rendering an Account. And ⁱ D. 35. 1. 82. there are others, of which we have an Example in the Business of Services; where there is not only a *giving* to be performed, but even some *Fact* to be done. As a Stipulation consists in *giving* or *doing something* ^k, we may also ^k I. 3. 16. 7. comprehend the *not doing of a thing*, under this Expression of *doing*: To which it would be convenient to add a Penalty, that the Creditor might not be obliged to prove his particular Damage. A Stipulation may be made from two to one ^l, as in other Contracts, and a Payment from one ^l I. 3. 17. pr is sufficient; and two or more may be engaged as Debtors to one: And though each is engaged for the Whole, yet all are obliged but to one Payment ^m; but every one is not engaged for the Whole, unless it be so ^m I. 3. 17. 1. expressed.

There are some Stipulations said to be *ineffectual*, and of no Avail in Law, as having no Interest nor Validity in them; because they are not conformable to the Rules of Law: And this may be discover'd several ways, as will evidently appear from the Context of the Law in the *Institutes* ⁿ; viz. either from the Thing which is stipulated, or from some ⁿ I. 3. 20. Fact on the Account of the Person who stipulates or promises, or from the Act of him on whom an Obligation is conferr'd ^o; or, lastly, from the ^o I. 3. 20. 4. Form of the Stipulation itself. For the Thing stipulated ought to be such as may be in the Property of him who stipulates ^p; or else in the ^p I. 3. 20. pr. Property of him to whom it is stipulated; and it ought to be in that Condition at the Time when made. The Fact ought to be possible ^q. The Person ^q I. 3. 20. 1. of him who stipulates or promises, ought to be an idoneous Person, well qualify'd to acquire the Thing either to himself, or to another's Use, and likewise able to oblige himself or another. *Lastly*, The Form of a Stipulation ought to be conceived in proper Terms, to shew the Agreement of the Parties in respect of the Thing stipulated; the Manner of Stipulating, and the Quality of the Stipulation ought to be suitable to Law; the Condition ought to be possible ^r; and the Stipulation ought to be made in ^r I. 3. 20. 11. the Presence of the Parties, so that the Parties hear and understand each other ^s. Hence a Person who is entirely deaf and dumb by Nature, can- ^s I. 3. 20. 12. not promise any thing by way of Stipulation ^t; because he who stipulates ^t I. 3. 20. 7. ought to hear and understand the Words of him who promises: And so likewise ought he who promises to understand and hear the Words of him who stipulates. Nor can a Madman contract a Stipulation or verbal Obligation ^u; for a Madman cannot do any Business, whereby he may oblige himself, because he understands not what he does. And 'tis the ^u I. 3. 20. 8. same thing in a Prodigal that has the Administration of his Goods interdicted him, as being like unto a Madman. The same may also be said of a Fool or an Idiot.

A *Promise* is a Term of a larger Signification than a *Stipulation*: For it denotes a Pact, Pollicitation, and every other Kind of Covenant, as well as a *Stipulation* ^x: And it may be called an unsolemn *Stipulation*. There-
^z D. 50. 12. 3. fore the Word *Promise* is sometimes predicated of a Pact; sometimes of a
^{D. 2. 14. 40.} *Stipulation*, and sometimes of any other Kind of Contract; and is to be
^y D. 17. 1. 45. interpreted according to the Subject Matter ^y. Some Persons make a *Pro-*
^{fin.} *mise* to differ from a *Stipulation*, for that the former only consists in a writ-
 ten Deed or Instrument, whereas a *Stipulation* is always made *ore tenus*,
 and with a previous Question put, and an Answer thereunto, as before
^z D. 45. 1. 13. 2. related: But a *Promise* is reduced into Writing ^z. The Promiser is the
 principal Party, and the *Expromissor* is his Surety. *Titius* and *Seius* stipu-
 lated with *Sempronius* to pay them Two Hundred Crowns. *Sempronius*
 paid the whole Sum to one of them, and this was adjudged to be a good
 Discharge from the other: For when two Persons have stipulated or pro-
 mised the same Sum of Money, it is due in *Solidum* to each of them *ipso*
Jure, as before hinted, and each Person promising is a Debtor in *Solidum*:
 And, consequently, the entire Obligation is dissolved by the Demand or
^a D. 45. 2. 2. Release of each of them ^a. And as two Persons may stipulate or promise
 the Payment of the same Sum of Money; so two Persons may stipulate or
^b D. 45. 2. 5. promise to do the same Work; as to build a House, or paint a Hall ^b.
Flaccus promis'd to build me a House, and to finish it before the End of
 the Year, under the Penalty of One Hundred Crowns. I, out of my own
 Choice, was content that *Flaccus* should prolong the Time to a Year and
 a Half, or for two Years. And the Question was, Whether the Penalty of
 the *Stipulation* was forfeited, since the House was not built before the End
 of the Year? Herein we ought to distinguish in this Manner, *viz.* I
 either prolonged this Time unto *Flaccus*, when we were so near the End
 of the Year, that there was no Hope of having the House compleated
 before the End of the Year, and then the Penalty is forfeited. Or else
 there was so much Time to come, that *Flaccus* might have perfected the
 House: Yet I, that the House might be finish'd with more Ease, gave
^c D. 45. 1. 13. him a longer Time, and then the Penalty is not forfeited ^c.

In Alternatives, regularly speaking, the Debtor has his Choice, which
^a D. 23. 3. 10. of the Alternatives he will perform or comply with ^d, unless the Person
^{fin.} to whom the *Stipulation* is made, shall add a Clause in Favour of himself:
 For if a Man shall stipulate or promise to give unto *Titius* a Horse, or to
 pay him Ten Pounds, the Debtor may perform which of the Alternatives
 he pleases; unless he shall say, That *Titius* shall have his Choice herein.
 For when a Man stipulates either *this* or *that* Thing, he is understood to
 render the *Stipulation* uncertain and alternative. He who promises the
 same Thing twice, is not obliged by his second Promise, but the Person is
^e D. 41. 1. 18. discharged by performing his Promise once ^e. For Example, *Titius* this
 Day promis'd to give me his Servant *Pamphilus*, and to Morrow he comes
 and promises me the same *Pamphilus*. Now herein he can only discharge
 his Promise but once, by giving me the same *Pamphilus*.

Titius and *Caius* were at *Rome* together. *Titius* wanted Money, and
 coming to *Caius* desired him to lend him a certain Sum of Money upon
 Interest, which he promis'd to pay unto *Caius* after three Months Time at
Paris, and he paid a certain Part of the Interest. Some few Days after
Titius came unto *Caius*, and tender'd him the Money which he had bor-
 rowed of him, deducting the Sum which he paid for Interest. *Caius* refus'd
 to receive it. After this, when they came to *Paris*, *Caius* would sue
Titius there. And it was resolved that he might, though *Titius* tender'd
 the Money at *Rome*; because if a Time be added for the sake of the
^f D. 41. 1. 12. 2. Creditor, or both Parties, Payment may not be made before the Time ^f;
^{pr.} but it is otherwise if it be added for the Debtor's Advantage only. He
 that

that is put to receive a Payment, cannot prorogue or adjourn the Time, unless the Time and Place are at his Disposal *g.* A Promise made upon a dishonest Account or Consideration, is null and void *ipso Jure*, whether it be *de præterito*, or *de futuro* *h.* *Erotes* promis'd unto *Cassius* One Hundred Pounds, to commit Murder or Plagiary on such a Day to come, or if he had done it: This Stipulation was adjudged void, especially in respect of the Crime to be committed hereafter *i.* ¹ D. 41.1.122.

Titius sold me an Estate, and promis'd to give me Sureties on the Account of Eviction. He also promis'd to discharge the Mortgage, under which Incumbrance it lay. I desired *Titius* to keep his Promise, which he refused to do, but was and is in Delay. In this Case I may have an Action of Damage, to recover my Interest which *Titius* promis'd me *k.* Though a Right naturally arises from all Promises, because there is nothing more agreeable to human Faith than the Observance of those Things which are stipulated among Men; yet it has been a Doubt, whether a Promise made, even upon Oath, ought to be kept with Pyrates; because, by interrupting Commerce, and plundering Men of their Goods, they infringe the great Law of human Society, as *Florus* expresses himself, touching those Pests among Mankind. But of this hereafter, under the Title *Of Pyrates.* ² D. 41.1.123.

Though in an Alternative or Disjunctive Promise, *viz.* when two or more Things are promis'd under a Disjunction, the Nature of such Promise is, that each of the Parts is under an Obligation, yet the whole Obligation is taken away by a Performance of one of the Parts bound, it being made by the Debtor bound. In Alternative Promises, we ought to distinguish, whether such Promise be made touching the Place where such Payment is to be perform'd, or about the Thing which is to be paid or done. For though it be a Maxim in Law, that in all Alternative Promises, the Person promising has his Election where he will perform his Promise *l.*; yet this Rule is not always true: For it is only true in respect of the Thing to be paid or done, and not in respect of the Place where Payment is to be made; because if Payment were to be made at the Will and Pleasure of the Debtor, in respect of the Place, he might sometimes chuse one Place and sometimes another, and by this Means defeat his Creditor. If a Person promises to pay Ten Pounds unto me, and Ten Pounds unto *Titius*, he is understood to promise Ten Pounds unto each severally, because the Copulative *and* is wont to be placed between Things different: For if he had promis'd the same Sum jointly to us both, he ought to have said *the same* Ten Pounds *m.* or to have said, That he *promis'd to pay unto me and Titius* *n.* *Ten Pounds*, and thus only to have mention'd the Sum but once. *Seius* promis'd to pay me One Hundred Pounds, or to write a Book by *Easter* following, and unless he paid the Money or wrote the Book, he promis'd to pay the Sum, by way of Penalty. When *Easter* came, he had not perform'd his Promise. In this case he incurs the Penalty, and cannot excuse himself by a Plea of no Demand made, because the Time appointed is a Demand in Law *n.* ¹ D. 23. 3. 10. ^{fin.}

It has been remarked, That by the *Civil* Law, strictly so called, a Person who promises for another's Fact, *viz.* That he shall pay or do something, is not thereby obliged, unless he promises a Penalty *o.*; as when *Titius* promises that *Seius* shall pay Five Pounds unto *Sempronius*: But if he promises that he will see that *Seius* pays this Money, he puts himself under an Obligation *p.* But as by the *Prætorian* Law, in some particular Cases *q.* so by a *Canonical* Equity, this scrupulous Nicety of Words is entirely laid aside and not regarded. For, by the *Canon* Law, if any one shall promise for another's Fact, he is tacitly understood, by an Implication of Law, to have promis'd, that he will take Care and see that another does it: And therefore he is obliged. And this is agreeable to the Law of *England*, and also

to

to that of other Countries, that are in other respects govern'd by the *Civil Law*.

A Thing that is by Nature impossible, cannot be the Subject of a Promise; as when a Man promises that such a one shall have his Servant *Pamphilus*, that will never die: But the Value of a dead Bondman may be promis'd, because such a Promise may be fulfilled ^r. For here are two Things promis'd, *viz.* a Servant, and a Servant that will never die. The first may be made good, but not the latter: And, consequently, the Promiser is not bound in the last Case. A Person, that is obliged to do any Act by Promise, is obliged *ad Interesse*, or to pay Damages, if he does not perform the same ^s. Thus a Person, who promises to build a House, or Isle, or to do any Thing else, is, by Interpretation of Law, deemed to promise so much Money as the Person's Interest amounts to, in case this be not done: And the Law says, that Damage is couched under such a Stipulation or Promise. And when the Promiser is in Delay, the Estimation of Damage is immediately due. Though a Person be not bound by a Nude Promise or Pollicitation; yet if he promises in this Manner, *viz.* That he will pay a Penalty, unless he does such an Act, he forfeits the Penalty so far as the Thing promis'd extends itself in Value, if he does not perform his Promise ^t. A Stipulation or Promise, (for so the Word *Stipulation* sometimes signifies, even in our Books ^u;) conceived in any Terms whatsoever, though it be not in direct and solemn Words, is valid, according to the *Code* ^x, if those Words do infer the Consent of the Parties contracting, and are known to the Laws.

The Word *Promitto*, whether it be used in a publick or private Instrument, is understood by Stipulation ^y; and this is by a Presumption of Law. In a Promise, the *Reus Credendi* or *Stipulandi*, is the Creditor, or Person to whom a Promise is made; and the *Reus Debendi* or *Promittendi*, is the Debtor, or Person promising ^z: For the *Res* or Affair of both is transacted, though now of late only the Defendant is called *Reus*. The Creditor as well as the Debtor in a Promise was stiled *Reus*, *a Re quæ in Stipulationem deducitur*, and not from the Word *Reatus*, signifying Guilt. But others will have it to be *a Re*, *viz.* from the Contract whereby the Person is bound. Others will have it *a Re*, which here denotes Firmness, because the Person is firmly bound: And thus *Virgil*, *Voti Reus*, because he was firmly bound by his Vow. But these are the Strictures of Grammarians.

I have said before, that he who promises the same twice, is not obliged by his second Promise, as being vain and idle, if made to the same Person; and if it be made to different Persons, he is bound by his former Promise or Stipulation, and not by his second, unless the former be an ineffectual Promise. *Marcus* promised *Pamphilus* Ten Pounds on some Consideration or other. *Pamphilus*, to be the better assur'd of it, after some Days stipulated with *Marcus* for the said Ten Pounds, which he promis'd him again, which is often done; it being a daily Practice to repeat Promises on certain Considerations. *Pamphilus* was afterwards willing to bring an Action against *Marcus* for the first and second Promise, and by this Means obtain Twenty Pounds. But the Law says, that *Marcus* is only once bound by his Promise, *viz.* only by one Promise, but it does not declare, whether it be by the first or second Promise. In relation to Promises, we ought to consider the Causes on which Account they are made: For if a Man plays at a forbidden Game, and promises the Payment of such a Sum of Money to the Winner, such Promise is not valid ^a. And the same may be said of all other Covenants, when they are made upon a dishonest Account: As when I promise you Ten Pounds to kidnap another's Servant, &c.

In a Disjunctive Promise, that has a respect unto Time or Quantity, that Thing only is understood to be promis'd, or deduced in such Obligation

or Promise, which is the lesser Thing promis'd: And the Reason of this is, because it is the Nature of a Disjunctive Stipulation, that when a Thing is *disjunctively* promis'd, though each Part of the Disjunctive be bound ^b, yet ^b D. 33. 5. 9. this is not *simply*, but only *conditionally* true, *viz.* 'That if one Thing be ^{Pr.} not given, the other Thing must be paid or given ^c. Wherefore, if a Man ^c D. 45. 1. promises to give a Horse or Ten Pounds, and he makes a Tender of the Ten Pounds, he seems *à Principio*, only to have owed the Ten Pounds; for in Contracts of this Kind, the Condition has a Retrospect ^d: And if he ^d D. 18. 6. 8. shall by Mistake pay any other *Species*, he may recover the same again ^e. ^{Pr.} ^e D. 12. 6. 32. 3. Therefore, he who promises Ten or Fifteen Pounds, does the same Thing, as if he had said, *If I shall not pay you Ten, I will pay you Fifteen Pounds*; and so *vice versa*. And hence, as a lesser is always included in a greater Sum, it is the same Thing as if he had simply promised a lesser: For it is not probable, that a Debtor will pay a greater, when he can pay a lesser Sum ^f.

^f D. 31. 1. 43. 3.

A Promise is proved by an Extrajudicial Confession of the Party promising, and with the Help of one Witness alone, who deposes touching such Promise: For here two half Proofs are join'd to make a full Proof, as may be done in many Cases, though not in all. Thus a Promise is proved by an Extrajudicial Confession in a Cause of *Dower*, when a Person, out of Court, confesses that he promis'd One Hundred Pounds to *Titius* on the Account of his Daughter's Dowry. If Witnesses say, That *Titius* promis'd *Seius* One Hundred Pounds, because they were present and heard him, it is full Proof, for so the Deposition ought to be. A Promise is also proved by a fulfilling of that which is promis'd.

Though it is the same Thing, whether I stipulate to pay a Sum of Money on or before the Calends of such a Month ^g; yet, according to ^g D. 45. 1. 13. Propriety of Speech, it is otherwise. For he who promises a Sum of Money on the Calends, speaks only of the very Day of the Calends, as *Sulpitius Apollinaris* observes in *Aul. Gellius* ^h; though by Interpretation of Law, ^h Lib. 1 2. c. 13. he may pay it even before the Day of the Calends, because the Law judges that Day to be added in his Favour ⁱ. But if it appears to have ⁱ D. 45. 1. 38. been added in Favour of the Creditor, it would be otherwise. But he ^{16.} who indistinctly promises to pay it before the Calends, though it should seem to be done in Favour of the Creditor, yet he may pay it before the Calends come, and that by reason of the Propriety of the Words, which, when they are clear, decide the Dispute, as *Jason* ^k here notes. Again, ^k In L. 56. D. he who promises to pay before the Calends, is deemed, in Propriety of ^{45. 1.} Speech, to have promis'd within the very Day which begins the Calends: And therefore, what he has promis'd seems to be due that very Moment on which the Calends begin, though, by a certain Tenderness of Law, he has the whole Day granted him to pay it. I shall end this Title with *Pollicitations*.

Now a Promise may be made four several ways in Law, *viz.* either by Pact, Stipulation, Pollicitation, or by a *Constitutum*, as the *Civilians* call it. A *Pact*, as before noted, is the Consent of two or more Persons to one and the same Thing ^l. But a *Pollicitation* is the Nude and Sponta- ^l D. 2. 14. 1. neous Promise of one Person alone, who, out of a Benignity of Temper, offers or promises to do something for the State ^m: And therefore it differs ^m D. 50. 12. 3. from a Pact and a Contract, which is founded on the Consent and Agreement of two or more Persons. And such Pollicitation may be made either by Man or Woman, provided such Promise be made on a just Account, as on the Score of some Honour decreed, or to be decreed them ⁿ. But ⁿ D. 50. 12. 6. a Pollicitation has Place very seldom; because it is made to a Person ^{7 & 9.} present; and as it respects his Advantage, the Person present is looked upon as consenting ^o, which makes it a Nude-Pact. And hence, by reason ^o D. 17. 1. 18.

of D. 17. 1. 6. 2.

of a mutual Consent, which is express'd in the Person promising, and a tacit Consent in the other, such Contract comes under the Name of a *Pact*, according to *Alexander, Imola*, and others p: But *Decius* and *Aretinus* think otherwise; because they will have an *express* Consent to be necessary to a *Pact*. *Baldus* says, That, in a large Sense, a Nude-Pact comes under the Appellation of a Pollicitation, if such Word be found in a Deed or Instrument, to the End that such Deed should have some Operation in Law. But *Alciatus* will not allow of this Doctrine; because, in a Disposition when the Matter is doubtful, we ought not to recede from the Propriety of a Word. If a Pollicitation be made by an Epistle, and the Party accepts of the Thing offer'd, he seems to consent thereunto by his Acceptance.

Regularly speaking, a Person is not bound by a Pollicitation, unless it be made to the State, on the Account of some Honours conferr'd; or unless it be vested with the Coherence of a Contract: For a Pollicitation made to a private Man does not produce an Obligation, though there be, or may be, a just Cause of making it. The Obligation of a Pollicitation passes to a Man's Heirs, though sometimes such Obligation may be diminish'd q: But yet it does not pass to the Heir, if a Man has promis'd Money on the Score of some Honour decreed him, and shall die before he has enter'd on the Magistracy r. Touching Pollicitations that are made in Cities, the Judges in such Cities have Cognizance of them s, who ought to see that the Form added to such Pollicitation be observ'd t, unless the Utility of the State requires otherwise. But the subtle Distinction of *Pollicitations* and *Nude-Pacts*, according to the *Roman* Law, is now taken away in *Holland* by Custom, as *Groenwegen* assures us u. For not only an Exception, but even an Action, arises there from a Nude-Pact: And so likewise a Salary, founded upon an uncertain Promise or Pollicitation, may be sued for, and taxed, according to the Quality of the Person, and the Nature of the Thing he is employed on. A Pollicitation made unto God, is called a Vow, and is binding: But then, if the Person that makes it be a Bondman, or Son under the Power of a Father, he ought to have his Master or Father's Consent x. The Thing which is vowed becomes sacred, when it is paid: But it does not become so by the Promise of such a Vow alone.

[Though the *Roman* Law made a Distinction between solemn and unsolemn Promises, yet this is not according to the Law of Nations, which directs all Promises to be understood according to Equity and good Conscience. Nor is this Difference made by the Laws of *England*, between a Promise, Stipulation, or Nude-Pact; only a Nude-Pact, is, where a Man makes a Gift, Bargain, or Sale of his Goods or Lands, without a certain Consideration paid, or recoverable by Action, for them. See *Doctor and Student* *. But if he to whom a Promise of Recompence is made, undergoes any Charge or Business, and has perform'd it by reason of such Promise, he has his Action; for then it is not a *Nude Covenant* †. A Bond or Obligation is good without a Consideration; but a simple Note in Writing is not good.]

* Lib. 2. c. 24.

† Ibid.



T I T. XXIV.

Of Sureties, and the several Distinctions thereof; why taken, and in what Obligations, and in what Sum the Surety is bound. Of the Sureties of Heirs, and what if there are several Sureties. Of the Benefit of Excussion, Division, and of the Assignment of Actions in regard to Sureties, and what they are, &c. and of the Surety's Action against the principal Party, &c.

THAT a *Stipulation* and Promises may be more certain, Caution and *Sureties* may be added to them: So that there is one kind of *Stipulation*, which is *principal*; and another, which is *accessory*, as that of *Sureties*. Wherefore, I shall here consider what a *Surety* is, and how he differs from others that are bound besides the principal Debtor. *Secondly*, I shall shew unto what Obligation he may accede. *Thirdly*, unto what Action he is liable. And, *Fourthly*, what Benefits of Law he enjoys.

A *Surety*, in *Latin* call'd the *Fidejussor* and *Adpromissor* ¹, is he that ² D. 46. 3. 65. 4. binds himself for another in the same Contract, by way of *Stipulation* with the Principal, for the greater Security of the Creditor or *Stipulator* ³. ⁴ 1. 3. 21. pr. This is done without *Novation* or Renewing the Obligation: And therefore ⁵ & 1. a *Surety* differs from an *Expromissor*, who, by *Novation*, wholly takes the Obligation of another Person on himself, and discharges the Principal ⁶. ⁷ D. 12. 4. 4. Or, an *Expromissor* is he that principally obliges himself for a Person that is not bound by any Obligation; as a Servant or Bondman is not, according to the *Roman Law*. And as a *Constitutor* is he that obliges himself by a *nude Pact* or simple Promise; so a *Sponsor* is he that does of his own Accord, without being requested, intercede in an Obligation for another. And, *Lastly*, a *Mandator* is he who asks and commissions another to be a *Surety* for him. These are the several Distinctions we meet with in our Books.

A *Surety* may be added unto every Obligation, whether it be Civil or Natural ⁸, Principal or Accessory ⁹, whether it arises from a Contract or ¹⁰ 1. 3. 21. 1. a *Trespas*s, provided the Action be brought for a Pecuniary Penalty: ¹¹ D. 46. 1. 8. For where Corporal Punishment is sued for, a *Surety* is not admitted, unless it be for the Person's Appearance in Court ¹². Though *Sureties* are not ¹³ D. 48. 3. 2 obliged, unless it be by way of *Stipulation*, wherein the Party ought to ¹⁴ & 3. be first interrogated, Whether he be willing to stand bound, or not? and hereupon an Answer ought to ensue: Yet if a Person be present at the Acts of Court, and suffers himself to be set down as a *Surety*, such Sufferance (according to *Bartolus* ¹⁵) has the Force of *Stipulation*; for an ¹⁶ In L. 4. D. Act done in Court is of greater Force than an Act done extrajudicially. ¹⁷ 7. All *Sureties* are bound as Accessories, as they accede to the Obligation of another Person. I say, a *Surety* cannot be obliged without Words; and therefore, in all *Suretieships* *Stipulations* are necessary: Nor can a *Surety* be obliged before his Principal; nor is a *Surety* obliged, when the Obligation of the Principal is not valid. Thus a *Surety* accepted of on the Account of a Contract, which the Law disallows of, is not bound thereby ¹⁸ f. 1 D. 46. 1. 46.

thereby : But in every Contract a Surety is bound to shew himself an honest Man, and to perform what he has promised.

All Persons may become Sureties, who may be obliged, unless they are specially forbidden ; as Women ^g, Soldiers ^h, Pupils and Minors without the Authority of their Tutors and Curators ⁱ, and Bondmen without the Privity of their Lord ^k. But though Pupils and Minors may bind themselves, with the Authority of their Tutors and Curators, yet they may be restored *in Integrum*. If Minors have no Curators assigned them, they may bind themselves, and such Obligation shall stand good against them ^l : And it is the same thing, if they knavishly impose upon the adverse Party, by pretending themselves to be of full Age ^m. A Surety may be given either for a present or future Obligation, provided it be certain that such principal Obligation will ensue ⁿ : But yet he cannot be convened, before the Principal is bound ^o ; nor is obliged to any other Thing than that very Matter which is comprehended in the principal Obligation ^p. But a Surety may promise a Penalty, wherein the Principal is not bound, and such Surety shall be obliged to undergo and suffer such Penalty ; yet Sureties are bound no further than they have promised. A Surety, that is bound for several Persons, may pay for which of them he pleases ; but in a doubtful Case, he seems to have paid for him for whom he was first bound ^q.

