

The composers of music, the engravers of copper plates, the inventors of machines, are all excluded from the privilege now contended for; but why, if an equitable and moral right is to be the sole foundation of it? their genius, their study, their labour, their originality is as great as an author's, their inventions are as much prejudiced by copyists, and their claim in my opinion stands exactly on the same footing; a nice and subtle investigation may perhaps find out some little logical or mechanical differences, but no solid distinction in the rule of property that applies to them can be found.—If such a perpetual property remains in an author, and his right continues after publication, I cannot conceive what should hinder him from the full exercise of that right in what manner he pleases; he may set the most extravagant price he will upon the first impression, and refuse to print a second when that is sold. If he has an absolute controul over his ideas when published, as before, he may recal them, destroy them, extinguish them, and deprive the world of the use of them ever after; his forbearing to reprint is no evidence of his consent to abandon his property, and leave it as a derelict to the public.

But it is said, that the sale of a printed copy is a qualified or conditional sale, and that the purchaser may make all the uses he pleases of his book except that one of re-printing it; but where is the evidence of this extraordinary bargain? or where the analogy of law to support the supposition? In all other cases of purchase, payment transfers the whole and absolute property to the buyer: there is no instance where a legal right is otherwise transferred by sale, an example of such a speculative right remaining in the seller; it is a new and metaphysical refinement upon the law, and laws, like some manufactures, may be drawn so fine as at last to lose their strength with their solidity.—When printing was first introduced, Cardinal Wolsey warned King Henry VIII. to be cautious how he encouraged it, as a matter which might be dangerous to the state. The event however did not prove it so, and therefore the statute of the 21st of James I. excepted it, as a reasonable and allowable monopoly.

The subsequent licensing act, gave only an adventitious right; and thus it rested till the statute of Queen Anne. The statute certainly recognizes no Common Law right, *hinc illæ lacrymæ!* Nor can I suppose this omission happened through ignorance or inadvertence, when I see such great law-names as Holt, Cooper, Hartcourt, Somers, &c. in the list of that parliament. This act adopts the language of the old privileges in terms, 14 years had been the term before granted to inventors, a specification of the work too, as in the case of machines, was prescribed; nor do I recollect an instance where a statute gives such a temporary remedy as is here granted in aid of an absolute Common Law right.

If such a right existed at Common Law, and it remained unimpeached by that statute, why that anxiety in authors and booksellers afterwards to obtain another sanction for their property? Whence those different applications to parliament, in the year 1735, 1738, 1739, for a longer term of years, or for life in this kind of property, and afterwards to get an act to prohibit the liberty of printing books in foreign kingdoms, and sending them back again. The truth is, the idea of a Common Law right in perpetuity, was not taken up till after that failure in procuring a new statute for an enlargement of the term; if (saith the parties concerned) the legislature will not do it for us, we will do it without their assistance, and then

we begin to hear of this new doctrine, the Common Law right, which, upon the whole, I am of opinion, cannot be supported upon any rules or principles of the Common Law of this kingdom.

The Chief Justice answered the first question in the affirmative, the second and fourth in the negative; and the third and fifth in the affirmative.

Lord Chief Justice MANSFIELD declined giving his opinion.

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T H U R S D A Y, February 24th.

*The substance of Lord CAMDEN's speech.*

“After what the Lord Chief Justice yesterday so ably enforced, there will be little occasion for me to trouble your Lordships; nor will the present state of my health, and the weakness of my voice, allow me to exert myself, were I ever so much inclined; but the nature of my profession, and the duty I owe to this house, will not suffer me to remain silent, when so important a question is to be determined. The fair ground of the argument has been very truly stated to you by the Lord Chief Justice; I hope what was yesterday so learnedly told your Lordships, will remain deeply impressed on your minds.