A Person bound to give Caution by Sureties, is discharged by giving the same by Pawns and Pledges, even contrary to the Will of the Creditor : For a Person bound to find Sureties, may give Pignorary Caution, if he pleases. A Person also obliged to give Caution by Sureties, is, in Judicial Matters, remitted to his Juratory Caution, if he cannot find Sureties, provided he makes Oath, that, upon his best Endeavours, he cannot find Sureties, and that he will perform and do what he has given Caution to do ; and the Impotency of finding Sureties, is proved by the Oath of the Party alone. A Surety that is bound for the principal Sum, is also bound for Use and Interest, unless he only promis'd specifically, and for a certain Sum alone ^r. A Person is not said to be an idoneous Surety from the Richness of his Substance, but likewise from the Facility of Convening him : For, to what End is he a Surety, if he cannot be convened in Judgment ? And therefore, he who gives a Person for his Surety, who cannot be convened or impleaded in Law, or of whom there is no Hope that he can be an idoneous Surety upon changing his State and Condition, seems to give no Surety or Caution at all ^s : For a Person ought to give such a Surety in Judgment, as may be convened and obliged by the Caution given. For the giving of Sureties, was invented to render Creditors more secure of their Debts, and the like ; and this is the only End and Use of Suretiship : And, for this Reason, it is a received Doctrine, That he who is obliged to give a Surety, is not thereby discharged, if he gives such a Person for his Surety, who is in such a strong Place of Defence, that the publick Executioners of the Law cannot come at him ^t ; or if he gives him for a Surety, who, by reason of some Privilege, cannot easily be convened ; or if he gives a cavillous Lawyer for his Surety, (according to *Bartolus* ^u) ; or a Person who is not in Possession of a real and immoveable Estate ^x ; or such a Person as is of a different Jurisdiction, unless he waves the Privilege of his Jurisdiction, (as *Baldus* observes ^y) : For a Person who is of an exempt or privileged Jurisdiction, is not deemed an idoneous Surety *de Judicio sistendo*, unless he waves his Privilege of Court ^z. If Caution by Sureties be necessary, and a Person cannot easily give such Caution in the Place, he shall be heard, if he be ready to give such Caution, in some other City of the same Province ^a. And necessary Caution is such, unto which

which a Person is obliged by Law, though his Cause be a voluntary Cause ^b.

^b D. 2. 8. 8. 6.

Though it was formerly lawful, by a Law in the *Code*, for the Creditor to chuse which of the Persons he would sue, *viz.* either the principal Debtor, or his Surety ^c, unless it was otherwise agreed upon between the Persons contracting; yet at this Day, by a *novel* Constitution, the Principal, otherwise the *present* Debtor, ought to be convened before the Surety or Person bound for him ^d, if both Parties are present and forthcoming; ^d Nov. 4. c. 1; then, after this, he may convene the Surety, and, lastly, the Possessor of the Debtor's Goods. And this Order ought to be observed in the convening of a Surety, unless the Surety has, by the Interposition of an Oath (according to the *Canon Law*) promis'd Payment of the Money unto the Creditor himself ^e. But if the Debtor shall (pending Suit with his Creditor) sell or alienate the Thing engaged to him, then the Creditor may, in this Case, convene the Purchaser, even without excussing the principal Debtor ^f. But if it be certain that the principal Debtor is insolvent, the Creditor may also then sue the Surety or the Possessor of the Goods thus engaged ^g, if the Surety or Possessor does not object to him an Exception of *Excussio*, as he may do, (according to *Bartolus* ^h, and the *Gloss* ⁱ.) A Surety is not added, unless it be to a personal Obligation; and he may be added not only to the Obligation of one who is to give or pay a Thing, but also to the Obligation of one who is to perform a Thing. ^e C. 8. 41. 5. ^d Nov. 4. c. 1. ^c X. 2. 24. 9. ^f C. 8. 14. 14. ^g D. 45. 1. 116. ^h In L. 34. ⁱ D. 21. 2. ¹ In L. 14. ^{D. 12. 1.}

The Obligation of a Surety is a transitory Thing, (for it descends to, and obliges his Heirs): But a Surety in a doubtful Case or Matter is not obliged, unless it be to perform that which his Principal is enjoined by Law to do; for the Obligation whereby a Surety is bound shall become null and void, if the Obligation whereby the Principal is bound is null and void. For as a Surety cannot be added to a Contract impugn'd by Law; so neither can he be added where there is no Natural or Civil Obligation. Sureties are received and made use of; because that which cannot be recover'd (perhaps) of the Principal, may be recover'd of them. The principal Debtor is sometimes released or exempted from an Obligation, and yet his Surety remains bound at the same time; so that he may be convened, though the principal Debtor may not: As when he is exempted by a Condemnation or Confiscation of his Goods ^k; or when the Debtor dies without an Heir; or when the principal Debtor surrenders up all his Goods unto his Creditors by way of *Cession*; or is restored *in Integrum* on the Account of Nonage ^l. If the principal Party shall undergo a civil or natural Death before he has been guilty of any Delay, his Surety *de Judio sistendo* is discharged: But 'tis otherwise, if the Principal dies after he has incurr'd a Delay in his Appearance ^m. *Titius* was Bail or Surety for *Sempronius*, *de Judio sistendo*; and, on the Death of *Sempronius* the Principal, the Judge order'd *Titius* to appear in Court, whereas the Principal was now dead. In this Case the Judge's Precept is not valid; nor is *Titius* liable for not exhibiting the Principal. And it is the same thing, if he died after the Judge's Order, and before the Day of Exhibiting; for in this Case he is not liable. But if *Titius* had delay'd to bring him into Judgment, and he had died after such Delay, *Titius* would have been liable. ^k D. 46. 1. 60. ^l 47. ^m D. 44. 14. pro. ⁿ D. 2. 8. 4.

An Action *ex Mandato* accrues to a Surety, against the principal Debtor, or his Heir, without assigning the same over to him ⁿ: But an *Hypothecarius* Action does not lie for him without such Assignment ^o. An Action *ex Mandato* is an Action which arises from some Order or Request made by one Person unto another: And an *Hypothecarius* Action is an Action which flows from a Man's plighting his Goods unto another. The Pact or Covenant of one Surety does not hinder a Creditor from bringing his

his Action against another Surety, where two are bound to him for the same Debt ^p. For Example: I lent unto *Titius* twenty Pounds; for the Payment of which, he gave me Caution by two Sureties, *Seius* and *Mævius*. *Seius* came to me, and said, *Because you convene me in twenty Pounds, I will give you five Pounds not to convene me*. Whereupon, I the Creditor was contented: And the Question was, Whether, by reason of this Pact made with *Seius*, *Mævius* the other Surety be discharged? And it was held, that he was not, and that I might demand the other fifteen Pounds from the other Surety; nor can he object any Exception unto me. But if I would demand the other five Pounds, he may repel me with an Exception of *Deceit*. A Surety may object an Exception in the Behalf of the principal Debtor and Defendant, even against his Will ^q; because it is much safer not to pay a Thing which is not due, than afterwards to endeavour the Recovery of it when it is paid.

A *feigned* Payment made by a Surety, gives him an Action against the principal Debtor. As for Example: *Titius* was indebted to me in the Sum of an hundred Pounds; for the Payment of which he gave me a Surety or Person for him. This Surety, *animo novandi*, delegated or assigned his Debtor for the Payment of the hundred Pounds, which he call'd a *feigned* Payment in Law. In this Case the Surety may have an Action against the principal Debtor. If a Debtor has given several Sureties for one and the same Sum, they were all and each of them bound *in Solidum*, how many soever they were in Number, and whether this Matter were expressly agreed upon, or not ^r, and the Creditor might chuse which of them he would sue *in Solidum*, without convening the principal Debtor; and if the Person whom he chose to sue did not satisfy the Debt, he might have recourse to another; the other Sureties not being discharged by his Election ^s. But the Case was different, if the Suretiship was conceived and drawn in this manner, *viz. Solidum aut partes viriles fide tuâ spondes?* that is to say, Do you promise to become bound in the Whole, or only according to your Rate and Proportion? For then the Creditor was obliged to summon each of them *pro parte virili* in the first Place; and this was the ancient Law.

But afterwards the Emperor *Adrian*, a Friend to Equity and good Conscience, granted the *Beneficium Divisionis*, where the Debtor has many Sureties for the same Debt, whereby each of them is obliged *pro parte virili*, and not for the whole Debt ^t, as formerly. As when three Sureties have given Caution in the Sum of fifteen Pounds, each of them shall only be liable in the Sum of five Pounds. But this Benefit or Indulgence does not give Right ^u, but only an Exception unto the Sureties from the Time of contesting of Suit, provided all the Sureties are solvent at such Time ^x, and are of the same Jurisdiction. So that this Grant of *Adrian* did not toll the ancient Law, but leaves it as it was before, and only gives an Exception; and after such Exception the Damage belongs to the Creditor ^y. But if either of the Sureties be insolvent at that Time, that Grant operates all the rest ^z. And if the Creditor shall recover his whole Debt of one of the Sureties, the Damage shall fall upon him alone, if the Person for whom he stood Surety be insolvent; and he must impute it to himself, since he might have relieved himself by the Benefit of *Division*, or *Adrian's* Grant ^a; nor can he convene another of the Sureties, unless the Creditor assigns the Action over to him ^b.

I have hinted, that if one of the Sureties be convened for the whole Debt, he may object this Exception or Grant of *Adrian's*, provided the other Sureties are solvent: And if it be a Doubt, whether they are solvent or not; yet the Person that desires this Benefit of *Division*, shall be heard, if he will either at his Cost prove them solvent, or if he offers to convene his

his Fellow-Sureties, at his own Charges, for the Payment of their Shares ^{c. D. 46. 1. 10.} But if either of the Sureties becomes insolvent after the Division made, ^{Pr.} the Creditor shall not burden the others any farther, but shall take the Damage to himself. The Time of contesting Suit, is the Time wherein we ought to consider whether they are Solvent, or not ^{d. I. 3. 21. 4.} And herein this Benefit differs from that which accrues to several Tutors and Guardians: For in the last Case we have a respect, when the Guardianship is ended, and then consider whether they are solvent, or not ^{e. C. 5. 52. 1.} Sureties are solvent at the Time of contesting Suit, it is enough, though ^{C. 4. 19. 3.} they should afterwards cease to be so ^{f. D. 46. 1. 51. 4.} The Surety convened *in Solidum* ought to pray the Benefit of this Grant: For *Adrian's* Grant is not *ipso Jure* divided among the Sureties, but such Exception ought to be expressly objected unto the Plaintiff. Hence it is, that if a Surety, omitting such Exception, shall pay the whole Debt, he shall not afterwards recover any Thing ^{g. D. 46. 1. 49. 1.} But *Martianus* seems to be of a different Opinion, saying, That he who is defended by a perpetual and favourable Exception (as this is) may recover ^{h. D. 12. 6. 40.} But yet in this Case of a Surety, this last Opinion is not entirely Law.

There are many Cases in Law, wherein a Surety may be convened before the principal Debtor, (notwithstanding the *Novel* Constitution,) and he shall not have the Benefit of *Excussion*. As, *First*, When a Banker, Merchant, or the like Persons, become Sureties for any one, they may be convened before the principal Debtor, and shall not have the Benefit of *Excussion*, but ought to pay the Debt, by reason of the great Credit which is given to them: For otherwise (perhaps) the Creditor would not have lent his Money. *Secondly*, If the Creditor has at the Time of the Obligation or Contract enter'd into, renounced the Benefit of *Excussion*: For, in this Case, he may be convened before the principal Debtor. *Thirdly*, A Surety may be convened before the principal Debtor, though he has not renounced the Benefit of *Excussion*, *viz.* when he has sworn at the Time of the Contract or Obligation enter'd into, to pay the Debt: For, in this Case, he has, by his own Oath, excluded himself from the Benefit of *Excussion*, according to *Baldus* ^{i. In c. 9. X. 2.} *Fourthly*, A Surety has not the Benefit of *Excussion*, ^{24.} when the Creditor is in some other respect a Debtor unto the Surety, and is willing to quit Scores, or compensate the Debt: For, in this Case, the Creditor may compel the Surety to come to a Compensation with him, without any *Excussion* of the principal Debtor. *Fifthly*, A Surety has not the Benefit of *Excussion*, if he hinders an Execution which was made against the principal Debtor, but shall be obliged to pay the Debt. *Sixthly*, A Surety may be impleaded before the principal Debtor, if the principal Debtor be absent from the Place or Jurisdiction wherein he became a Surety for him. *Seventhly*, A Surety has not the Benefit of *Excussion*, where the Process is according to the Form of some Statute had in a summary Manner, and *de plano & sine strepitu Judicii* ^{k. Socin. Conf.} *Eighthly*, A Surety loses the Benefit of *Excussion*, when he denies himself to have been a Surety, and it ^{24.} be afterwards proved upon him that he was a Surety. *Ninthly*, A Surety binds himself as the principal Debtor, if he succeeds such Principal in his Estate. *Lastly*, The Surety of a Tyrant may be obliged to answer, without excussing the principal Debtor. By a *Tyrant*, I here mean, a Person in great Power, and, as it were, above the Reach of the ordinary Forms of Justice. And,

Thus *Excussion*, in other Terms, in *Latin* called *Beneficium Ordinis*, is a Right, whereby the Surety may, by an Exception, force a Creditor to sue the principal Debtor, before he shall recover against him as Surety ^{l. Nov. 4. c. 1.} And in order to excuss or enquire into the Estate of the principal Debtor, a general Citation, *viz.* either by Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet, is suffi-

^m DD. in L. 116. D. 45. 1. v. *Excussum*. sufficient ^m, whereby the Sureties, and all the Possessors of any of the Debtor's Effects, are bound to appear and discover the same: And the principal Debtor is said to undergo a sufficient *Excussio*, if no one appears to the Citation made touching him, or if no one objects to the Defence he makes of himself ⁿ. But *Excussio* ought not to be made on such Effects of the Principal as are become Litigious, or are in Controversy, nor on such as are confiscated on the Score of Rebellion ^o. But what if Execution has been made against a Surety, and it afterwards appears *de novo*, that the principal Debtor was solvent, shall the Creditor be driven to a second *Excussio*? And it is held, according to *Jason* ^p and the Text ^q, that he shall not. By a Placaert of the States of *Holland*, February 1564, this Novel Constitution touching *Excussio*, does not obtain there: But in *France* it is observed, unless it be in certain Cases, cited by *Bugnion* in his Book *de Legibus Abrogatis* ^r. Yet, according to *Rebuffus* and others, this Benefit does not accrue to Sureties given *de Judicatum Solvendo*, as it has been adjudged in *France*. For if Bail, or a Judicial Surety, has been given in a Cause depending, the Process ought even to go out against the Surety, since Execution ought not to be deferred.

What the Law says, touching the principal Debtor's being excused before any Process is issued out against his Surety, is, when it is not certain *a Principio*, that the principal Debtor is insolvent: But it is otherwise, if it be entirely certain that he is insolvent. And a Notoriety touching such Insolvency of the principal Debtor, may appear to the Judge *per Librum Æstimi*, by the Valuation or Cess-Book of Mens Estates; For in many States and Cities, it is usual to keep such a Book or Register, that the State and Condition of every Man's Substance may be the more easily known: And such was our *Doomesday-Book* formerly here in *England*. If the Surety produces the Valuation-Book, whereby it appears that the principal Debtor is worth so much, he ought to be excused: But if the principal Debtor, by shewing the Valuation-Book, says, That he is only worth so much in Stock, the contrary Proof rests on the Surety ^s. A Surety cannot accede to an Alternative Obligation; nor can he be bound in a harder Condition than the principal Debtor, But he may in an easier.

[Him whom the *Civil* Law styles a *Fidejussor* or Surety, the Common Law of *England* calls a *Pledge*: Therefore, when Credit is given to any Person, it is often wont to be given under the Security of Pledges. In which Case, if the principal Debtor shall be so deficient, that he has not wherewithal to make Payment, Recourse shall then be had to his Pledges ^t, and not before ^u. See *Fitzherbert's Natura Brev.* 137. E. But with us, if there are more Pledges than one, they are each of them bound in the Whole, unless it be otherwise agreed when they become Pledges thereupon, and may be compelled, either jointly or severally, to satisfy the same. So that if there are several Pledges given, and some or one of them be insolvent, it belongs to the rest to discharge the Incumbrance, even in the Whole, if sued ^x. But if Pledges are only given for certain Parts of the Whole, the rest shall not be obliged to answer any further than their own Parts, if one of the Pledges shall fail on his Part ^y. If Pledges are convened on a Failure of the principal Debtor, and be driven to pay the Money promis'd, they have an Action against him, according to *Fleta* ^z, and the *New Book of Entries*, Tit. *Pledges*.]

^a In L. 112. D. 45. 1. 1. According to the *Gloss* ^a, if a Man accepts of an insufficient Security through Ignorance, when he thought it to be a good one, he may pray to have Caution given *de Novo*. But *Alexander* is of a contrary Opinion ^b; because, he that accepts of such a Surety, is presumed to be acquainted with the Condition of the Man: For he who contracts with any one, is presumed to know, or ought (at least) to know his Condition ^c. But, I think, that a Person who ignorantly accepts of an insufficient Surety, and desires that his Debtor may give him new Security, ought to prove, that such insufficient Surety was, in the common Opinion of all Men, reputed to be a wealthy Person, and a Person solvent, *ad hoc*; otherwise, the Person accepting of him must blame himself, and is inexcusable ^d; or else the Creditor ought to prove that the Debtor deceived him by his Averment of

of his Solvency. And this is the Opinion of *Paulus de Castro* ^e, saying, ^c ²ⁿ L. 3. D. That if a Person admits of an insufficient Surety (ignorantly) in Point of Circumstances, he shall not, on this Account, demand a more sufficient Surety, or have Damage given him against the Debtor; unless the Debtor has used Deceit in giving such Surety, by averring the Fitness of the Person; or unless the Creditor that admits him, was imposed upon by the common Opinion of all that knew him, believing him to be a rich Person. And this is daily observed in Point of Practice. If a Debtor has given a sufficient Surety unto his Creditor, and such Surety presently afterwards runs away, he shall be obliged to give another Surety: For it is a strong Presumption from such a small Interval of Time, that the Debtor was conscious to himself of his Surety's running away; and therefore he shall be obliged to give another sufficient Surety.

There is one Case, which I had almost forgotten, wherein a Surety cannot be convened before the principal Debtor, though he has renounced the Benefit given to Sureties by *Excussion*, and the like, *viz.* when a Surety has an Indemnity or a harmless Bond given him, as we call it: For then, of necessity, the principal Debtor ought to be first convened, and not the Surety, tho' the Surety (as I have said) has renounced the Benefit of *Excussion* given to Sureties. And this proceeds, because the Nature of the Thing, and the Promise also, according to *Bartolus* ^f, seems to import it. ^f In L. 1. C. The Act and Deed of the principal Debtor, affects and prejudices the ^{10. 2.} Surety, when he consents to such an Act of the principal Debtor: But the Contumacy of the principal Debtor does not increase the Obligation of his Surety.



T I T. XXV.

By what Methods Obligations are dissolved and released; and, first, by real Payment; what it is, and how made, and to whom it may be made; pure or conditional, in what Place, &c.

AN Obligation is dissolved either *ipso Jure*, or else by the Help of an Exception. To the first Method of Dissolving an Obligation, we may refer a *real* and a *feigned* Payment, *Novation*, *Compensation*, *Confusion*, a *contrary Consent*, a *lawful Tender*, the Concurrence of two *Lucrative Causes* ^g, ^g I. 2. 20. 6. Loss of the Thing without the Fault of the Debtor ^h, &c. I shall begin ^h D. 45. 1. 21. with that of *real* Payment, which is nothing else, but when the Debtor, or some other Person in his Name and Stead, makes an actual Satisfaction to the proper Creditor, on the Score of some Debt contracted, or something due to him. Which Definition (I think) contains all Things necessary to a just Payment. For, *first*, it is necessary, that the Person who makes the Payment, should be a fit and proper Person; because a Pupil, Madman, or Prodigal, though they are Debtors, yet cannot make a right and proper Payment, without the Authority of their Tutors or Curators. *Secondly*, The Reader may learn from hence, that another Person may make a Payment in the Name of a Debtor: For Tutors and Curators may pay Debts in the Place of Pupils or adult Persons; and, in short, every qualify'd Person may make a Payment for another. Besides, it is necessary, that such Payment should be made to a fit and proper Creditor: For a Payment ought not to be made to a Pupil, Madman, and the like, but to those under

whose Tuition such Persons are. *Finally*, It is necessary, that such Payment, on Account of incorporeal Things, should be an *actual Satisfaction* : For as those Things cannot be deliver'd, so neither can Payment be made by them.

The *Latin* Word *Solutio*, whereby we denote *Payment*, is a Discharge of an Obligation in a personal Action ⁱ : For in a real Action a Payment or Solution is not properly made, but the *Species* or Thing itself in demand is restored. And thus the Word *Solutio* signifies, to set a Man free that is bound : And from hence, he who pays that which he owes, is said *soluisse Debitum*, and to have released himself from the Tie of his Obligation. And in this Acceptation the Words *Solutio* and *Liberatio* have the same Signification ^k. For whether a Debtor has satisfy'd a Debt by *actual* Payment of it, or be discharged by *Acceptilation*, he is said to be a *Debitor Solutus*. But if the Law does not *simply* speak of *Solution*, but requires Money to be paid, then *Acceptilation* is not sufficient ^l : For in *Acceptilation* Money does not intervene, *Acceptilation* being only a feigned Payment. Hence the Words *Solvere* and *Numerare Pecuniam* differ : For the last requires that Money should be paid in Tale, and the like ; but the Word *Solvere* extends to any kind of Payment, whether *real* or *feigned*. For the Word *Solutio*, in Propriety of Speech, imports a true and real Payment ; yet any Satisfaction is a true Payment, if the Creditor be pleased to think it so. Thus, as Payment dissolves an Obligation, the *Latin* Word *Solutio* is diametrically opposite to an Obligation : And the *Latin* Word *Liberatio* has the same Effect and Force as *Solutio*. For we say, that he makes a good Solution or Payment, who performs that which he ought to do. The Lawyer *Paulus* says, The Word *Solutio* respects every Kind of Discharge, howsoever effected ; referring rather to the Substance of an Obligation, than to the Payment of Money in Tale or *Specie* : And in this Sense Satisfaction, the giving of Sureties, and the plighting of a Pawn or Pledge, is taken for a Solution in respect of a Release, though they differ in other Points. Wherefore *Justinian* lays down this general Rule, *viz.* That every Obligation is dissolved, by a Solution of that which is due : And as there are divers Ways and Methods of Binding, so there are divers Ways and Methods of Releasing ; and every Contract is dissolved after the same Manner it was made ^m. For Example : When a Man has made a real Contract, the Sum ought to be dissolv'd by something done : And it is the same, when a Contract has been made by Word of Mouth, or by Writing, it may and ought to be dissolved in the same Manner.

Whenever the Law orders a Payment to be made in Money, it ought not to be understood of any other Satisfaction. Thus, if a Proctor or an Attorney be order'd to receive a Payment of Money, and he receives a *Delegation*, or some other Satisfaction, the Debtor is not, in this Case, discharged thereby. For though the Word *Solutio* comprehends all manner of Satisfaction ; yet, as one Thing cannot be paid for another against the Will of the Creditor, he who orders a Payment to be received, is understood to have order'd such Payment to be received in a due *Species* : And therefore, without the Consent of his Client, the Proctor cannot discharge the Debtor ⁿ. A Payment cannot rightly be made to a Proctor *ad Litem*, unless he be specially assign'd to this End and Purpose : For it is absurd, that Payment should be made to him *ante Rem Judicatam*, to whom an Action *ex Judicato* does not lie. But if he has an express Proxy for this End, Payment may be made to him, and the Party shall be released on such Payment made ^o. A general Proctor *ad Negotia* may pay the Creditors of his Principal without any special Order ; nor is a subsequent Ratification of his Principal necessary, for his general Proxy justifies him ^p.

An Obligation and an Action may sometimes arise before the Day of Payment, *viz.* when such a Day is fix'd and ascertain'd by Man, and no Exception can accrue to the Defendant 1: As in the Case of *Sempronius*, ^{1 D. 50. 16.} who sold unto *Roscius* a certain Parcel of Wooll for the Sum of forty ^{213.} Pounds, and the said *Roscius* covenanted to pay him the said Sum by the Month of *March*, and *Caius* became Surety for the Payment thereof. But before the said Time came, his Surety broke, and became a Bankrupt. Whereupon *Sempronius* brought his Action against *Roscius*, and it was adjudged that the Action lay. A Day, indeed, is added in every Obligation in favour of the Defendant: For if a Day be not added for the Performance of a Thing, it is due the present Day, unless a Place be added which induces an Interval of Time 1. But in this Case Credit was given ^{1 D. 45. 1. 41. 1.} to *Caius* the Surety, who being insolvent, there was Danger in Delay, and the principal Debtor must answer immediately, to secure the Creditor.