“The arguments attempted to be maintained on the side of the respondents were founded on patents, privileges, star-chamber decrees, and the bye laws of the Stationers Company; all of them the effects of the grossest tyranny and usurpation; the very last places in which I should have dreamt of finding the least trace of the common law of this kingdom: and yet, by a variety of subtle reasoning and metaphysical refinements, have they endeavoured to squeeze out the spirit of the common-law from premises in which it could not possibly have existence.

“They began with their pretended precedents and authorities, and they endeavoured to model these in such a manner, as to extract from them something like a common law principle, upon which their argument might rest. I shall invert the order, and first of all lay out of my way the whole bed-bole of citations and precedents which they have produced: that heterogeneous heap of rubbish, which is only calculated to confound your Lordships, and mislead the argument. After the first invention of printing, the art continued free for about fifty years. I mean to lay no stress upon this; I mention it only historically, not argumentatively; for as the use of it was little known, and not very extensive, its want of importance might protect it from invasion; but as soon as its effects in politics and religion were felt, all the crowned heads in Europe at once seized on it, and appropriated it to themselves. Certain it is, that in England, the crown claimed both the power of licensing what should be printed, and the monopoly of printing. Two licenses were granted to those who petitioned for them. An author not only was obliged to sue for a licence to print at all, but he was also obliged to sue for a second licence that he might print his own work.

“When the King had once claimed the right of printing, he secured that right by patents and by charters. Still further to secure his monopoly, he combined the printers, and formed them into a company, then called the Stationers Company, by whose laws, none but members could print any book at all. They assumed powers of seizure, confiscation and imprisonment, and the decrees of the star-chamber confirmed their proceedings. These transactions, I presume, have no relation to the common law; and when they were established, where could an author, independent.

dent of the company, print his works, or try his right to it? Who could make head against this arbitrary prerogative, which stifled and suppressed the common law of the land? Every man who printed a book, no matter how he obtained it, entered his name in their books, and became a member of their company: then he was complete owner of the book. Owner was the term applied to every holder of copies; and the word author does not occur once in all their entries. All societies, good or bad, arbitrary or illegal, must have some laws to regulate them. When an author died, his executors naturally became his successors. The manner in which the copy-right was held, was a kind of copyhold tenure, in which the owner has a title by custom only, at the will and pleasure of the Lord. The two sole titles by which a man secured his right was the royal patent and the license of the Stationers company; I challenge any man alive to shew me any other right or title; Where is it to be found? some of the learned Judges say the words *or otherwise* in the statute of Queen Anne relate to a prior common law right; To what common law right could these words refer? At all the periods I have mentioned the common law rights were held under the law of prerogative. It was the general opinion that there was no other right, and the corrupt Judges of the times submitted to the arbitrary law of prerogative. In the case of the Stationers Company against Seymour, all the Judges declared that printing was under the direction of the Crown, and that the Court of King's Bench could seize all printers of news, true or false, lawful or illicit. But if it was made use of to protect authors, what was this protection? a right derived under a bye law of a private company. A protection similar to that which we give the great Mogul; when we want any grant from him, we talk submissively, and pay him homage, but it is to serve our own purpose, and to feast him with a shadow that we may attain the substance. In short, the more your Lordships examine the matter, the more you will find that these rights are founded upon the charter of the Stationers Company and the royal prerogative; but what has this to do with the common law right? for never, my Lords, forget the import of that term. Remember always that the common law right now claimed at your bar is the right of a private man to print his works for ever, independent of the crown, the company, and all mankind. In the year 1681 we find a bye law for the protection of their own company and their copy-rights, which then consisted of all the literature of the kingdom; for they had contrived to get all the copies into their own hands. In a few years afterwards the revolution was established, then vanished prerogative, then all the bye laws of the Stationers Company were at an end; every restraint fell from off the press, and the old common law of England walked at large. During the succeeding fourteen or sixteen years, no action was brought, no injunction obtained, although no illegal force prevented it; a strong proof, that at that time there was no idea of a common law claim. So little did they then dream of establishing a perpetuity in their copies, that the holders of them finding no prerogative security, no privilege, no licensing act, no star chamber decree to protect their claim, in the year 1708 came up to parliament in the form of petitioners, with tears in their eyes, hopeless and forlorn; they brought with them their wives and children to excite compassion, and induce parliament to grant them a statutory security. They obtained the act. And again and again sought for a further legislative security.

“ Thus

“ Thus, my Lords, stands the pretence on the score of usage, of which your Lordships have heard so much on one side the question. I come now to consider upon what foundation stand the prerogative copies; and these were in fact cases between co-patentees (for I must consider the Stationers Company itself as a patentee of the crown), and no authorship right occurs here. The right in the crown is supposed to come either from purchase or contract; and our law argues from principles, cases, and analogy; but not a word of this in the judgment of the court; but the arguments of counsel are adduced to prove the point. The argument of counsel is a sorry kind of evidence indeed, in most cases it would be very dangerous to rely on it, but here it is such stuff as I am ashamed to mention. You have them at length in Carter. First, it is put on the topic of prerogative, next of ownership. 1. Henry the sixth brought over the printers and their presses, *ergo*, say the counsel, he has an absolute right to the whole art, and all that it can produce. 2. Printing belongs to nobody, and what is nobody's is of course the King's. 3. The King pays his Judges, *ergo*, he purchases that right for a valuable consideration. 4. He paid for the translation of the Bible, therefore, forsooth, he bought a right to sell bibles. Away with such trifling! Mr. Yorke put it on its true footing. Ought not the promulgation of your venerable codes of religion and of law to be intrusted to the executive power, that they may bear the highest mark of authenticity, and neither be impaired, or altered, or mutilated? These printed acts are records themselves, are evidence in a court of law, without recurring to the original parliamentary roll. Will you then give this honourable right to your Sovereign as such? or will you degrade him into a Bookseller? indeed, had he no other title to this distinction, that could hardly be maintained. But if this will not serve the purpose, recourse is next had to injunctions; they, it is said, have put the right out of doubt: nay, Lord Hardwicke's name is triumphantly brought on the stage, and he is declared to have absolutely decided the point: no man, I am sure, can venerate his name (which will be dear to posterity as long as law and equity remain) more than I do. But this boasted case, like all the rest that have been produced, entirely fails in the proof; and when my Lord Chief Justice read his own note of what Lord Hardwicke said upon the occasion, it appeared that Lord H.'s words had been twisted to an opposite meaning to what he intended. All the injunction cases have been ably gone through. I shall only add, in general terms, that they can prove nothing: they are commonly obtained for the purpose of staying waste, and the prevention of irreparable damage. They must therefore in their nature be sudden and summary, or the benefit of them would be lost before they are obtained, and they are granted though the right is not clear, but doubtful. The question, whether I can maintain my right against the devisee or the heir at law, may be discussed afterwards at leisure; but unless upon shewing a reasonable pretence of title you in the mean time tie up the spoiler's hands who is selling my timber, or ploughing my pasture; my remedy is gone, or comes too late to prevent the mischief. What then if a thousand injunctions had been granted, unless the Chancellor at the time he granted them had pronounced a solemn opinion, that they were grounded upon the common law? it would only come to this at last, that the right in question was claimed on one side and denied on the other: therefore till the matter was tried and determined, let the injunction go. Lord Hardwicke after twenty years experience, in the last case of

the kind that came before him, declared that the point had never yet been determined. Lord Northington granted them on the idea of a doubtful title; I continued the practice upon the same foundation; and so did the present Chancellor. Where then is the Chancellor who has declared *ex cathedra* that he had decided upon the Common-Law right? Let the decision be produced in direct terms. It is amazing that we should have been so long amused with this kind of argument from such vague authorities!