That which is due at a Day express'd or imply'd, and also that which is due under a Condition, ought to be perform'd and paid at the Time when the Day of the Obligation comes, *viz.* as *Bartolus* phrases it, *Tempore Moræ*, when a Man may be said to be in Delay. For the Thing or Matter due, ought to be rated according to the Fault of the Person in Delay, it being valued *Quanti plurimi*, from the Time of the Delay, to the Time of Payment 2. A lesser Sum cannot be pleaded in Payment or ^{1 D. 25. 2. 2. 9.} Satisfaction of a greater, after the Day of Payment is incurr'd. If Money be paid down to a Creditor, or to another by his Consent, this is *properly* and *naturally* stiled a Payment of Money. But there are some Things virtually and in effect equal unto Payment, as being in the Place thereof, as a lawful Tender made, by laying down and telling out the Money; for such a Tender produces a Release or Discharge to the Debtor, if the Money be sealed up and lodged with the Court, or Forthcoming 1, in ^{1 C. 4. 3. 2. 6} our Books call'd *Obfignation* 2. And *Confusion* does the same Thing, *viz.* ^{8. 19.} ^{1 C. 8. 43. 9.} when the Debtor becomes Heir to the Creditor, or (as we say) when the Creditor makes his Debtor his Executor; or, *vice versâ*, when the Creditor becomes Heir or Executor to his Debtor 3: For then the Obligation ^{1 D. 46. 3.} is discharged by Confusion of Actions, either in the Whole, if the Succession ^{95. 2.} be to the whole Right; or else in Part, if he be only Heir in Part 4. ^{1 D. 46. 1. 24} But of this hereafter, under the Title *Of Novation*. ^{8. 50.}

It has been said, That Things are discharged, after the same manner as they are drawn into an Obligation. For Example: I lend you an hundred Crowns upon a Specialty in Writing: You ought to repay me so many Crowns in *Specie*, or the Value thereof in Money, and a Discharge thereof ought to be given in Writing, or (at least) the aforesaid Specialty in Writing ought to be cancell'd 5: I say, in *Specie*, if the Word *Crowns* ^{1 D. 46. 3. 99.} be mention'd in the Writing or Obligation; the same Things being to be done in the Discharging of an Obligation, as are specify'd in the Obligation. So that if the Value of the Crowns shall increase or decrease, so many of them in Number ought only to be demanded and repaid as amount to the Sum express'd in the Obligation. For a Creditor cannot be compelled to receive Money in any other Form than promis'd and agreed on, if he may probably suffer Damage from thence: Because the Nature of a Loan, is, that it shall be repaid in the same *Species* or Kind, and also in the same Plight and Goodness: And this upon another Account; since the Danger of a Decrease of the Value of Money belongs to the Creditor, if the Value of Money shall be diminish'd at the Time when the Payment thereof ought to be made.

A Payment of Money ought not to be made in the Night-time; and if the same be tender'd, the Party is not then obliged to accept of Payment, as he is in the Day-time; because it seems to have been tacitly agreed upon before,

before, that Payment should be made at a proper and seasonable Time. After Payment of a Debt, the Creditor is bound to deliver up to the Debtor the Specialty, or (as the *Civilians* call it) the *Instrument of Credit*. Debtors paying Money to a false Administrator or Proctor, are releas'd, if he acted as a true one in the Creditor's Affairs: For Debtors, by paying Money thus unto him who acts as a Guardian, are discharged, if the

^a D. 46. 3. 28. Money came unto the Pupil's Use ^a. A Person paying Money unto a Person who had once the Power of receiving Money, though the same be now taken away, is discharged, if he did not know that such Power was taken away from the Person receiving it. Thus, if a Man pays Money unto a Proctor, who had a Proxy to receive it, he shall not be liable, if

^b D. 46. 3. 32. such Proxy be revoked, and he be not acquainted with such Revocation ^b. If a Man through Ignorance pays a Sum of Money which is not due, he may recover the same by a personal Action, call'd *Condictio Indebiti*: But if he pays it knowing himself not to owe the same, he shall not recover it, unless he be a Person under the Age of Puberty, who knows nothing at all of Matters. The Payment of a Thing made worse by the Act of the Debtor himself, does not discharge such Debtor, but that he shall make good the Damage ^c.

^c D. 46. 3.

^d 33. 2.

^e In L. 27.

D. 47. 2.

The Payment of a Debt, according to *Bartolus* ^d, may be proved by the Instrument or Specialty of such Debt being found cancell'd in the Hands of the Debtor; nay, though it be not found cancell'd, provided it be found in the Debtor's Custody; for then, it is presumed that the Creditor has return'd it to the Debtor, with an Intent of Releasing him from the Obligation. But if the Debtor has the Specialty in his Hands, and says that he is discharged by Virtue of a Pact or Agreement between them, he is not then presumed to be released, unless he proves such Specialty was return'd by his Creditor ^e; because a Pact *de Non Petendo* has the Force of a Gift or Donation, which a Person is not presumed to make in a doubtful Case ^f. The Return of a Specialty ought to be proved by five Witnesses, according to the *Gloss* ^g on the *Civil Law*: But it is otherwise, if the Debtor pleads Payment of the Debt; because, in that Case, when the Specialty is in the Debtor's Custody, the Debt is presumed to be paid. A Debt is presumed to be paid, when the Specialty is found crossed, or drawn with a Blot, in the Hands of the Notary that made it. When a Debt is contracted by Writing, the Payment thereof is proved by Writing, or by five Witnesses, who ought to depose how they were present at the Payment thereof: But if the Writing be lost, and this Case be proved, then two Witnesses deposing touching the true Payment of it are sufficient, according to *Baldus* ^h.

^e D. 2. 14. 2.

^f D. 22. 3. 25.

^g In L. 1.

C. 7. 6.

^h In L. 14.

C. 4. 21.

Though a Person, that makes a Payment for another, should not have an Action *ex Mandato*; yet, surely, he has an Action *for Business done*, stiled *Actio Negotiorum Gestorum*. It matters not whether a Creditor be paid by the Command or Order of his Debtor, or by any other Person's Order, provided the Debt be satisfy'd; nor does it in the least signify whether the Money be paid to the Creditor, or to some other Person by the Creditor's Order. Nor is the Debtor obliged *ad Interesse*, before some Declaration be made unto whom it ought to be paid, if the Debtor, through the Creditor's Order, becomes doubtful unto whom the Debt ought to be paid, provided he makes a general Tender or Payment unto him to whom of Right it does belong to receive the same. He that makes a Payment, is, in a doubtful Case, presumed to do it out of his own Money. He who says, That he has paid that which is not due, seems to bind himself to the Proof thereof, since no one is presumed to have made such a Payment. A Payment in a doubtful Case, is presumed to be made upon some good Cause or Consideration; and a Person making such a Payment, is presumed

to

to do it out of his proper Money, as just now said. A Person that pays a Sum of Money in virtue of a Contract, confirms and ratifies that Contract. For every Payment is understood to be made on the Account of some Contract or Obligation; and it may also be made on the Account of a future Obligation. But a Person making a Payment *simply*, is presumed to make such a Payment on the score of some precedent Obligation: And such a Payment *simply* made, ought to be apply'd to the Use of such a Case as the Person paying the same shall make choice of.

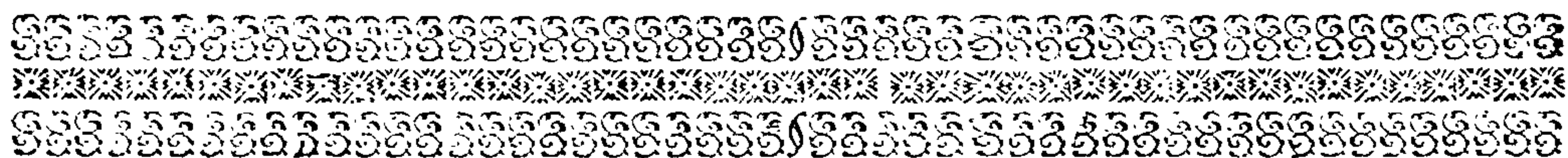
If a Person converts a Debt into an Exchange by Bills of Exchange, and such Bills of Exchange are not paid, the Person writing such Bills of Exchange becomes liable to pay the Sum of Money contained in such Letters or Bills of Exchange. A Protestation made on the Accepting of Bills of Exchange, ought to be repeated on the Payment thereof, according to the Stile and Practice of Merchants: But a Protestation made on Accepting of Bills of Exchange has no Operation in Payment, if such Payment be *simply* made. A Person that pays Bills of Exchange, though they are not directed to him, acquires an Action against the Person who drew up or wrote the same: And it is the same thing, if a Man pays Bills of Exchange that are directed to him, with a Protest. But of this Matter see before, under the Title of *Bankers, and Exchange of Money*, pag. 405.

He who makes a Payment before or after the Day of Payment, is said to pay more or less, according to such Payment. The Effect of Payment, is, that not only the principal Debtor himself is discharged, but likewise all Persons and Things that do accede unto an Obligation of Debt, as Sureties, Pawns, Mortgages, and the like *i*. And the Person of him who makes a Payment ought to be favour'd more in Law, than the Person of the Creditor, by reason of the Necessity imposed on the Debtor or Person making Payment, and not on the Creditor or Person lending. When the Time of Payment is mention'd and express'd in an Obligation, and added thereunto for Certainty-sake, the Payment cannot be demanded of the Debtor 'till such Time is gone and past. Persons deputed to pay Stipends ought to pay them with their own Hands, and not by a Deputy or Substitute. The Time of four Months is given for the Payment of that which is adjudged by a Sentence: But yet, pending these four Months, the Persons condemned may be arrested, unless they give Security for complying with the Sentence, when the Time of Payment comes. A Man, that promises the Payment of a Sum of Money on the Advent, or coming of such a Day, is adjudged to be in Delay, if he does not pay it on the very Day. Though Money disallow'd of by Law, does not discharge the Person who pays or makes a Tender thereof, from the Obligation of his Debt; yet it ought to be restor'd to him, otherwise the Debtor shall not be compelled to make his Payment in good and lawful Money *k*. If a Person be solvent for Part, and not for the Whole, he is esteemed in Law as a Person insolvent. ^{1 D. 46. 3. 43.}

He who owes Money, or is a Debtor on several Considerations, as upon Bond, and for Goods bought, &c. may declare which Debt he chuses to exonerate himself from ¹: But if he shall not make a Declaration, it shall be in the Power of the Creditor to chuse which Debt he would have first discharged, if all the several Considerations are not satisfy'd at the same Time. But then (I think) all the Causes of Debt ought to stand upon the same or an equal Footing: For a Debt, which carries Interest along with it, is, in a doubtful Case, deemed to be first paid off, as being the most grievous and heavy to the Debtor ^m. Note, That a Debtor, who makes such a Declaration, as is before mention'd, ought to do it immediately, upon Payment of the Debt: For if he does it after some Interval of Time, such Declaration comes too late, and the Creditor shall have ^{2, 3, 4, &c.} ^{1 D. 46. 3. 1. & 101.}

ⁿ D. 46. 3. 1. his Option ⁿ. If all the Debts stand upon an equal Footing, and it
^{2, 3, 4, &c.} does not appear which is most grievous and irksome, they shall all be
^o D. 46. 3. 8. deemed to be paid *pro Rata* ^o. A Man paying a Sum of Money by
 way of Residue or Remainder, is understood, in Law, to have paid the
 whole Debt.

A Man that makes a Payment unto a Minor, is obliged to prove, that
 the Money was converted to the Behoof of such Minor; and this ought to
 be done, in order to exclude and bar such Minor from suing for the same
 again, when he comes to be of full Age. Upon Payment of a Debt, the
^p In L. 84. DD. 30. 1. Creditor is, according to *Bartolus* ^p, obliged, at the Request of the Debtor,
 to give him an Acquittance or full Discharge of the Debt; and it is far
 better to have such an evident Discharge of the Debt by way of an Ac-
^q C. 8. 43. 14. quittance, than to have the Specialty deliver'd up, if we may believe the
Code ^q, though (I think) both ought to be done: And the Reason which
 the *Code* assigns, is, because a Declaration of a Debt received being made in
 Writing, is stronger Evidence thereof, than if the Specialty be deliver'd
 up; for it argues a real Payment. This Acquittance was formerly attested
^r D. 12. 1. 42. by three Witnesses ^r, but now two are sufficient, and one, according to the
 Laws of *England*, if the Debt be under the Sum of Ten Pounds. As the
 full Payment of a Bond-Debt or upon a Note of Hand-writing, may be
 proved by proper Witnesses, so likewise may any Part of Payment be
 proved in respect of such Bond or Note: But then the Witnesses ought to
 be present at the Time when Payment was made to the Creditor, or at the
 Time when the Creditor acknowledged himself to have been satisfy'd. If
 an Acquittance in Writing, or any other written Acknowledgment of the
 Creditor's receiving of a Debt, be given unto the Debtor, and such Acquit-
 tance be lost by Chance or Accident, as by Fire, and the like, the Debtor
 may by two Witnesses prove that such Acquittance was lost by Chance or
 Accident, as before hinted. A Person paying a Sum of Money to a law-
 ful Proctor, is immediately discharged, even before such Proctor carries the
 Money to his Client or Principal.



T I T. XXVI.

*Of Acceptilation, or a feigned Payment. The Second Way of dis-
 solving an Obligation; and what it is, and by what Words it
 is perfected; and of the Aquilian Stipulation, &c.*

ACCEPTILATION is the Second Way of dissolving an Obligation.
 Now the Original Word is borrow'd from the *Latin* Phrase *Acceptum
 ferre*, which the *Latins* usually wrote on their Bills of Receipt, or on that
 Side of their Account-Books where they placed their Receipts: As if a
 Creditor should say, *Habeo pro accepto & fateor me accepisse abs te, quod mihi
 debebas*; or in *English* thus, *viz.* "I have received and do acknowledge
 "the Receipt of that which you owed me:" Whereas in Truth and
 Reality I have not received it, there being no Intervention of Payment
 made. On a Question put by the Debtor, this formal Answer of the Cre-
 ditor discharges the Debt: So that *Acceptilation* is a Civil Way of tolling
 an Obligation, as Payment or Satisfaction is a Natural Way. Indeed, the
 actual

actual Payment of a Debt is the more plain and simple way of discharging an Obligation, and is that which is known and common to all Nations: But *Acceptilation* is the more exact and subtle Manner of doing the same, which was invented by the *Roman* Legislators.

The Lawyers define or describe *Acceptilation* to be a kind of a Release or Discharge of an Obligation, which is made after the Manner of a Stipulation, by an Interrogation or Question put on the Part of the Debtor, and an Answer given to the same by the Creditor, whereby the Bond of that Obligation, which was verbally made between these Parties, is in other and by contrary Words dissolved ^{s. D. 46. 4. 1.}. In this Definition or Description, in the first Place, I call it a *Release* or *Discharge*, to distinguish it from a *Stipulation*, which is also made by a Question: But a Question and Answer herein tend to bind the Parties, whereas in *Acceptilation* they tend to release the Parties. I have also herein added, *after the Manner of Stipulation*, in order to exclude *Acceptilation* from a Nude-Pact *de non petendo*; whereby not only a Natural Obligation, but a Civil Obligation still remains entire: And we are discharged from this also by the Aid of Exception. *Thirdly*, I have subjoined these Words, *viz. by an Interrogation or Question put by the Debtor, &c.* because, in such a kind of Discharge as this, the Debtor interrogates the Creditor, Whether he has received his Debt from him? And the Creditor answers, (as aforesaid,) that he has received it, though, in Truth, there is nothing paid. And, *Lastly*, I have added, *viz. by which the Bond of that Obligation, which was verbally made between these Parties, is in other and by contrary Words dissolved*; or, which is the same Thing, whereby the Debtor is discharged from a Natural and Civil Obligation. These Words (I say) are added to shew, that *Acceptilation* is properly an imaginary Payment ^{t. I. 3. 30. 1.}. And as every Obligation is taken away by a true and real Payment; so is a Stipulation or Obligation contracted by Words, dissolved by this imaginary kind of Payment. And thus again the Reader has a Difference between a real Payment and *Acceptilation*, inasmuch as the first dissolves every Obligation, but the last (according to Strictness of Law) only dissolves an Obligation contracted by Words; for an Obligation contracted by Words, may be dissolved even by Words. And,

This is styled *simple Acceptilation*, only taking so much away as Stipulation has introduced. And as this kind of *Acceptilation* is equivalent to real Payment; so an Exception *non numeratæ pecuniæ* cannot be propounded against it: Because, by the Consent of the Creditor, and the Artifice of the Law, it has the same Effect to perempt an Obligation, as a real Payment has in Operation of Law ^{u. D. 46. 4. 19. 1.}. And as a true and real Payment is that, when a Thing is really paid, which is due; so this being a feign'd and imaginary Payment, requires no Money to give it a Being or Existence: And therefore, the aforesaid Exception does not lie, unless the Party giving this Discharge shall prove, that he has only thus discharged his Debtor, on the Hopes and with a Prospect of a future Payment in Money. But there is another kind of *Acceptilation*, which is made by *Aquilian* Stipulation, being of a larger Extent than the former: Which I shall treat of by and by.

The Form of Words, whereby *Acceptilation* is effected, is not solemn and certain, as it is in a regular Stipulation: But it may be made by any Form, provided there be a proper and pertinent Question put by the Debtor, and a direct and suitable Answer made by the Creditor. As for Example, in such Words as these, *viz. Have you received that which I promised you?* says the Debtor. And the Creditor makes Answer, *I have received it.* Now *Acceptilation* may be made in *Latin*, *Greek*, or any other Language, provided the Parties do either by themselves, or by an Interpreter, understand what is said ^{x. D. 46. 4. 19.}. As in *Latin*, *Acceptos habes tot denarios,*

denarios? says the Debtor. Then the Creditor answers, *Acceptos habeo, &c.* *Acceptilation* can only be made *purely*, and not under an express Condition, though it may under a tacit one *y*; nor can it be made *in Diem*; *z* D. 46. 4. 12. nor can it be made by a Proctor, nor in the Name of another *z*: But it ought to be made to the Debtor, and his Heir, and by way of Stipulation *a*. Nor is it of any Import, whether it be made touching a certain Sum, or touching a certain Contract; or whether this Release be of all Causes and Things in general *b*. Not only the whole Thing due, but also a Part thereof, may be released by *Acceptilation*, provided the Thing admits of a Division: For if the Thing be an Individual, as Service is, *Acceptilation* made in respect of Part, is of no Moment *c*.
y D. 46. 4. 4.
z D. 46. 4. 12.
a D. 46. 4. 13.
b D. 46. 4. 18.
c D. 46. 4. 13. 1.

That kind of *Acceptilation* which is made by *Aquilian* Stipulation, obtains and has Room in all Obligations, which are derived from Contracts introduced by the Law of Nations: For these Obligations are first transposed and turned into an *Aquilian* Stipulation, and into an Obligation made by Words; and by this Means they assume the Nature of this kind of Obligation: So that they are or may be laid asleep and adjusted hereby. As for Example: If *Titius* owes me One Hundred Pounds on the Score of Money lent him, and is also bound to me on the Score of some Purchase made; these Obligations cannot be taken away by the Means of *Acceptilation*, because they are contracted by Consent, and something done. Yet if I stipulate with my Debtor *Titius* thus, *viz. Do you promise me, Titius, by way of Stipulation, all that in which you are bound to me upon all and every Account whatsoever?* If *Titius* promises, then all those Obligations, whereby *Titius* was bound to me, are deduced and changed into an *Aquilian* Stipulation, they having been contracted by Consent, or something done: So that they are no longer to be taken for Obligations contracted by Consent, or something done, but for a verbal Obligation. Now after this Obligation is transacted, *Titius* the Debtor interrogates me his Creditor in this Manner, *viz. Have you received that which I this Day promis'd you by Aquilian Stipulation?* And if the Answer was, that *I have received it*, my Debtor *Titius* is hereby discharged immediately from the Whole: For the Obligations are changed into an *Aquilian* Stipulation: But an Obligation arising from this kind of Stipulation, is dissolved by contrary Words, *viz. by Acceptilation*. What an *Aquilian* Stipulation is, and whence it is derived, see at large under the Title of *Stipulation*. The Forms of *Acceptilation* being now grown obsolete, *Acceptilation* may only be made at this Day under a Condition, and by way of Gift; the Subtlety of this Part of the *Roman* Law being in some measure now exploded.



T I T. XXVII.

Of Compensation, the Third Way of discharging an Obligation; and what it is, and when, and between what Persons, and in what Cases it is made, and the like.

THE Business of *Compensation* being a Matter of great Difficulty and Subtlety in Law, I shall here, for a more clear and evident Knowledge thereof, *First*, consider what it is, according to the common Definition of it: And, *Secondly*, examine when and wherein it obtains, and between

between what Persons it has Place. Now *Compensation*, according to the Definition of it, is a Reckoning between Debtor and Creditor, touching what is due unto each other ^d; or when something thereupon ceases to be ^d D. 16. 2. 1. due from the Debtor, which the Creditor demanded of him, because the Creditor owes the Debtor a Thing of the same Kind and Value. In *Latin* it is defined to be *Contributio seu collatio Debiti & Crediti inter se* ^e, a ^e D. ut supra. mutual throwing of the Debt and Credit together. For *Debitum & Creditum contribuere* is here so to mix and blend the Debt and Credit together, in such a manner that both are in some measure confounded and destroy'd; meaning, that the Obligations are on both Sides taken away ^f. It must be ^f D. 12. 1. 2. 1. of the same Kind and Quality, as Money for Money, Oil for Oil, &c. For one Thing ought not to be paid for another, without the Consent of the Creditor ^g. As for Instance: You owe me One Hundred Pounds, which ^g D. ibid. you borrow'd of me, and I on the other hand owe you as much, on the Account of Goods which I have bought of you: You bring an Action against me for the One Hundred Pounds, and sue me for the Money which I owe you on the Score of Goods purchased of you; and I, on the other hand, pray that a *Compensation* may be made of that Money which I owe you for Goods, with that Money which you owe me on the Account lent you: This Reckoning, or Throwing of Accounts together, is called *Compensation*; and if the Accounts are equal on both Sides, it may be stiled a *quitting of Scores*. For it is not always necessary, that the Debt should be equal on both Sides. For if you only owe me Sixty Pounds, and I owe you One Hundred Pounds, Compensation shall be made in respect of the concurrent Sum due: So that you can only demand or recover of me the Residue of Forty Pounds, and I am discharged (as it were) in the other Sum of Sixty Pounds ^h. And if you refuse to accept of the remaining Sum of ^h C. 4. 31. 4. Forty Pounds, which I now tender you, I may make a Consignation thereof; and deposit it in publick Hands, as in the Court, and the like: Which it is adviseable to do in such a Case. So that it appears from the Premises, that *Compensations*, or what (we in *English*) call *Cross-Reckonings*, were at first found out to prevent long and expensive Law-Suits, as it is observed in many other Cases, *Nè fiat per plura, quod fieri potest per Pauciora*. And because it is most agreeable to Equity, that a Person should make use of that Law or Right against another, which he would have another put in Practice towards himself, and likewise because he who desires another Person should pay him, should in the same manner make Satisfaction unto such other Person.

I have before hinted, That Compensation should or ought to be in respect of the same Kind or Quality on both Sides. For that Opinion is entirely true, which is commonly received, *viz.* That a *Species* due to the Defendant cannot be compensated by Money demanded of him, nor can Money due be compensated by a Demand of a *Species*, as Corn for Money, &c. See the *Gloss* and Doctors on the Law here cited ⁱ. As for Example: *Titius* ⁱ D. 16. 2. 1. owes me Twenty Pounds in Money upon a Loan, and I owe him a Bag of Wooll, or a Hogshead of Wine, and the like: In this Case Compensation is not admitted, because one Thing may not be paid for another without the Creditor's Consent, as aforesaid. But yet Compensation may be rightly made in respect of Quantity for Quantity, or in respect of a *Species* with a *Species*, when the same *Genus* or Kind is due, as a Bushel of Wheat for a Bushel of Wheat, and the like. See *Paulus's second Book of Sentences* ^k. ^k Cap. 5.

Compensation is admitted both in real and personal Actions. In *real* Actions thus, *viz.* If you have possessed your self of my Horse, and it dies or is lost by your Fault, you are answerable to me for the Value of it, which suppose to be Thirty Pounds, and I am a Debtor to you in the Sum of Thirty Pounds, which I borrow'd of you: In this Case Compensation

may be made *hinc inde*, or on both Sides; for, according to a Law in the
¹ C. 4. 31. 4 & Code 1, Compensation may be made in respect of Value for Value in such
^{5.} Case at this Day. In *personal* Actions thus, *viz.* If you owe me Ten Pounds on the Account of a Loan, and I owe you Ten Pounds on the Score of a personal Contract, Compensation may be made, if the Debt be liquid on both Sides: But if it be obscure and doubtful on one Side, there is no Room for Compensation, but Cognizance shall be had of the Cause.