“ At length, my Lords, having removed every stumbling-block that opposed our progress to the pure source of Common Law; having cleared the way of all those spurious, pretended authorities, which will not bear the test of a moment’s serious examination, the question begins to assume its natural shape: Here then I feel myself upon my own ground, and I challenge any man to produce any adjudication, a precedent, a case, or any thing like legal authority on which this claim can be grounded. Does there a Scintilla, a glimpse of Common Law appear under any of those different heads I have mentioned, and which have been so often repeated to us? For my own part, I find nothing in the whole that favours of Law, except the term itself, *Literary Property*. They have borrowed one single word from the Common Law, and have raked into every store house of literary lumber to find out how to apply it to the subject, and to deduce some principles to which it may refer, and be governed by. And now what are they? What are the foundations of this claim in the English Common Law? Why, in the first place, say the Respondents, every man has a right to his ideas.—Most certainly every man who thinks, has a right to his thoughts, while they continue his; but here the question again returns; when does he part with them? When do they become *publici juris*? While they are in his brain no one indeed can purloin them; but what if he speaks, and lets them fly out in private or public discourse? Will he claim the breath, the air, the words in which his thoughts are cloathed? Where does this fanciful property begin, or end, or continue? Oh! say they, the ideas are marked in black and white, on paper or parchment—now, then, we get at something; and an action, I allow, will lie for ink and paper: but what says the Common Law about the incorporeal ideas, and where does it prescribe a remedy for the recovery of them, independent of the materials to which they are annexed? I see nothing about the matter in all my books; nor were I to admit ideas to be ever so distinguishable and definable, should I therefore infer they must be treated of private property, and objects of the Common Law? But granting this general position, we get footing but upon one single step, and new doubts and difficulties arise whenever we attempt to proceed. Is this property descendible, transferrable, or assignable? When published, can the purchaser lend his book to his friend? Can he let it out for hire as the Circulating Libraries do? Can he enter it as common stock in a literary club, as is done in the country? (Every thing of this kind, in a degree, prejudices the author’s sale of the impression.) May he transcribe it for a charity? Then what part of the work is exempt from this defultory claim? Does it lye in the sentiments, the language, and style, or the paper? If in the sentiments, or language, no one can translate or abridge them. Locke’s Essay might perhaps be put into other expressions, or newly methodized, and all the original system and ideas be retained. These questions shew how the argument

counts.

counter-acts itself, how the subject of it shifts, and becomes public in one sense, and private in another: and they are all new to the Common Law, which leaves us perfectly in the dark about their solution? And how are the Judges, without a rule or guide, to determine them when they arise, whose books and studies afford no more light upon the subject than the common understandings of the parties themselves? What diversity of judgments! what confusion in opinion must they fall into! without a trace or line of law to direct their determination! What a code of Law yet remains for their ingenuity to furnish, and could they all agree in it, it would not be law at last, but Legislation. But 'tis said that it would be contrary to the ideas of private justice, moral fitness and public convenience, not to adopt this new system. But who has a right to decide these new cases, if there is no other rule to measure by but moral fitness and equitable right? Not the Judges of the Common Law, I am sure. Their business is to tell the suitor how the law stands, nor how it ought to be; otherwise each Judge would have a distinct tribunal in his own breast, the decisions of which would be as irregular and uncertain and various, as the minds and tempers of mankind. As it is, we find they do not always agree, but what would it be, where the rule of right would always be the private opinion of the Judge, as to the moral fitness and convenience of the claim? Caprice, self-interest, vanity would by turns hold the scale of justice, and the law of property be indeed most vague and arbitrary. That excellent judge, Lord Chief Justice Lee, used always to ask the counsel, after his argument is over, "Have you any case?" I hope Judges will always copy the example, and never pretend to decide upon a claim of property, without attending to the old black letter of our law, without founding their judgment upon some solid written authority, preserved in their books, or in judicial records. In this case I know there is none such to be produced."

With respect to inventors, I can see no real and capital difference between them and authors; their merit is equal, they are equally beneficial to society, or perhaps the inventor of some of those master-pieces of art, which have been mentioned, has there the advantage. All the Judges who have been of a different opinion, conscious of the force of the objection from the similarity of the claim, have told your Lordships they did not know but that an action would lie for the exclusive property in a machine at Common Law, and chose to resort to the patents. It is indeed extraordinary that they should think so, that a right that never was heard of could be supported by an action that never yet was brought. If there be such a right at Common Law, the crown is an usurper; but there is no such right at Common Law, which declares it a monopoly; no such action lies; resort must be had to the crown in all such cases. If then there be no foundation of right for this perpetuity by the positive laws of the land, it will, I believe, find as little claim to encouragement upon public principles of sound policy, or good sense.

"If there be any thing in the world common to all mankind, science and learning are in their nature *publici juris*, and they ought to be as free and general as air or water. They forget their creator, as well as their fellow creatures, who wish to monopolize his noblest gifts and greatest benefits. Why did we enter into society at all, but to enlighten one another's minds, and improve our faculties, for the common welfare of the species? Those great men, those favoured mortals,

those sublime spirits, who share that ray of divinity which we call genius, are intrusted by providence with the delegated power of imparting to their fellow-creatures that instruction which heaven meant for universal benefit; they must not be niggards to the world, or hoard up for themselves the common stock. We know what was the punishment of him who hid his talent, and providence has taken care that there shall not be wanting the noblest motives and incentives for men of genius to communicate to the world those truths and discoveries which are nothing if uncommunicated. Knowledge has no value or use for the solitary owner: to be enjoyed it must be communicated. *Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire, hoc sciat alter.* Glory is the reward of science, and those who deserve it, scorn all meaner views; I speak not of the scribblers for bread, who tease the press with their wretched productions; fourteen years is too long a privilege for their perishable trash. It was not for gain, that Bacon, Newton, Milton, Locke, instructed and delighted the world; it would be unworthy such men to traffic with a dirty bookseller for so much as a sheet of letter-press. When the bookseller offered Milton  $\text{£}1$ . for his *Paradise Lost*, he did not reject it, and commit his poem to the flames, nor did he accept the miserable pittance as the reward of his labor; he knew that the real price of his work was immortality, and that posterity would pay it.

“Some authors are as careless about profit as others are rapacious of it, and what a situation would the public be in with regard to literature if there were no means of compelling a second impression of a useful work to be put forth, or wait till a wife or children are to be provided for by the sale of an edition. All our learning will be locked up in the hands of the Tonsons and the Lintots of the age, who will set what price upon it their avarice chuses to demand, 'till the public become as much their slaves, as their own hackney compilers are.

“Instead of Salesmen, the Booksellers of late years have forestalled the market, and become engrossers. If therefore the monopoly is sanctified by your Lordships judgement, exorbitant prices must be the consequence; for every valuable author will be as much monopolized by them as Shakespeare is at present, whose works, which he left carelessly behind him in town, when he retired from it, were surely given to the public if ever author's were; but two prompters or players behind the scenes laid hold of them, and the present proprietors pretend to derive that copy from them, for which the author himself never received a farthing.—

I pass over the flimsy supposition of an implied contract between the bookseller who sells, and the public which buys the printed copy; it is a notion as unmeaning in itself as it is void of a legal foundation. This perpetuity now contended for is as odious and as selfish as any other; it deserves as much reprobation, and will become as intolerable. Knowledge and science are not things to be bound in such cobweb chains; when once the bird is out of the cage—*volat irrevocabile*—Ireland, Scotland, America will afford her shelter, and what then becomes of your action? His Lordship concluded with several observations on the statute of Queen Anne, in which he took notice that the old copies were entitled to twenty-one years, and the new ones but fourteen, and said, that if the legislature had intended to make the right perpetual they would have taken care that the remedy should be so too.