As a *Condition* or personal Action does not lie *ex Causâ Judicati*; so a Compensation thereof is not admitted. As for Instance; you sue me for Ten Pounds, and I am condemned to you therein. I paid you the Debt on the Account of this Judgment: *Quære*, Whether I may object Compensation to you for the Ten Pounds, which I paid to you as being not due? And it is held, that I cannot: But if I have not paid it on the Account of the said Judgment given, a Compensation may well enough be
² C. 4. 31. 2. admitted, if you owed me any Sum of Money of the like Value *m.* If Compensation be objected by the Buyer, and admitted by the Judge, it cannot be said, that the Buyer has not paid the Purchase-Money; for he who makes Compensation of a Debt, is said to pay the same, especially when Compensation is objected by the Defendant, and admitted by the Judge: But an *illiquid* Compensation cannot be objected. A Person that objects Compensation, seems to confess the Plaintiff's Libel or Intention.

Though Compensation be a lawful Exception, yet it is not admitted in a *Depositum*: And this Privilege in respect of a *Depositum* was introduced, lest Compensation should be admitted by way of Fraud, for the Sake and with an Intent of deferring the Restitution of a *Depositum*; and by this Means a Contract of *Depositum*, which much depends on Fair-dealing, should redound to Perfidy. But Compensation is admitted in all *Fungible* Things, *viz.* when one Thing may *ex toto* perform the Office and Function of another; and these Things commonly consist in Weight, Number, and Measure. But Compensation ought to be a good Exception in Things not of a *Fungible* Nature. For Example: If you are bound to me in the Sum of fifty Pounds on a Loan, and I am engaged to you in the Affair of a Horse, the Plea of Compensation is not admitted; because the Interest and Affection which I have to the Horse, may be more than what I have to the Money: But this is otherwise, when I can pretend no Interest; as when you have lent me Money, or any Thing of the like Nature. There are several other Cases, wherein Compensation ceases in Effect *ipso Jure*: As, *First*, If I am a Debtor to the State *in Calendis*, or by way of Interest. *Secondly*, If I owe Corn or any Tax unto the State, or Alimony unto any Person that is a Servant unto the State; or if I owe a *simple* Legacy or a *Fidei-Commissum* unto him as a private Man, and the State owes something
³ C. 4. 31. 3. to me: In all these Cases Compensation is not admitted *n.*

By the ancient Law of the *Digests* there was a Difference between the Actions *Bonæ Fidei*, and Actions *Stricti Juris*, in respect to Compensation.
⁴ D. 16. 2. 11. For in Actions *Bonæ Fidei* Compensation was admitted *ipso Jure* *o*, namely, as soon as the Judge found there was Room for Compensation: For an Action did immediately arise *ipso Jure*, without the Act of Man to lessen the Sum of the Plaintiff's Debt demanded; and the Judge might, by Virtue of his Office, repel the Plaintiff, without an Exception on the Defendant's Side, and absolve the Defendant convened, though he made no Demand on the Plaintiff. And moreover, though the Judge had condemned the Defendant in the whole Sum, and he had paid the same; yet the Defendant might recover the Debt which was liable to Compensation, or what was due to him on Compensation, as Money unduly paid, and the Process against the Defendant shall be null. But in Actions or Prosecutions *Stricti Juris* a Compensation was not admitted, even though the Judge knew the
Debt

Debt to be liable to Compensation, unless the Defendant convened had objected unto his Adversary an Exception of *Deceit* ^p, saying, *You are guilty of Fraud or Deceit, because you sue for that which you must restore again.* ^{p C. 2. 4. 5 & 6.} But at this Day, according to *Cujacius*, there is no Distinction between Actions *Bonæ Fidei* and *Stricti Juris*, in respect of Compensation *ipso Jure*. But, according to the old Law, if this Exception was omitted, the Process was not annulled or made void, though the Defendant was condemn'd in the whole Sum of the Debt. But *Justinian*, by a Constitution of his ^q, ^{q C. 4. 31. 14.} took away this Distinction of the old Law; enacting, That Compensation should subsist *ipso Jure*, both in Actions *Bonæ Fidei* and *Stricti Juris*. So that in neither should there be any Occasion of an Exception of *Deceit* to oust the Plaintiff of his Action, but that the Debt should be *ipso Jure* diminish'd, by whatever Means it appears to the Judge, the Debt is liable to Compensation; and the Plaintiff's Right is thereby perempted as to the concurrent Sum due to him from the Defendant. But Compensations are not made *ipso Jure*, unless the Defendant be prepared to make them, and propounds his Exception ^r: For the Judge may disallow of Com- ^{r C. 4. 31. 14.} pensation.

In all Cases of Compensation the Debt ought to be *pure* ^s and *liquid*, ^{s D. 16. 2. 7.} and to have a real Existence either by the *Civil* Law, or the Law of Nations, or else in virtue of natural Equity ^t. For if the Obligation be ^t ^{t D. 16. 2. 6.} not founded on natural Equity, but may be perempted by an Exception, it does not admit of Compensation ^u. Whenever Compensation is made ^u ^{u D. 16. 2. 14.} and allow'd, it hinders the Course of Running of Interest in respect of the concurrent Sum ^x. If that be demanded which is not due, an Excep- ^x ^{x C. 4. 31. 4.} tion, stiled *Exceptio Intentionis*, may be objected: But if that be demanded which is due, then an Exception of Compensation lies ^y. No Man is ^y ^{y C. 4. 31. 6.} obliged to pay a Debt, when Compensation may be objected; and therefore Compensation may be call'd a Stoppage of Payment. A Surety may, by way of Compensation, object that which is due unto the principal Debtor and himself ^z. But a Person may not before the Day object Com- ^z ^{z D. 16. 2. 4 & 5.} pensation in respect of a Debt which is due at such a Day; because the Debt cannot be demanded or sued for before the Day comes, though it be due ^a. In all Cases where Compensation cannot be made, there Recon- ^a ^{a D. 16. 2. 7.} vention has Place and obtains. Compensation is admitted in Trespasses and Offences, according to that vulgar Saying, *viz. Paria delicta mutuâ compensatione tolluntur* ^b: Which is true, when the Action is brought for ^b ^{b D. 24. 3. 39.} a pecuniary Penalty on the account of Trespass; but it is otherwise if the Action be criminally commenced; for Crimes ought not to go unpunish'd ^c. Hence it is, that Deceit is compensated with Deceit ^d: ^{c D. 9. 2. 51.} As when we change our Books, and you have knowingly given me an imperfect Book, and I, on the other hand, have given you an imperfect Book: In this Case neither of us can be charged with Fraud. And this is a daily Practice in the Exchange of Horses, where a lame Horse is exchanged for a blind one. *Lastly*, It is to be noted, That Compensation is not admitted in alternative Obligations, when the Election is in him to whom Compensation is objected: For Example; if I owe you a Horse, or ten Pounds, and it is in my choice either to pay you ten Pounds, or to give you the Horse.



T I T. XXVIII.

Of Novation, the Fourth way of Releasing Obligations, and the Definition of it, voluntary and necessary : And, lastly, of the Delegation of a Debt, what it is, and the like.

NOVATION is another Method, whereby an Obligation is ended and determined *ipso Jure*, by being transmuted into a later or another Obligation ^c : As when I owe you a Sum of Money upon a Book-debt, and I afterwards change it into a Debt upon Bond or Specialty. It is commonly divided into what we call *voluntary* and *necessary* Novation ^f. A *necessary* Novation is either made by a Contestation of Suit, or else by a Condemnation of the Debtor. By Contestation of Suit ; because the Action, which would otherwise perish, through a Limitation of Time, is made lasting and perpetual, if Suit has been once contested, by joining of Issue in the Cause ^g. And I say, by a Condemnation of the Debtor ; because the old Action is, by a Sentence pronounced, transferr'd or changed into an Action *ex Judicato* : And if the Payment be not made within four Months from thence, Interest or Usury shall run against the Debtor at the Rate of Five *per Cent.* on the Judgment given ^h. *Voluntary* Novation is made, either by changing of the Creditor or Debtor, or both of them, or else by changing of the Cause or Consideration of the Debt : As when I owe you Money for Goods bought, and this Obligation or Debt is changed into a Bond-debt. The Creditor is changed, when it is agreed, that my Debtor should not pay the Debt to me, but to my Creditor *Euripilus*. The Debtor is changed, when I substitute *Titius*, who owes me so much Money, in my Place, for the Payment of such a Debt which I owe to *Marcellus*, and such Debtor is accepted : And both Debtor and Creditor are changed, when I substitute my Debtor, in my Place, in order to pay neither me nor my Creditor, but him unto whom my Creditor owes so much as my Debtor owes me. And the Cause or Consideration of the Debt is changed, when it is agreed, that That which you owe me *ex Causâ Depositâ*, you should, for the future, owe me *ex Causâ Mandatâ* ⁱ, or, for *Business done*, and the like ; or, by changing of a Debt on Bargain and Sale, into a Bond-debt, as aforesaid.

That kind of *Novation* which happens by changing of the Debtor, is in our Books likewise stiled *Delegation* ^k. And touching this kind of *Novation*, it is to be observed, 'That it happens as soon as I have assigned the Action over to my Creditor ^l. For the Obligation is immediately extinguish'd whereby I was bound to him ; it was transferr'd on the Debtor, whom, henceforward, he has a Power of Suing or Convening ^m. But the Person whose Name or Debt I have assign'd over, is not entirely releas'd by me ⁿ, unless he shall promise Payment to him unto whom I have assigned the Debt ^o. Nor is the Person who assigns over the Debt abridged or repelled from bringing his Action ; unless the Cessionary or Assignee has commenced his Action, and contested Suit ; or unless he has already received the Debt, or some Part of it ; or unless he has signify'd unto the Debtor that he should not pay the same ^p.

A Con-

A Conditional Obligation does not admit of a *Novation* before the Condition is extant, and has its Event; nor does a future Obligation admit of a *Novation* before there be a sufficient *Constat* of the Obligation itself ^{q. 1 D. 46. 2. 8. 1.} A *Novation* may either be *Purely*, or else *in Diem*, or, thirdly, *sub Conditione*; but yet in such a manner, that it is not understood to be perfect before the Event of the Condition, or before the Day comes ^{r. 1 D. 46. 2. 14}. Every Obligation is subject unto a *Novation*, and so are Debts; yea, several Obligations may be couched under one Stipulation. But if the Term of Payment be prorogued or adjourned, it is not understood to be a *Novation* ^s; nor are the Sureties discharged. But when a *Novation* is made, the former Obligation, together with all its Accessories, as Pledges and Suretiship, are perempted ^t; and he that has made such *Novation* is bound by a second Obligation. ^{Jas. in L. 1. D. 46. 2. 18.}

Delegation is either of an Action which is assigned over; or else of a Debt or Debtor, as when one Debtor is substituted and set up in the Place of another Debtor for Payment of a Debt: Thus when *Titius* is a Debtor unto *Caius*, and *Titius* orders or appoints *Sempronius*, who is his Debtor, to pay *Caius* the Debt which *Titius* owes him; which Thing is frequent among Bankers, whose Bills or Promissory Notes, pass as Ready Money. *Delegation* is made by the Consent alone of the Person delegating, and of him to whom such *Delegation* is made: But this also requires the Consent of the Person delegated, because no one is obliged against his Will. All Creditors that may change a Debt by *Novation*, may also delegate the same ^{u. 1 D. 46. 2. 20}. Debtors are delegated by their Consent, but not against their Will; and he that is delegated, ought to make a Promise of Payment unto the Person to whom he is delegated: and therefore the Business is perfected by the Consent of each Party ^{x. 1 C. 8. 42. 1.}. A *Delegation* is made by any kind of Consent; even without Stipulation ^{y. 1 D. 46. 2. 17.}: But as *Novation* ought to be made by Stipulation, it is necessary that the Creditor should stipulate with the Debtor delegated to pay him, or that Suit should be contested against him ^{z. 2 C. 8. 42. 3.}. A Stipulation is made in this Case, when my Debtor promises my Creditor, or any other Person, according to my Order, to perform or do a Thing for me. If *Delegation* be rightly made, a former Contract vanishes, by Right of *Novation*, and the Person delegating is discharged from the Debt ^{a. 1 C. 8. 42. 1}. An Exception which may be objected to the Person delegating, cannot be objected to him unto whom such *Delegation* is made, unless there be the same Reason ^{b. 1 D. 46. 2. 19.}.

Obligations enter'd into by Consent alone, may be taken away by a contrary Consent, if nothing be done in the Matter ^{c. 1 I. 3. 30. 4.}. For it is agreeable to Nature, that every Thing should be dissolved by the same Means as it was first bound together ^{d. 1 D. 50. 17. 35.}. For though a Pact does not toll an Obligation *ipso Jure*, but only produces an Exception; yet this is otherwise in natural Obligations, and such as are founded upon Consent, which depend on the meer Law of Nations ^{e. 1 I. 3. 30. 4.}, and also in an Obligation of Theft and Injury ^{f. 1 D. 14. 2. 7. 1.}.

And as an Obligation is taken away by contrary Consent, so it is likewise dissolved by *Confusion*, viz. when the Creditor becomes Heir unto the Debtor, or *vice versa*, or when one Person is Heir to both ^{g. 1 D. 46. 3. 95. 2.}. And it is the same thing, when the Goods of each Person are forfeited, or fall unto the Exchequer ^{h. 1 D. 46. 1. 71.}; for then the Debt is said to merged. If a Person that has accepted of an Heirship, being asked to restore the same, and, before he has restored it, he shall become Heir unto the hereditary Debtor, either in Part, or in the Whole, the Obligation is then taken away, by Right of *Confusion*, so far as he succeeds the Deceased ^{i. 1 C. 3. 32. 14.}.



T I T. XXIX.

Of a real Tender, by way of Payment ; another way of Ending an Obligation ; and what is deemed a lawful Tender.

ANOTHER way of Discharging a Debtor from an Obligation, is by a *real* Tender ; which is, when the Debtor, or Some-body in his Behalf, comes and offers the Creditor what is due to him, by laying down the Sum in Money told out ; and it ought to be made at a proper Time, and in a convenient Place ^k, otherwise it may be call'd a Delay. There is also what we call a *verbal* Tender of a Thing ; and as this is not present in Hand or laid down, it has no Operation in Law ; because a Tender ought to be *real*, in order to purge away a Delay ^l : For Words alone are not sufficient, when some Fact is necessarily requir'd. But a *verbal* Tender is at all Times sufficient, when the Debt or Credit is intricate and not thoroughly clear ; meaning, that the Debtor will pay or satisfy the Debt, or is ready so to do, whenever the Debt becomes liquid, and as soon as it certainly appears what is due. If a Tender be made on a conditional Debt, and the Person to whom the Debt ought to be paid has refused to receive the same, the Condition is look'd upon as fulfill'd ^m ; and he unto whom the Debt or Money ought to be paid, has no Action at Law ⁿ.

[A Tender and Refusal, according to the Common Law of *England*, is equal unto a Payment.]

It is not sufficient to make a Tender of Money, unless such Tender be made *in Pecuniis numeratis, viz.* in Cash told out ^o. If a Thing be perempted or perishes after a lawful Tender made thereof, a Debtor *Speciei* is discharged *ipso Jure*, and a Debtor *Generis* is discharged by the Help of an Exception. See the Title *Of Debtor and Creditor* before. But if Money happens to be lost after a Tender made thereof, it shall not be at the Cost of the Creditor, if the Creditor, by such Tender made, was not in Delay or Fault ^p. An Obligation is dissolved by a Tender, Confignation, and Depositing of the Thing due, in such a manner that the Debtor is fully discharged, and the Loss of the Thing belongs to the Creditor ^q. And this is call'd a Tender made according to Law, or a lawful Tender. And if such a Tender be made, the Debtor is discharged by such a Payment, whether the Creditor will, or not ^r : For a Tender and a Depositing of the Money, even by an extraneous Person, discharges him *ipso Jure* ^s, without the Aid of an Exception, if the Money be configned to the Creditor's Use. But a Thing pawned is not discharged *à Nexu Pignoris* by Virtue of a Tender alone : Nor is a Debtor released from a personal Obligation, unless the Money tender'd be lost by a subsequent Misfortune, notwithstanding what has been said before. But 'tis otherwise, if Confignation follows such Tender, or if the Money be deposited as it ought to be ; for then every Obligation ceases, in the same manner as if the Tender was made in Court.

A real

A *real* Tender is wont to be made in a threefold Manner. Sometimes *Extrajudicially* in the Presence of a Notary and Witnesses: And by such a Tender, a Delay committed before a judicial Process commenced, is purged and done away; but it is otherwise, if it be made after Contestation of Suit ^t. And such a Tender makes the Person to be in Delay unto whom ^{DD. in L. 84. D. 45. 1.} it is made, if he does not accept of the Money; because *ultima Mora Nocet* ^u. And such a Tender likewise stops the Course of Interest, if ^{D. 18. 6. 17.} Interest has not yet begun to be due or run; otherwise such Tender is not sufficient ^x. *Secondly*, Such a *real* Tender is sometimes made in a Court; ^{DD. in L. 19. C. 4. 32.} and then, whether it be made before Contestation of Suit, or afterwards in the Presence of an ordinary Judge, it has all the Effects as an Extrajudicial Tender has. And from such a Tender a *direct Pignoratitious* Action accrues to the Debtor, to recover a Pawn against a Creditor ^y. And, ^{D. 13. 7. 9. fin.} *Thirdly*, Such a *real* Tender is made with Consignation, and by depositing of the Money or Thing, *viz.* when a moveable Thing that is tendred, is consigned in the Presence of Witnesses, and is by the Authority of the Judge deposited in some publick Place ^z. Besides the aforesaid Effects, ^{C. 4. 32. 19.} such a Tender has the Force of a full and total Discharge, in such a Manner that it not only stops the Course of Interest, but it frees the Debtor from the Danger of a fortuitous Case, and dissolves the Obligation of all Pawns and Mortgages.

But to the End that such a Tender should produce its Effects, it is necessary, *First*, That it should be made in due Time and Place ^a. *Secondly*, ^{C. 8. 43. 9.} That it should be made *purely*, and without any Condition foreign thereunto: And when in depositing something is requir'd to be done by the adverse Party, unto which the Party is not obliged by Law, as *Baldus* ^b ^{In L. 19. C. 4.} observes. *Thirdly*, Such a Tender ought to be made of the whole Debt, ^{32.} otherwise the Tender is ineffectual ^c. And, *Fourthly*, The Thing thus ^{D. 22. 1. 41.} deposited ought to be consign'd over to the Custody of the Depositary: Because, if it be revoked, and the Debtor receives it again, it is deemed as a Thing never deposited or consign'd over ^d.

As a *real* Tender is, when the Money or Thing that is offer'd is present in Hand: So a *verbal* Tender is, when the Debtor has not the Money or Thing thus present, but only in Words offers himself ready to pay it. And it is a Rule in Law, that such a Tender is not sufficient to toll an Obligation, nor to stop the Course of Interest, as being in no wise relevant, generally speaking. See *Bartolus* and the Doctors on the Law here quoted ^e. But this Rule admits of a Limitation. As when a *verbal* Ten- ^{In L. 19. C. 4.} der is made of an immoveable Thing, as an Estate in Land, a House: ^{32.} For as it is impossible to make a manual Tender of such a Thing, a *verbal* Tender is sufficient. A Tender is not sufficient, unless the Money be laid down, and told out, because some bad Money may be amongst it, if offer'd in a Lump, or the whole Sum may not be tender'd, nor can a Notary make an Instrument of Payment thereon: But if the Debtor makes such a Tender, it ought to be return'd him again, otherwise (according to some Opinions) he shall not be obliged to another Payment in a better Coin. Others will have it, that the Creditor is not bound to restore such base Money; because, if the Debtor attempts to make a Payment in adulterated Coin, knowing it to be such, he seems to make a Gift thereof: But this latter Opinion is not according to Law, because here is another Consideration than that of a Gift, *viz.* a true and real Debt, from which the Debtor is presumed to have a Desire of being discharged; and therefore he fully tenders it with a Design of Payment, and not *animo donandi*. For this Intent of Giving is never presumed, when any other Consideration exists, or may exist. The bare Tender of a Debt not only hinders the Course of future Use or Interest, but it likewise prevents the Forfeiture of
a Pe-

† C. 4. 32. 9. a Penalty, where a penal Sum is added to an Obligation †; and it inhibits the Sale of a Pawn, when a Tender is made in Court.



T I T. XXX.

Of Obligations arising from private Trespasses and Offences.

HAVING already treated of Obligations which arise from a Contract, and of Actions and their Qualities which flow from thence, I shall next discourse of such Obligations as arise from a Trespass or Misdemeanor: For Obligations may flow from Offences, as well as from *proper* and *improper* Contracts; and these are stiled either *proper* or *improper* Offences. But the Difference herein is, that in Contracts Men do usually in a voluntary Manner bind themselves by some lawful Act done: Whereas in Offences they are bound against their Will by some unlawful Act which they commit. For a *Delictum*, or an Offence properly taken, is an unlawful Act committed by the Person with an evil Purpose of Mind, for which he deserves Punishment. And it is divided into a *publick* and *private* Offence g. A publick Offence or Misdemeanor, (which is most commonly called a *Crime*;) is that which directly tends to the Hurt and Damage of the State; and every one may impeach such a Crime ^h; and it is punish'd by Law in a publick manner of Proceeding. But a private Offence, known with us by the Name of a *Trespass*, is that which more directly tends to the Injury and Disadvantage of a private Man: And therefore, this is not avenged by any publick Law or Punishment; nor can any one of the People (at Pleasure) appeach the same, but only such as have an Interest, or are damaged, may bring a private Action. These private Offences in our Books are frequently called *Delicta*, as the other are often stiled *Maleficia*.

They are subdivided into *ordinary* and *extraordinary* Offences. In the first, the Person injured brings his Action *civilly*, either to recover the Thing, or a Penalty in the Place of it ⁱ. But for such as are stiled *extraordinary*, the Process is made in a *criminal* Manner ^k. But when a private Injury may have an indirect Influence or Tendency to the Prejudice of the Publick, it is granted to the Person injured, after he has sued the Tresspasser in a Civil Action, to bring a Criminal Accusation to inflict a Fine or Corporal Punishment on the Offender ^l. But by the Law both these Actions cannot be commenced together at the same Time ^m. A Trespass or Misdemeanor may be committed, ^{1st}, either by some Act done; or, ^{2dly}, by some Words utter'd; or, ^{3dly}, by Writing; and, ^{4thly}, by Counsel given. And these four Kinds are distinguished several Ways, *viz.* ⁿ By the Cause, Person, Place, Time, Quality ⁿ, Event, &c. which are the Circumstances of a Trespass or Misdemeanor. By the *Civil* Law, *ordinary* private Offences are four in Number, *viz.* *Theft*, *Rapine*, *Injury*, and *Damage* ^o; and all these consist in doing some unlawful Act ^p, and are stiled *proper* Offences. I shall speak first of Theft, and afterwards of the other three. But it is to be noted, that, regularly speaking, every Offence is deemed to be a private Offence, unless the Law has declared it otherwise ^q.



T I T. XXXI.

Of Theft, what it is, and how many Kinds thereof: Of Theft conceived, offer'd, prohibited and not exhibited, and what those are: How it is committed, and of the Intent of Stealing; what Things may be stolen, and who are liable for Theft: Of Domestic Theft, and who are liable to this Action, and what is included therein; and of the Punishment of Theft, &c.

THE Lawyer *Paulus* defines *Theft*, (which by the *Roman Law* is an Offence of a private Nature,) to be a fraudulent purloining or taking away of that which belongs to another Person, with a Design of making some Advantage thereof ^r: And this extends not only to the Thing ^r D. 47. 2. 1. itself, but also to the Use and Possession of it ^s. It is in our Books called ^s I. 4. 1. 1. *Rei Contrectatio* as well as *Amotio*, or a Taking away; because, though that which belongs to another be not taken away or removed, yet it may be termed *Theft*: As when the *Depositary* or *Commodatary* makes use of a Thing deposited or lent as a *Commodatum* against the Will of the Owner ^t. ^t I. 4. 1. 2. And it is here said to be a fraudulent purloining or meddling with the Thing; because, in order to substantiate Theft, it is necessary there should be this Contrectation made with Fraud and a bad Intent, whether it be expressly or tacitly done against the Owner's Consent. For he who fraudulently meddles with what belongs to another, is understood to do it against the Will of the Owner; and, the Words in the Law, *viz. invito Domino*, need not to have been added to the Definition.

Theft is in *Latin*, according to *Labeo*, stiled *Furtum*, from the Word *Furum*, (as *Aul. Gellius* observes ^u), signifying the same as *Nigrum*, be- ^u Lib. 1. c. 18. cause it is done privately, and very often in the Night-time; or else (as others say) from the *Greek* Word *Φερας*, denoting *Thieves*, from the *Greek* Verb *Φερεω* ^x, from taking away. Hence the bare Thought of committing Theft does not make it such, since there must be an Overt Act by taking away, &c. Thus he who denies himself to have received a *Depositum*, is not immediately liable to an Action of Theft, but is only so far liable, as when he conceals it for the sake of converting it to his own Behoof. Theft must be of a Thing moveable and corporeal ^y; and there ^y I. 4. 1. 1. must be a fraudulent taking away against the Will of the Proprietor, with an Intent of concealing the Thing. And, lastly, according to the Text ^z, ^z Ibid. it must be committed for the sake of making some Gain thereby: But, I think, it may be committed without any such Prospect of Gain.

The Lawyer *Paulus*, in the *seventh Book* of his *Sentences*, reckons up four kinds of Theft, *viz. Theft conceived, Theft offered, Theft prohibited, and Theft exhibited*: But *Justinian* has reduced these to two *Species*, though at this Day these two *Species* are not regarded, but the same Respect is had to Theft by what Means soever it be committed. Now the two *Species* of Theft, mention'd in our Books as establish'd by *Justinian*, are, *viz. First, Manifest Theft*; and, *Secondly, Theft not Manifest* ^a. *Manifest Theft* is ^a D. 47. 2. 2. that, when the Thief is taken *in ipso Facto*, or with the Thing stolen in his Hand; and thus a *Manifest Thief* is he whom the *Greeks* call *Αυτόρπτο*: And it matters not by whom he is deprehended, whether by him whose

Goods he steals, or else by another Person; provided he be taken before he can get to the Place where he designed to stay that Day on which he committed the Theft; nor whether he be taken in a publick or private Place ^b. Thus, if a Man commits a Theft in a House, and be apprehended before he can get out of the Door or Gate, he is said to be a *Manifest* Thief, or a Person taken *in ipso Facto*, which our common Lawyers call *in the Manner*, with the Thing in his Hand. Or if a Man commits a Theft in a Vineyard, or the like, and be taken before he can get out of the Vineyard, it is the same Thing. But if the Person carries off the Goods to the Place design'd, he shall not be deemed a *Manifest* Thief, though he be taken with the stolen Goods in his Possession ^c. A Thief not *Manifest* is known *è contrario, viz.* when the Theft is not so manifest and evident in respect of the Person.

But, by the *Civil* Law, Theft may be committed several other Ways than by an actual removing and taking away that which belongs to another Man; for it may likewise subsist in every other kind of meddling with that which appertains to the Use and Possession of another: As when a Creditor makes use of a Pawn, or the Depositary of the Thing deposited with him; or when a *Commodatary* applies the Thing lent him to any other Use than that for which it was lent ^d. A Creditor selling a Pawn before the Time that he ought to do, commits Theft, if it be not stipulated that he may sell it ^e. If a Man makes a Gift of that which is not his own, it is a *Species* of Theft. But a Possessor *Male fidei*, by receiving the Fruits of my Estates, does not commit Theft, if such Fruits are extant and forthcoming; yet if he wastes and consumes them, he does, and shall be liable to an Action: For a Possessor *Male fidei* is by a *real* Action, or by a Claim of the Thing, obliged to restore them, if they are extant; but if they are consumed, he is liable to an Action *ex injustâ Causâ* ^f. *Titius* wrongfully possessed himself of my Estate, for that he made an unjust Entry thereon. I brought a *real* Action, and had a Sentence for me. In this Case I may have a *real* Action to recover the Fruits which he received, if they are extant. If a Person has purloined my Goods, and they perish in his Hands, before he makes a Tender thereof, it is at the Cost and Hazard of him who purloined them: For a Thief is in Delay, which is not purged and done away, unless he makes Restitution ^g.

If there are several Men that steal and purloin the same Thing, I may have an Action against all or either of them *in Solidum*, and the Payment of one does not discharge the rest from the Punishment of Theft, but only discharges him from a *condictio furtiva*: For in this *Condictio* or personal Action, if one makes Satisfaction, Satisfaction is made for all the rest ^h. If a Man steals another's Goods, and afterwards the Owner dies, and by a Bequest of the Thing stolen the Property is alter'd, an Action of Theft accrues to the new Proprietor, *viz.* to the Heir, Legatary, or *Bonorum-Possessor* ⁱ. But a Thief cannot have an Action of Theft for the Thing which he has stolen, against him who takes it from him ^k, for this would be to encourage Theft.

Though those Persons that are in the Power of their Parents, do really and truly commit Theft, according to the proper Signification of the Word, if they purloin or privily take away any Thing from them, this being stiled *Domestick* Theft: Yet an Action of Theft does not lie against them by the *Civil* Law; because by this Law an Action does not lie between a Parent and Children on any Account ^l. But, by the common Usage in *Holland* and some other Countries, they may at this Day mutually oblige each other, according to *Groenwegen* ^m. Wherefore, now they may have a Civil Action for Damage, if their Children do unlawfully purloin any Thing; and the State is not forbidden to prosecute the same *ad publicam vindictam*.

vindictam. For though the *Civil* Law suffers not those *Domestick* Thefts to be punished, if they are of a mean and trifling Nature, in a publick Manner ⁿ; yet this does not obtain by the Laws of *Holland*, which publickly punish the *Domestick* Thefts of Servants and Hirelings with no less Severity than other Thefts ^o, if they themselves unto whom the Theft is done do inform against such Thieves, and complaining of the Injury done, do demand Punishment according to the *Mosaick* Law ^p for the Offence committed. But in *France*, *Domestick* Thieves, by reason of a Breach of Trust, and the Difficulty of proving such Thefts, are punished with more Severity, and oftentimes with Death itself. See *Charondas's Pandect of the Laws of France*.

By the ancient *Civil* Law, Theft was sometimes punished by a Restitution of two-fold, and sometimes of four-fold, but never with Death: Yet afterwards, by a *Novel* Constitution ^q, it came to be punished in a corporal Manner, provided the Face was not thereby disfigur'd by branding the same with Letters. By the *Lombard* Law, the Criminal was to lose an Eye for the first Offence, to have his Nose slit for the second, and to suffer Death for the third Offence. And this is true, if the Prosecution be made in a Criminal Manner: But if the Person be proceeded against in a Civil Manner, then if he be a Male and a Freeman, and the Theft be manifest, he shall make Restitution, and pay a Fine of seventy Solids for his Offence. The Punishment of Theft, according to the known Custom of *Germany*, is at this Day Hanging or Strangling, if the Value of the Thing stolen exceeds five Shillings or *Aurei*. But what these *Aurei* are, the Lawyers are at a loss to know, but it is much disputed by many Men: Some taking them for the *common*, others for the *Hungarian Aurei*. By the Electoral Constitutions of *Saxony* ^r, Theft is punished with Death, if the Value of the Thing stolen exceeds the Sum of five *Hungarian Aurei*, which ought to be always expressed in the Sentence. But this Punishment of Hanging does not seem to be introduced by the Emperor *Frederick*, but in later Times: But by the *Saxon* Law, which is much more ancient than the Constitution of *Frederick*, (which was never reduced to Writing,) the Punishment of Hanging is found to be enacted against Thieves; and from the *Saxons* probably we here in *England* derived it. But if Theft be committed in the Night-time to above the Value of three Shillings ^s, it is punished with Death in *Germany*: But being committed in the Day-time, it is only punished with Fustigation or the Bastinado, if it does not exceed three Shillings. So that there was anciently a Distinction made between a Day and a Night Thief; for a Man might kill the last by his own proper Authority ^t.

As I have hinted, that the Punishment of Theft, according to the *Civil* Law, is either two-fold or four-fold, and not Death, as by subsequent Laws in other Countries, many Persons have from hence doubted, whether Death be a Punishment suitable to this Crime of Theft, because the Holy Scripture seems to be of a contrary Opinion. For, *First*, The Law of God does not punish Thieves with Death, but in four-fold ^u: Which Law is purely a Judicial Law, and being made to support the Eighth Commandment of the Decalogue, is an Interpretation thereof. *Secondly*, They say, it well agrees with natural Equity, that he *qui ære deliquit, ære puniatur*. *Thirdly*, That by the Laws of *Moses* Theft was never punished with Death: Therefore, if the Punishment of four-fold or five-fold in the Times of *Moses* was looked upon as a just Punishment for Theft, it follows *è contrario* that the modern Punishment, whereby a Thief loses his Life, is an unlawful Punishment: For the two Opposites, as a Pecuniary and Capital Punishment of Theft, cannot be true *Secundum idem*. For if it was then just, it will also be now just to punish Theft in a Pecuniary Manner; for the Nature of Theft

* Mat. xv. 3.
John viii. 3.
Cor. x. 5.

Theft is entirely the same at this Day as it was heretofore, the Nature of Crimes being not changed with Times. Nor are these Laws of *Moses*, which are purely Judicial, entirely now abrogated, but are cited and approved of by *Christ* himself in several Places of the *New Testament* *. But this is a Matter of dangerous Consequence ; and lest I should be suspected of Novelty, I rather obey the Laws now made, than set up to make new Laws, which is not my Province.

† Lib. 12. c. 18.

But it must be confessed, that, according to some Mens Opinions, Theft is not an Offence of its own Nature, but is made such by the Laws of Civil Society : For we read, there were some People, among whom it was lawful to steal with Impunity, as among the *Egyptians*, according to *Aul. Gellius* †. Among the *Lacedemonians* we find it a Matter of great Praise and Commendation to be able to steal, and not to be apprehended in the Fact : Which was the chief Exercise and Education of their Youth, in order to teach them more Caution and Diligence in the ordinary Business of Life. But Theft is forbidden by the Law of God, as well as by the *Civil Law* and the Law of Nations ‡ : For by the Law of Nature there could be no such Thing as Theft, all Things being in Common by that Law. The *Canon Law* looks upon Theft to be a more grievous Crime than the *Civil Law* does : For, in respect of other Crimes, they may be purged and done away by Repentance of the Mind ; but the *Canonists* say, Theft cannot ; because Restitution of the Thing taken away is necessary hereunto ^a.

‡ I. 4. 1. 1.

† VI. de Reg.
Jur. c. 5.

Cujacius observes, That there are several Kinds of Thieves. Those of a more wicked and atrocious Nature are in *Latin* stiled *Raptores*, or Robbers. For a *Raptor* and a *Thief* are distinguish'd by the *Civil Law*, after this manner : *viz.* The first is said to be, when it appears, that he had a malicious Intent of taking away any Thing openly, and, as it were, by Force, though he finds no one in the House, or be not apprehended in the Fact : And such a one is an Offender against the Publick. Among these, we may reckon Housebreakers, Highwaymen, Pyrates, &c. But a *Thief* is he who privately steals without Force, though he be sometimes taken in the Fact : And this is an Offence of a less heinous Nature, and not a publick Crime. These last commit their Offences in private, whereas the others commit them openly and in the Face of the Sun. And though *Justinian* will not have private Theft punish'd with the Loss of Life or Member ; yet he leaves Highwaymen, Housebreakers, and Pyrates at Sea, to be chastised with Death ^b : For such Acts as these are by the *Civil Law* accounted more atrocious than private Theft.

† Nov. 134.
c. 13.

[The Law of *England* divides Theft into *Larceny* and *Robbery*. The first is taking away of a personal Chattel in the Absence of the Possessor : And in respect of the Thing taken away, is called either Grand or Petit Larceny. The first is, when the Thing taken away amounts to the Value of Twelve Pence, or upwards ; and the other is, when it comes under that Value. Robbery is, when any one takes away a Thing from a Person by Force, or (at least) in the Presence of the Possessor. All kind of Theft is, with us, a publick Crime. But, I think, it is left to the Discretion of the Person that loses the Thing, whether he will prosecute it criminally or civilly, by a Fiction of Law, the Person supposing the Thing found by Chance, and detains it from him ; and thus either recovers the Thing, or the Value thereof ^c. The *Normans* punish'd Theft in a gentler manner than the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Danes*, *viz.* by a Fine ; and in case the Delinquent made Flight, the Pledge satisfy'd the Law for him. See *The Laws of the Conqueror* ^d. But in the later Times of *Henry I.* the Law was again reduced to the Punishment of Death, and so has continued ever since.]

† Met. lib. 1.
c. 38. pr.
Bract. lib. 5.
tract. 5. c. 31.
† Cap. 4.

† Jus Sax.
lib. 2. art. 37.

A Thing stolen, and found upon the Thief, does not by the *Civil Law* go unto the *Exchequer*, as Felons Goods, but unto the Proprietor : But by the *Saxon Law* it is otherwise ^e. For, in some Places, the Judges or Magistrates are wont to claim unto themselves the Property of Goods taken in the Thief's Custody, on his being condemned to Die. But this Custom seems to be entirely disallow'd of by the *Civil Law* : For after Enemies are driven out of the Lands which they had possessed themselves of, the Property

Property of such Lands returns to the former Owners, and are not confiscated. And thus, as the Proprietor has committed no Offence, he ought not to be deprived of his Estate, on the Crime of a Thief or Robber ^f. By the *Saxon Law*, the Judge may keep the Thing stolen ^c C. 47. 22. for a Year and a Day, and then restore it to the Owner demanding the same. See the *Jus Saxonicum* g. A Person may, by the Permission of ^b Lib. 2. art. 32. the Judge, search for stolen Goods in another's House, if there are strong Presumptions against the Person whom he suspects of stealing the Goods: But if no such Presumptions appear, the Judge cannot, (according to *Jul. Clarus*, in his Book of *Sentences*) grant Entrance into another Person's House ^h. For want of Ability to make a pecuniary Reparation in simple Theft, *Justinian* will have all Thieves to be punish'd at the Judge's Discretion in a corporal manner, but not capitally ⁱ. ¹ D. 47. 2. 92.

I have before remember'd, That the greatest Punishment the *Romans* inflicted on *simple* or *manifest* Theft, was to pay four-fold, when the Thief was taken in the Act itself, or (at least) seen and cry'd out upon before he could get out of Sight; or if otherwise the Theft was not so *manifest*, to pay double the Value of that which he stole; and the Reparation was only to the Party damnify'd. But an Action of Theft only accrues to him that has an Interest in the Thing stolen, by Virtue of an honest Title, and not to a Possessor *malæ Fidei*, lest he should obtain an Action by his own Dishonesty ^k. And it is granted to a Creditor for a Thing pawn'd to ^h D. 47. 2. 10. him, if it be stolen from him, in the same manner as granted to the ^{&c} 11. Proprietor of the Thing; because each Person has an Interest therein, though, properly speaking, it be not the Goods of the Creditor ^l. But a ¹ D. 47. 2. 13. Buyer has not this Action before the Thing sold be deliver'd to him: And if the Buyer himself shall steal it, before he has paid the Purchase-money, he shall be liable to this Action, though 'tis otherwise after the Price paid ^m. If there were divers Persons taken or discover'd to be Accom- ^m D. 47. 2. 14. plices in one and the same Theft, they all underwent but one and the same pecuniary Penalty amongst them; yet either of them might be sued for the Whole.

T I T. XXXII.

Of Rapine or Robbery, how defined; and of the Action de Vi Bonorum Raptorum, against whom it lies, and to whom given, &c.

RAPINE or Robbery, is defined to be, the Taking away from a Person some moveable or corporeal Thing with a malicious Intent of Mind, and by open Force and Violence ⁿ; and it is of a more atrocious and ⁿ D. 47. 8. 2. heinous Nature than that we call *simple* Theft ^{*}. For those who steal in ¹ 4. 2. 1. a clandestine manner, shew some Fear and Reverence for the Laws, but ^{*} C. 9. 33. 2. these Persons bid Defiance to them. And hence it is, that the *Civil Law* has given several Actions against such Persons as do by open Violence seize and take away the Goods of other Men. For if the Robber be apprehended in the very Act of committing this Offence, he is liable to an Action of *manifest* Theft ^o: But if he shall not be taken therein, he ^o D. 47. 2. 7. 1. shall only be liable to an Action *Furti non manifesti* ^p. But the *Prætor* ^p D. 47. 8. 1. has, ^{&c} 2.

has, on the score of this Offence, introduced a proper and peculiar Action, styled *Vi Bonorum Raptorum* ^q, or *Damni in Turbâ illati* ^r. But of these I shall speak by and by.

In respect of *Robbery*, it is *First* required, that there be a fraudulent or malicious Mind added thereunto. *Secondly*, 'Tis necessary, that the Thing taken away be a moveable Chattel : For Things immoveable cannot be the Object of an *ablative* Violence : And these last are properly said to be *invaded* ^s, and not seized or occupied. And it is also *Robbery*, if the Thing taken away be in Common, and the Partner, by way of Force, applies and converts it to any other Use than the Purpose intended, against the Will of his Partner. And, *Lastly*, In respect of *Robbery*, there ought to be the Intervention of Force and Violence, in order to distinguish it from *simple* Theft, which is committed privately. And the Words, *with a malicious Intent of Mind*, are added ; because, if any one shall by Force take away that which belongs to another, through an erroneous Belief that it is his own, he is not liable to an Action *Vi Bonorum Raptorum*, nor is Rapine or Violence said to be committed ; because, in this Case, there is no Malice or evil Design : Yet a Person committing even such an Act of Force, shall have some Punishment inflicted on him.

By an Action of Rapine, *Vi Bonorum*, &c. the Plaintiff sues for fourfold Damage of the Thing taken away ; in which Damage the Thing itself is included ^t ; and if he brings an Action *Damni illati*, it shall only be in twofold. But both these Actions must be commenced within a Year from the Fact committed ^u : For after the Year he shall only have an Action for *simple* Damage ^x ; and in this Respect the Action is not barr'd by any Limitation of Time. In an Action *Vi Bonorum*, &c. it is necessary to describe and set forth in the Libel the Force and Violence made use of. But herein an Action of *Robbery* differs from an Action of *manifest Theft* ; viz. that in this Damage of fourfold, the simple Value of the Thing is included ; and thus the Punishment is only threefold : Whereas 'tis otherwise in *manifest Theft*, where the Punishment is entirely fourfold, as before shewn. Therefore, the Punishment of *Robbery* seems much lighter than that of *simple Theft*, wherein the meer Punishment is fourfold. Touching the Reason of this Diversity, great Disputes have happen'd between the Doctors : Of which, see *Accursius*.

Rapine may be committed two several Ways. *1st*, in respect of Things : And, *2dly*, in respect of Persons. But this last is properly styled Rape or *Raptus* ; and the other is termed *Rapine*. If Rapine be committed on the Goods of the Church, it is called *Sacrilege*, and is by the Common Law regularly punish'd with Death ^y. They that are guilty of *Robbery*, are either Housebreakers, in *Latin* styled *Effraētores* ^z ; or such as rob on the Highway, called *Latrones* and *Grassatores* ; or such as attack Passengers in the dark and strip them of their Cloaths, termed *Expilatores* ; and, generally speaking, all others that take Goods away by Force, according to the aforesaid Limitation, (though they do not break open Houses) are guilty of Rapine ; among whom we may reckon Pyrates that rob on the Sea.

The Punishment of *Robbery* is severer than that of *simple Theft*, though the Thing taken away be of lesser Value ^a : For the Audaciousness of the Fact, and not the Value of the Thing, is to be consider'd. Besides the common Prosecution of *Robbery*, as above-related, the Guilty may also be punish'd *criminally*, as it is an Offence against the Publick ; and the Person prosecuted may be punish'd in an arbitrary manner, according to the Circumstances of the Fact. Housebreakers in the Day-time, and such as rob and strip People of their Cloaths in the Night-time, may be condemned to Workhouses ^b : But Housebreakers by Night (after they have suffer'd the

^q I. 4. 2. pr.
^r D. 47. 8. 4. pr.

^s C. 8. 4. 7.

^t I. 4. 2. 2.
D. 47. 8. 4.

^u I. 4. 2. pr.

^x D. 47. 8. 4. 4.

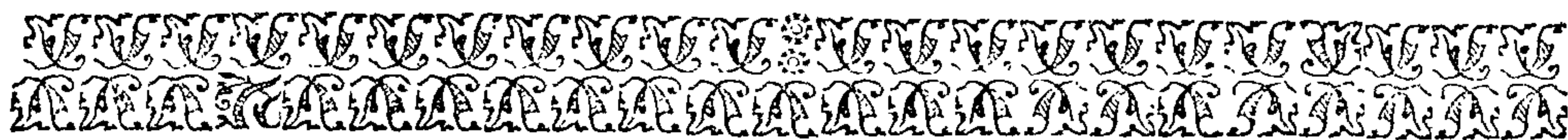
^y D. 48. 13. 6.

^z D. 47. 18. 1. 2.

^a I. 4. 2. pr.

^b D. 47. 18. 1.
2. & 1. 2.

the Bastinado or Cudgelling) were usually condemned to the Mines. Highwaymen, if they have been guilty and go armed, may be punish'd with Death ^c, and hung up in Chains where they committed a Murder, ^c D. 48. 19. 18. or thrown to the wild Beasts. The same Punishment may also be inflicted on notorious Pyrates. Those that rob or violently take away any Thing whilst a House is on Fire, forfeit fourfold ^d, within a Year's Prosecution; ^d D. 47. 9. 1. because the Thief is, in such a Case, the greater Villain, as the Case of the Sufferer is so much the more miserable, Affliction being added to Affliction.



T I T. XXXIII.

Of Obligations arising from improper Offences or Trespases.

HAVING before discoursed of such Obligations as arise from *proper* Offences; I shall here speak of such as arise from *improper* Offences or Trespases, call'd *Quasi Delicta* ^e, being the *Fourth Species* of Obligations. ^e 1. 3. 5. Rub. And hence it is, that a Person may be sometimes obliged, without his own Privity, for the Fault or Act of another Person, and sometimes on the account of his own Negligence and Unskilfulness in Business: For in *improper* Trespases a Person may offend through meer Neglect and Imprudence, without any Malice or ill Design; and these are made Offences only by Interpretation of Law. For as there are some Affairs transacted which are not *direct* and *proper* Contracts by Agreement, (which are therefore stiled *improper* or *indirect* Contracts); so there are some Trespases and Offences which are not *directly* and *properly* such in themselves; yet, because they come nearer to the Nature of an Offence than to that of a Contract, they are called *improper* Trespases and Offences. Of these we have Seven Examples in our Law-books.

The *First* is, When a Judge does, through his Unskilfulness in the Law, pronounce an erroneous Sentence: For if there was Bribery and Design in the Judge, it becomes a *direct* Offence; and, in Civil Causes, he is punishable by a Condemnation to refund the whole Value of the Suit, with Costs ^f. Besides, he is render'd infamous ^{*}, and must pay treble the ^f D. 5. 1. 15. Value of what he received, or double of what was only promis'd him: ^{*} C. 7. 49. 2. But in Criminal Causes he is punish'd with Banishment, and Confiscation of his Estate ^g, as being guilty of Baratry. But if the Sentence was only given by Mistake, then *Litem suam facit*; namely, he himself is made ^g C. 7. 49. Party to the Action, and liable to the Payment of what shall be adjudged ^{Auth. Novæ Juri, & l. 2.} due for Damage. For, in this last Case, because he acts without Fraud and Design, it is not a *proper* Offence, but only a kind of Misdemeanor: For his Unskilfulness shall here be imputed to him as a Fault ^h; since ^h D. 50. 17. every one that accepts of an Office, does, *eo ipso*, aver himself to be ^{132.} sufficiently qualify'd for it, according to the *Gloss* on the Law here cited ⁱ. ⁱ D. 2. 2. 2. Wherefore, if he shall afterwards, through Ignorance, pronounce a wrong Judgment, he shall be liable, to the Party injured, in so much as the superior Judge shall think meet; a due Regard being had to his Error and Unskilfulness ^k. In which Case it ought to be consider'd, whether the Mistake ^k D. 45. 1. 5. 4. was in a common and easy Question of Law, or in a Matter of Difficulty. ^{D. 47. 11. 11. I. 4. 5. pr.} For if a Judge pronounces a Sentence according to the common Opinion of

^l DD. in c. 1.
X. 1. 2.

^m In D. 6.
D. 15. 13.

ⁿ Gloss. in L.
ut supra.
^o De LL. Abr.
l. 4. 5.

of the Doctors, he does not make the Suit his own ; since the common Opinion of the Lawyers ought to be follow'd, as well in pronouncing Sentence, as in giving Counsel, unless it be evidently false ^l. What I have here said of an ordinary Judge making himself liable, may also be said of a delegated Judge, according to the Doctors ^m ; and likewise in respect of an Arbiter or Referee, who makes the Suit his own by an unjust Award ⁿ. But this Law concerning the Mistakes of Judges is at this Day out of Use in several Countries, as *Groenwegen* ^o observes on the *Institutes* ; the Party injured having the Liberty to reverse the same, by an Appeal to the superior Judge.

^p C. 5. 75. 6.