SATURDAY,

SATURDAY, February 26.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Lyttleton, the Bishop of Carlisle, and Lord Effingham Howard, gave their several opinions.

The Lord CHANCELLOR prefaced what he was about to speak, by declaring, that he had made the decree entirely as of course, in pursuance of the decision upon the right in the Court of King's Bench, and that as what he had decreed, as a Chancellor, was merely a step in the gradation to a final and determinate issue in the House of Peers, he was totally unbiassed upon the question, and therefore could speak to it as fairly from his own sense of it, as any one of the Judges, or any of the Lords present.

He then entered into a very minute discussion of the several citations and precedents that had been relied upon at the Bar, shewed where they failed in application to the present case; and one by one described their complexion, their origin, and their tendency; in each of which he proved that they were foreign to any constructions which could support the Respondents in their argument; he was no less precise and full in exposing the absurdity of the authorities derived from the Stationers Company; quoting several extraordinary entries to be met with in their books; among others, he said, that one Sibthorpe had entered a book there, "the title of which," says the entry, "is to be sent hereafter; and another member entered the name of a book "about to be translated by him;" by which all the rest of the world were to be restrained, in the mean time, perhaps for ever, from translating the same. He then very fully stated the several cases of injunctions in the Court of Chancery, produced several original letters from Swift to Faulkner and others, relative to the statute of Queen Anne, and gave an historical detail of all the proceedings in both Houses upon the several stages of that act, and the alterations it had undergone in the preamble and enacting clauses, all tending to shew the sense of the legislature, at the time of passing it, to be against the right; and that they rejected the other bills afterwards, drawn up chiefly by the advice of Dean Swift, and the countenance of Mr. Addison, which were presented in the same spirit, and upon the same grounds; and concluded with declaring that he was clearly of opinion with the Appellants.

Lord Lyttleton owned that he had no great acquaintance with the quirks and quibbles of the law. He spoke to the matter merely as a question of equity; he would not enter into a delusive, refined, metaphysical argument about tangibility, the materiality, or the corporeal substance of Literary Property; it was sufficient for him, that it was allowed such a property did exist. Authors, he presumed, would not be denied a free participation of the common rights of mankind, and their property was surely as sacred, and as deserving of protection, as that of any other subjects. It was of infinite importance to every country, that the arts and sciences should be cultivated and encouraged; where men of letters were best protected, the people in general would be most enlightened, and where  
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the minds of men were enlarged, where their understandings were equally matured in perception and in judgment, there the arts and sciences would take their residence. The arts and sciences had their origin in Italy; from thence they fled to a remote corner of Asia; at length they returned companions of the all-conquering arms of the Roman Republic; and at last they were happily seated in this free country. In his Lordship's opinion, at present there were but two monarchs in Europe, who were the encouragers of the arts and sciences, and were themselves men of letters, the King of Prussia, and the King of England. It had been urged, that authors wrote for fame only; that glory was their best reward, and that immortality of renown was an ample recompence for their labours; they therefore did not stoop to claim a further right than that of a first communication of their ideas to the public. This, his Lordship observed, was in a confined sense, a proper and a noble observation, but it would not hold generally. He begged their Lordships to remember, that genius was peculiar to no clime, it belonged to no country, it was more frequently found in the cottage than the palace; it rather crawled on the face of the earth than soared aloft; when it did mount, its flight should not be impeded. To damp the wing of genius was, in his mind, highly impolitic, highly reprehensible, nay, somewhat criminal. If authors were allowed a perpetuity, it was a lasting encouragement; making the right of multiplying copies a matter common to all, was like extending the course of a river so greatly, as finally to dry up its sources. After several poetical sentiments, his Lordship concluded with giving his opinion that the decree should be affirmed.

The Bishop of CARLISLE then spoke as follows.