Again : A Notary, who, through want of Skill, makes such an Instrument as is of Detriment to the Party, is said to commit an *improper* Offence, and shall be liable to make good the Damage which the Party suffers through his want of Skill ; because such want of Skill in a Person that executes a publick Office, is a kind of Crime in him ^p : For a Notary is bound to know so much of the Law (at least) as appertains to his Office, that he may keep himself from unlawful Contracts, &c. And what is here declared of a Judge and a Notary, may also be said of a Judge's Assessor or Counsellor ^q.

^q D. 2. 2. 2.

^r D. 9. 3. t. t.

A *Second* Case, wherein a Person is bound by an *improper* Offence or Trespass ^r, is, When a Person throws down or pours any Thing from an House, without a Design, which annoy or incommode another as he passes by in the Streets or Lanes, either in his Person, Goods, or Cloaths. The Inhabitant is, in this Case, liable to make good the Damage, whether he be Master of the House as the Proprietor of it, or only as a Tenant ^s ; and, whether it was either he himself, or any of his Family, that threw or poured it down ^t. Thus, a Husband is answerable for his Wife, a Father for his Children, a Host for his Guests, and a Master for his

^s D. 41. 1. 5.

^t l. 4. 5. 1

^u D. 9. 3. 5.

^x D. 9. 3. 1. 1.

^z D. 9. 3. 1.
fin.

^a D. 9. 3. 5.

^b D. 50. 9. 6.

^c D. 9. 3. 2.

^d D. 9. 3. 1.
2 & 3.

^e D. 9. 3. 1 & 3.

^f D. 9. 3. 5. pr.

Servants, if they offend ^u. And the Reason of this Law, is, that People may freely pass along the Streets and publick Ways without Fear of Danger to themselves ^x. But if the Proprietor has let out his House, then the Tenant or Inhabitant, not the Owner, is liable. If a Traveller, who lodges in an Inn or Publick-house, shall thus pour or throw any Thing, the Libel ought to be against the Innholder ^z : But yet the Innholder may have an Action on the Case against his Guest, to recover what he has been compelled to pay by reason of his Guest's throwing Things into the Streets ^a. If a Law of this or that City forbids Persons to wear Swords in the Streets, under a certain Penalty, and a Stranger comes into an Inn, and walks the Streets with his Sword by his Side, not knowing of such a Law, the Host or Innkeeper is liable to such Penalty, for not acquainting his Guest with such Prohibition ^b ; and the Stranger himself is excused, as being ignorant of the Law. If there be several Persons jointly and equally dwell in the same House from whence any Thing is thrown out, as being one Family, then only the Person that throws it out is liable, if there be a *Constat* of the Person ^c : But if it does not appear who threw it out, then, in a doubtful Case, all are liable, and each Person *in Solidum* ^d. But if one pays the Damage, the rest are discharged ; only such Person may recover from each of them their respective *Quota's* ^e. But though several Persons dwell in the same House ; if they live in different Apartments, as one in the Garrets, and others on the first Floor, then each of them is liable according to the Diversity of his Habitation ^f.

^g l. 4. 5. 1.

In respect of the Penalty to which the Offender is liable, we are to distinguish. For either the Damage is done in respect of Things, as when dirty Water is thrown out, whereby a Man's Cloaths are spoil'd as he passes by ; in which Case the Person pouring out is liable to pay double the Damage ^g : And this holds true, if any Thing be pour'd out or thrown

thrown down in the Day-time, but not in the Night-time, unless it be such a Place where Men usually walk in the Night-time ^h. Or else the ^h D. 9. 3. 6. Damage is done to a Man's Person: Wherein we are likewise to distinguish again. For either a Freeman is killed in passing by, and then the Penalty is fifty *Aurei* or Crowns, whereby the Offender's Fault is punished, lest such Offence should pass with Impunity, but not as an Amends for a Person killed, because the Body of a Freeman is not to be valued at any Price ⁱ. But if such Freeman be only wounded, then there is no express ⁱ D. 9. 3. 7. Penalty allotted; but it is left to the Discretion of the Judge to condemn the Offender in the Expences laid out in the Cure, and to satisfy the Person for the Loss of his Labour during such Infirmary, and to pay other Damages ^k. But by the *Saxon Law*, Wounds caused have a certain Penalty ^k D. 9. 3. 7. annexed to them. See the *Jus Saxonicum*. A Man's Labour lost is in this Case to be rated for an hundred Years, because (possibly) he may live so long ^l. If a Man hangs up any Thing in the Way through which People ^l C. 1. 2. 26. travel, he is liable to such Damage as may ensue by the falling down thereof; and for this an Action on the Case is granted, to compel the Offender to pay ten Crowns ^m.

Another Instance of an Obligation arising from an *improper* Offence, is, what respects the Owner of a Ship, the Keeper of an Inn ⁿ, and the ⁿ D. 4. 9. 5. Keeper of Stables who suffers Cattle to stable and feed with him, *viz.* when any Theft is committed in such Inn, Ship, or Stable, by such Persons as are employ'd in such Ship, Inn, or Stable: For these Persons sometimes making use of dishonest and negligent Servants, are guilty of a Fault; and, consequently, render themselves liable through the Offence of others. But if the Master of the Ship himself, or the Innholder, commits Theft, then they are directly answerable for their own Offence, and it does not become an *improper* Trespass ^o. Now the Person who lodges or entrusts ^o I. 4. 5. 3. Goods with either of these Persons, has a threefold Action accruing to him for the Goods taken away: But if he makes use of one of these Actions, the others cease ^p.

The first is an Action on the Case granted by the *Prætor*, otherwise styled a Bill in Equity; which gives double Damage to the Prosecutor for such *improper* Offence ^q. It lies against the Master of a Ship, when any ^q D. 47. 5. L. of the Ship's Crew rob the Passengers, and the like: For as People are ^{un} obliged to commit their Goods to the Custody of these Men, the Master of the Vessel must be answerable for their Honesty, otherwise the Master might conspire with Thieves and Robbers, as elsewhere observed, against the Goods and Persons of such as they take into their Ship. This Law obtains, whether the Master knows of such Goods being put on board or not: For the Master is *eo ipso* said to have taken Charge of them as soon as they are put on Shipboard, and they are deemed to be assign'd to him. For it would be of dangerous Consequence, if the Host of an Inn were not liable, unless the Goods were open'd and shewn to him; because this might endanger the Lives of his Guests, and subject them to Highway-men, and the like, if the Host were not an honest Man, but conspired with them ^r. ^r Arg. C. 10. Again, this Law proceeds not only in respect of Theft, but of any other ³⁴ 2. Damage that is committed on Persons Goods, whether they are their own, or the Effects of other Men. But this is otherwise, if the Goods suffer by any fortuitous Case, as by Shipwreck, the Force of Pyrates, and the like ^s: ^s D. 4. 9. 3. 1. For the Master then is not liable for the Damage. In respect of an Innholder, the Theft ought to be done in the Inn, and not out of it ^t, unless ^t D. 4. 9. 7. he gives Intelligence unto Robbers; and the Goods ought to be committed to the Care of the Innholder or some of his Servants. See more touching *Innholder* under that Title ^u. The second Action in this Case is an Action ^u Page 166. of Theft, which the Person has against the Master of the Ship or Inn,

whether his Goods are stolen by such Master, his Family, or a Stranger: For the Master of the Ship or Inn is answerable for the Goods so long as they remain in the Ship or Inn ^x. The third is an Action in Equity, called an Action on the Case *de Recepto*, which lies against the Master *in Simplum* on the Prosecution of what is lost or stolen, whether he himself, or any of his Family, or a Stranger has stolen it. For from the very Act of receiving Goods he is bound to the safe-keeping thereof ^y. And the Person who thus entrusts his Goods, has not only a special Action *de Recepto*, but also a general Action *ex Locato* or *Deposito*. But in a special Action even the least Fault is to be accounted for: But it is otherwise in a general Action *ex Deposito* ^z: For in a general Action the Party only answers for Fraud, &c. This third Action differs from the first; because it lies even when a Thing is taken away by a Stranger: But the first does not lie against a Stranger's Robbery. Again, this Action lies against an Heir, but the two former do not; because, being Penal Actions, they do not lie against an Heir ^a.

If a Guest shall deliver to an Innholder a Box or Portmanteau closed and sealed up, and afterwards say, there are some Things taken out from thence: *Quære*, Whether Credit ought to be given to the Oath of such Guest touching the Loss of his Goods? Here we ought to distinguish in three Cases, *viz.* First, When the Portmanteau or Box is again restor'd sealed and close, as it was deliver'd to the Host, the Seals being no-wise changed or alter'd to Appearance; and then, because there is no Proof or Suspicion of Fraud, Credit is not given to the Oath of the Guest affirming that there were such and so many Things in the Portmanteau or Trunk. The Second Case, is, when the Portmanteau is return'd open and unsealed, and then the Oath of the Guest shall be admitted, and Credit given thereunto touching the Goods taken away ^b. The Third Case, is, when it is doubtful: As when I have deposited a Portmanteau, &c. in the Hands of the Innkeeper well sealed up, and he himself confesses this, or on his Denial I can prove the same by Witnesses. But if the Innkeeper restor'd it to me unsealed, or denies that he unsealed it, and hereupon it becomes a Doubt whether he unsealed it or not; in this *Bartolus* ^c says, that Credit shall not be given to the Oath of the Guest touching the Loss of his Goods, but the Person ought to prove there were such Things in the Portmanteau, since all Frauds ought to be proved: But in another Place *Bartolus* ^d contradicts himself, saying, That since the Innholder returned the Portmanteau unsealed, his Fraud is presumed; and therefore Credit shall be given to the Oath of the Guest deposing touching the Loss of his Goods, which (according to *Jason* ^e) is the more received Opinion. If a Host or Innholder hangs up a Sign, or professes to keep a publick House for Travellers, he shall be obliged to receive such Guests as come thither, if he has Room in his House, and can entertain them ^f, though it was in his choice at first whether he would keep such Victualling-House or not. For, regularly speaking, no one can be compelled to keep a House of Entertainment, unless it be in the case of Soldiers March, and the like ^g.

A fourth Species of an Obligation which arises from an *improper* Trespass or an Offence, is, that which respects a Man's Bondman, Cattle doing Damage, &c. For by a Law of the twelve Tables ^h, the Master was liable unto an Action, if his Bondman or Cattle had done any Damage, or else he was to deliver them up to the Sufferer: And this Delivery was called *Noxæ Dedilio* ⁱ; and the Damage which the Party suffer'd through the Fear, Wantonness or Fierceness of Cattle, *contrary* to the natural Custom of their Temper, was termed *Pauperies* ^k. As when a Dog bites a Man, or a Horse kicks him, &c. In this Case, if the other deliver'd up the Beast to the injur'd Person, he was discharged from Damage. In *England* and the Empire,

Empire, the Owner only satisfies the Damage, and it will avail nothing to deliver up the Beast that did it. See *Groenwegen de LL. Abrogatis* ¹.

¹ In I. 4. 9.

[The Word *Noxa* denotes Damage done without any Design of Injury in the Beast that did it; for that brute Animals are not capable of knowing that they have done an Injury. *Corn. Fronto de Differentiis Verb.* says, That the Penalty is called *Noxa*, and the Fault itself *Noxia*.]

I have here mention'd a Bondman, because the *Romans* reckon'd their Bondmen among their Cattle or quick Stock, as we did here in *England* formerly. If a Freeman did an Injury, he was liable to the *Aquilian Law* touching Damage: But if it was a Bondman, then a *Noxal Action* lay against the Master, or else he was bound to deliver up his Bondman to atone for the Injury. If one Beast stirs up another which commits the Damage, the Master of *that only* which forced the other must pay the Damage ^m. If a Person strokes a Horse and is kick'd by him, the Owner ^m D. 1. 1. 8. must answer it, but not if the Horse was provoked ⁿ. By the *Jewish Law*, ⁿ D. 9. 1. 1. 7. he who knowingly keeps an Ox, (that Instance being put for all other Creatures of the like Nature,) which has been used to gore, and a Person is killed by him, the Owner shall suffer Death ^o. By the Laws of *England*, ^o Exod. xxi. 29. if any Beast, or moveable Thing inanimate, be the Cause of the Death of any Man without his own Fault, it is forfeited to the King as a *Deodand* ^p. ^p Inst. 57.

If two Bulls or Rams, belonging to different Owners, run at each other and fight, and one kills the other, no Action lies in this Case if the Aggressor is slain: But if he that gave no Provocation be slain, the Aggressor ought to be given up for Satisfaction, or else the Owner ought to pay for the Loss ^q. What has been hitherto said, ought to be understood of tame ^q D. 9. 1. 1. 11. Beasts, that do Mischief *contrary* to their Natures. But if fierce Creatures, as Tygers, Lions, &c. do any Mischief, whilst they are under Custody, the Owner shall likewise be obliged to make Recompence. But if the Beasts have made their Escape out of the Owner's Custody, and have recover'd their former Liberty, then the Owners are not accountable for any Mischief committed after such Escape. If Cattle of their own Accord, without the Direction of their Owner, eat up another Person's Corn, the Owner ought to pay the Damage, or deliver up the Beasts. With us in *England*, the Cattle are impounded, till the Owner of them satisfies the Damage. If a Man shall come into another Person's Shop or House in an unufal Manner without the Master's Leave, and he is bitten by a Dog in the House, he is without his Remedy against the Master ^r, because (perhaps) the Dog is ^r D. 9. 1. 2. fin. kept for the Defence of the House: But if he has Leave to enter, the Master must take Care of his Dog. The Action which lies for this kind of Damage, is stiled an Action *de Pauperie*, as I shall further remember in the second Volume of this Work under the Title *Of Actions*.

[The Laws of *England* punish *improper* Offences in some particular Causes. As when an Under-Sheriff makes a false Return to any of the King's Courts, or offends in the Execution of any Judicial Process; not he, but the Sheriff is punishable ^s. See *The Doctor and Student*. The ^s Lib. 2. c. 24. Hundred also seems to be liable to the Punishment of an *improper* Offence, when it makes Compensation for Robberies committed therein, unless it apprehends the Robber ^t. If a Servant ^t 13 E. 1. St. 1. shall, through his Negligence, burn his Master's House, and a House in the Neighbourhood ^c. 45. by that Means, the Master is liable. And *Bracton* says ^u, that heretofore, among the *Engliſh*, ^u Lib. 5. Traſt. a Judge made the Suit his own, by giving an erroneous Judgment: But at this Day the Party in- ^v 5. c. 15. jur'd, if it be in a Court of Record, has a Writ of Error ^x, and removes the Cause to another ^x 27 Eliz. C. 8. Tribunal.]



T I T. XXXIV.

Of Injuries, how they may be committed, and how many Kinds there are of them : An Atrocious Injury what, and how rated ; what Persons are answerable for Injuries done, and how punished by the twelve Tables and the Pretorian Law : Of Defamation by Words, and by famous Libels, and what they are, and of Civil and Criminal Prosecutions for Injuries.

A Third Species of a private Offence or Trespass, is that which we term an *Injury* : And as this Word *Injury* is a Term of a large Signification, and made use of by the Lawyers in a Generical as well as in a Specifick Manner, (as many other Words are,) I will here first premise the several Acceptations of it. An *Injury* then, in the general Sense and Meaning of the Word, is taken for that which is done *non jure* ^y, or contrary to Law : And thus, as a *Genus*, it comprehends Theft, Rapine, Adultery, Murder, Damage, and whatever is done contrary to Law. But in a particular Sense of the Word, an *Injury* is a Damage done through the Fault, or (as in the *Aquilian Law*) we say *damnum injuriâ datum* : And in this Acceptation thereof, we only mean such an Injury as it inflicts a Contumely ^z on the Person that bears it ; as when a Person is beaten, whipped, wounded, or affected with some enormous Wrong, which our *English* Lawyers call a *Mayhem* ^a. But an Injury may be inflicted without Force, as by reproachful and convicious Language, which lessens the good Fame of a Man, or by famous Libels, unjust Imprisonment, and the like. *Dyer* in his Reports says ^b, That those Persons also, who go under the Name of *Conspirators*, according to our Law, do seem to commit an Injury, when they are *dolo contexto* guilty of any insidious Machinations against the Life or Fortune of any Person. Therefore an Injury, as here understood, properly happens, when any one hurts the Body, Dignity, or good Name of a Freeman with an evil Design : For there must be an evil Design or Intention in the Doer, otherwise it is no Injury. For if any one should hurt another without such Design or Mind of doing him an Injury, it is not to be adjudged an Injury. As when I hurt another by a Joke, or at Play with him, and the like, I am not liable to an Action of Injury. And the same may be said of a School-master, who by some Mishap wounds his Scholar in the Discipline he gives him *docendi causâ*, and not with an Intent of injuring him : But yet the Defendant is bound to prove, that this Hurt was done without an ill Intent. By this Difference an Injury is distinguished and exempted from the great Rigour of the *Aquilian Law*, which makes even the lightest Fault an Injury.

Now an Injury is said to be committed four several Ways, *viz.* *First*, by some Act done ; *Secondly*, by Words ; *Thirdly*, by Writing ; and, *Fourthly*, by Gesture or Behaviour. The first happens whenever any one assaults or lays violent Hands on another, or offers any Kind of Injury of the like Nature : Which comes to pass, when any one avers that he was beaten or wounded, or that his House was enter'd by Force, and the like.

^c I. 4. 4. 1. A *verbal* Injury, is, when any Reproach or Defamation happens to a Man ^c ;

as

as that he is called Thief, Robber, &c. A *written* Injury, or Injury by Writing, is, when any one shall write a Satire, Lampoon, or History, appertaining to the Infamy and Disparagement of another, called a *famous Libel* ^d; or cause the same to be written or composed. The last kind of ^a I. 4. 4. 1. Injury is that which is committed by Gesture; as when a Person mocks another in wearing his Apparel, or by using some Gesture or Motion of Body, in order to ridicule him, and the like. It is to be observed, that by the *Roman* Law, a Slave or Vassal cannot have an Injury done him, or (at least) an Action for the same: For if any one shall kill or wound a Bondman, this kind of Action, by the *Aquilian* Law, only appertains to his Master, who is a Freeman. But because there are several Words in our Books, which point out an Injury, and the Manner of doing it, I shall next say something of them, before I proceed any further.

Now, according to *Ofilius*, there is this Difference between the Meaning of the Words *Verberare* and *Pulsare*, viz. That the first is to beat a Man so as to make him smart, and the other to beat him without giving him Pain: And this Difference *Alciatus* well defends against *Valla*, who condemns the same. Yet many will have the Difference between these Words to be, that *Verberare* is to beat him with Rods and Scourges; and that the Word *Pulsare* is a more general Term, appertaining to any kind of Weapon or Instrument, whether Swords, Clubs, Stones, &c. The Term *Convicium* in the Text ^e, which I in *English* call *Slander* or *Reproach*, is derived from ^e Ibid. the two *Latin* Words, viz. *Vocum* and *Concertatio*, that is to say, *quasi Convocium*, according to *Labeo*: Which Opinion *Alciatus* maintains against *Valla*, saying, that *Convicium* ought to be wrote with the Letter *C*, and not with a *T*. And it is properly so called, whether the Words be utter'd by many Persons, or there be only one Person that utters them; the Contumely being frequently repeated against any one. A *Contumely* in *English*, is derived from the *Latin* Word *Contemno*, and is the same with *ὑπερις* in the *Greek*, having several Acceptations, as *Budæus* observes in his Commentary on the *Greek* Tongue; as Pride, Ignorance, or any other flagitious Offence.

Ulpian notes, that an Injury may not only be done to a Man in his own Person, but also by the Means of his Wife and Children, being in his Power, and such an Injury makes a greater Impression on him: Wherefore, if you do an Injury to the Daughter of any one, that has married *Titius*, an Action of Injury not only lies against you in the Daughter's Name, but such an Action also lies against you in the Father and Husband's Name: But on the contrary, if an Injury be done to the Husband, the Wife cannot have an Action of Injury thereupon; for it is fit, that Wives should be defended by their Husbands, and not Husbands by their Wives. An Injury is said to be done to a Man in his own Person, when it is *directly* inflicted on him as he is Master of a Family, and independent on any one else: And through the Persons of other Folk, when it happens *consequently* to him, as to his Wife, Children, Bondmen, as before related. And as a Civil Action accrues to the Father as well as to the Son, for an Injury inflicted on the Son; so the Father may try the Cause in his own Name, and in that of his Son's: For though the Action accrues to the Son, in respect of the Injury to his Person; yet the Father commences and tries the Action, in respect of his Paternal Power.

I have said, That an Injury may be committed four several Ways, according to the *Civil* Law ^f: But, in Effect, we may reduce these several ^f I. 4. 4. 1. Ways unto a *real* and a *verbal* Injury. *Real*, when one Man lays violent Hands on another, in such a manner as to affect his Body with Blows ^g; ^g I. 4. 4. 2. 8. which our Common Lawyers call a Battery, or a Trespass *Vi & Armis*. A *verbal* Injury is committed two ways; *First*, by Words, when one Man

utters contumelious and defamatory Language to the Infamy of another : And, *Secondly*, by Letters, when one Man writes a Book, or the like, to the Ignominy of another ^h. And this proceeds, *First*, not only in a Person framing an infamous Book or Libel, but also in him who composes a Song, Poem, History, Lampoon, or other defamatory Writing : And, *Secondly*, according to *Faber* ⁱ, likewise in him who only wrote it down, though he did not compose it. *Thirdly*, in him who, upon finding the same, reads it unto others, and does not destroy it, but publishes it with a malicious and evil Design ^k. *Fourthly*, This likewise proceeds, in him who advisedly buys or sells an infamous Libel, knowing it to be such ^l. *Fifthly*, The Law does not distinguish, whether the Person publish'd it in his own or another's Name ^m : Nor does it signify, whether the Name of the Person defamed be expressed therein, or not, provided he may be pointed out and known otherwise ; because (perhaps) it says, There are some Persons in the City, that steal and imbezle the Publick Money. And, in this Case, if the Person's Meaning cannot easily be proved, in respect of the particular Person defamed, a publick Accusation accrues to any one of the People ⁿ. It is otherwise, (I think) by the Laws of *England*. But when the Name of the Person defamed is express'd, then he may have an Action Civilly and Criminally ^o at Pleasure ; and when he brings the Action *Civilly*, he rates the Injury inflicted on him at a certain Sum of Money, which he desires may be given him : And in this Case the Person condemned in a Civil Action is render'd Intestate ^p ; so that he can neither be a Witness ^q, nor make a Will ^r. But when the Person defamed brings his Action *Criminally*, such Defamation is punish'd capitally, if the Person's Name be expressed ^s. Thus, an Injury is not only committed on the Body of a Man, as when one strikes another with his Fist, Staff, &c. but likewise when he defames or reproaches him either by Word of Mouth, or by writing any infamous Libel.

An Injury is also committed, if any one shall attempt to assault the Chastity of a modest and vertuous Woman, by a fawning and wheedling Behaviour, or by frequenting her House in order to debauch her, after he has been once forbidden ^t. An Objection of Poverty unto a Merchant or rich Man, is an Injury done him ; because Poverty sometimes sets him aside from his giving his Testimony ^u, and draws other ill Consequences after it in Trade, &c. Wherefore, if a Person shall attempt to possess himself of the Goods of any one as his Debtor, knowing that he owes him nothing, he commits an Injury ^x, even though this be done in a judicial manner ; because he defames him hereby as an insolvent Person. But it is otherwise, if he was a real Debtor, and has enter'd on Possession by the Judge's Authority ; for then he only pursues his own Right, without doing any Injury. But if a Man shall, by his own Authority, possess himself of his Debtor's Goods, he is not only liable to an Action of Injury ^y, but he shall likewise lose the Debt ^z. Thus, in the like manner, he who refuses to admit an idoneous Surety, is not only liable to an Action of Injury in respect of him that offer'd such Surety, but likewise in respect of the Surety himself ^a ; because his Condition is thereby disparaged.

Properly speaking, an Injury is not done to a Person that consents thereunto : For it is one Thing to damnify a Person, or to do an unjust Thing, and another to do an Injury. For I may do a Thing that is unjust, which I may think to be just : But an Injury is not done without an Intent of Hurting. Hence a Person may of his own Accord suffer Injustice ; but no one can suffer an Injury, unless it be against his Will ; an Injury being only done to a Person, when the Act is contrary to his Will, and to that Right which is due to him. And therefore, a formal Injury cannot be done to a Person, unless it be done actually and *de Facto* against his Will. And hence,

hence, no Man can suffer an Injury from himself. But it may be urged, That when a Man is wheedled with fair Promises, or compelled through Fear, or deceived through Ignorance or Imbecility of Mind, &c. an Injury may be done to him, even with his own Consent; and therefore, a Person may suffer an Injury pursuant to his own Will. To which I answer, That this is an imperfect Will of him who is thus deceived; and he that thus endamages another, is liable to an Action of *Deceit*, though at the same time the other rather seems to suffer Damage than an Injury, because he wittingly receives the same. And for this Reason, the Action is enter'd in a Cause of Injury and Damage; for if it be not an Injury, it may be a Damage. *Aristotle* puts a Question, *viz.* Whether it be more grievous to suffer, or to do an Injury? and resolves it for the latter; for this is joined with Injustice: But he who receives an Injury, is free from a Fault, and from Injustice. Let him that injures another, consider this Saying of the Wise Man; *He that calumniates the Poor to increase his Riches, shall surely come to Want.*

A verbal Injury (as already related) is committed by Words alone, without the Intervention of Writing, when any one utters contumelious Words against another, which are contrary to good Manners, and which tend to the Infamy, Injury, and Slander of any one ^b. And, according ^b D. 47. 10. to *Bartolus* ^c, an injurious Word is said to be that, whereby any Crime in ^{15. 5.} general or special is objected to another; as, when any Person calls another ^c In L. 3. D. 28. 2. pr. Thief, Highwayman, Homicide, &c. though he does not descend to Particulars, by saying from whom he stole, or whom he killed. For, by such Words, a Person is in some measure render'd infamous by an Infamy of Fact, since his Reputation is much injured among honest Men ^d. Nor ^d D. Alex. in L. 3. D. 28. 2. is it of any Import, whether those Words be pronounced in an Assembly of Men with a loud Voice, (which makes it a *Convictum*) or not ^e. ^e D. 47. 10. Thus, to say, *You Lie, (saving your Honour)*, is an injurious Speech, ^{15. 7 & 11.} because it betokens a Misdemeanor: And this proceeds, says *Bartolus* ^f, ^f In L. 17. though the Person uses this Protestation, *saving your Honour*; because ^a D. 29. 2. pr. a Protestation contrary to the Act which is done, is not relevant ^g. But ^g X. 2. 28. 54. when a Man, in Defence of his Innocence, and for preserving his Honour, says to another Person objecting a Crime to him, *You are a Liar*; he is not liable to an Action of Injury, as *Bartolus* ^h notes. Or if a Person, ^h In L. 25. on Provocation, shall give such an Answer, he is to be pardoned ⁱ. But ^{D. 3. 3. 1.} it has been a Question, Whether it be lawful to repel a verbal Injury with ⁱ D. 38. 2. 14. an Injury of the like Nature? As for Example: You call me Highwayman or Thief; and I, being thus provoked by you, call you Thief, or the like. Now the Question is, Whether an Action of Injury accrues to either of us, so that we may accuse each other? And it seems, it does not; because the Life and Fame of each Person is equal ^k. Wherefore, as it ^k D. 40. 2. 9. is lawful, in Defence of a Man's Life, to repel Force with Force; so like- ^{pr. Gloss.} wise, in Defence of a Man's Honour, which is compar'd unto Life, it seems to be permitted to retort an Injury with an Injury. Besides, it is a known Rule in Law, That Offences of a like Nature are removed by mutual Compensation ^l. I have said, That a Man may, in Defence of ^l D. 24. 3. 39. his own Innocence, tell another, *that he is a Liar*. But *Speculator* holds, ^{X. 2. 24. 16. pr.} that each Person may have an Action for the Injury inflicted on him, though the Injury be equal; and for this Opinion, he cites the Laws in the Margin ^m. But this (I think) only holds true, when the Injury is reciprocal, ^m D. 9. 1. 19. and yet is not compensated. But it is not lawful for me to strike him who ^{X. 2. 24. 16. pr.} has struck me, if I do it only for the sake of Revenge, and not in Defence of my self ⁿ. Hence some Men would, by a Parity of Reason, infer, ⁿ DD. in L. 3. that it is not lawful to inflict a verbal Injury on him who thus injures me; ^{D. 1. 1. & in L. 1. C. 8. 4.} it being in no-wise lawful for a Man, by his own Authority, to revenge him-

^a C. 3.27. t. t. himself o. But to this I answer, That this Argument only holds good as to the Defence of a Man's Body, and proceeds not in Defence of his Honour, because the Terms are not equal. For, in Defence of Life, a Man has a Remedy by an Action at Law, and may bind the Offender to his good Behaviour : But, in a verbal Injury, the Action is *de Vindictâ*. For if you offer me a verbal Injury, the Injury is already inflicted, and cannot be removed.

He who shall say that a Man is his Debtor, who is not so, is, by reason of such Calumny, liable to an Action of Injury : And this holds good, not only if an Arrest be unduly made by a private Person, but even if it be thus made by a Magistrate ; because it is not lawful for a Magistrate to do any injurious Act. For the invalid Precept of the Judge does not excuse him from the Penalties of the Law ; it being an injurious Thing for a Man to sport and divert himself at the hazard of another's Reputation, especially if it be a Person of some Figure, Dignity and Character in the World, whose Integrity and Reputation is dearer to him than Life itself. If one Man shall say these Words to another, *viz. I am sorry thou wastn't condemned for Forgery, &c.* the Person uttering them is liable to an Action of Injury : For these Words are presumed to be injurious of their own Nature, unless the contrary be proved : And so it is of other injurious Words of the like Nature. But if a Person utters injurious Words that are true, he may justify them, and he is not liable. It is an Injury, if one shall say to another, *Tu es bonus Homo* ; which Words are commonly understood in the same Sense, as if he should say, *Thou art a Cuckold* : And thus, to call a Man Cuckold, will give an Action of Injury, as well as to call a Man Traitor, Usurer, Bastard, &c. for these are infamous and reproachful Names. An Injury is also committed by Words, when one Person menaces another, or says to him, that he produced a false Deed, Charter or Writing, or coined false Money, &c.

An Injury is committed by Deed, when one gives another a Blow on the Cheek, or on the Ear, or shall any way hurt him in Body, or shall chuck another under the Chin with an Intent of affronting him. An Injury done to a Man's Cloaths, is deemed to be done to his Person ; for if one Man tears or any ways spoils another's Cloaths, it is an Injury done to him p. ^p D. 47. 10. 9. Thus an Injury may be done to a Priest wearing the Habit and Ornament of his Function ; but not otherwise, though his Cloaths should be torn or spoiled. It is an Injury both in the Judge and Plaintiff, to cite a Person into Court without a Cause alledged ; because he that orders or perswades to an Injury, is liable to an Action q. An Injury is also committed, when the Plaintiff or Accuser offers an infamous Libel, which he is not able to prove. ^{13. 3.}

I have before hinted, That an Action does not lie for an Injury that is not done *Maliciously*, but only *Causâ Ludi*, or for Sport-sake : But then the Defendant ought to prove, that he only did such a Thing in a Jestling manner. And, by the *Cornelian* Law, the Plaintiff may give an Oath unto the Defendant, to declare his Intention, whether he offer'd the Act *animo Injuriandi* r. Due Chastisement or Correction does not carry an Injury along with it ; for moderate Correction is granted to a Father over his Son, to the Master over his Scholar, to the Lord over his Bondman, and also to the Husband over his Wife, and he may beat her even *cum Flagellis* in a Cause wherein he may send a Divorce. Nor does the Execution of the Law carry any Injury along with it, at least, it ought not so to do. An Action of Injury will not lie for obstructing a Prospect, because the stopping up of a Prospect is no Nuisance ; a Prospect being only a Matter of Delight, and not of Necessity. And why may not a Man build his House as high as he pleases, that another may not look over into his

Yard,

Yard, provided he does not hinder the Light of another Man's House? No Action of Injury will lie against a Judge for a wrongful Commitment, any more than for an erroneous Judgment or Sentence, unless evident Malice goes along with it.

An Injury is said to be *atrocious*, either in respect of the Fact committed, as when a Person is wounded by another, or beaten with Clubs ^{s. I. 4. 4. 9.} Or else in respect of the Place where it is done; as when it is done in the Theatre, Market-place, or in the Sight of the Judge, &c. or from the Person himself; as when a Magistrate suffers an Injury, or an Injury is done to a Senator by a Person of mean Condition, or to a Parent or Patron by their Children or Freedmen. For an Injury done to a Senator, Parent or Patron, is rated in another manner, than to a Stranger, or a Person of mean Condition. Sometimes the Place wherein the Wound or Blow is given, renders the Injury atrocious; as, when a Person strikes another in the Eye or Face: For an Injury committed on the Face, is a high Aggravation thereof; because a Man's Face, says the Law, is formed after the Likeness of a celestial Beauty. *Aristotle*, in his *Ethicks* ^{t. Lib. 5. c. 5.}, reckons up seven Circumstances whereby an Injury becomes atrocious. In a Libel of Injury there ought to be a Designation of all these Circumstances. And it ought likewise to be propounded in the Libel, That the Person did immediately resent the Injury, and does still resent it, that it may appear the same is not forgotten or pardon'd by *Diffimulation*: For if the Person smitten laughed at the Blow, or eat and drank immediately with the Person who struck him, he cannot afterwards have an Action of Injury; because an Action of Injury arises from the Affront and Contumely that is offer'd: But Laughter which follows a Contumely, or any other Sign of Friendship or Familiarity with the Person doing the Injury, seems to pardon such Injury, and to go along with the Blow. And thus no Injury seems to be done, or is (at least) by a Fiction of Law, remitted: For, *Volenti non fit injuria*. But if he only laugh'd after some Interval of Time, or did something like it, with the Person that offer'd him the Injury, such Action shall not be hereby adjudged to be remitted. Which brings me more particularly to consider, how this Action may be remitted or pardoned by *Diffimulation* ^{u. I. 4. 4. 12.}.

For he who has forsaken an Injury by *Diffimulation*, or does not immediately resent it on suffering the same, cannot afterwards reassume the Injury which he seems to have remitted. Thus, shaking of Hands, when it is done among certain Persons that have been at Enmity with each other, denotes a Reconciliation, and wipes away an Injury: For joining or shaking of Hands, is a Token of Peace and Agreement made between them, and a Remission of the Injury committed. But he who either *tacitly* or *expressly* remits an Injury to another, is not hereby understood to have remitted the Damage or Expences: For the Person remitting the Injury, shall (notwithstanding such Remission) have an Action for Damage and Expences, whether the Remission be *tacitly* or *expressly* made; yea, though he has remitted all Injuries whatsoever. For, to the End that all these Things be remitted, there ought to be express mention made, *viz.* That he remits all Injuries, Damages, Interests, Expences, &c. For there arises from an Injury a twofold Action; the one *ad Pœnam*, and the other *ad Damnum & Interesse*: And therefore, though one be taken away, yet the other still remains. Thus, a Person wounded, and forgiving the Injury to the Person that wounded him, may (notwithstanding he has received Money for the Injury) commence an Action for the Expences made in Curing the said Wound: But some doubt hereof, if the Person has received Smart-money; saying, That this is not true, unless Expences are reserved. An Injury is not only abolished by Reconciliation or Remission, but likewise

by a Recantation of the Delinquent, and also by the Death of the Party offending; and I may also add, either by a civil Penalty paid, or else by a criminal Punishment imposed. Touching a civil Penalty, it is a general Rule in Law, That every Obligation is released by the Payment of that which is due. Therefore, if Satisfaction be made to the Party injur'd, it is sufficient, because Satisfaction is like unto Payment, and then no other Payment shall be demanded for the Injury done.

The Criminal Punishment of an Injury, according to a Law of the Twelve Tables ^x, was Retaliation for a Member broken or disfigur'd, and this was agreeable to the *Jewish* Law ^y: But afterwards, by the *Pretorian* Law, the Parties themselves that suffer'd the Injury were permitted to rate and set a Value thereon upon Oath, and then the Judge might condemn the guilty Person in so much as the Sufferer had rated it at, or less, as he saw Occasion ^z. And after this Law was establish'd by the *Prætors* for restraining an Injury, the Punishment thereof, as introduced by the Twelve Tables, grew into Disuse. The Judge might lessen or increase this Estimation of an Injury, according to the Dignity and Character of the Person, and the Circumstances of his way of Living. The Plaintiff ought to set forth in his Libel, how he rates and values the Injury, and pray for a certain Sum, saving the Taxation of the Judge: For if the Plaintiff demands an immoderate Sum, the Judge may reduce it by a further Taxation ^a. If a Person has suffer'd several Injuries from the same Hand, they ought all to be propounded in one and the same Libel, and to be specifically rated ^b afunder ^b. If a Person shall utter several reproachful Words at one and the same Heat, it is reckon'd but one Injury.

[By the Law of *England*, an Action on the Case lies for a verbal Injury; an Action of Trespafs *Vi & Armis*, for an Assault and Battery, if it be by some Fact done; or the Defendant may be proceeded against by an Indictment; and if it be committed by any infamous Libel, the Person suffering has likewise his Choice, whether he will proceed criminally or civilly. If the contumelious Language be utter'd against any of the Nobility, an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* lies ^c, and produces a greater Punishment, by reason of the Dignity of the Person injur'd. But the Common Law favours Words in the Construction of them, much more than the *Civil* Law does, which often occasions Duelling, and other ill Consequences.]

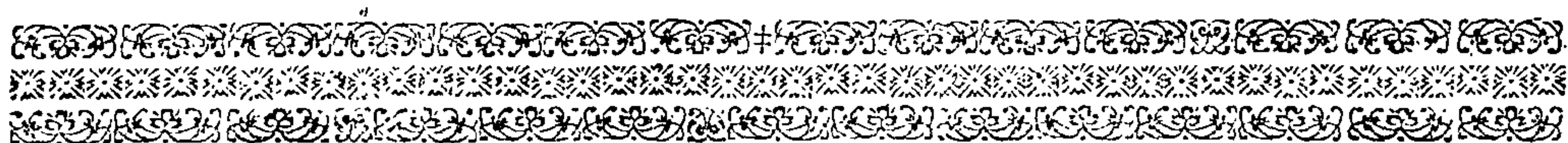
The *Civil* Law punishes infamous Libels with much more Severity than it does verbal Injuries; because *litera scripta manet*. For if a Person shall find a Libel composed to the Disparagement of another, and shall not destroy the same, but shall publish it, he shall be punish'd capitally, according to the *Civil* Law ^d, in the same manner as if he had composed it. But verbal Injuries it only punishes with publick Recantation, private Amends, &c. Yet, if any one has a mind to accuse or charge a Person with a Crime, whose Fame may be hurt by a Libel, he shall be heard, if he inscribes himself *ad Talionem*; and if he proves the Crime, he shall be rewarded: But if he does not, he shall be punish'd ^e according to the Law of Retaliation. And thus a Libel may be made against a private Man as well as against a publick Magistrate; and it matters not whether the Libel be true, or whether the Party be of good or ill Fame: For it incites all of the same Family, Kindred, or Society, to Revenge; and so oftentimes, in Consequence, tends to the Effusion of Blood.

^f 44 Eliz. [It was resolved in the Star-Chamber, in *Hollywood's* Case ^f, That if a Person finds a Libel, and would keep himself out of Danger, if it be against a private Man, the Finder may either burn it, or presently deliver it to a Magistrate: But if it concerns a Magistrate or publick Person, then he ought to give it to a Magistrate. A Libel may be as well by Pictures, or any other ignominious Signs, as by Songs or Writing; as by drawing a Gallows at a Man's Door, &c. The Punishment thereof, at the Common Law, is by Indictment ^g.]

But the Question is among the *Civilians*, Whether he that publishes a famous Libel, may be punish'd, if he discovers the Author? And *Salyceſtus* ^h concludes,

concludes, that both shall be punish'd, *viz.* as well the Author who composed it, as also the Publisher. For the Publisher shall be punish'd, as knowingly making use of a false Instrument, though there be a *constat* of the Author ⁱ. And it is the same Thing, if a Man be conven'd in an ¹ C. 9. 22. 8. Action of Injury for Words; for it shall be no Advantage to him, though he should say that he heard them from another, and points out the Author: And thus it has often been adjudged. But what I here say, only proceeds when the Person writing such Libel, utters that which is false: But it is otherwise, if he says that which concerns the State to know; for then no Action lies, nor shall he be punish'd, according to the *Gloss* ^k. For though ¹ In L. 1. I. 4. the *Gloss* on the *Digest* holds the contrary, *viz.* That he is liable, whether ⁴ V. *foret.* the Matter be true or false; yet the more received Opinion is, that he is not liable, if he speaks the Truth, and the Publick is concern'd to know it. But it is otherwise, if he utters a Falshood, or it be not the Interest of ¹ D. 48 19. 24. DD. in L. 1. the Publick to know it ¹.

C. 9. 36.



T I T. XXXV.

Of Damage done, what by the Civil and what by the Aquilian Law; how it is estimated, and whether Heirs are liable thereunto: What Action granted by the Aquilian Law, and when an Action on this Law concurs with an Action on the Cornelian Law for Damage.

THE Word *Damage*, or *Damnum*, as used in our Books, signifies a Diminution of a Man's Estate, whether it consists in Lands, Goods, or otherwise, as *Bartolus* observes ^m: And, according to *Paulus* in the *fifth* ^m In L. 2. D. Book of his Sentences ⁿ, it is so called from the Word *Diminutio*. *Alex-* ^{39. 2.} ⁿ Tit. 10. *ander*, in his *Consilia Juris*, will have *Damage* and *Expences* to denote the self-same Thing; but (I think) he is much mistaken herein. For *Damage*, according to *Socinus* ^o and others, is that Loss which a Man sustains against his Will; but *Expences* are those Costs which a Man consents to make. ^o Conf. 4. Vol. 4. See *Fason* ^p. The Word *Damage* may be taken in a twofold Sense, *viz.* ^p In L. 1. D. *First*, In a large and general Acceptation of it, for any kind of Diminu- ^{2, 3, 4.} tion which happens to a Man's Fortune or Estate ^q. And in this Sense it ^q D. 39. 2. 3. comprehends Theft and Rapine; for a Thief and a Robber are both of them said to commit *Damage*. *Secondly*, It is taken strictly and properly, *viz.* for the spoiling or making any Thing worse ^r; and in this Sense it ^r *Gloss* in L. does not comprehend Theft and Robbery, because these Offences are com- ^{30. D. 9. 2.} mitted by taking a Thing away; but *Damage*, strictly speaking, is only done by spoiling or corrupting of it ^s. Hence the Doctors distinguish ^s D. 9. 2. 27. 25. between an Action of Theft, and an Action on the *Aquilian* Law; because an Action of Theft and Robbery lies, when the Thief or Robber takes my Goods away without my Leave; but if a Person kills or destroys that which belongs to me, an Action lies on the *Aquilian* Law, whereby I am relieved, who unjustly suffer *Damage* from others: And this is a *Species* of a private Offence or *Trespass*.

Again, *Damage*, in the second Sense of the Word, may be consider'd in a twofold Manner. *First*, As *Damage* done, called *Damnum datum*; and, *Secondly*,

Secondly, As Damage *not yet done*, but what we fear will be done hereafter; and this is called *Damnum infectum* ^t. The first kind may be comprehended under an Injury already received; though every Injury is not a Damage, according to the strict Acceptation of the Word *Injury*. For though every Damage be an Injury, yet every Injury is not a Damage, the Word *Injury* being taken in a larger Sense, as being a general Term. Damage *done* is punish'd by the *Aquilian* Law: But where there is no Injury done, the *Aquilian* Law does not obtain. As when a Man hurts another upon Provocation in his own Defence, or in the Defence of his Goods ^u: But then the Person defending himself or his Goods, ought not, by any Means, to exceed the just Measure of his Defence; for whenever this Measure is exceeded, it carries Injury and Damage along with it ^x. Nor is it any Plea for the Person assaulting to say, that the Person assaulted gave occasion of the Quarrel.

There are several Laws that have a respect unto Damage done; but the *Aquilian* Law seems to be derogatory to all Laws, which were enacted before it, touching the same, whether it were a Law of the Twelve Tables, or any other Law whatsoever ^y. Now the *Aquilian* Law is a Plebiscite or Ordinance of the People, made at the Recommendation of their Tribune *Aquilius* ^z. Formerly it consisted of three Heads or Divisions, but now of two, *viz.* the first and the third; for, the second growing into disuse, the third succeeds in the Place of it. I shall here treat of the first, which provides, That he who *injuriously* kills another's Bondman or Cattle, shall pay the Lord or Owner for Damage, so much Money as he has made from the Service of his Cattle for the Year past: And an Action in two-fold lies against him who denies the same. But the Proof of the Fact ought to be made by Witnesses; and not by the Oath of the Party, who may be too partial to himself, to the End that he should recover double Damage. But this double Damage is now (I think) taken away by subsequent Laws. I say *injuriously*, or not according to Law: For it is not enough, that he kills them, but it ought to be done *cum injuriâ*, or not according to Law ^a. Wherefore, if a Person that has a Bondman, who lies in wait against me as a Ruffian or Robber, I may kill him with Impunity: For right Reason and the Law of Nations allows a Man to defend himself against Danger.

By a Law of the Twelve Tables, a Man might kill a Night-Thief or Robber taken in the Night-time; but then he was to make an Outcry, that People might come to his Assistance: But if taken in the Day-time, he might not kill him, unless he defended himself with some Weapon, though he went away with the Goods, because he might have his Action ^b. But if he killed him thus defending himself, it was still to be with an Outcry ^c. In Tournaments or publick Contests, if one Soldier killed another, he was not liable to the *Aquilian* Law: For in this Case he was not liable, because it was done for the sake of proving and exercising his Courage ^d: But Bondmen were not wont to fight in this Manner, but only Gentlemen stiled *Ingenui*. That also is called a publick Contest or Combat, which happens for the sake of publick Mirth or Rejoicing. Thus Duelling, (I think) in some Sense, was not prohibited by the *Roman* Law. A Magistrate is liable to an Action on this Law, if he offers any Damage to a Person contrary to the known Rules of Law and Justice ^e; and so are all such Persons as obey his unlawful Decrees and Orders; but then (I think) they ought to be evidently so ^f. And as an Action lies against an unjust Judge; so likewise it does against an ignorant or unskilful Physician, by whose Ignorance a Patient suffers under his Hands ^g, as I have noted elsewhere.

When a Person has a Purpose and Will to set fire to my House, and the like, and the Fire comes to my Neighbour's House, and it is burnt, by the *Aquilian* Law he shall be liable unto my Neighbour ^h: For when a Fact

Fact exceeds the Will and Intent of the Person committing it, he shall be answerable for the whole Fact and Consequence thereof, without any Regard had to his Purpose and Design. If a Baker's Servant shall fall asleep at the Oven's Mouth, and the House shall be burnt by his Negligence, the Master may be convened by the Landlord in an Action *ex Locato*, or in an Action of Damage, if another's House be burnt by this Means, for being negligent in the Choice of his Servants. But what if another Person puts Fire into an Oven, shall he who puts in the Fire, or he who kept the Oven be answerable: For the Person who should look after the Oven did nothing of Damage, and he who put in the Fire rightly as he ought to do, committed no Offence, and consequently is not liable either to a *direct*, or to an Action in Equity on the *Aquilian Law*? In this Case it ought to be consider'd, whether the Fire was put in without any Order, and then the Person who put it in shall be liable; but if he had Orders to do it either from the Master or his Servant, the Master shall be answerable for his Servant's Negligence in keeping it after it was put in. If a Master, as a Shoe-maker, and the like, shall wound or kill his Servant by giving him Correction or corporal Discipline, he shall be liable to the *Aquilian Law*, if such Discipline and Correction was immoderate: But if it was gentle, and not immoderate, and the Person loses an Eye thereupon by Chance, he shall not be liable; because the Discipline was not with a Design of doing an Injury, but for the sake of Admonition and Instruction.

An Action for Damage done, accrues to any Person as well as to him who sustains the Damage, as to the Master of the Person injur'd. But a *Freeman* wounded has not a *direct* Action from hence, because a Man cannot be called a Proprietor of his own Body, and say that his Estate is *directly* diminished by such Wound ⁱ. Yet by Equity and Interpretation of Law, ^{1 D. 9. 2. 13.} he may be relieved here for the Loss of his *Time*, and the Charge of his Cure, for by that Means his Estate has been impair'd. It is just also, that the Torment and Pain, which the Sufferer has underwent, should be regarded, though it cannot be directly included under this Action. Regard ought also to be had to the Deformity brought upon the Body, (especially in the Case of a young Virgin.) For, indirectly, one's Preferment in the World, in all Probability, may be hinder'd or lessen'd by it, and a Man is made contemptible in Conversation upon this Account by Buffoons and petulant Persons. In the Defence of my House, I may pull down the House of my Neighbour, which is on Fire, to preserve my own ^k. The ^{11 D. 9. 2. 49. 1.} People assembled are Judges of this Necessity; for there may not be an Opportunity to consult the Magistrate, but he that was the Occasion shall answer the Damages ^l.

If Damage be inflicted or committed in a Matter that relates to several, each Person may (according to *Castrensis* ^m) have an Action according to ⁿ Conf. 42. 4. the respective Share of his Interest. Thus, if a Trespass be committed in ^{lib. 1.} several Matters relating to one and the same Person, he may prosecute each of these Offences severally, because there are so many Offences as there are Things. If more Persons than one were the Authors of the Damage, all are liable by this Law ⁿ to pay the whole Recompence; and if one pays ^{n D. 9. 2. 11. 2.} the Whole, that does not discharge his Companion, for the Law is Penal and Particular. But *Quære*, whether this seems reasonable as to the Recompence, though it may be allowed as to the Punishment? The Recompence must be certain, and not uncertain: For if I cut your Nets, I must not be answerable for all the Fish which possibly might be caught with them. The Heir of the Person wounded, or of him whose Goods have been impaired, may bring this Action ^o; but not against the Heir of him ^{o D. 9. 2. 23. 8.} who did the Damage, for that was Personal, unless the Heir has been enriched by the Damage ^p. And this Action is given not only to the true ^{p C. 4. 17. 1.} Proprietor,

Proprietor, but even to others that have a *Special Possession* ; except that

² D. 9. 2. 11. 9. Person who hath Possession by *lending* 9.