“ My Lords,

“ As the proceedings in this important cause have been carried to so great a length, I should not have presumed to trouble your Lordships with any thoughts of mine upon the subject, did I not entertain hopes of shortening your Lordships farther trouble, by endeavouring to draw your attention from the many foreign topics that have been mixed with the present question: such for instance as the following—In which of the various classes of right or property, is this contested one to be ranked—Whether it is a property properly so called, or only a right to some property:—Whether such property be a corporeal one, or incorporeal—What is the subject in which it inheres—Whether it lies in the letters of a book, or the ideas, or in both—Whether it be a perfect, an imperfect, or only a *quasi* right—Whether it is real, or personal, original or derived—Whence it might derive its origin, and what is its extent and duration—How far it is deducible from ancient practice, or grounded on the authority of precedents—How it has stood in different countries—or in our own at different periods—before or after the art of printing—and the like.

“ Speculations of this kind, however useful on some occasions, and always entertaining, yet I cannot help esteeming them in a great measure foreign to the main point, and am therefore desirous of having all such waved, and your Lordships deliberation reduced to the present state of that right under the direction of our legislature, which has made, or at least attempted to make, certain express regu-

regulations in it; more particularly that act in the 8th of Q. Anne, which has been so much tortured and perplexed in arguments offered at your Lordship's bar; but a fair stating and unforc'd construction of it, I apprehend to be sufficient for deciding the whole controversy. The title of the act runs, for the encouragement of learning, and some clauses in it evidently tend that way, while others have been understood in such a manner, as must rather occasion its discouragement, and made to signify either nothing at all, (which is surely one of the greatest absurdities in the interpretation of any law) or to imply something repugnant to its avowed intent, by putting affairs into a worse condition than they were in before the commencement of this favourable act; nay worse than others are who decline the acceptance of its benefits, while attended with all those clogs and limitations, which are too well known to need a particular detail. The method there adopted for this encouragement of learning, was, we find, very maturely digested in several conferences between the two Houses, and at last declared to be (not by securing any original Copy Right, as was proposed by those bookellers who promoted the bill; but) by vesting copies of printed books in the authors or purchasers of such copies, during the time therein mentioned, and no longer.—How far this deliberate alteration of the phrase may be deemed a material one, and whether insisting on the two distinct significations of these terms, vesting and securing, as here circumstanced, though they may be elsewhere used promiscuously; Whether the taking notice of that remarkable attention in our law makers to the wording of this act may not amount to something more than a trifling verbal criticism: whether this vesting of a right in authors is merely additional and accumulative, or does not imply a creative influence *de novo*, an actual constitution of such a plenary right, as had only an ideal pre-existence without it;—these points must be submitted to your Lordships.

I shall here only take the liberty to repeat what has been observed on a subsequent statute of the 10th of Queen Anne, concerning stamp duties laid on pamphlets, which by expressly referring to this before us, and explaining the nature both of that copy right which springs from it, and of those others that may be drawn from different sources, seems to put the intention of both these acts out question. The penalty of a default here is extended to the annihilation of all copy-rights whatsoever, in these words: "Then the author, printer, and publisher, of such pamphlet shall lose all property therein, and in every copy thereof, although the title thereto were registered in the book of the Stationers in London, according to the late Act of Parliament in that behalf, so as any person may freely print and publish the same, without being liable to any action or prosecution for so doing; *any thing in the said Act of Parliament for vesting copies of printed books in the authors; or in any bye law contained; or an custom, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.*" I must leave it to your Lordships consideration whether that Common Law right, if it arises either from *custom* or *any other thing*, be not here manifestly included.