[In *England*, and in other Countries, the Action under this Head of the *Aquilian Law* is now no more penal than the other; for the Aggressor only pays the Value of the Damage, and no more. See *Groenw. de Legib. Abrog.* ¹. Yet in *England* there may be a Criminal Prosecution also by Way of Indictment, on an Assault *Vi & Armis*, and the Court will fine the Offender. If any one of Malice forethought, shall cut out or disable the Tongue, put out the Eye, slit the Nose, or cut off the Nose or Lip, or cut off any Limb or Member of another, with an Intent to maim or disfigure him, it is Death ².]

¹ Inf. h. t.

² 22 & 23 Car. II.

Damage may be proved by the Oath of him who has suffer'd and undergone the same ¹: And right Reason confirms this Truth from the Difficulty of the Proof arising thereupon, and likewise in Hatred of the Person that does the Damage. As for Example: If a Person expels or turns me out of a House, where I had my Furniture or Household-Goods, I cannot by Law prove this Damage (if I would) by Witnesses that are of the Family, as *Baldus* observes ², and much less can I prove this Matter by Strangers, because they cannot say that the Things which were in the House were mine, and thus the Proof of my Cause would be deficient: Wherefore, the Damage shall be proved by the Oath of the Party that sustains the same; for in Aid of Proof where other Proof cannot be had, we must abide by the Oath of the Party. See *Bartolus* ³ and *Baldus* ⁴. And this is so far true, that by the *Civil Law* an Appeal does not lie from such a Sentence, though it be otherwise by the *Canon Law* ⁵. But to the End that an Oath should be given to the Party against the Delinquent, two Things are jointly requir'd, *viz.* Difficulty of Proof, and that the Defendant was guilty of some Offence or Fraud ⁶; and this holds good not only in Civil, but also in Criminal Matters. But though Damages and the Value of Things by Force taken away, may be proved by the Oath of the Party that suffers the same; yet a previous Taxation of the Judge is held necessary hereunto ⁷. Again, This holds true in every *emergent* Damage, as well as in respect of *expulsive* and *compulsive* Violence, as in regard to *ablative* and *turbative* Violence. *Anton. de Butrio* asserts, that the Estimation of Damage is only proved by Oath in *expulsive* and *ablative* Force.

¹ C. 8. 4. 9. Jaf. ib.

² In L. 5. D. 12. 3.

³ In L. 9. C. 8. 4.

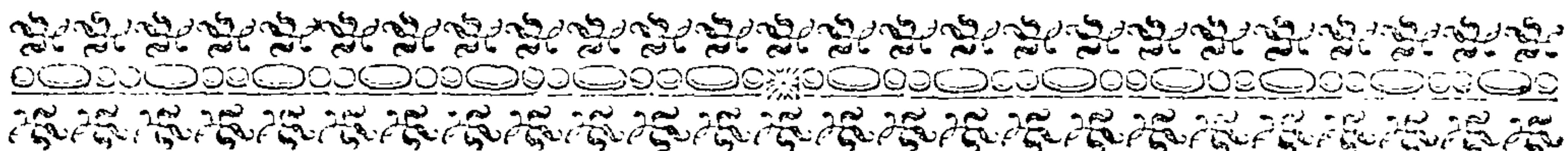
⁴ In L. 4. C. 3.

35.

⁵ Jaf. in L. 9. C. 8. 4.

⁶ Bart. in L. 5. D. 12. 3.

⁷ C. 8. 4. 9.



T I T. XXXVI.

Of what the Law calls Nunciatio Novi Operis, or of an Interdict and Injunction to hinder what is doing, or intended to be done against another's Right, or to another's Damage, &c.

HAVING in the foregoing Title consider'd Damage as already done, I shall here discourse of it as it is now doing, or designed to be done: As when I see *Titius* building a House, or any other Work on my Ground, and I think myself to have the only Right in that Soil, as because (perhaps) it is mine, or that I have some other Right in it, whereby he cannot build against my Will, I may forbid him to proceed in that Work; and this is permitted by an Edict of the *Prætor* under the Title of *Novi*

¹ D. 39. 1. 20. *Operis Nunciatio* ². For if he will proceed in such Work, let him go before

before the Judge, and put in Caution or Security to destroy the said Work, in case it shall appear that he erects it contrary to Justice; and then he may proceed in his Work without any Damage to himself. But this Edict only relates to such Works as are just now begun and in hand, and not to such as are made and finished ^d: For if they are already finish'd, the Edict has no Place, but an Interdict *Quod vi aut clam* lies to demolish such Works, or an Interdict *Nè quid in Sacro Loco*, if they are made in a Sacred Place ^e.

^e D. ut supra.

By the ancient Law, whenever any Person built on my Estate, or on an Estate of mine, I might, by my own Authority, pull down and destroy such Building ^f; and this (according to some Mens Opinions) I may do still: But if a Person built on his own Estate, and did me a Damage by such Work or Building, I could only, by the Rules of that Law, sue him in a Petitory Action; and in the mean while he could not be hinder'd from going on with his Work; nor was he obliged readily to submit or give credit unto me, touching the Damage ^g, but that he might act and do as he thought fit on his own Estate ^h. Hence my Condition became very hard, because the Judges were wont to shew great Favour to Works or Buildings already begun ⁱ; it being the Publick Interest, that Buildings should not be destroy'd; and because if the Person who erected the same was insolvent, or if he gave not just Credit to my Complaint; I ought, at my own Charge, to demolish that Building which he had thus rashly set up.

^f D. 39. 1. 5. 10.

^g D. 2. 10. 1. 2.

^h D. 43. 20. 7.

ⁱ D. 1. 4. 7. 3. 1.

Whereupon the *Prætor*, afterwards, to obviate this Inconvenience, did, by an Edict, decree, as aforesaid, That no one should, for the future, erect any new Edifice to the Prejudice of another, after a Prohibition or lawful Admonition given him to desist from such new Work, 'till the Right was determin'd, or Caution given to answer the Fact, though he should have a just Cause or Title for so doing ^k: And this Prohibition or Admonition is in our Law-books filed *Novi Operis Nunciatio*; for the Word

^k D. 39. 1. 1.

Nunciatio here, according to the *Gloss* ^l, signifies the same as a Prohibition. A *New Work*, is here said to be that which is joined to the Soil;

^l In L. 17.

^m D. 39. 1.

and the Building of such, seems to contain a New Work: And he also is said to make a New Work, who changes the ancient Form or Face of a Work ^m. But if a Person cuts down Trees, prunes his Vineyard, or mows his Corn, though he does a Work, yet it has no relation thereto; because this Edict only includes such Works as are made or erected on the Soil ⁿ. Thus this Inhibition has only a respect to Structures, and such

^m D. 39. 1. 1. 11.

ⁿ D. 39. 1. 21. 3.

^o D. 39. 1. 1. 12.

Things as adhere and cleave to the Soil, and not to Moveables; to Things of profane Use, and not to Things religious; to future Works, and not to Works already finish'd or made ^o. For the *Prætor* introduced the *Jus Nunciandi* against the Proceeding of a Work to be done, as he did the Interdict *Quod vi aut clam* in respect of a Work already done ^p.

^o D. 39. 1. 1. 1.

^p D. ut supra.

This Prohibition may be made either to the Master, or to the Workmen ^q; and the Judge may interpose and examine the Matter, upon a Complaint made to him, and not otherwise. But if such Prohibition be made to the Workmen without acquainting the Master with it, and they go on to build, in Contempt of such Inhibition; the Master, though he be an Infant or Madman, shall be obliged to pull it down at his own Cost and Charges ^r. Secondly, This Prohibition may be made by Words alone, which is then practised when a Neighbour builds upon his own Estate, but contrary to the Service which is due to him ^s: Or it may be made by the Cast of a Stone ^t; or by the Judge's Order, on imploring his Office herein. It may be made either in our own Name, or by the Means of another Person, and upon any Day whatsoever; and it proceeds even against absent Persons ^u. *Bartolus* says, ^x That the Cause of this Inhibition ought to be inserted and express'd, if it be desired: but if it be not demanded or desir'd,

^q D. 39. 1. 5. 3.

^r Arg. D. 39.

^s 1. 5. 3. & 4.

^t D. 39. 1. 5. 10.

^u D. 39. 1. 1. 2.

^x D. 39. 1. 1. 2.

^y Conf. 64.

it need not be inserted. Yet, in the Prosecution of the Suit, it ought to be deduced and set forth in the Libel, as the Matter is in other Libels. Nor is it any Objection hereunto, to say, That an Heir appointed may forego the Heirship without assigning a Reason ^γ; because, in such a Case, the Legataries are not aggrieved, unless it be by a Loss of the Lucre ^z. But the Person who sues out this Injunction or Prohibition does a Damage to the Party who builds, if he does not therein assign a Cause ^a. But I think *Raphael's* to be the better Opinion; *viz.* That the Person who sues forth this Inhibition or Injunction is not obliged to alledge any Cause extrajudicially, though it be requested; but 'tis enough to do it in the Prosecution of the Suit, when he shall exhibit a Libel *in Causâ Nunciationis* ^b. And so says *Bartolus*. A Libel is a judicial Act; but this Prohibition is an extrajudicial Act. A Libel is not given to the Party on a Holiday; but this Inhibition may be made or served on any Holiday ^c.

Now, to the End that this Prohibition should be valid, it ought to be made on one of these three Accounts; *viz.* 1st, either on the account of preserving my own Right; or else, 2^{dly}, on the score of diverting some Damage that may ensue; or, 3^{dly}, for the sake of defending the Right of the Publick ^d. Of the first I shall give two Examples: As, *first*, when you build upon my Ground, as aforesaid. And, *secondly*, when you build on your own Soil, and owe a Service to me *de altius non tollendo*. For if I forbid a new Work in either of these Cases, I am said to forbid it, on the account of conserving my own Right. Touching the *second*, I shall also here give an Instance: As, when you build upon any publick or private Ground, and I fear that my House will be ruined or endamaged by such Building, as being in the Neighbourhood; for, in such a Case, I may forbid you, unless you will give Caution or Security *de Damno infecto*, to make good the Damage that shall ensue. And, in this Sense, I am said to forbid a new Work, for the sake of avoiding that Damage which I dread from you. Touching the *third* Reason, I shall give three Examples: As, 1st, when the Work is made contrary to the known Laws of the Land. 2^{dly}, when it is made contrary to the Edicts or Proclamations of Princes. And, 3^{dly}, when it is made in any religious, sacred, or publick Place. But when a Person erects a new Work on the Sea-shore, I may not forbid or hinder him, unless I fear it will incommode or ruin my House which is built there.

Touching the Persons that may bring this Interdict, or make this Prohibition, it is to be observed, That if the Work be erected in any publick Place, any one of the People may do it: But if it be in a private Place, then only he who has an Interest therein can do it, as he who conceives himself to have a Right in the Soil whereon it is built, against whose Will such Work cannot be made. *Sempronius* had an Usufruct in an Estate belonging to *Titius*. *Cornelius*, a Stranger, began to build thereon. *Sempronius* had a mind to forbid him: *Quære*, whether he could do it, or not? And it was held, That, as a Proprietor, I cannot do it, as being a third Person, because I am not the Proprietor; but because my Interest is concerned, I may do it as a Proctor. And I have also another Way or Remedy to effect it; for I may do it in a *real* Action, by suing for the Usufruct, which is affected thereby, by bringing this Action against the Person that erects such Work or Building; and I shall have a Judgment not to have such Work go forward. See *Accursius* on the Law here cited ^e.

If I forbid you the carrying on of a new Work, and you, in Contempt of such Prohibition, proceed (notwithstanding) in the Work; whatever you do therein after such Prohibition shall be destroy'd, though the Soil on which it is built be your own ^f: And if you build, though I know

I know not what your Design is, yet I may forbid you proceeding therein g. ⁸D. 39. 1. 1. 8. But if I have forbidden you to proceed in a new Work, and we afterwards come to an Agreement herein that you may proceed, or the Judge, to whom this Matter is referred by way of Arbitration, determines in favour thereof, you may from henceforward securely proceed on the Work h. ^hD. 39. 1. 1. 9 & 10. Whether you build *de novo* on the old Foundation, or only take away Earth to make a Ditch in any Ground, I may not forbid you this: For a Man may repair a ruinous House, and not be hinder'd; because this is not making a new Work, but only repairing an old one i. ⁱD. 39. 1. 1.

This Edict of the *Pretor* is call'd a Prohibitory Interdict, soasmuch ¹¹ as it gives Relief against Things which may happen, and is not extended to Things past or perfected: For against these last we may have Relief by an Interdict *Quod vi aut elam*, or by some other Remedies k, as aforesaid. But sometimes this Interdict is not obligatory; as when it is made by a Pupil, and the like l. If the Person to whom such Prohibition has been made, shall proceed in his Work, before the Prohibition is relaxed by giving Security, and shall afterwards plead that he ought not to be hinder'd, for that he has a Right thus to build; the Judge ought to deny his Action of a *Nè vis fiat*, (which he might otherwise have), and proceed to interdict him in his Work m. ^mD. 39. 1. 1. 7.



T I T. XXXVII.

Of Damage not yet done, but fear'd to be done, call'd Damnum infectum: And of Damage which may be done to Estates by diverting the Course of Water, either by cutting Trenches from navigable Rivers, or throwing up Dams whereby Rain-water may be prejudicial; and of an Interdict or Injunction hereupon, &c.

IT sometimes happens, that we have no Action accruing to us for Damage done, unless Caution or Security be put in before-hand, which we call Caution *de Damno infecto* n; or, in *English*, Caution for ⁿD. 39. 2. 2. *Damage not yet done or received*, but that which we fear will happen at some Time hereafter. Therefore, when a Neighbour foresees that he is threatned with some Damage from some work erected or made by another Neighbour, he may take Care of himself by a Remedy at Law, stiled an Action *Damni infecti*; to the End that this Work shall not be so effected by his Neighbour, as to injure or endamage him. As when a Wall that is common to us both, does, by some Act or other by you done, so lean and incline itself on my House, as when you pull any Thing away, or alter the same, I am in Danger: In this Case, I may have an Action at Law to hinder you from pulling down or altering that Wall o. And ^oC. 8. 5. 14. 1. hereunto is added a *Pretorial* Remedy, or Remedy in Equity, which, by reason of the great Dispatch which it requires, is committed to Municipal Magistrates p, and is called an Interdict or Injunction *de Damno infecto*. ^pD. 39. 2. 1.

This Remedy or Action is an extraordinary Remedy; and therefore, it only lies when all other Actions fail q. As when a Person that rents an ^qD. 39. 2. 3. 2. House, ^{fin.}

House, cannot, with Safety to himself, dwell in the House which he rents, by reason of some Damage or Danger threatned him ; he may, in such a Case, have this Remedy, if he cannot bring an Action *ex Condicto* ^{r.} But this Action or Remedy *de Damno infecto* may concur with several Remedies, provided they tend to different Issues or Events. Thus, he who has a ruinous House, shall be obliged to give Caution *de Damno infecto* unto his Neighbour ; and if he shall refuse to do it, his Neighbour shall have the Possession of the House, by virtue of a second Decree from the Judge ^{s.} And if he will not give Caution then, nor suffer his Neighbour to enter on Possession at the Command of the Judge, or some other Magistrate, the Judge may give his Neighbour an Action on the Case, to recover all that which he might have obtained, in case he had given Caution *de Damno infecto* ^{t.} If a Work be made and erected on the Bank of a publick River, or in such River which threatens Damage to such Persons as live near the Place, or that navigate on the River, he who sets up the Work, ought to give Caution to make good the Damage which shall happen through the Fault or Means of such Work, within ten Years ^{x.}

The Person who prays Caution *de Damno infecto*, ought to take an Oath, ^y That he does not this out of Malice or Contumely ^y ; and if the Judge then denies him his Decree, he has a good Action on the Case against the Judge, for such Refusal ^{z.} which is an Action not barr'd by any Limitation of Time ^{a.} The Judge ought to decree this Caution to the Neighbour himself, if he be the Proprietor of the House or Thing thus in Danger : For the Proprietor, as well as the Usufructuary ought to have this Caution given him. If Damage happens before any Caution be desir'd, the Owner is not bound to give this Caution ; nor shall a Person be obliged to take away the Rubbish of a fallen House, if he will leave the same as a Derelict ^{b.} But if otherwise he does not take care to carry off the Rubbish, and he who receiv'd Damage, wou'd have it taken away, he may have an Injunction *de Ruderibus tollendis*, to compel the Person to remove it, or to leave it as a Derelict. But if the Person, whose House is fallen, and has damaged his Neighbour thereby, has a mind, before Caution is given, to remove the Rubbish ; instead of giving Caution, he may do it, even contrary to the Person whom he had damaged ; provided he does three Things, *viz.* first, remove the Rubbish ; secondly, give Caution touching any future Damage that shall happen from removing the Rubbish ; and, thirdly, give Caution touching the Damage already done from the Fall of the House.

If a Person has a ruinous House, he ought not only to give Caution to his Neighbour that has the full Property in an House, but likewise to him that has the Usufruct in any House that is contiguous to it, or in the Neighbourhood ^{c.} A Building becomes dangerous, either from the Fault of the Workmanship, or from the Badness of the Soil on which it is erected. If a River shall, by the Rapidity of its Course, carry what belongs to me into your House, or on your Land, I may have an Interdict or Injunction against any Force that shall be offer'd me, being willing to carry away my own Effects ; provided I give Caution *de Damno infecto*. And so, if a River shall carry a Crust of your Land on mine, you may claim the Liberty of taking it away, provided you give this kind of Caution : And this holds true, if the Crust of your Land does not cleave to mine, and thus become one with mine ^{d.} And the same may be said of a Tree belonging to your Estate, if a River shall carry it on mine : For if the Tree has not taken Root, you may demand it, otherwise not.

If there are several Owners of Houses, that ought to give this Caution, and one of them does not do it, the Person likely to suffer shall be admitted into Possession of his Part, and not into the Part of him who gives Caution :

Caution: But if no one gives Caution, the Person shall be admitted into the Possession of all of them; and if several Persons pray to be admitted, they shall be admitted equally by virtue of the first Decree ^e. If two ^{D. 39. 2. 5. i.} Persons are at Law or Strife about the Property of a ruinous House, he in Possession ought to give this Caution, who, if he gives Caution, and be afterwards cast in his Suit, shall recover the Caution given by Pledges from the true Proprietor: And if he refuses to give Caution, the Possession shall be transferr'd on him who prays Caution ^f. Sometimes only simple Caution ^{D. 39. 2. 39. i.} by Promise, or by a Man's own personal Security, and sometimes Security by Sureties, called *Satisfactio*, is given in this Case ^g. *Titius* had a ^{D. 39. 2. 7.} ruinous House near to mine, and gave Caution *de Damno infecto* for a certain Time, *viz.* for a Year: When the Year is almost expired, and the House not yet fallen, or no Damage done, I may apply to the Judge, and desire to have the Time prolonged, and it ought to be done on Cognizance had of the Cause. But if the Judge cannot have Knowledge of the Matter, unless he goes to the House itself, and by a View considers within what Time the House may fall, he may commit this Matter to some Municipal Magistrate of the District, who lives near the House ^h. If the Judge ^{D. 39. 2. 4. pr.} orders a Person to give this Caution within a certain Time, as ten Days, for Example, and he does not do it, the Person in danger may be admitted in Possession of the whole House, if it be entirely ruinous, or else into Part of it. And if he cannot have Possession by virtue of this Order, he may have an Action on the Case (as aforesaid) before the Magistrate for Damages ⁱ. An Action on the Case likewise lies against the Magistrate, ^{D. 39. 2. 4. 1.} if he shall not do as the Law directs herein, and the Person shall have Damages given him ^k. ^{D. 39. 2. 4. 4.}

I have before mention'd a second Decree, because by a first Decree the true Possessor is not ejected or ousted of his Possession: For this is not such an Embargo or Arrest on his Estate, but that he may go on and improve the same, and receive the Fruits thereof. But if the true Possessor neglects to give Caution on the first Decree, and continues in his Contumacy, he shall be thrown out of Possession by a second Decree ^l. But a second ^{D. 39. 2. 15.} Decree ought not to tread immediately on the Heels of a first Decree, ^{20.} but there ought to be some Interval of Time, that the adverse Party may see whether the true Possessor be negligent or not: And the Person then seems to be negligent, when he has no just Impediment, and does not come to discharge the Arrest or first Decree. Now this Interval of Time is to be left to the Discretion of the Judge ^m. If there are several Persons ^{D. 39. 2. 15.} admitted into Possession by virtue of a first Decree, whether they be ad- ^{21.} mitted jointly or severally, they are all equally in Possession, because each Person is deemed to be admitted *in Solidum*, and not according to the Proportion of Damage which he fears: And therefore, they are Parties unto each other by a Concurrence. But if one Person first comes to a second Decree, and another prays to have Caution given him, the second is only in Possession, and not the first, if Caution be not given him, *viz.* not he against whom Admission was made by a first and second Decree, lest he should interfere with the other ⁿ. The Effect of a first Decree is, that the ^{D. 39. 2. 13.} Person admitted thereby has not the sole Possession of the Thing, but only ^{22.} detains the Possession in concurrence with the true Possessor: And therefore, this kind of Possession is called *Possessio tædiatatis*, because it is irksome to the adverse Party, compelling him to admit the feigned Possessor to come to the Place whenever he pleases.

I have said, that Municipal Magistrates may order this Caution to be given, though it be a Matter *Mixti Imperii*, (and such Matters as are Matters of *Imperium* do not belong to them, but only such as are of simple Jurisdiction): Yet in this Case it is otherwise, by reason of the Danger there

there is in Delay ; because if the House should fall before Caution was given, the Proprietor would not be liable to repair the Damage. And therefore, it is not lawful in this Case to appeal from the Magistrate's Order, because there is Danger in Delay. After the Magistrate has enjoined Caution, and the Person is contumacious in giving it, Caution is looked upon as given : And therefore, the Magistrate cannot precisely compel the Person by an Arrest, Mult, &c. to give Caution ; but he may proceed to a second Decree. If a Municipal Magistrate shall neglect what he may and ought to do herein, an Action on the Case lies against him for the whole
^o D. 39.2.4.7. Damage, and not a penal Action ^o. This Petition ought to be made to the
^p D. 39.2.4.8. Judge, when he is sitting on the Bench in Court ^p, but at any Time to the Municipal Magistrate.

Unto this Title I shall refer the Business or Damage which may be done to Estates by diverting the Course of Water, either by cutting Trenches from navigable Rivers, or throwing up Dams, whereby the Rain-water may be prejudicial to a Neighbour, though they make two distinct Titles in the *Digests*. For if a Person has made a Work on his Estate, whereby Rain-water endamages my Lands, I may have an Action *aquæ pluvie arcendæ* against him, to compel him to turn or divert the Water from me : And this Action has Place, even though no Damage has yet actually happen'd, provided such Work be made from whence I may apprehend or
^q D. 39.3.1.pr. fear Damage ^q. This Action lies, when you have made a Work, whereby Rain-water flows in a greater Abundance than otherwise it is naturally wont to do, and does me Damage, which it did not do before : For if I had the
^r D. 39.3.1.1. same Damage before such Work made, this Action does not lie ^r. There was a Marsh Land between the Estates of *Titius* and *Flaccus* : The Water came on *Flaccus's* Land, and this he bore with Patience for a long Time. But at length he made a strong Dam or Bank on his Estate, and the Marsh thus increasing from the Rain-water, the Water could not by this Means come on his Land as it was wont, but enter'd on the Estates of *Titius* and other Neighbours. In this Case it was held, That *Titius* and the other Neighbours might have an Action *aquæ pluvie arcendæ* against *Flaccus*, whereby he might be compelled to destroy the Work which he had made, and to
^s D. 39.3.1.2. reduce the Rain-water to its ancient Course or State ^s. My Neighbour made a Work on his Estate for the sake of tilling his Land, by which Work the Rain-water did me Damage : *Quære*, Whether I may have an Action against him, to oblige him to destroy the same ? And the Lawyer *Quint. Mutius* held, That for a Work done by a Plough or other Instrument,
^t D. 39.3.1.3. for the sake of tilling of Land, this Action does not lie ^t. For if a Man makes a Ditch or Trench for the sake of draining his Land, and not on the Account of doing Damage, he may lawfully do it. I have said, *when a Work is made by the Plough* : But then this is restrain'd to that Case, when a Person cannot sow without such Works ; for if he can sow without Water-Furrows, &c. then these Works come within this Action, and may be
^u D. 39.3.1.2. destroyed ^u.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