To return to the former statute. After the creation then, or establishment of such an exclusive right as is conferred upon authors in the body of this act, there comes a *proviso*, that *nothing in the said act shall be construed to extend, either to prejudice or confirm any right that the universities or any persons have or claim to have—i. e.* (according to the most natural construction of these words) any persons

sons holding *in or under* the said universities, or claiming any privilege of the same kind, and on the same ground with that of the universities, *i. e.* some positive one given or granted by special licence or letters patent, by statute or charter, as their's evidently is; and all others under the consideration of these law-makers are understood to be:—whereas if *this proviso* were taken in so lax and indeterminate a sense as to include ANY other persons, setting up any claim on other grounds, it will admit *every body*; and consequently its restrictive clauses are reduced to a mere nullity.

“Neither is that observation drawn from the *preamble* of this act to be wholly admitted, nay that the apparently soft terms applied to those several persons who had of late taken the liberty to print books without the consent of their respective authors—that these gentle terms (so unusual in penal statutes) would scarcely have been used on this occasion if such a practice as was then and there laid under certain restraints, were designed to be branded as antecedently, or absolutely criminal. But if so great advantage is taken from a general mention in the proviso, of persons and rights, not there sufficiently described, as to afford room for maintaining the forementioned absurdity; if the said act proves to be so inaccurate and defective, (as in truth it is extremely defective, with regard to the penalties annexed; the time of suing for them, the method of securing their copies to the universities, and other particulars too notorious to need enlarging upon in this place) I beg leave to suggest an enquiry to your Lordships, (tho' the matter does not immediately fall under your present consideration) whether it be not high time to have this faulty act amended:—let it be revised as soon as possible rather than suffered to be under so many imperfections as can serve only to ensnare numbers who are acting on the most obvious sense, and supposed validity of it, to their ruin; and either mislead others in the interpretation of some essential parts of it; or make the whole useless, and a dead letter.—

“However, so long as this same act does keep its ground, it must be considered as standing on principles directly opposite to the notion of any abstract independent perpetual Copy-right; which right, whatever it were supposed to be originally, is now plainly circumscribed and subjected to certain restrictions; provided always that the said act be really capable of affecting it in any respect, which some persons seem to doubt of, and others, (if I mistake not) have gone so far as to deny:—and if it once comes to be an established maxim, that acts of parliament can have no effect on claims subsisting at Common Law; in vain surely does the legislature employ itself in framing any concerning them.—But as this is not yet clearly admitted to be the case, even with the act before us, which is allowed to be in force, whatever that force may be—so long as ever it exists, it must exclude all that Right paramount and inextinguishable, which is exhibited along with it; which being dressed up at pleasure, has made its appearance under so many questionable shapes, and been so warmly espoused under each of them; but yet after all the pains taken with it, is still, I humbly conceive, of too delusory and unsubstantial a nature to be laid hold of by common apprehensions—too vague and intricate to be perfectly and unanimously ascertained even by the most learned sages of the law; and too feeble to be safely relied on, either for promoting the general service of the public, or for supporting any true, valuable interests of Literature in particular.”

Lord

Lord Effingham Howard spoke to the question merely as likely to affect the Liberty of the Press. He thought that the confining the right of multiplying copies to the author and his assigns, might prove dangerous to the constitutional rights of the people, and he justified this idea by declaring that the press was the sole controuler of the actions of Princes and Ministers; that if a despotic measure was adopted by either, the freedom of the press would be properly and efficaciously exerted in informing the people and rousing a spirit of resistance. He finally instanced that ground of his argument by supposing that upon the occurrence of some very unconstitutional and despotic measure, a pamphlet properly describing the matter was published, and that the minister bought up the impression and copyright, thereby choaking the channel of public information, and securing in his closet the secret which might prevent the loss of freedom to the subject. His Lordship concluded with declaring that he was satisfied in himself, that the Liberty of the Press was of such infinite consequence in this country, that if the constitution was over-turned, and the people were enslaved, grant him but a free press and he would undertake to restore the one and redeem the other. His Lordship therefore was for reversing the decree.

The Decree of the Court of Chancery was accordingly reversed; and the Defendants have since presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying relief, which is now under the consideration of a Committee.

F I N I S.